

GUAMAN POMA  
AND THE MANUSCRIPTS OF FRAY MARTÍN DE MURÚA  
PROLEGOMENA TO A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *HISTORIA DEL PERÚ*

BY

ROLENA ADORNO AND IVAN BOSERUP

*Introduction*

The 2004 publication of the facsimile edition of Fray Martín de Murúa's *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Pirú*, dated 1590 on its frontispiece and referred to here as "Murúa 1590," is a revolutionary event in Andean and Spanish colonial studies. It was known until 2004 only through glimpses and brief reports (Jiménez de la Espada 1879, and later), various partial editions (González de la Rosa 1911, Urteaga 1922-25, Loaysa 1946) and a complete one (Bayle 1946). Yet the source of these scholarly efforts was not "Murúa 1590" but rather a copy of it, made in 1890. "Murúa 1590" was, furthermore, confused with another manuscript work (Murúa 1613) by the same author. As a result, "Murúa 1590" has been the object of many speculative and unsubstantiated theories that have obscured, rather than illuminated, the character of the original. However, the Madrid facsimile, produced thanks to the vision and guidance of Juan M. Ossio, makes available for the first time the evidence that allows us to address four areas needing evaluation: first, the history of the "Murúa 1590" manuscript and its editions; second, the evidence of its making, fragmentation, and reconstruction; third, its relationship to the work (Murúa 1613) with which it is affiliated and to which, for half a century, since 1951, it has been compared; and fourth, the assessment of the views about it that have come to be commonplaces in need of interrogation. With these four objectives in mind, we turn to the matter that called attention to "Murúa 1590" in the first place, namely, its evidence of the intervention in its pages of the Andean chronicler, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.

In his *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 2232, 4to) Guaman Poma included a short chapter on "previous chronicles" of the ancient history of Peru. He mentioned Fray Martín de Murúa by name, among others, and his lengthy comment on Murúa's work exceeds even those that he

devoted to José de Acosta and Domingo de Santo Tomás, whose Peruvianist works Guaman Poma knew well.<sup>1</sup> His comment reveals his intimate knowledge of the Mercedarian friar's work:

And another book was that of Fray Martín de Murúa 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 nor in what manner nor 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 nor of the great lords or of other things, but rather everything [he wrote was] about [the Incas'] menacing and aggression 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 (Guaman Poma 1615, 1090; our translation).

Guaman Poma complained that Murúa had written nothing about the provenance or legitimacy of the Incas, nor anything about the ancient dynasties that preceded them, and that Murúa had devoted himself instead to telling a tale of the Incas' menacing intimidation and conquest of other peoples, forcing them into idolatry, just as the Romans had conquered and imposed their gods on the ancient peoples of Spain. Guaman Poma would later correct this fearsome view of the Incas in his own work. Our interest here, however, is in the work that provoked the Andean chronicler's commentary, Murúa's *Historia general del Pirú* in the version ("Murúa 1590") that he had the opportunity to illustrate with pinturas (water-colored line drawings) in the late 1590s.

The 2004 facsimile publication of "Murúa 1590" invites its immediate examination. Now we see for the first time not the final manuscript version of Murúa's Inca history (title page date of 1613) but most spectacularly this earlier one, more or less exactly as Guaman Poma would have known it.

The close relationship of Guaman Poma to Murúa's works first became evident with the 1946 publication of Constantino Bayle's edition of "Murúa 1590," based

<sup>1</sup> Guaman Poma cited two of the Jesuit Acosta's works, *De natura novi orbis* (1581) and his missionary treatise, *De procuranda indorum salute* (1588), as well as the doctrinal works published under Acosta's supervision by the Third Provincial Council (1583, 1584). He mentions Domingo de Santo Tomás's *Lexicón o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú* (1560), remarking that Santo Tomás had mixed up the various Andean languages with the Spanish ("libro de vocabulario de la lengua del Cuzco, Chinchaysuyo, Quichua, todo rrebuuelto con la lengua española") (Guaman Poma 1615, 1089-1090).

on the 1890 copy. Bayle reproduced five drawings whose affinities with those of Guaman Poma were self-evident.<sup>2</sup> In 1961 Emilio Mendizábal Losack took up their study.<sup>3</sup> Only one year later, Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois' 1962 publication of the first volume of his edition of Murúa 1613 revealed the presence of three more of Guaman Poma's drawings. These newly revealed illustrations subsequently became the object of Ballesteros' as well as Mendizábal Losack's comparativist interests.<sup>4</sup>

The intellectual, artistic, and affective relationships between Guaman Poma and Murúa have been discussed and debated at length over the past decades. From Mendizábal's early suggestion that Guaman Poma had been Murúa's illustrator the idea developed that Guaman Poma had been Murúa's main or only informant. Simultaneously the problem of priority arose: Was Murúa inspired by Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica*, or was the latter inspired by Murúa's *Historia*? This question was variously answered. For Ballesteros, Guaman Poma had inspired Murúa; for Ramiro Condarco Morales, it seemed more probable that Guaman Poma got the idea of writing an illustrated chronicle from having worked for Murúa over a period of time. The evidence of the Murúa/Guaman Poma relationship, nevertheless, was sparse, since Bayle's edition seemed to reveal a very unfinished text, with places designated for chapters that were named but did not appear. In 1996, therefore, great expectations were aroused when the

<sup>2</sup> Bayle (in Murúa 1946a, 146, 162, 182, 424, 425) reproduced a total of five drawings. We specify here their content and location in the 1590 manuscript and its 2004 facsimile. The first is "el triste Amaru" being led in rope or chains by the Spanish captain, clad in mail, "Loyola," that is, the Inca prince Tupac Amaru being led into his captivity and execution by Martín García de Loyola (f50v). The second is the royal litter of the Inca (f54v). The third is a very poor rendition of Pachacuti Inca holding a *llauto* [headband] in hand, which is about to be placed on the head of an Inca captain: "Pachacuti Ynca Yupanqui hace mercedes" (f59v). The fourth is the sleeping princess, "el sueño de la *nusta*" (f145v), and the fifth is the graphic of the "song of the *nusta*" (f145bis recto).

<sup>3</sup> Comparing the Bayle edition drawings with those of Guaman Poma, Mendizábal Losack (1961, 254) suggested that Guaman Poma probably made the drawings at Murúa's behest: "la semejanza es tal que permitiría suponer que Murúa copió el dibujo de Waman Puma o, lo que sería más posible, que las láminas de la crónica de Murúa las realizó el propio Waman Puma por encargo del fraile Murúa."

<sup>4</sup> After initiating in 1961 the Guaman Poma/Murúa graphic comparison on the basis of Bayle's edition of "Murúa 1590," Mendizábal (1963) goes on to consider "Murúa 1613." Ballesteros' considerations concentrated on Murúa 1613. In 1978, he postulated that only two of the Murúa 1613 paintings were drawn by Guaman Poma: Huascar Inca ("Modo de caminar de los reyes Incas") and Chuquillantú ("Modo de caminar de las coyas y reinas") (fols. 67/84r and 71/89r, respectively), and in 1981 he argued that Guaman Poma's series of drawings of Incas and Coyas in the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* were the sources for Murúa's paintings of the same subjects.

Peruvian anthropologist Juan M. Ossio succeeded in tracking down the original “Murúa 1590” manuscript in a private collection in Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

In December, 2004, eight years after Ossio’s announcement of his discovery, a facsimile of the manuscript, the *Códice Murúa*, appeared in Madrid, published by Testimonio Compañía Editorial.<sup>6</sup> It includes ninety-one water-colored drawings that with near certainty can be assigned to Guaman Poma, and to which can be added the three such hand-colored drawings already known from the Murúa 1613 manuscript. The remaining twenty-one drawings, mostly “portraits” of Inca kings and their queens, probably were created by one or more artists other than Guaman Poma, except for the coats of arms included in the portraits of the Inca queens, which bear the compositional features and stylistic “hand” typical of Guaman Poma’s heraldic representations.<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 1 for a survey of the distribution of the 150 drawings that are extant in the two Murúa manuscripts.

The publication in facsimile of the long-known “Murúa 1590” manuscript in its entirety is, simply put, a major event in Andean and Spanish American colonial studies. The new facsimile is an important witness to the Murúa/Guaman Poma relationship, and it is imperative to achieve a thorough structural and historical understanding of the remarkable document that it reproduces.<sup>8</sup>

As an antecedent to our analysis and interpretation of “Murúa 1590,” we examine the history of the Murúa manuscripts and the interpretations of their relationship that have developed over time. To date, this endeavour has not been undertaken systematically, but it is a necessary preamble to understanding the hypotheses that have been put forward regarding the relationship of the Murúa manuscripts. Following the codicological analysis of the earliest version of

<sup>5</sup> Pablo O’Brien (1996) announced the find in the Lima press, with an article featuring Juan Ossio’s successful search. Ossio’s (1998, 1999, 2000, 2000-2) announcements soon followed; his admirable persistence in his pursuit is attested by his 1982 article. Ossio’s achievement fulfilled the quest of his predecessor and compatriot, Manuel González de la Rosa, who nearly a century earlier had attempted to recover the Murúa manuscript found by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada at Poyanne. González de la Rosa encountered only a late copy, and a bad one, part of which he published in 1911 (see below, section 1.7).

<sup>6</sup> The two-volume set consists of the facsimile (Murúa 2004, vol. 1), numbered and certified by the publisher, and an accompanying volume of Ossio’s study (Ossio 2004) and transcription (Murúa 2004, vol. 2). The general assessment of the principles and quality of Ossio’s transcription lies beyond the scope of this investigation; a few comments will be made on it, however, as pertinent to our investigation. See below, notes 44, 83, 91, 137 and 142.

<sup>7</sup> See below, section 3.7.1, note 149.

<sup>8</sup> We have undertaken similar studies of the related manuscripts, Guaman Poma 1615 (Adorno 2002; Boserup and Adorno 2003a, 2003b, 2003c) and Murúa 1613 (Adorno 2004; Boserup 2004a).

Murúa's *Historia*, we consider the similarities and differences between this work and Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica*, and we take another look at the literary and artistic relationships between the Mercedarian friar and his one-time Andean collaborator. We close with new insights into Guaman Poma's work's dependence on, and departure from, that of the Mercedarian friar about whom, as we have already seen, his remarks were never generous.<sup>9</sup>

In his presentation of Murúa 2004, Ossio suggests that the manuscript he publishes consists of an aggregation of materials brought together from earlier drafts of the *Historia*. Following Ballesteros and extending the Spanish historian's views, Ossio presents the newly found manuscript as an assemblage of pieces of various distinct manuscript drafts whose value resides in the preservation of their drawings and whose implications suggest the existence of many unfinished drafts like itself.

Our study points in another direction. We show that when correctly interpreted in its structure and development, "Murúa 1590" reveals itself to be not a loose assemblage of disparate elements but rather an object once crafted, then disaggregated, and finally reassembled. It is, in short, a single unitary entity. We argue, furthermore, that "Murúa 1590" turns out to have been produced in 1596 (or a little later) and that its first three parts are a fair copy of a lost manuscript, the "real" Murúa 1590. To demonstrate these findings, we divide our study as follows:

In Part One we trace the history of scholarship on Murúa's manuscripts from the seventeenth century to the present day. We analyse the texts of these early bibliographic citations and descriptions and show where they have been right, and where they have gone wrong. In general, early misinterpretations, once made, were carried forward, due primarily to the impossibility of directly examining the manuscripts in question. We undertake this part of our investigation in great detail because it is crucial to understanding how canonized views of the Murúa textual tradition have emerged and therefore how they have affected recent and current thinking about the character of, and relationship between, Murúa's works.

In Parts Two and Three, we analyze the "Murúa 1590" manuscript from structural and historical viewpoints, respectively. It is our contention that in spite of the inevitable limitation of information offered by a facsimile, it is possible, on its evidence alone, to make a nearly exhaustive codicological analysis of the manuscript. We show that what first seems to be an extremely complicated hybrid codex turns out to be the result of procedures undergone by one single manuscript, ninety percent of which has been preserved more or less intact. We

<sup>9</sup> Guaman Poma (1615, 662-663) attributes to Murúa outrages of all sorts against the Indians of the parishes he served.

demonstrate, furthermore, that “Murúa 1590” is an expanded copy, produced starting in 1596 or later, of a version that was briefer, lacked illustrations, and had been completed in and/or dated 1590. The structural and historical approaches, we believe, are complementary, and together they corroborate the general model of the early history of the manuscript that we propose.

In Part Four, we consider the relationship of Murúa and Guaman Poma on the basis of this new understanding of Murúa’s early, pre-“Murúa 1590” version of his *Historia*. We challenge the view that Guaman Poma became Murúa’s informant and artist while working on his own *Nueva corónica*. Instead, we argue that Guaman Poma’s work as Murúa’s illustrator and his close acquaintance with his work became an important step in his own, later decision to become a “chronicler,” not like Murúa but, in juxtaposition if not opposition to him, a “new” chronicler, telling his own truth on the basis of his knowledge of Andean historical tradition and the indigenous experience of colonial oppression.

We now turn to the emergence of “Murúa 1590” in Americana bibliography and its editorial history in relation to that of Murúa 1613. To do so, we must make reference to three manuscripts:

*“Murúa 1590”:*

**P(oyanne)**, the manuscript of which the newly published *Códice Murúa* is a facsimile, studied for the first time in 1879 by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in the Spanish Jesuit house (Province of Castile) in Poyanne in southern France and currently owned by Mr. Sean Galvin, of County Meath, Ireland. It bears two titles. One was copied from an earlier and briefer version of the same work, *Historia del origen, y genealogía Real de los Reyes ingas del Pirú. De sus hechos, costumbres, trages, y manera de gouierno*. The other was added later and anticipated the title of Murúa 1613: *Ystoria general e libro del origen y descendencia de los yncas señores deste [obsidental] Reyno obsidental del Pirú donde se ponen las conquistas que hicieron de diferentes prouinçias y naciones y guerras çiuiles asta la entrada de los españoles, con su modo de gouernar, condiçion y trato, y la descriçion [sic] de las mas prinçipales çiudades y villas destas amplissimas prouinçias*.

**L(oyola)**, the manuscript which is a copy of P, made in 1890 at the Jesuit house in Loyola, Guipúzcoa, Spain, where it is still housed.

*Murúa 1613:*

**S(alamanca)**, the manuscript now housed at The J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California, whose modern examination began in 1782 when Juan Bautista Muñoz came upon it in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca,

Spain, and described its contents. This one carries on its title page the title, *Historia general del Pirú. Origen y decendencia de los Yncas. Donde se trata, assi de las guerras ciuiles suyas, como de la entrada de los españoles, descripción de las ciudades y lugares del, con otras cosas notables.*

*Part One. Manuscripts and Editions of “Murúa 1590” (P) and Murúa 1613 (S)*

*1.1. Earliest Traces of S*

Murúa’s manuscript work made its way into the earliest bibliographic repertories that included writings on the Americas. In 1672 the great Spanish bibliographer, Nicolás Antonio (1617-1684), was the first to cite Murúa’s work (S). It appeared in Antonio’s two-volume *Bibliotheca hispana, sive hispanorum ... notitia* (Rome, 1672):

F. MARTINUS DE MURUA, Cantaber, patria ex *Garnica* oppido, ordinis S. Mariæ de Mercede redemptionis captivorum, scripsit – *Historia general de los Ingas del Pirú*, circa annum MDCXVIII. cum iconibus vestium, armorum, cæterorumque indumentorum ejus gentis coloribus suis distinctis: quæ ex Bibliotheca domus Matritensis transiit in Bibliothecam D. Laurentii Ramirez de Prado regii Senatoris, authoribus mihi Fratre Petro à Sancto Cæcilio ejusdem ordinis in M.S. libello *De Familiæ suæ Scriptoribus*, & Illustriss. D. Antistite Hydruntino D. Gabriele Adarzo Santanderio literis ad me datis (Antonio 1672, vol. 2, p. 86).<sup>10</sup>

F. Martín de Murúa. Cantabrian, native of the city of Guernica, of the Order of Saint Mary of Mercy and Redemption of Captives, wrote *Historia general de los Incas del Pirú*, around the year 1618 with images of the clothing, arms, and other attire of that people in different colors: from the library of the house [of the Order] in Madrid, it came into the library of the royal councilor, don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, as is attested by my sources, fray Pedro de San Cecilio of the same order in his manuscript booklet, “On authors of his family [order],” and by the illustrious bishop of Otranto, don Gabriel Adarzo Santander in a letter sent to me.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The posthumous 1788 edition of Nicolás Antonio’s work, under the title *Bibliotheca hispana nova sive hispanorum scriptorum, qui ab anno MD ad MDCLXXXIV floruerunt, notitia*, also includes this entry (Antonio 1788, vol. 2, pp. 106-107).

<sup>11</sup> Our translation. A recent Spanish translation misreads “vestium” as “bestiarum” and thus mistranslates the phrase “with images of clothing” as “with images of animals” (las imágenes de los animales) (Antonio 1999, 131).

It is evident that Nicolás Antonio referenced the S manuscript here, both because of the title "Historia general" and the date "circa annum MDCXVIII." Both comments refer to the manuscript that had been approved for publication in 1616.

Antonio's remarks give us the track of the earliest movement of Murúa's S manuscript in Spain. From the Mercedarian house it went to the library of don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, according to fray Pedro de San Cecilio and fray Gabriel Adarzo y Santander, the Mercedarians whom Antonio consulted. Both were involved in literary and historiographic matters pertinent to Mercedarian participation in the Spanish conquest of the Indies. Pedro de San Cecilio was the author of *Anales de los Descalzos de la Merced*, published posthumously in Madrid in 1669, in which he argued that a Mercedarian had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage.<sup>12</sup> Gabriel Adarzo y Santander (1599-1674) is the author of works cited in Antonio's 1672 *Bibliotheca hispana sive hispanorum ... notitia* (Antonio 1672, vol. 1, pp. 384-385). Adarzo held the post of Provincial Secretary of the Order of Mercy in Madrid, and, according to Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (1982, vol. 1, pp. xxiv-xxv), he was responsible for some sixty Mercedarian-theme interpolations made into the manuscript copy of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, which, prior to its 1632 printing under the supervision of the Mercedarian order's appointed chronicler, Fray Alonso Remón, had been housed in the library of Ramírez de Prado.<sup>13</sup>

Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (1583-1658) was a distinguished man of state and letters. The king's chief chronicler at the time, Gil González Dávila, praised don Lorenzo as a "well known and great benefactor of the histories of Spain and the New World, a true master (devourer) of humane and learned letters."<sup>14</sup> A

<sup>12</sup> Vázquez Núñez 1968, 235; Penedo Rey 1973, xciv, clii. Referring to this Fr. Juan Infante, San Cecilio (1669, vol. 2, p. 141, cited by Vázquez Núñez 1968, 29) declares: "Dévele el mundo a este señalado varón gran parte del beneficio que todo él recibió con el descubrimiento de las Indias Occidentales, por haber ayudado a Christóval Colón, fomentando sus intentos, apoyando sus razones, y dándole su mesa y celda en que vivir muchos meses en el Convento de la Merced de Córdoba." Vázquez Núñez (1968, 28-29) describes San Cecilio as "uno de los hombres más curiosos de su siglo."

<sup>13</sup> León Pinelo (1958, 75) remarks that he had examined the original Bernal Díaz manuscript in Ramírez de Prado's library and that Fray Alonso Remón's copy of it, at court at the time of León's writing, had been corrected and was ready to print. This suggests that the Mercedarian interpolations already had been entered by 1629, which means that Remón himself, not Adarzo after Remón's death as suggested by Sáenz de Santa María, was the likely author of the interpolations.

<sup>14</sup> González Dávila (1959, vol. 1, p. 203) described don Lorenzo thus: "público y gran bienhechor de las historias de España, y de las del Nuevo Mundo, verdadero acaparador de las Letras humanas, y curiosas." Entrambasaguas (1943a, 138) cited the original 1649 imprint, transcribing "acaparador" (master, devourer), which we have retained here, rather than the modern edition's "amparo" (protector).



member of the Order of Santiago, don Lorenzo was a long-time councilor in the Real Consejo de Indias (1626-1654) as well as a member (from 1642) of the Real Consejo de Castilla (Schäfer 1935, vol. 1, p. 358). His vast library contained dozens of works on Americanist topics, including, most famously, the manuscript of Bernal Díaz's *Historia verdadera*. Several men of letters, including Antonio de León Pinelo, formally dedicated their own works to him.<sup>15</sup> León Pinelo (1958, 163-164) acknowledged Ramírez's "universal learning" and also remarked on Ramírez's library holdings as a significant bibliographic resource for his own 1629 work.<sup>16</sup> A manuscript like Murúa's 1613 work was no doubt highly prized by Ramírez de Prado, combining his Americanist interests in native cultures and Spanish interventions in the Indies.

Ramírez de Prado's relationship with the Mercedarians is easily documented through his relationship with Fray Alonso Remón, the chronicler of the Mercedarian Order who dedicated his 1632 edition of Bernal Díaz's *Historia verdadera* to don Lorenzo. Remón remarked that he returned to don Lorenzo in print the work that he had held in his library in manuscript, and he praised don Lorenzo's library collection as being so great in number and so excellent in its selection that it would be difficult to add a book that he did not already possess.<sup>17</sup> Constantino Bayle (1946, 35, note 12) suggested that the Mercedarians could have given the Murúa 1613 manuscript to Ramírez de Prado in exchange for that of Bernal Díaz. Whether these were the circumstances or not, the Murúa manuscript went from the Mercedarian convent to don Lorenzo's library after León Pinelo put the finishing touches on his *Epítome* in the late 1620s.

Although León Pinelo did not have Ramírez de Prado's Murúa 1613 at his disposal in order to include it in his 1629 publication, Andrés González de Barcia included Antonio's 1672 or 1688 notice of it when he edited and expanded León Pinelo's *Epítome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental, nautical y geográfica* in 1737-38:

<sup>15</sup> León Pinelo dedicated his *Tratado de confirmaciones reales* (Madrid, 1630) to don Lorenzo (Entrambasaguas 1943a, 102).

<sup>16</sup> León Pinelo (1958, 163-164) remarked about Ramírez de Prado: "Con tan eruditas obras ha manifestado parte de sus universales estudios... De su librería, que es copiosísima, me valí para esta obra, lo que por ella consta."

<sup>17</sup> Remón (in Díaz del Castillo, 1632, fol. 7r) declares: "A su librería de Vuestra Señoría tan grande en número y tan rara en elección apenas se puede añadir libro que no tenga, y a la liberalidad de su dueño nada se le puede dar que no haya dado, y así vuelvo a Vuestra Señoría impreso, lo que nos comunicó manuscrito, en honra de los piadosos oficios de mi sagrada religión, y noticias ciertas de los notables hechos y de no pensados acaecimientos que se vieron en las primeras conquistas de Nueva España." See Díaz del Castillo 1982, vol. 1, p. xxxii.

MARTIN DE MURUA, *Historia General de los Incas*, que escribía cerca del Año 1618 con los Retratos, Insignias, i Vestidos de estos Reies, M.S. segun don Nicolás Antonio (León Pinelo 1737-38, vol. 2, col. 644).

It is this mention in Barcia's edition that has given rise to the erroneous notion that León Pinelo himself, in 1629, had listed Murúa's manuscript.<sup>18</sup> While León Pinelo did not mention Murúa's Inca history in his "Historias del Perú" section (Title VIII of the "Biblioteca occidental") or anywhere else in his 1629 work, Barcia, a century later, was able to expand to a total of one hundred and twenty entries the original list of twenty-four titles of manuscript and printed works on Peru that León Pinelo had cited in 1629.

Nicolás Antonio's description of Murúa's work continued to be a primary source of information into the early nineteenth century, notably in Antonio de Alcedo y Herrera's 1807 *Bibliotheca Americana*:

Murúa, Martín de.—Nació en Garnica del Señorío de Vizcaya, entró religioso del Orden de la Merced, y escribió según don Nicolás Antonio: Historia general de los Quipos de los indios y otras antigüedades del Perú, con muchos retratos y dibujos de ellas, escrito el año de 1618.—Manuscrito. Estaba en la librería de don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, del Consejo de Castilla (Alcedo y Herrera 1964, vol. 2, p. 84).

As is evident, Alcedo, too, created his entry from Antonio's description of the Murúa 1613 manuscript, save for the unusual reference to the work as a "history of the quipus." Once again, the illustrations are the salient feature of the bibliographic description.

### *1.2. Juan Bautista Muñoz (1782) Discovers S But Does Not Copy It*

The migration of Murúa 1613 from the personal library of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca occurred a few years after the death of Ramírez de Prado in 1658. His widow, doña Lorenza de Cárdenas y Valda, whom Nicolás Antonio described as a "lectissima ac nobilissima fæmina," sold the library after a long delay, which was due to the Inquisition's inspection and inventorying of the library, removing prohibited books that Ramírez de Prado had possessed with ecclesiastical permission, and expurgating many others.<sup>19</sup> The bulk of the library's holdings were purchased by the Colegio.

<sup>18</sup> Horacio H. Urteaga (1922, p. v) alludes to León Pinelo's presumed mention of Murúa, and Porras Barrenechea (1946, p. x) erroneously states: "Pinelo afirmó también que ilustraban la obra retratos de los Incas y pinturas de insignias y vestidos."

The sale of Ramírez de Prado's library to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca is confirmed by the investigations made at the Colegio Mayor in 1782 by the great Spanish cosmographer, historian, and founder of the Archivo General de Indias, Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745-1799).<sup>20</sup> Muñoz identified the provenance of the Colegio Mayor's library holdings which he examined, and which included the listing of the Murúa 1613 manuscript, as coming from Ramírez de Prado's library: "Biblioteca del Colegio de Cuenca = Su fondo la de D. Lor.º Ramirez de Prado."<sup>21</sup>

Muñoz had searched for Americanist materials in the libraries of Salamanca, including the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, Colegio de San Bartolomé, Colegio Viejo, the municipal archive, and those of the university and the cathedral, from July 29 to August 11, 1782.<sup>22</sup> The Colegio Mayor de Cuenca was the site of Muñoz's richest finds, including works of Hernando Colón and the *Quinquagenas* of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Ballesteros Beretta 1954, xxiv). Thus the Murúa manuscript formed part of a larger Americanist collection in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca's library, just as it had done in that of Ramírez de Prado. Additionally,

<sup>19</sup> Entrambasaguas 1943a, 88, 118-120. One of doña Lorenza's petitions to the Holy Office during this time included a domestic appeal: not only had she lost many opportunities to sell the library at home and even abroad, but the floors of rooms where the books were kept were collapsing under their weight: "[M]ás de tres años que ha que le padezco sin otra causa que este esamen parece que es Raçon Librarne del auiendo yo procedido con la rrealidad puntualidad y lisura que se a uisto, y tan a mi costa que no es fácil de contar Los daños que se me an segido pues demás de auer perdido muchas ocasiones de VenderLa para dentro y fuera despaña y estar a pique de Vndirse Las piezas en que está por ser muy viejas y estarse viendo sin poderlas reparar asta que se desocupara ..." (cited by Entrambasaguas 1943a, 216).

<sup>20</sup> It was Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (1892, 456-457, note 1) who in 1892 first mentioned Muñoz's discovery and examination of Murúa's *Historia general* (identified, as noted, as S) at the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca.

<sup>21</sup> Real Academia de la Historia, Muñoz Collection, v. 93, f. 170. Entrambasaguas (1943a, 121, note 2), who examined the Muñoz Collection's volume 93 in the early 1940s, transcribes this note. In his research in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, Muñoz may have been guided to the Murúa 1613 manuscript by consulting an inventory prepared by Andrés Navarro, a fellow of the Colegio, also in 1782, now Madrid B.N., MS 2952. According to Hobson (1976, 491, 495), who mentions this inventory, Murúa 1613 is listed on its fol. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Ballesteros Beretta 1954, xxiv. The year was not 1785, as asserted by Espada and repeated by Ballesteros (1962, vol. 1, pp. xxviii, xxxi, xxxii) and Ossio (2004, 12). By early 1784, Muñoz was already in Andalusia, mostly in Seville, making preparations for the creation of the Archivo General de Indias; after his September, 1785, return to Madrid he remained there, continuing his investigations and supervising the preparation of shipments of documents to be sent to Seville (see Bas Martín 2000, 70-102).

Muñoz located the papers of Pedro de la Gasca, president of the Real Audiencia of Lima (1546-49), at Salamanca's Colegio de San Bartolomé.

Muñoz discovered, examined, and described S, but he did not make a copy of it. This is an important fact which has escaped scholars for more than a century, from Jiménez de la Espada through Ballesteros and Ossio. The misunderstanding apparently began with Espada (1879, p. xxxviii), who turned Muñoz's discovery and mention of the work into a full transcription of it ("copiada por D. Juan Bautista Muñoz para su colección"). Ballesteros (1962, vol.1, p. xxxi) repeated the unverified assertion ("Segunda copia.—Que bien pudiera ser la primera, que ordenó Muñoz y que se halla catalogada en su *Colección*"). Most recently, Ossio (2004, 12) assumed and emphatically reaffirmed the existence of a "Copia Muñoz" in a reference to versions of Murúa's works known up to the time of Ballesteros: "Un original desaparecido en el Colegio Menor<sup>23</sup> de Cuenca de Salamanca que fue visto y transcrito por el año de 1785 por el americanista español Juan Bautista Muñoz."

The careful examination of the Real Academia de la Historia's 1954-56 catalog of the Muñoz Collection reveals, however, that the pertinent Muñoz volume contained only limited reference to Murúa's work.<sup>24</sup> Although volume A-120-cum-93-cum-75 disappeared from the Academy decades ago, the contents of this 398-folio volume are meticulously described, entry by entry and folio by folio, in the Real Academia's Muñoz Collection catalog (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, pp. 485-493).

In a brief, three-folio entry in his volume of nearly four hundred folios that was described in 1799 as consisting of an "index of manuscripts on the Indies," Muñoz made annotations pertaining to various books that he had examined in the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca.<sup>25</sup> We discover that instead of a copy or even a substantive extract of the Murúa 1613 manuscript, Muñoz prepared only

<sup>23</sup> Error for: Mayor.

<sup>24</sup> Muñoz had produced 95 folio-size volumes on the subject of the Indies, and the tome which interests us was numbered 93 through Espada's day and beyond the early 1940s investigations, cited above, of Entrambasaguas and, cited below, of Porras Barrenechea. Yet only 76 of these Indies-oriented volumes were among the 108 tomes that in 1817 had been transferred from the king's library to the Real Academia de la Historia. Hence, when the Academy produced its 1954-56 catalog, it made the decision to renumber consecutively the volumes in its possession, and it gave volume 93 the modern number of 75 in order to create a consecutive enumeration of the volumes actually present in the Academy at the time (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 1, pp. Hi). Volume 93-cum-75 had an even earlier Royal Academy designation, as "A-120" (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, pp. ix, 486), and it has been cited as such by scholars, i. e., Beaujouan (1962, 35).

<sup>25</sup> The volume is described as an "index of manuscripts" ("Indias, Índice de Mss.") and the entry in question, as "annotations about certain books" ("Anotaciones sobre algunos libros referentes a Indias

a brief description of its contents and made a copy of the signature and rubric of the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia. The catalog describes these materials, and their full extent is confined to folio 217 of volume 93: "Se hace extracto de su contenido y se copia la firma y rúbrica de Pedro de Valencia, Censor de la *Historia General del Perú... de Fray Martín de Murúa*" (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, p. 491 [vol. 75, no. 1.723]).<sup>26</sup> Like Entrambasaguas, and, also in the early 1940s, Raúl Porras Barrenechea examined the Muñoz Collection's volume 93 before its disappearance from the Real Academia de la Historia.<sup>27</sup> It is thus to Porras Barrenechea (1962, 381; idem, 1986, pp. 480-481) that we owe the transcription of the full contents of Muñoz's annotations, which had been written in Muñoz's own hand, according to the catalog (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, p. 491). In the end, Muñoz's remarks about Murúa's S manuscript are limited to a single folio of the three described as consisting of "Anotaciones sobre algunos libros referentes a Indias de la Biblioteca del Colegio mayor de Cuenca, de Salamanca. Fo[l]ios 214-217v." Porras Barrenechea copies from "p. 217v." of the Muñoz volume the full entry, which must have appeared under a transcription of the title page of S:

Un tomo en folio de 367 páginas, aunque hay algunas cortadas por los que censuraron la obra, testados algunos trozos particularmente cuando se declara contra el vicio y crueldad de los españoles: Divídese en tres libros: 1° Desde el origen de los Incas hasta el establecimiento pacífico del dominio español; 2° Del Gobierno que los Incas tuvieron y ritos que guardaron, 3° Descripción General del Perú y de sus ciudades y villas. Van groseramente pintados los Incas con sus Coyas y mujeres, su modo de caminar en andas, las armas antiguas del Perú.

de la Biblioteca del Colegio mayor de Cuenca, de Salamanca. Fo[l]ios 214-217v.") (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 1, pp. li-lij, vol. 2, pp. ix, 491). This is negative evidence regarding the possibility of a Muñoz copy of the Murúa manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> The contents of the other 395 folios of volume 93 (there was an error in the folios' numbering, as the editor notes, jumping from "358" to "559" [Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, p. 492]) included other materials that Muñoz had located at the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca: a document bundle of materials presented to the Consejo de Indias in 1602-1604 and a copy of the already-mentioned index of the manuscripts held at the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca at the time (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 2, pp. 490-491 [vol. 75, nos. 1.720-1.722]; Entrambasaguas 1943a, 121, note 2).

<sup>27</sup> The 1960s publication dates of Porras Barrenechea's work on Murúa are misleading; he carried out this work in the 1940s but it was not published until two decades later. His *Los cronistas del Perú* won a national prize in 1945, but it did not appear in print until 1962 (Porras Barrenechea 1962, 52-A, note 1), and his *Fuentes históricas peruanas*, published in 1963, reproduces the mimeographed version of the work that he had prepared in 1945 (Porras Barrenechea 1963, 8).

Proceden [un informe] de don Quiñones, Gobernador y Capitán General de Tucumán, aprobando la obra, fecha en Córdoba del Tucumán a 28 de Setiembre de 1614 (original). Aprobaciones también originales del Comisario del Santo Oficio Licenciado Franciscano de Trejo, fecha en Buenos Aires a 17 de Setiembre de 1614 y de otro Comisario de Inquisición en 25 de Agosto de 1611, y otras varias fechas en 1611, 12, 13, 14 y 15. La censura de Pedro de Valencia, dado el orden del Consejo en Madrid, a 28 de Abril de 1616 en que aprueban la obra (*Colección Muñoz*, Tomo 93, pág. 217 v.).

The brevity of this report and the three-folio entry that includes it is confirmed by Justo Pastor Fustér's authoritative 1830 survey of Muñoz's work, which was based on the inventory of Muñoz's collection made immediately after his death in 1799 (Pastor Fustér 1827-30, vol. 2, pp. 202-238).<sup>28</sup> Pastor Fustér describes the folio 214-217 entry of the volume as "Nota de libros de la Biblioteca del Colegio de Cuenca" (Pastor Fustér 1827-30, vol. 2, p. 227).

To have discovered that Muñoz never made a copy of the Murúa 1613 manuscript has major implications for past and current theories about the number of extant or lost copies of his work and their relationship to the works at hand (see below, section 1.14.1). Although Muñoz did not make a copy of S, he was the first witness ever to record the existence of elements of the P manuscript, albeit unknowingly. His reference to images that depicted the Incas' manner of going about in procession ("su modo de caminar en andas") describes two of the drawings that had been removed from P and inserted into S (see below, section 2.11.1, with Table 7).

### 1.3. Disappearance of S

The S manuscript fell out of sight with the suppression of Spain's *colegios mayores*. That is, in the 1770s Charles III had caused the six *colegios mayores* gradually to become extinct by allowing vacancies to go unfilled, and Charles IV (r. 1788-1808) issued a decree in September of 1798 to take over their properties (Beaujouan 1962, 42-43). Don Antonio Tavira y Almazán, the "bibliophile bishop" of Salamanca who, as a University of Salamanca professor had demonstrated his deep interest in bibliographic and educational history, inventoried the libraries of the *colegios mayores* between 1799 and 1802. All of Tavira's work can be consulted at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Beaujouan 1962, 43-45; Carabias Torres 1983,

<sup>28</sup> Pastor Fustér's detailed inventory of the manuscript books that Muñoz bequeathed to the king is credited with following quite closely ("probablemente trasunto literal") the *Índice de la Colección* that was compiled in 1799 by Real Académicians don Joaquín Traggia and don Manuel Abella with the assistance of court officials (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-56, vol. 1, pp. xlix-l).

145). Charles IV was an avid bibliophile, and from his ascent to the throne in 1788 until 1811, the palace library expanded to some 20,000 volumes. Around 1800 he “appears to have decided to assemble a central archive of documents relating to Spanish history,” and in the next eight years he amassed a large number of manuscripts, including those of Salamanca’s *colegios mayores* of San Bartolomé and Cuenca (Hobson 1976, 487). Beaujouan (1962, 45) estimates that the manuscripts were transferred from Salamanca to the private library of the king, the Biblioteca del Palacio, in the final months of 1802 or the beginning of 1803. In one of the manuscript copies of the inventory of the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca library is found the notation: “Esta librería como la de todos los colegios mayores se traxo a Madrid al real Palacio para la biblioteca particular de S. Majestad” (cited by Beaujouan 1962, 35, note 5).

These holdings were subsequently “requisitioned,” along with many other Spanish treasures, by Joseph Bonaparte, who acted as king of Spain from 1808 to 1813. When the French were defeated in the battle at Vitoria in 1813, with Lord Wellington commanding the Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish army, the war booty, delivered to Wellington the following day, consisted of some two hundred rolled-up paintings, state papers and private correspondence, drawings and prints, and some thirty-two print and manuscript volumes, one of which was the Murúa S manuscript (Hobson 1976, 485). Thus S became part of the library of Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), the first Duke of Wellington (titled as the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain), who in 1815 led the army that defeated the French at the Battle of Waterloo. Murúa’s manuscript remained there, unknown to the scholarly world, for nearly a century and a half, until 1951 when Miguel Enguidanos Requena, working on behalf of Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, located it in the duke’s library and Ballesteros published it in 1962-64 (see below, section 1.10).

#### 1.4. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (1879): Discovery of P

Nearly a century after Muñoz examined S in Salamanca, Espada consulted, and took notes from, Muñoz’s description of S. By way of introduction to his 1879 edition of *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*, Espada wrote a letter/prologue to the Count of Toreno that includes this description of Murúa’s work:

*la Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los Incas, pueblos, ciudades, etc., año de 1616, por el P.Fr. Martín de Murúa, arcediano, comendador y cura de Huata, copiada por D. Juan Bautista Muñoz para su colección, y que Pinelo cita con fecha incierta y añadiendo que la ilustraban los retratos de los Incas, y pinturas de insignias y vestidos de estos reyes.*<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Our emphasis. “Carta al Excmo. Sr. D. Francisco de Borja Queipo de Llano, Conde de Toreno” in

By Espada's choice of terms to describe the manuscript and its author, it is evident that he is reporting information about S and that all the bibliographic data comes from Muñoz, not Pinelo. The source of the phrases, "Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los Incas" and "comendador y cura de Huata," is the title page of S, no doubt as conveyed by Muñoz. The date of 1616 appeared in the Muñoz entry itself, as we saw that entry quoted in full by Porras Barrenechea (see above, section 1.2). However, Espada's reference to Pinelo can only be to Andrés González de Barcia's eighteenth-century edition of the 1629 *Epítome*, because León Pinelo himself apparently did not know of, because he did not reference, Murúa's work. The source for the phrase, "los retratos de los Incas, y pinturas de insignias y vestidos," is unequivocally Barcia's 1737-38 edition of Pinelo's *Epítome* (see above, section 1.1).

In this light, the anomalous reference to Murúa as "arcediano" is likely to be Espada's interpretation of the title of "elector de capítulo general," for so Murúa was identified, with respect to the provinces of Peru and sometimes Castile, in the approbations that precede the 1613 text (Ballesteros 1962, vol. 1, pp. 5-14). Bayle pointed out that the title of "arcediano" could not have corresponded to Murúa, and Ballesteros expressed the same misgiving.<sup>30</sup>

Regarding Espada's assertion that Muñoz made a copy of Murúa's work, there is, as we have seen, absolutely no evidence for it. In any case, Espada's 1879 description of S gave rise to the erroneous notion that Muñoz had made a complete copy of the Murúa 1613 manuscript, and as we shall see, it is a statement that Espada repeated in 1892, when he described P. It is clear that Espada's information is hearsay and that he did not consult Muñoz's manuscript volume closely. If he had done so, he would have seen that Muñoz had not made a copy of the work.

In the same year (1879) as he published the *Tres relaciones*, Jiménez de la Espada came upon P ("Murúa 1590") at the Jesuit College in Poyanne in southern France.

Espada did not publish the results of his 1879 examination of the Poyanne manuscript until 1892. There he quoted the full title of P and explicitly pointed out the divergence of the titles of the two manuscripts. However, he was still

Jiménez de la Espada, ed. (1879, xxxviii). Espada briefly mentions Murúa's manuscript as he informs the count about a handful of works of Spanish authorship, written about Peruvian antiquities in the middle of the seventeenth century. Urteaga (1922, p. v) later cites Espada's description (which is of S) in his edition of L (copy of P).

<sup>30</sup> Bayle (1946, 3) writes: "Lo de comendador y cura corre sin dificultad; lo de arcediano, tropieza en que es dignidad catedralicia que no hubo en Huata, ni de suyo cabía en fraile." Ballesteros (1962, vol. 2, p. xxxv, note 32) added about such an office: "Lo que no parece muy probable, siendo fraile."



under the misapprehension that Muñoz had made a copy of the S manuscript, and that S was basically identical to P:

*Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Pirú. De sus hechos, costumbres, trajes y manera de gobierno. Compuesta por el padre fray Martín de Morúa, de la Orden de Nra. Sra. de la Merced, de la redención de Captivos, conventual del convento de la gran ciudad del Cuzco, cabeza del reino y provincias del Pirú. Acabóse por el mes de mayo del año de 1590.*—Un tomo folio de 147 ff. y tres sin foliar de tablas al fin.—Original inédito. Contiene datos muy poco conocidos y de gran interés. Lleva láminas de dibujo incorrecto e iluminadas con poco arte; pero de ella pueden sacar gran partido los arqueólogos americanistas.<sup>31</sup> El MS. existía el año de 1739 en el archivo del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá de Henares. Yo le vi y pasé con espacio en el de Poyane [*sic*] el año de 1879.—El tomo 23 [*sic*]<sup>32</sup> de la colección de D. Juan Bautista Muñoz contenía una copia de esta obra, aunque con el título variado y con el año 1616, procedente del Colegio mayor de Cuenca en Salamanca. El P. Morúa o Murúa era del mismo pueblo que San Ignacio de Loyola; fue comendador de su Orden, cura de Huata y doctrinero de Capachica.<sup>33</sup>

Espada here merges new information about P, that is, its title, its date, its length, and a comment on its drawings, with earlier information about S. He repeats the date of 1616, identifies Murúa's missionary posts, and adds Muñoz's note about the location of the work at the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, all of which pertain to S. His erroneous statement that the Muñoz Collection "contained a copy of this work" shows that he considered the manuscript that he examined (P) to

<sup>31</sup> Espada's remark about the "poor quality" of the drawings of P, notwithstanding their usefulness to archaeologists, is repeated verbatim by Vargas Ugarte (1952, 274) who also paraphrased Bayle (1946, 36) when describing the 1890 Loyola manuscript (L), calling it a "bad copy, lacking the drawings ("difiere bastante de la que examinó Jiménez de la Espada y es una mala copia, carece de las láminas, de dibujo incorrecto e iluminados con poco arte, pero de ellas pueden sacar gran partido los arqueólogos").

<sup>32</sup> Misprint for 93. Volume 23 of the Muñoz Collection in the Academia consists of 248 folios and gives accounts of various voyages of discovery: "Tomo 23. Volumen encuadernado en cartón, de 248 folios, conteniendo diversas relaciones de viajes y descubrimientos." Another volume numbered 23, as catalogued at the time of Muñoz's death in 1799, consisted of the first part of fray Pedro de Aguado's *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* and was passed to the king's library (Real Academia de la Historia 1954-54, vol. I, pp. lviii, 23).

<sup>33</sup> Jiménez de la Espada 1892, 456-457. Vargas Ugarte (1935, 354-355), Pease (1995, 246), López-Ocón and Pérez-Montes Salmerón (2000, 261, note 28), and Ossio (2004, 14) have also reproduced this text.

be the original version ("1590") of the work, and the manuscript consulted by Muñoz at Salamanca (S), which carried the royal authorization to print, dated 1616, to be a later copy of it.

One more statement made by Espada for which we have not found a source, and which must be looked upon with suspicion, is his assertion that P was located in the Colegio Máximo de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares in 1739. Since, as we will see below, the S manuscript was at the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca throughout the eighteenth century, Espada's statement, whether accurate or not, can only be meant to pertain to P. Though undocumented, we find it probable, on the basis of the clearer picture that we have today of P, that P came to Spain in Murúa's lifetime, together with S (see below, section 3.19). However, its whereabouts after Murúa's death, before P came to the Jesuit refuge in Poyanne in 1869, nearly 250 years later, are as yet undocumented. Neither "padre M. Arcos de la Santísima Trinidad" (which may be his personal name by ordination or refer to a religious order of the same name, the Order of the Holy Trinity), nor "padre Colonia," both of whom are cited as parties to the donation of the manuscript, have been identified. The archival signatures, "Vs A.2.; Caj. 2", on the front of the binding are likewise unidentified to date.

We can, however, bring into focus P's nineteenth-century entry into the Jesuit College in southern France and its return to Spain as part of the tumultuous political history of the late nineteenth century that affected the Jesuit order. Jiménez de la Espada's pursuit of Spanish manuscripts held in Jesuit repositories abroad came as a result of the Revolution of 1868 and the dispersal of Spanish Jesuit communities, primarily to France (Revuelta González 1998, 12). The official decree of the suppression of the Society of Jesus on October 12, 1868, promulgated by Antonio Romero Ortiz, Minister of Justice of the revolutionary government, provoked the quick action of padre Felipe Gómez (1811-1870) who, as Provincial of Castile, purchased a chateau in southern France as a place of study, work, and refuge for the most needy members of the order (Revuelta González 1984, vol. 1, pp. 101-102, 179, 267).

The Jesuits exiled from the Province of Castile quickly consolidated all the phases of their training, from the novitiate through theological studies, in the great house at Poyanne. For eleven years, from 1869 to 1880, it was the most important house of study of the Castilian Province (Revuelta González 1984, vol. 1, pp. 242, 527). Its library was progressively enriched with the collections that had belonged to the Jesuit houses at Loyola and León (Revuelta González 1984, vol. 1, p. 531), and the P manuscript was among its holdings; Espada examined it at Poyanne in what would be that house of study's penultimate year, 1879.

The track of the P manuscript from Poyanne to Loyola is glimpsed in the remarks of its first editor, Manuel González de la Rosa (1911, p. v), who noted that the manuscript moved from France to Guipúzcoa after the suppression of

the Jesuit college at Poyanne, which occurred with the suppression of all Jesuit colleges in France in 1880.<sup>34</sup> Repatriation to Spain from Poyanne had already begun in 1878, with the reestablishment of the novitiate of the College at Loyola. Thus when the decrees of expulsion from France were applied at mid-year in 1880, the very last inhabitants of the Jesuit house at Poyanne left by order of the French authorities on June 30 (Revuelta González 1984, vol. 1, pp. 529, 1183). The gradual abandonment of the center of study at Poyanne evidently made possible the careful transfer of its library holdings, which were once again installed in Loyola. Revuelta González (1998, 121), whose studies on the Jesuits we have followed here, characterized the libraries of the Jesuit colleges as containing not only the materials necessary for the preparation of classes and collections of religious and scholarly journals but also incunables and other ancient and rare materials.

### 1.5. Loyola, 1890: P is Copied and Disappears

A copy of the P manuscript, which we identify as L, was made at Loyola in 1890. We owe this information to the first direct description of L, which was made by Rubén Vargas Ugarte at the "Archivo de la Santa Casa de Loyola (Guipúzcoa)" in his early 1930s survey of the libraries of Europe, where he examined and described some four hundred manuscripts related to the history of Peru, five of them at the Loyola archive (Vargas Ugarte 1935, v-vii, 354-356). His description includes the title of L, its length, and the date on which it was copied from the original. (The date of the copy was probably inscribed in the copy itself):

MSS. A[rchivo] L[oyola] (12-1-4) *Historia del Origen y Genealogía Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú, de sus hechos, costumbres, trajes y manera de gobierno*. Compuesta por el P. Fr. Martín de Morúa, natural de Guipúzcoa, del Orden de Nra. Sra. de la Merced, de Redención de Cautivos, conventual del Convento de la gran ciudad del Cuzco, cabeza del Reyno y Provs. del Perú, acabado por el mes de Mayo del a. de 1590. Fol. 172 pp (167 a 172 Indice). Copia del original, sacada en Loyola, Marzo de 1890.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> González de la Rosa (1911, p. v) writes: "[L]a primera idea que hemos tenido de Morúa han sido las citas de Jiménez de la Espada, que vió el manuscrito en el colegio que tenían los jesuitas en Poyane [sic]." Después de la supresión de dicho colegio en Francia, pasó el manuscrito a la casa central de la orden, en Loyola, de donde se sacó la copia que hoy se publica."

<sup>35</sup> Vargas Ugarte 1935, 354-355. Pease (1995, 254-55, 186, 61) transcribes Vargas Ugarte's description but misattributes it to Vargas Ugarte's [1952] 1959 *Manual de estudios peruanistas* instead of his 1935 *Manuscritos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero*, t. 1.

Immediately following this account of P via L, Vargas Ugarte (1935, 354-355) goes on to transcribe Jiménez de la Espada's 1892 description of the supposed copy of S in the Muñoz Collection, and, following Espada, he assumes that P and S were two copies of the same work: "El tom. 23 [*sic*] de la Col. de Muñoz contenía una copia de esta obra aunque con el título variado y con el año 1616." Vargas Ugarte mentions that González de la Rosa had obtained a copy [of L], and that he had published a portion of the work.<sup>36</sup> In his own survey of the Real Academia de la Historia's holdings, Vargas Ugarte does not cite "volume 23" but by his comment on volume 93 he indirectly confirms that it did not contain any copy of a Murúa manuscript: "El contenido de los demás volúmenes de la C[olección] M[unoz] no ofrecen especial interés para el Perú, pues o se reducen a Índices de Mss. (tomos 92 y 93) o a obras ya publicadas, como el libro Tercero de las Guerras Civiles del Perú o Guerra de Quito, de Cieza" (Vargas Ugarte 1935, 313).

Vargas Ugarte's is the first description of the L copy based on personal examination. Commenting on Murúa's identification of his origin and missionary duties found in the prologue to part 4, he notes its location as f126v of the lost original but as page 135 of the Loyola copy.<sup>37</sup> He adds that he has not been able to see the original which, without doubt, he says, had existed at the Loyola archive as a donation by padre María Arcos.<sup>38</sup> The loss of P occurred between 1890 and the early 1920s.<sup>39</sup> We know that in 1925 its proud, private owner was Castor Pereda Ruiz de la Peña, who emblazoned the last page of part 3 (f125v) of the P manuscript with his name.<sup>40</sup>

Summing up, there had been one direct examination of S (Juan Bautista Muñoz in 1782), one direct examination of P (Jiménez de la Espada in 1879),

<sup>36</sup> "El Dr. González de la Rosa obtuvo también copia del ms. y se propuso publicarlo en Lima, por entregas, pero sólo consiguió dar a luz las primeras" (Vargas Ugarte 1935, 355). González de la Rosa's edition published, however, at least two-thirds of the L manuscript (see below, section 1.7).

<sup>37</sup> The illegible lefthand marginal note on the facsimile's title page is copied at the bottom of the title page of the 1890 L manuscript, and it refers to Guipúzcoa and fol. 126 (Ossio, 2004, 11 [fig. 1]).

<sup>38</sup> Also making note of the missing chapters, and of the 5 copied drawings (see above, note 2), Vargas Ugarte (1935, 355) writes: "No hemos logrado ver el origl. que, sin duda, existía en el Archivo y le fue obsequiado, según se advierte, por el P. María Arcos de la Santísima Trinidad. En la copia se dice que los capítulos IV, V y VI del Libro Primero, se hallan en bl[anco] en el origl. Asimismo el Cap. VIII del Libro Segundo. Al final de los Caps. XV y XVI del Libro Segundo hay una lámina y otras dos, al fin de los Caps. V y XII del Libro Tercero. De este libro se hallan en bl[anco] los caps. IX, X, XVI y XXXV."

<sup>39</sup> Bayle (1946, 36) suggests that its disappearance was a consequence of the political turmoil of that era: "Y lo peor de todo, el original, sin que nadie sepa cómo, falta del Archivo de Loyola: consecuencia de los trasegos a que obligaron los rojos y prerrojos."

<sup>40</sup> "Propiedad de Castor Pereda Ruiz de la Peña del Prado de Henar, Febrero 20 de 1925" (f125v).

and one direct examination of L (Vargas Ugarte in the early 1930s). While in 1935 Vargas Ugarte provided the fullest independent description of P on the basis of his examination of L, the prevailing notion, first generated by Espada, was that P was the original manuscript, that S ("1616") was its late copy, and that Muñoz had made a copy of S in the eighteenth century. No one has ever seen this "Muñoz copy" of S because it never existed.

### 1.6. After Espada: Confusion of S and P

As a result of their surfacing and disappearance, the confusion between the P and S manuscripts accompanied the early publication history of Murúa's work. In the prologue to the first, partial edition of P in 1911, its editor, Manuel González de la Rosa, following Espada (1879, 1892) and thus repeating his error, stated that a more complete copy of the manuscript that he was publishing was located in the Muñoz Collection in the Real Academia. He prudently qualified his remark, however, by noting that he had not had the opportunity to compare them.<sup>41</sup> He thus believed that there was one work existing in one original manuscript at Loyola and that there existed a copy of it, obtained or prepared by Muñoz, in Madrid. In other words, for him, our P and S were one and the same manuscript.

In 1922 Horacio H. Urteaga made the same assumption, that is, that there was one Murúa work existing in one original manuscript, that Espada had revealed its existence, that González de la Rosa had succeeded in obtaining a copy of it and publishing part of it, and that a copy of it was preserved in the Muñoz Collection in the Real Academia de la Historia.<sup>42</sup>

In 1935 Vargas Ugarte (355; idem, 1939, 229), who examined L, also thought that the manuscript entitled *Historia del origen y genealogía real* (P), edited by González de la Rosa (actually, this was L, the copy of P), was the work that

<sup>41</sup> "Existe otra copia, de fecha posterior, que se conserva en la colección Muñoz de la Academia de la Historia, vols. 13 o 23 [sic], que puede ser más completa, pero que no es original. Siento no haber tenido ocasión de compararlas, después de obtenida la copia [of L], en los últimos meses de mi residencia en París" (González de la Rosa 1911, p. v). Vargas Ugarte (1952, 274) repeats Espada's error as transmitted by González de la Rosa: "González de la Rosa dice en el Prólogo de su edición que en la Academia de la Historia de Madrid y en la Colección Muñoz existía otra copia."

<sup>42</sup> Referring to the "original" Murúa manuscript, Urteaga affirms (1922, pp. vvi): "Fue revelada su existencia, por el infatigable americanista don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada... apuntaba que 'el año de 1616 se escribió o concluyó de escribir *La historia general del Perú, Origen y descendencia de los Incas, pueblos, ciudades, etc.*, por el P. Fr. Martín de Morúa, arcediano, comendador y cura de Huata'. De estos brevísimos datos... Dr. Manuel González de la Rosa... supo... que la obra original e inédita se guardaba en la biblioteca de los Jesuitas de la Casa Mayor de la Compañía en Loyola, existiendo

Muñoz had supposedly copied, to the effect that there was one work existing in one original manuscript (P/S), from which a copy was made in the eighteenth century by Muñoz. Similarly, in 1946, Porras Barrenechea (p. xvii), citing Vargas Ugarte (1939, 229), who was following Espada's 1892 statement, asserted that "the original manuscript of the Jesuits [P] first belonged to the Archive of the College of the Company in Alcalá de Henares, where Muñoz copied it, and later it was given by padre Arcos to the Jesuits of the College at Poyanne, where Jiménez de la Espada saw it."<sup>43</sup> Once again, and in addition to new erroneous assertions, such as Muñoz copying S at Alcalá, by inference from Espada, in 1739 (which was some years before Muñoz's birth), there was one Murúa manuscript (P/S), with a Muñoz copy.

None of these early editors of P-through-L had seen either P or S, so it is not surprising that they relied on Espada's authority and did not query whether the variation in the titles reported for the work could represent anything other than a slightly different copy of the same work, but a copy nonetheless. The lack of significance that these early editors attributed to the manuscript's variant titles is underscored by the way they entitled their own editions:

González de la Rosa 1911: *Origen e historia de los Incas, obra escrita en el Cuzco (1575-90) por Fray Martín de Morúa.*

Urteaga 1922-25: *Historia de los Incas, Reyes del Perú por el R.P. Fr. Martín de Morúa.*

Loaysa 1946: *Los orígenes de los Inkas, Crónica sobre el Antiguo Perú escrita en el año de 1590 por el Padre mercedario Fray Martín de Morúa.*

Bayle (in Murúa 1946a) was the first to carry forward the actual title of the work he was editing: *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes Inças [sic] del Perú, de sus hechos, costumbres, trages y maneras de gobierno.* Yet in 1946 Bayle (35-36), too, assumed that P, the "original" of L, had been fully copied by Muñoz in Salamanca, and that given the peripatetic life that documents sometimes have, it had ended up in the archive of the Jesuit house at Loyola. Bayle was correct as to the name of the city (Salamanca) where Muñoz had encountered a Murúa manuscript

una copia en la famosa colección de Muñoz, perteneciente hoy a la Academia de la Historia de Madrid" (Urteaga 1922, pp. v-vi).

<sup>43</sup> "[Vargas Ugarte] dice que el manuscrito original de los jesuitas perteneció primero al Archivo del Colegio de la Compañía de Alcalá de Henares, donde lo copió Muñoz y que luego fue obsequiado por el Padre María Arcos de la Santísima Trinidad a los Jesuitas del Colegio de Poyanne, donde lo vio Jiménez de la Espada. El Padre Vargas dice Murúa y no Morúa" (Porras Barrenechea 1946, xvii).

(Porras, citing Alcalá de Henares, was not), but Bayle was still in the dark insofar as he considered P and S to be one and the same manuscript. Once more, there was one Murúa manuscript, with a Muñoz copy.

To date, there is no conclusive identification of the donation statement found on the title page of the P manuscript: "It was given to the archive by padre M. Arcos de la Santísima Trinidad at the request of padre Colonia."<sup>44</sup> The statement about father Arcos on the title page of L, taken to be a copy of P/S, has been interpreted in a variety of ways. In 1911 González de la Rosa (p. x) cited the donation statement and suggested that it might register the manuscript's donation to the first conventual archive that received it, perhaps in Cuzco, perhaps in Spain. In 1935, Vargas Ugarte (355), who saw the L manuscript personally at Loyola, stated that the P manuscript had been donated by padre Arcos to the Loyola archive. In 1946, Bayle (36, note 13) also cited the donation statement on the title page of the P manuscript, as he knew it from the Loyola copy. Like Vargas Ugarte, he interpreted the statement as the expression of its conveyance to the Jesuit house in Loyola, Guipúzcoa.

Additionally, Raúl Porras Barrenechea, whose second-hand information (from Espada 1892) led him to assert that Muñoz had copied the Murúa manuscript and that he had done so in Alcalá de Henares, identified this statement as pertaining to the manuscript's donation to the Jesuit house in Poyanne, France. It could also refer to the Jesuit College in Alcalá de Henares, if Espada was right about P being housed there in 1739, prior to the 1767 expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its dominions. However, as we have seen, Espada's 1892 report is faulty in more than one respect, and his information about an Alcalá provenance of P is corroborated by no source that is independent of that same report. At the time of this writing, the earliest documented location of "Murúa 1590" is Poyanne, and the parties and time of occurrence referred to in the donation statement have not yet been identified.

### 1.7. *González de la Rosa (1911): editio princeps of P*

As mentioned above, we owe the first, though incomplete, edition of Murúa's P manuscript to Manuel González de la Rosa (1841-1911). This Peruvian bibliophile

<sup>44</sup> "Dióle al Archivo el P. M. Arcos de la Sma. Trinidad a petición del P. Colonia" (P title page). Bayle (1946, 36, note 13) transcribed "Cotonia," and Ballesteros (Murúa 1962, vol. 1, p. xxx) "Cotonía." Ossio (2004, 12) cites Ballesteros' transcription and, in his own right, transcribes it differently on two occasions, omitting both times any reference to the person who requested the donation (neither the correct Colonia, nor "Cotonia" or "Cotonía"): "Dióle al Archivo el Dr. M. Arcos de la Sma. Trinidad. Litera L" and "Dióle al Archivo el P. M. Arcos de la Sma. Trinidad. Litera B" (Ossio 2004, 23; *idem*, in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 73).

and scholar spent several years in Europe, gathering manuscript sources on ancient Peru, and his aim was to publish a series of unedited works on Inca history, in a collection called "Historiadores del Perú." Apart from the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo's history of the foundation of Lima, González de la Rosa succeeded only in publishing a portion of P.<sup>45</sup>

Following up on Espada's references to Murúa's work, and knowing that he had examined the manuscript at the Jesuit house in Poyanne, González de la Rosa (1911, pp. x-xi) made an inquiry to "padre Uriarte, to whom I had written without knowing him, at the suggestion of a learned Spanish friend." This was the Jesuit historian and bibliographer, José Eugenio de Uriarte (1842-1909), who had been professor of patristics, Hebrew, and Holy Scriptures at the Jesuit college at Poyanne from 1875 to 1879 (O'Neill and Domínguez 2001, vol. 4, p. 3861). González de la Rosa further mentions that Uriarte was near death at the time that he wrote to him, and so the ailing Jesuit forwarded his request to a French colleague, the learned Ernest M. Rivière, S.J., in Toulouse.<sup>46</sup> Padre Rivière requested a copy of the manuscript from the archivist at the Loyola house in Guipúzcoa on González de la Rosa's behalf. It was copied and sent by post to Paris, where González de la Rosa was residing at that time.

González de la Rosa's mention of Uriarte's ill health helps us date the time of his request and its fulfillment. It is important because Bayle (1946, 36) thought

<sup>45</sup> González de la Rosa's projected collection was to have included not only his 1882 edition of Bernabé Cobo's 1639 *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, but also editions of the works of Pedro de Cieza de León, Juan de Betanzos, Cristóbal de Molina, Juan Polo de Ondegardo, Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Giovanni Anello Oliva, and Fernando de Montesinos, as well as the Huarochirí manuscript, the *parecer de Yucay*, and fray Vicente de Valverde's "Relación a Carlos V" (González de la Rosa, ed. 1882, x-xv). His plan to publish Cieza's *Segunda parte* in London was aborted when he returned to Peru, and economic difficulties forced him to sell his important Columbus manuscript collection to the French collector and bibliophile, Henry Vignaud (1830-1922) (Porrás Barrenechea 1963, 211).

Murúa's name did not appear in González de la Rosa's 1882 announcement of his publication plans because it would be another decade before Jiménez de la Espada announced in print (in 1892) his 1879 examination of the Murúa manuscript at Poyanne. See Riviale 1996 for a study of González de la Rosa's career and works.

<sup>46</sup> Uriarte and Rivière were important Jesuit historians and bibliographers. Uriarte had aspired to cover all of Jesuit bibliography when the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* by De Backer and Sommervogel appeared (1890-1932), and he thus decided to limit his efforts to the Jesuit writers of Spain; his work received the highest praise from Sommervogel himself (O'Neill and Domínguez 2001, vol. 4, p. 3861). In his own right, Rivière wrote a volume of corrections to the DeBacker-Sommervogel *Bibliothèque*, entitled *Corrections et additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Supplément au "DeBacker-Sommervogel"* (Toulouse, 1911-1930).



that González de la Rosa obtained his copy “a mediados del siglo XIX,” which is far from the fact; if it had been that early, it would have been a copy made directly from Murúa’s 1590 manuscript (P). The date was instead 1909, for that was the year of Uriarte’s death. Upon González de la Rosa’s receipt of the copy of the Loyola manuscript (this was L, but he thought it was P), and “even before reading it,” he had two further copies made and dispatched, respectively, to Sir Clements Markham for use in his book on the Incas as well as to “another friend in Lima” (González de la Rosa 1911, pp. x-xi). In his *The Incas of Peru*, Markham (1910, 10) confirms the date of receipt by stating that González de la Rosa obtained his copy from the Loyola archive in 1909.<sup>47</sup>

González de la Rosa then prepared his edition. Announced as inaugurating a series of works on Peru (“Materiales para la historia del Perú primitivo, que comienza a publicar y anotar Manuel González de la Rosa, miembro de número del Instituto Histórico del Perú, de la Sociedad de Americanistas de París, hoy su corresponsal, etc.”), the volume was described on its title page as being of a very short press run (“muy corta tirada”). The rarity of the edition has yielded various accounts of its length. Urteaga (1922, vol. 1, p. vi) gave the impression that it was quite incomplete; he reported that the printers lost some two hundred pages of the materials that González de la Rosa had submitted to the press and that after his death his heirs received from the publisher only the fragmented manuscript copy, which later passed into Urteaga’s hands. Vargas Ugarte (1935, 355; idem, 1952, 274) later explicitly described the edition as reaching to book 3, chapter 21. The copy that we have been able to examine covers two-thirds of the work, running to book 3, chapter 43. Since, however, the copy is truncated in the middle of the chapter, it is impossible to know the full extent of this mutilated copy, which lacks the thirty final chapters of book 3, the prologue and sixteen chapters of book 4, the *Ficción*, and the *Tabla*.<sup>48</sup>

This very first, apparently incomplete edition makes note of three drawings: the execution of Tupac Amaru (P, f51r), the depiction of the Inca and his queen with two young children (f57v), and the scene of the Inca Pachacuti distributing honors (f59v), which González de la Rosa describes, due to its poor description,

<sup>47</sup> Although Pease (1995, 245) suggests that the Markham copy was apparently prepared simultaneously with the one made for González de la Rosa, the latter states (and Urteaga [1922, p. vi] corroborates), that he had one made for Markham, “when he was going to publish his final work on the Incas.”

<sup>48</sup> We examined the printed copy held in the Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Special Collections Library of Duke University. We wish to express our gratitude to César Rodríguez, Curator of the Latin American Collection of Sterling Memorial Library at Yale, Irene Munster, Latin American and Iberian Bibliographer at Duke’s Perkins Library, and especially Elizabeth Dunn, Research Services Librarian in the Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Special Collections Library at Duke, for facilitating our access to this rare edition.

as a picture of the Inca as a child ("figura infantil del Inca"). We know that the copy sent to him from Loyola made verbal reference to these drawings, because he notes that, although present in the original, these depictions are missing in the copy he received (González de la Rosa in Murúa 1911, 70, 90, 96). The copy was prepared with some care because González de la Rosa was able to transmit some of the marginalia, consisting of a few notes found at the side and bottoms of various pages (f31r, f51v, and f66v, respectively).

Since González de la Rosa requested and received his copy by mail and had not seen the manuscript from which his copy was taken, he believed that in Loyola he had located the original Murúa manuscript (P): "This manuscript, which I believe to be original, is the same one that was in the Jesuits' convent in Poyanne and that later passed to the house at Loyola."<sup>49</sup> In the 1920s the manuscript from which González de la Rosa's edition was made was still understood to be the original. Urteaga (1922, pp. v-vi) heralded González de la Rosa's discovery as being that of "the original and unpublished work that was preserved in the library of the Jesuits of the Casa Mayor de la Compañía in Loyola."<sup>50</sup> Similarly, in 1946, as mentioned above, Bayle (1946, 36) assumed that González de la Rosa had his copy made in the middle of the nineteenth century, i.e. prior to the making of its 1890 copy, and that it was thus a copy of the "original."

There had been one important (but unheeded) exception to this misunderstanding: Vargas Ugarte (1935, 355), who had examined L in Loyola, understood it to be a copy of the original made at Loyola in 1890: "No hemos logrado ver el origl. que, sin duda, existió en el Archivo."

Ironically, some of the fruits of González de la Rosa's unpublished labors were made available in English even before the first (and only) installment of his own Spanish edition was published. Clements Markham made much use of the copy of the copy of the Loyola manuscript, sent to him by González de la Rosa, in his

<sup>49</sup> "Este manuscrito, que creo original, es el mismo que estaba en el convento de los jesuitas en Poyane [sic] y que pasó después a la casa de Loyola" (González de la Rosa 1911, p. x). This means that he understood L to be P. Another indication that González de la Rosa thought that the copy from which he was working had been made from the original manuscript is found in his edition's annotations. About the poor copy of a drawing of an Inca (Tupac Amaru, although he identified the figure as Titu Atauchi because of the surrounding text), González de la Rosa (in Murúa 1911, 103 [bk. 2, ch. 15]) remarked: "Estos versos y esta leyenda aparecen al pie de un grabado figurando al inca cautivo, y que no reproducimos aquí por ser una mala copia de que se conserva en el manuscrito original." (Urteaga and Romero [Murúa 1922, vol. I, p. 103]) repeat this note in their own edition.)

<sup>50</sup> Urteaga (1922, v-vi): "Tras no pocos esfuerzos, supo éste [González de la Rosa] al fin, que la obra original e inédita se guardaba en la biblioteca de los Jesuitas de la Casa Mayor de la Compañía de Jesús."

1910 *The Incas of Peru*.<sup>51</sup> In fact, Markham published as an appendix to that work a loose English translation of the romantic tale (*Ficción*) about the shepherd and the princess with which Murúa ends the P manuscript.<sup>52</sup> Markham was a prolific translator of Spanish chronicles, and it was his stated intention to do a full translation of Murúa's chronicle (Markham 1910, xi). This was a project that he envisioned in his octogenarian years but did not complete.<sup>53</sup>

### 1.8. Urteaga (1922-25): *In the Footsteps of González de la Rosa*

Horacio H. Urteaga published in two installments, in 1922 and 1925, a fuller edition of the L manuscript in his series, "Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú," which was the type of project earlier envisioned but not realized by González de la Rosa.<sup>54</sup> Urteaga's edition was based partly on the remains of González de la Rosa's manuscript copy and his preliminary editorial work based on it, provided to Urteaga by Julio Sañudo after González de la Rosa's death. Importantly, Urteaga obtained a fresh copy of parts of L, which was prepared for him through the offices of padre Ignacio del Olmo, Superior of the Jesuit College in Lima (Urteaga 1922, pp. vi-vii). Urteaga (1922, p. vii) writes that padre del Olmo interested his colleagues in Loyola in the project so that they could complete for him, that is, for Urteaga, the fragmented book that he had collected from González de la Rosa's heirs.<sup>55</sup> Thanks to the dispatch of these new copies of missing sections, which supplemented the fragmented

<sup>51</sup> Urteaga (1922, p. vi) mentions that Markham used Murúa's work to great advantage, "as is proven by the references that he makes in his book [*The Incas of Peru*] to the Mercedarian chronicler." Means (1928, 412) also recalls that Murúa's manuscript work was "frequently used by him [Markham] while writing *The Incas of Peru*" and that afterward Markham sent his copy of the manuscript to Urteaga, although the latter does not mention it in his 1922-25 edition.

<sup>52</sup> Markham (1910, 408-414) translates the tale's title as "Fiction or story of a famous shepherd named Acoya-napa, and the beautiful and discreet princess, Chuqui-Llantu, daughter of the sun." He announces it as having been "told to Fray Martín de Morua, who was a Quichua scholar, in about 1585, by old Amautas well versed in Inca folklore."

<sup>53</sup> Markham (1910, vi-vii) attributed the awakening of his passionate interest in the study of ancient Peruvian civilization to the American historian of the Spanish conquest of Peru, William Hickling Prescott, and for the pursuit of his own work he credited four Peruvian colleagues, including the author Ricardo Palma, as those with whom he had correspondence and from whom he received pertinent materials: "My most valued correspondents have been don E. Larrabure y Unanue, don Manuel González de la Rosa, don José Toribio Polo, and don Ricardo Palma."

<sup>54</sup> Carlos A. Romero provided a brief biography of Murúa in the 1922 volume.

<sup>55</sup> Urteaga (1922, vi-vii) recounts the sequence of events that brought Murúa to him: "Para colmo de males, el desglosamiento de un doble centenar de páginas, que habían sido entregadas a la imprenta, se perdieron en los talleres tipográficos, y la familia del señor Gonzáles la Rosa [sic] sólo recuperó

González de la Rosa copy, he was able to publish his own edition. (The identity of the "friend in Lima" to whom González de la Rosa in 1909 had dispatched a copy of the manuscript is undetermined; it is evident that it was not Urteaga, given the latter's account of the materials he acquired.)

As noted above, Urteaga thought that González de la Rosa had received a copy of the original manuscript, and that he, too, had received, thanks to padre del Olmo, a copy made from the original. Lacking in the Urteaga edition are the final twenty chapters, 54 through 73, of part 3, which are devoted to Inca political, religious, and social organization, ritual customs, and calendrics. Although Urteaga does not list those chapters in the table of contents (Murúa 1922, 245-253), his (1922, p. vii) mention, in the prologue to his edition, of the contents of these absent chapters suggests that he had had them, or perhaps just a copy of the complete table of contents, available. His reference to "certain dubious folkloric legends" suggests that he saw more than the title page and at least the Tabla's reference to the "Ficción y suceso," which might have inspired his comment about "leyendas folklóricas."<sup>56</sup> If he had the actual chapters, he was unable, for whatever reasons, to publish them, either in the 1922 volume, covering parts 1-3, or in its 1925 sequel, which consisted of Murúa's complete part 4.

In 1946 Francisco de Loaysa published an edition based on Urteaga's, correcting many of its Quechua terms.<sup>57</sup> Since he included chapter 54, the first of the twenty chapters of part 3 missing in Urteaga's edition, Loaysa must have had access to the chapters possessed but not published by Urteaga some two decades earlier.

el manuscrito fragmentado. Así llegó a mis manos, gracias a la amabilidad de uno de los deudos del ilustre bibliófilo peruano, señor Julio Sañudo... Yo debo aquí un tributo de agradecimiento al Rv. Padre I. del Olmo, superior del Colegio de los Jesuitas de Lima, y muy distinguido amigo mío, por el empeño que ha puesto en procurarme una nueva copia del manuscrito de Morúa, interesándose con sus hermanos de instituto en Loyola, para que me completen el fragmentado libro que recogiera de los parientes del Sr. Gonzáles de la Rosa. Gracias al envío de estas nuevas copias, es que he podido emprender la publicación, que hoy inicio, en este tomo IV de mi *Colección de fuentes históricas peruanas*."

<sup>56</sup> Describing the contents of Murúa's work, Urteaga (1922, p. vii) noted that it contained the history of the reign of each Inca king, along with their queens, as well as the accounts of the principal deeds of the Incas' captains. He adds: "Comprende además un estudio sobre la organización social y política del Perú incaico, descripción de fiestas, y relación de los ritos y fábulas de los indios; hasta inserta leyendas folklóricas, y termina con las noticias, acerca de la fundación de las ciudades, en los primeros años del siglo XVII."

<sup>57</sup> Loaysa (1946b, v) states: "los [dos tomos editados por Urteaga]... nos han servido para el presente libro, con la diferencia de dar los dos tomos íntegros en uno sólo; y corrigiendo además algunos de los muchos vocablos *kechwas*."

*1.9. Constantino Bayle (1946): Crucial but Ambiguous Insights*

A major event in the study of Murúa's work was the 1946 publication, by Constantino Bayle, S.J., of the whole of L, based on a fresh copy that he had ordered to be made for his use.<sup>58</sup> The importance of Bayle's work consisted not only of his preparation of a full and complete version of L, but also his speculative assessment regarding the Murúa textual tradition.

Bayle (1946, 36-37) understood that L was a copy, but he found it to be so full of contradictions, being both finished and unfinished, that he denied, in an implicit polemic against González de la Rosa and other early editors, that L's then-lost model P could have been Murúa's "original" manuscript made ready for printing in 1590.<sup>59</sup> He could not imagine that Murúa would send to press a bulky book so scandalously unfinished ("un mamotreto escandalosamente descuidado"); the L copy showed that P had contained spaces which seemed earmarked for chapters that apparently had never been written. Bayle (1946, 40, 42) suggested two models, or visions, of the textual tradition that had resulted in L. On one hand, he hypothesized the existence of an earlier manuscript (we call it X) as the source of P and that he dubbed "the true original" ("el auténtico original"). He thus called the P manuscript "a copy, and a bad one": "I do not believe the manuscript lost from Loyola to have been the original, but rather a copy, and a bad one" ("el manuscrito extraviado de Loyola no lo creo el original, sino copia, y mala").

On the other hand, and as an alternative to the first possibility, Bayle suggested another model which implied that P had undergone change before the L copy was made. This was probably prompted by a particular observation he had made concerning the text on f143r which he identified as being out of place, being in reality an appendix to f95r.<sup>60</sup> As we shall see below, the 2004 facsimile contains

<sup>58</sup> Ossio (2004, 13, note 2) assumed that Bayle used the copy made for González de la Rosa. As we have seen, the fate of González de la Rosa's efforts would have made such a reuse by Bayle impossible. In any case, Bayle (1946, 38) expressly states that he had a copy made for his use: "Me procuré copia de la copia que queda en Loyola."

<sup>59</sup> Bayle (1946, 38) remarked on the manuscript's shortcomings: it was clogged with obstacles that made its reading a torment or a riddle, and it required a great deal of attention to supplement what was missing, to right its wrongs, and to put in their place the marks of punctuation, the guides to sense: "Y lo que nos pone el original o copia de Loyola es positivamente ruin: quiero decir, cuajado de tropezones, que convierten la lectura con frecuencia en tormento o acertijo. Necesita buen porqué de atención en suplir lo que falta, en enderezar lo tuerto, en llevar a su sitio los puntos y comas, guías del sentido."

<sup>60</sup> "[E]l apéndice sobre las Vírgenes escogidas que servían al sol y al templo (no es sino repetición ampliada del capítulo 43 del libro III), evidentemente fuera de lugar, a no tomarlo como entrada

evidence, which had not been available in copies or editions of L, to the effect that f95r contained a reference to the text now found on f143r.

This and probably other similar insights led Bayle to suggest, in a hypothetical fashion, the following alternative model: Instead of P being a “bad copy” of a hypothetical earlier manuscript X, P had been constructed in such a way that whole chapters could easily have dropped out of the codex: “The only explanation that would redeem author and scribes,” he argued, “is to imagine that each chapter filled a separate folio or double folio (“cuadernillo”) and that the wind, or negligence, had carried away those chapters that are now missing.”<sup>61</sup>

We will see below that this is what happened, although due neither to editorial carelessness nor the acts of God and nature. As we can now observe directly in the P facsimile, the inconsistencies denounced by Bayle in Murúa’s 1590 version of his *Historia* are due to three circumstances, which Bayle could intuit but not prove: First, P was originally composed in such a way that the text of each of its 132 chapters was contained on one single folio; second, at some stage in its early existence, P was fragmented, and while some folios were lost or displaced, others remained at hand and were subsequently reinserted into the codex; and third, L was a “fair copy” of P and did not reproduce the changes of hand, layout, or physical structure of P, thus obscuring the evidence of P’s complicated early history.

#### 1.10. Ballesteros (1951-53): Discovery of S and Reliance on Bayle

The next event in Murúa studies was the rediscovery in 1951, by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, of the S manuscript, the *Historia general del Perú. Origen y descendencia ...* which, as mentioned above, had appeared in Nicolás Antonio’s bibliographic repertory for the first time in 1672 and was cited in 1892 by Jiménez de la Espada as having been examined (this was so) and copied in full (this was not the case) in the early 1780s by Juan Bautista Muñoz at Salamanca’s Colegio Mayor de Cuenca. Twenty years later, S again fell out of sight. From 1802 or 1803, S was removed with the rest of the library of the Colegio to the private library of the

al idilio entre el pastor Acoytrapa y la discreta Chuquillanto, remate de la obra” (Bayle 1946, 27). Martti Pärssinen (1989, 49) has identified Murúa’s source for this long addition as Jerónimo Román y Zamora’s 1575 *Repúblicas del mundo. De la República de las Indias Occidentales*. (1875, vol. 1, pp. 115-118), as noted by Ossio (2004, 246, note 236). Murúa quotes bk. 1, ch. 8, from the second edition, 1595. See below, section 3.5.3, for other Román quotations in P.

<sup>61</sup> “La explicación única razonable y excusativa de autor y amanuenses pudiera estar en que los capítulos llenaran sendos cuadernillos, y que el viento, o la incuria extraviaran los que se echan menos” (Bayle 1946, 37).

king in Madrid, and from 1813 it became part of the private collection of the dukes of Wellington (see above, section 1.3).

The manuscript was still in the ducal collection when it was located in 1951 by Ballesteros' assistant, Miguel Enguidanos Requena. Ballesteros Gaibrois published S in 1962-64, and in 1979 the Salamanca/Wellington manuscript was sold at Sotheby's to the antiquarian book dealer H. P. Kraus in New York. Subsequently purchased from Kraus by Peter and Irene Ludwig of Aachen, Germany, the S manuscript became part of their private manuscript collection. In 1983, when the Ludwig Collection was sold, S was among the illuminated or illustrated manuscripts purchased by The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Since that time the S manuscript has been accessible to scholars.<sup>62</sup>

Ballesteros announced his discovery of S in 1951 at the First International Congress of Peruvianists, held in Lima in August of that year.<sup>63</sup> He was then convinced that he had found Bayle's "authentic original" (the hypothetical manuscript we call X) (Ballesteros 1953, 255). Echoing Bayle once more, in 1952 at the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists, Ballesteros again referred to S as "el verdadero original" and "el original definitivo" (Ballesteros n.d. [1954], 239, 240). As for the problems arising when one compared P and S (supposedly identical with X, P's original), Ballesteros, in contrast to Bayle before him, was confronted with the hard fact of the extant S manuscript. How could the orderly, much longer and very differently organized S/X have become the disorderly P (still known only through L)? Ballesteros postulated that heavy editing, not only abbreviation, but also interpolation, had occurred from S to P. Like Bayle (but without mentioning him on this point), Ballesteros proposed that P was a poor ("torpe") copy of S, that it was not really a copy as much as an abridgment, and that it had been not the work of a copyist but rather of an "abreviador" who cut out everything that seemed to him superfluous. In Ballesteros' view, P was, in short, an abridgment that had suffered interpolations ("Lo conozco [P] es sin duda un 'abregé' interpolado" [of S]) (Ballesteros 1953, 259).

In short, Ballesteros did not grasp that Bayle had expressed himself in speculations and hypotheses, and he took Bayle's "mala copia" model literally, all too willingly assigning to the manuscript he had discovered the most prestigious role in the textual tradition. He also maintained this S → P relationship in subsequent publications, latest in a paper written as part of his 1953-54 exchange with José

<sup>62</sup> Various parts of this eighteenth- to twentieth-century history about S are found by Beaujouan (1962), Ballesteros (1962, vol. I, pp. xxiv-xxvi), Hobson (1976), Von Ew (1982, 309), Adorno (2004, 38-39), and Ossio (2004, 10).

<sup>63</sup> Although in his later papers about Murúa Ballesteros (1962, xvii; idem, 1981, 15; idem, 1987, 27) stated that his 1951 presentation remained unpublished, it had appeared in print in 1953, in *Letras*, the journal of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima; see Ballesteros 1953.

Imbelloni. This scholar found inadequate Ballesteros's assertion that the hand at work in P (as known through L) was that of "an arranger, more than a copyist" ("más que un copista, un 'arreglador'"), who was knowledgeable about ancient Andean civilization and made interpolations into the manuscript (Ballesteros 1953-54, 108, 114).

Ballesteros never considered seriously Bayle's alternative model of P, that is, that an intact P had undergone changes, "its folios carried away by the wind or by negligence," before L was produced. Imbelloni's unsettling questions, however, would eventually lead Ballesteros to reconsider his early model and propose a new one for the relationship between S and P.

### *1.11. José Imbelloni Challenges Ballesteros (1953-54)*

In José Imbelloni's (1946, 41-48) examination of accounts gathered in the early colonial era regarding a central figure in the Inca historiographic tradition, the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Yupanqui, Imbelloni had used the Urteaga edition of Murúa (based on L), and he pointed out the divergent if not contradictory meanings that Murúa had assigned to the epithet "pachacuti." On one hand, Murúa had assigned to "pachacuti" the meaning of "he who turns the world upside-down" and, on the other, he had defined it as "he who is exiled and disinherited from that which is his."<sup>64</sup> The appearance of the S manuscript in 1951 intensified these divergences by adding others, for S and P presented different versions of the biography of Pachacuti Yupanqui, and attributed the same deeds, that is, the conquest of the Cuzco region, to Pachacuti Inca, as the son of Viracocha Inca, on one hand, and, on the other, to the captain Pachacuti, son of Manco Inca. Imbelloni invited Ballesteros to explain how the Pachacuti material in S and P would fit with his model of the transmission (inspired by Bayle), in which S was the source of P.

At greater length, now, Ballesteros explained these conflictive versions as the result of an interpolator and of the divergence between the imperial and provincial outlooks of the respective informants. In his reply to this explanation, Imbelloni (1953-54, 118-122) granted that, because their disciplinary perspectives were different, he and Ballesteros sought different things of Murúa's work: As an historian, Ballesteros' interest was documentary, seeking positive data that historians could use in the critical reconstruction of classical Cuzco. As

<sup>64</sup> Imbelloni (1946, 84) stated: "Murúa, por fin, en tamaña incertidumbre y variabilidad de explicaciones, se decide por consignar dos significados distintos del epíteto *Pachakuti*, casi como si dijera: a ti, lector, la tarea de elegir cual más te gusta y conviene. El primero es '*volver la tierra*', ya conocido por nosotros en sus muchas variantes, y el segundo '*quitado y desheredado de lo suyo*', que tiene, en cambio, el privilegio de la originalidad (Libro II, cap. 1, pág. 60)."



an anthropologist, Imbelloni's quest was to make sense of the evidence of the knowledge of the learned men and priests of ancient Peru insofar as it could provide insight into the psychic and spiritual life of Inca civilization. Imbelloni furthermore allowed that the passages in question would have to have been written by someone who knew well Peruvian history and culture, but he found implausible the explanation of an "arreglador." By what criteria and with what goals, he asked, would such an anonymous, well-informed party introduce these contradictory variants?<sup>65</sup>

Imbelloni proposed a simpler solution, one found in other cases such as that of Fernando de Montesinos' works, which he cited. Imbelloni suggested that the pertinent criterion was not likely to be a different editorial hand but rather sequential interpretations over time, that is, that the explanation of the chronicle's conflicting accounts lay not in the intervention of other parties but in the passage of time that produced "successive influences and the progressive development and fullness of information."<sup>66</sup> To Imbelloni, P and S were simply two different editions, by the same author, of his work, reflecting changes over time in his ambitions, knowledge, and compositional skills.

#### 1.12. Ballesteros (1962-87): *In the Footsteps of Imbelloni*

Ballesteros considered seriously Imbelloni's objections to his hypothesis of an S → P relationship, and he later formulated his response in his 1962-64 edition of S. By that time, Ballesteros had changed his view of S as being the source of P. Although he did not mention Imbelloni, he was surely under the influence of his 1953-54 exchange with him.<sup>67</sup> Ballesteros now considered P and S to be

<sup>65</sup> "Se pregunta el profesor madrileño [Ballesteros] a qué *pro* y con qué esperanza introdujo ese informado anónimo tales variantes en el texto, y en verdad eso queda para nosotros inexplicable" (Imbelloni 1953, 120).

<sup>66</sup> Imbelloni (1953, 120): "[P]or mi cuenta pienso que la más sencilla explicación sería imaginar que hubieron de la misma crónica dos textos sucesivos que revelan sucesivas influencias y progresiva plenitud de información, tal como sucede con otro famoso libro de crónicas peruanas, el de Fernando de Montesinos, cuyos dos manuscritos... representan dos estados sucesivos de elaboración." In this view, Imbelloni anticipated John Rowe's arguments about the relationship of S and P as two related but distinct versions of Inca history (see below, section 1.13). The phenomenon of successive passes over a manuscript, revealing changing perspectives over time, is evident in Guaman Poma's autograph manuscript. See, for example, Adorno 1980; idem, 2002.

<sup>67</sup> On that earlier occasion Ballesteros (1953-54, 98, note 6) had acknowledged Imbelloni's work as the inspiring source for his interest in Americanist studies: "Mi iniciación en la Americanística tuvo como mentor un libro, libro decisivo en mi formación y aficiones: *La Esfinge Indiana*, de J. Imbelloni. Con esta declaración queda patente mi antigua devoción por la obra y pensamiento de Imbelloni."

much less closely related than he had previously thought. He suggested that P (known only through L) was nothing but “a transcript of drafts and notes,”<sup>68</sup> thus saving the status of S as the “true” and “definitive” original. Likewise, in 1987 Ballesteros suggested that P might be a “copy of drafts” or “in its own right an uncleaned-up version (“un sucio”) that preceded the original.”<sup>69</sup> He briefly elaborated his view that S, the “original,” did not coincide with what was known from the copy (L) of “the Loyola manuscript” (P): instead of P’s four awkwardly assembled parts or books, in which some chapters had been reworked and others removed or reduced, S was conceived according to a logical and solid plan, comprised of three books and expanded from 132 to 163 chapters.<sup>70</sup> Ballesteros thus explained the unfinished, chaotic character of P and the “firm and logical structure” of S no longer as a process of decay from S to P but rather as an evolution from P to S.

Ballesteros was well served by heeding Imbelloni’s arguments and vigorously separating P and S, but he could not refrain from extolling his own discovery, the S manuscript, at the expense of the untidy (“sucio”) and poorly done (“torpe”) P manuscript. In this attempt to exclude P from the need for serious scholarly attention, Ballesteros must have been unaware that nearly ten years earlier John Howland Rowe (1918-2004) had discovered four folios of P within S, and argued that P had once been a complete and coherent edition of Murúa’s Inca chronicle.<sup>71</sup>

### 1.13. John Rowe (1979): Discovery of Folios Belonging to P

While S was in the possession of H. P. Kraus in New York (see above, section 1.10), five of its folios were subjected to closer examination. These five folios contained full-page, water-colored drawings on one side, while the other side,

<sup>68</sup> “No parece el mismo caso el de la copia de Loyola [P] y por eso he sugerido la posibilidad de que fuera trasunto de borradores o memoriales previos” (Ballesteros 1962, p. xxxi).

<sup>69</sup> “*Mss. de Loyola*, del Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús en esta población. Quizá sea copia de borradores—pues no coinciden los libros y capítulos de la obra—o en sí mismo un *sucio* anterior al original” (Ballesteros 1987, 15).

<sup>70</sup> “El original [S], aparte de la autenticidad deseada, no coincide con lo ya conocido por la copia [L] del *Mss. Loyola* [P], y en vez de cuatro libros, torpemente adobados [en P], con refundición de capítulos y desglose de otros, tiene tres libros conforme a un esquema sólido y lógico, con un total de 163 capítulos” (Ballesteros 1987, 18-19).

<sup>71</sup> It is true, as stated by Ossio (2004, 20), that Rowe’s original report on the manuscript and on the relation between P and S has remained unpublished, but Anton von Euw had quoted it extensively in the catalogue of the Ludwig Collection (von Euw 1982). Furthermore, but simultaneously with Ballesteros 1987, Rowe published a brief summary of the results of his 1979 investigations (Rowe,

which contained prose text, had been obscured by pasted-on blank folios (Boserup 2004a, 83-84). The folios were carefully separated (degloved), and the contents of the hidden pages were revealed. Kraus supplied Rowe with photographs of these and other sample pages of S and commissioned him to make an assessment of the scholarly value of S. In his unpublished 1979 report, Rowe demonstrated that one of the examined folios came not from an external source but had in fact been transposed from within S itself, while the four others originated from another manuscript of Murúa's *Historia*. Rowe correctly surmised that this other manuscript was P, the long-lost "original" of the Loyola manuscript copy (L) published by Bayle.<sup>72</sup> On the basis of having seen for the first time elements of P itself, independently of the testimony of L, Rowe defined P as neither an interpolated derivation of S nor a copy of early drafts of it, but rather an early, completed edition of the *Historia*, from which pages had been cut out and reused in S. Rowe's work revealed, in essence, that both Bayle and Imbelloni had had very important insights: "the wind," in Bayle's metaphor, had carried whole chapters away from P, and the relationship between P and S, as grasped by Imbelloni, was not one of copy-to-original or original-to-abridgement, but simply of two successive and independent versions or editions of a work produced by one and the same author.

Unaware of Rowe's findings, Ballesteros could not know that the "untidy" appearance of P as witnessed by L reflected the excision and loss of numerous folios of P. But now that P itself is known and its facsimile published, we can confirm definitively not only Rowe's overall analysis and assessment of P, but also the tenet of Bayle's conjecture (1946, 37) that P consisted of separate folios or double folios ("cuadernillos"), each one corresponding to a chapter. We know today that they were single folios, and that the loss of any one of them meant the disappearance of the prose text of a whole chapter together with the illustration that served as frontispiece to the next one.

1987). For a detailed presentation of Rowe's findings, see Adorno 2004. Rowe had only access to photographs of selected folios of S. For an amendment, based on autopsy, to Rowe's description of the way P-folios were inserted into S, see Boserup 2004a, 83-84.

<sup>72</sup> *En passant*, Rowe (1979, 2) corrected Ballesteros' confusing use of the term "original" applied to S: "Ballesteros has been insisting since 1951 that Murúa wrote a single work, that [the S manuscript] is the "original," and that [P] is an early copy of it or one based on Murúa's preliminary notes." Ossio (2004, 17) suggests that Ballesteros confused the notion of "original" with that of "final version." More probably, Ballesteros used "original" not in any chronological meaning, but rather in reference to its relationship to its author, in the sense of "autograph," including possible scribes working under the author's supervision. In the time period (1950s-1980s) during which Ballesteros worked with S, it was the only available autograph manuscript of Murúa.

### 1.14. *Juan Ossio (1996-2004): In the Footsteps of Ballesteros*

#### 1.14.1. *Ossio against Rowe*

Turning now to the latest analysis of P, Ossio agrees with Ballesteros, who (1962, vol. 1, p. xxxi) had mentioned the possibility that P might have been a transcript of previous drafts or notes (“la posibilidad de que fuera un trasunto de borradores o memoriales previos”). Ossio expands Ballesteros’ idea. While to Ballesteros the disorder of P could be due to careless or haphazard copying of previous drafts and notes, Ossio (2004, 13) sees in P an aggregation or compilation of such drafts: “algunos borradores que pudieron haber sido plasmados en la copia [read; el manuscrito] de Loyola [P]”). Thus he suggests that P consists of elements of three separate “drafts”: one which we can call “P itself,” that is, the basic manuscript and its main text; another draft (“otro borrador”) from which proceeded the twenty-two pasted-on folios (and two of the folios added to S);<sup>73</sup> a third draft which he identifies as being the source of the two other folios added to S.<sup>74</sup>

Ossio ventures to suggest a palpable identity for one of the two “other drafts,” a manuscript that was presumed more than half a century ago to be in Bogotá.<sup>75</sup> Ballesteros identified this presumed copy with the missing (actually, as we have shown, nonexistent) “copia Muñoz.” Yet what was for Ballesteros a speculative and inconsequential hypothesis, becomes, as appropriated into Ossio’s draft-theory, an historically impossible construction: If the “Bogotá manuscript” is identified as the “copia Muñoz” and as the source of elements of P and/or S, then folios of a late 18th century document become elements of 16th and early 17th century manuscripts.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Ossio (2004, 17; 20) identifies this “other [second] *borrador*” as follows: “Uno de ellos debió proporcionarle el material que fue adherido a 22 de las páginas del manuscrito [P] en que se basa este facsímile.” On pasted-on folios, see below, sections 2.7 and 2.8; on P-folios in S, see below, section 2.11.

<sup>74</sup> Ossio (2004, 17) identifies this “other [third] *borrador*” as follows: “y otro, a por lo menos tres, que se pegaron al que perteneció al Duque de Wellington [S].” One of these “three,” however, has always clearly belonged to S (see below, section 2.11).

<sup>75</sup> Bayle (1946, 36) presented the information that a Mercedarian historian in Quito told him of a copy in Bogotá about which Bayle subsequently had been unable to acquire confirmation: “El historiador mercedario Fray Joel L. Monroy escribe desde Quito que en Bogotá se conserva una copia: Dios lo haga; he preguntado allá y no he recibido contestación, acaso por los trastornos de los correos.” Active in the 1920s-30s, Monroy was a provincial of the Mercedarian order in Ecuador, where he served as the province’s inspector general and published works on the first century of the Order’s history in Ecuador (Vázquez Núñez 1968, 109, 228-229).

Bayle's suggestion and Ballesteros' further speculations about earlier manuscripts or drafts within P have guided Ossio in building his theory about a patchwork assemblage of extrinsic pieces brought together ("plasmados") in the P manuscript. His argument is based on his assertion that Rowe was wrong, and that the four folios that migrated to S do not derive from P.<sup>77</sup> This denial of Rowe's theory is closely related to Ossio's conviction that the twenty-two folios that are pasted into P also belong to a manuscript other than P, and these two theories, one can say, stand or fall together.

#### 1.14.2. *Ossio against Ossio*

In his *Introducción* (2004, 21), Ossio rejects the idea that any of the water-colored drawings inserted into S might have migrated from P to S.

However, in the commentary to his transcription of the text, he follows Rowe's theory. In part I, chapter 21 (f28r) Murúa describes the coat of arms of the Inca kings and refers the reader to a depiction of it among the front matter folios of P: "Las armas ... incas ... las cuales están pintadas al principio de este libro." Ossio remarks that such a drawing is not extant in P but rather in S (S, f13v), and he suggests as a matter of fact that this folio in S has migrated from P, and, furthermore, that this is also what happened in the case of other drawings added to S. He writes: "Este dibujo no figura en este manuscrito [P] pero sí en la *Historia General* [S]. Como ocurre con otros dibujos debió haber sido removido de aquí [P] para ilustrar lo que sería la versión final de la crónica de Murúa [S]" (Ossio in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, p. 96, note 46).

<sup>76</sup> Ballesteros (1962, vol. 1, p. xxxi) wrote: "3. SEGUNDA COPIA. -Que bien pudiera ser primera, que ordenó hacer Muñoz y que se halla catalogada en su Colección, conservada en la Real Academia de la Historia, de donde también falta. El P. Bayle observa que el mercedario Fray Joel L. Monroy escribía desde Quito que en Bogotá había una copia, ¿será ésta?" Ossio (2004, 17) suggests: "De no ser un original este manuscrito [of Bogotá] podría, como lo sugiere Ballesteros (1962, vol. 1, p. xxxi), ser, al igual que el de Loyola, una copia [the "copia Muñoz"] del que fue adquirido por el museo Getty [S]." As we have seen (section 1.2), the "Muñoz copy" never existed, so Ballesteros was identifying a nonexistent entity with one whose existence is hearsay at best. Ossio (2004, 17), in his turn, asserts that the Bogotá manuscript, "as Ballesteros suggests," could be the presumed Muñoz copy of the Getty manuscript (S), "like that of Loyola." Ossio here inadvertently takes Ballesteros' early position that S came before P, and thus he carries forward two of Ballesteros' errors ("Muñoz" = "Bogotá", S P). Hence, in his search for Murúa's "borradores," Ossio falls prey to historical anachronism by making eighteenth-century phantoms (the "Muñoz" and "Bogotá" copies) into early versions ("borradores") of P and S.

<sup>77</sup> Ossio cites Rowe 1987, but not the 1982 von Ew catalog, which agrees with Rowe. Von Ew 1982 is cited by Adorno (2004, 42, 60) and Boserup (2004, p. 78, note 3, pp. 79, 83, 89), whom Ossio cites.

Being analogous to Rowe's model for the migration of folios from P to S, Ossio's explanation here would seem a quite plausible suggestion. However, in the case of the Incas' coat of arms it is actually impossible, because this S-folio carries a watermark (Latin cross on shield above the initials "GM"), which is "the" watermark of S, but not attested in P. Beyond that, folio 13 in S appears to be the other half of an intact double folio, which formally denies its potential migration from P.<sup>78</sup> It is evident that nothing prevented Murúa from having the Inca kings' coat of arms depicted twice: in P (lost), and in S (extant).

Two pages later, Ossio once again follows Rowe rather than his own draft-theory (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 98, note 50). Concerning the portrait of queen Raba Ocllo, missing in P (its assigned location in P is given as f33r), he writes: "El dibujo de esta coya fue trasladado a [S]" (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 98, note 50). In its context, this statement can only be understood as "moved to S *from here*, that is from P." This, we can note, is perfectly true.

Below, we will show that there is no need to equivocate about these migrated folios. The rejection of Rowe's understanding of P is ill-founded. The theory of P as an aggregate of elements taken from a number of drafts falls apart if P is closely analyzed. We devote the following Parts Two and Three of our study to this task.

### *Part Two. The Elements and Structure of P*

We now turn to the physical description and analysis of the P manuscript. Being confronted with the Madrid 2004 facsimile places an overwhelming amount of information before us, and making sense of it requires that we proceed, in general, from its more accessible elements to its more complex dimensions. The effect will be cumulative, with each new layer of information superimposed on the previous one. Thus we attempt to build a picture, slowly revealed, of the "Murúa 1590" manuscript. The challenge is manifold, because after we have all the elements before us (Part Two), we then must account (in Part Three) for the sequential developments of the manuscript's initial construction, fragmentation, and subsequent reconstruction. Before doing so, we begin with a consideration of the opportunities and limits of facsimile cloning.

#### *2.1. What is a "Clone"?*

Being in the hands of a private collector, P is not available for autoptic examination, and the following analysis is based on the 2004 facsimile, the *Codice Murúa*.

<sup>78</sup> We recorded the watermarks and quire structure of S in January 2002, when examining the manuscript at the Getty Museum (see Boserup and Adorno 2003c, and Boserup 2004a). Associate

It is presented as a “clone” of the original manuscript,<sup>79</sup> and the photography is of very high quality, but one very much misses a thorough description of the original manuscript as an artifact (codex). In the section of the *Introducción* dedicated to “El códice”, Ossio (2004, 22-25, note 5) states that apart from three brief encounters with the original, he has only had access to filmed, photographic, and scanned reproductions of it. These are far from satisfactory working conditions for the editor of a “clone.” Ossio further refers to future physical and chemical investigations (of ink, paper, dyes, watermarks, etc.) to be done with the support of the technicians of The J. Paul Getty Museum, and he acknowledges the possibility that there may be certain omissions in his description of the manuscript.<sup>80</sup> Nowhere is it stated whether the technicians of *Testimonio Compañía Editorial* in Madrid have had direct contact with the original manuscript, or whether they had to construct the “clone” exclusively from photographic reproductions. The latter arrangement is the more probable.

On a number of points, the rearrangements and various instances of physical damage inflicted on the manuscript over time have been imitated. For example, the uneven edges of every single folio have been individually trimmed, in imitation of the original (or a photograph of the original), and worm holes are not just dots or blots on the photographic reproductions; many of them, but far from all (compare fols. 11 and 12), are rendered by “real” holes in the paper, and it is a matter of trust whether one is convinced that all imitated edges and worm holes correspond exactly to the original, and that no important part of any letter in a partly cut off marginal note has been truncated more than in the original. Likewise, the simulation of ancient paper is remarkable, but the watermarks are photographic renderings, not real watermarks, and they are visible under strong light from above, not by applying light from behind the folio; in the majority of cases, where there is prose text on one side and a drawing on the other, the watermark cannot be discerned at all, in spite of the quality of the photography. When folios in the original are pasted on top of one another, as happens in twenty-two cases, the facsimile faithfully renders them by double-layered folios – except for one remarkable error, fol. 136, which is single-layered in at least some copies of the facsimile.<sup>81</sup> The pasted-on folios have not been detached

Paper Conservator Nancy Turner, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, has in June 2005 kindly confirmed the appearance of the GM type watermark on S, fl.3.

<sup>79</sup> Ossio (2004, 9, 22): “como un clon;” “reproducción exacta.”

<sup>80</sup> Ossio (2004, 22, note 5) remarks: “Hago esta aclaración pues mi contacto directo con el manuscrito hasta el momento ha sido solo por breves momentos en tres oportunidades. En consecuencia no descarto que pueda cometer algunas omisiones.”

<sup>81</sup> The copy of the facsimile owned by the Royal Library, Copenhagen, numbered 53, thus has only 21 pasted-on folios. After having been made aware of the error, *Testimonio Compañía Editorial*

(deglued) prior to the “cloning,” and the pages in the facsimile that have been pasted together will of course turn out to be blank, if they are separated from one another. Similar, but not quite so obvious, is the fact that the quire structure, and hence the sewing and binding, of the “clone” differ throughout from that of the original, as we will see below.

Under such circumstances, the scholar must be on guard. How far can one rely on the facsimile itself to reveal, in spite of all appearances, the failings of the cloning? The error mentioned above, related to fol. 136, can be considered to be harmless, since the anomaly of fol. 136 is readily seen and verified, and since Ossio’s *Introducción* in one place (Ossio 2004, p. 24, note 12) refers to this folio as double-layered. Neither will one be led astray more than momentarily by the list (*ibid.*) of the 22 double-layered folios, where the penultimate, fol. 143, representing the morning toilette of an *aclla* [virgin of the sun], is referred to as “uno que representa a Chuquillanto y Accoytapra.” (There are three such full-page drawings that conclude the *Ficción* appended to the *Historia* proper, f146r-f147v.) These are some of the minor challenges that face the reader. But what to do with fol. 10? Here, something is obviously amiss.

Folio 10 is the only instance in the manuscript with frontispieces on facing pages, thus interrupting the regular rhythm of alternating pages with textual and pictorial content. Two sets of worm holes that go right through the parchment front cover and fols. 1-17 bear witness to the fact that fol. 10 has been reversed (*recto* is *verso* and *vice versa*). The reader’s first reaction is that this error must be imputable to the Testimonio technicians, not unlike that of the single-layered fol. 136, since no explanation is given in the *Introducción* or elsewhere. Our investigation, however (see below, section 2.6.1), will demonstrate that fol. 10 as a single, loose folio was inserted into the manuscript after it had been fragmented and its quires had been for the most part reconstructed. For some time, fol. 10 stayed correctly in place (*cf.* one bookworm’s activity), but it was later reversed and, still later, another worm perforated fol. 10 in its reversed position. Hence, in this case, the “clone” faithfully reproduces the manuscript as it appears today, including an error committed under a “repair” of the codex.

The lack of precise codicological information offered in the *Introducción* contrasts, as we will see, with the editor’s willingness to theorize about the history of the manuscript. Yet it is helpful that the editor and publisher have not attempted to put fol. 10 back into its originally intended place without knowing how and why the reversal had taken place and without mentioning that the

suggested that the faulty copy be returned and exchanged for a copy where an extra layer had been added on fol. 136v. The copies numbered 51 and 52 also have fol. 136 as a single-layered folio. The copy purchased by the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, numbered 62, has a double-layered fol. 136.



erroneous repair had been undone in the facsimile. The fact that fol. 10 at some point in time was loose is a clue to understanding the otherwise daunting quire in which it is located. In the end, the manifest irregularity of fol. 10 is one of the corner-stones of our analysis and model of the manuscript's structure and history. Although it would have been helpful to at least mention the irregularity of fol. 10 in the *Introducción*, its current placement corroborates the notion that the 2004 facsimile of "Murúa 1590" can be considered faithful to its original, and that with caution it can be used, in the place of the original manuscript, for the kind of investigation that we have undertaken here.

## 2.2. *The Length, Contents, and Foliations of P*

The facsimile consists of 147 folios. There is also a flap between fols. 145 and 145bis. The 147 folios are made up of eighteen quires of eight folios (or 4 double folios) each, and one quire of half size, that is, two double folios with one folio represented by only a flap:  $(18 \times 8) + 4 - 1 = 147$ . It is not stated in the *Introducción* whether a flap is also found in the original P manuscript in this place. In our model of the original (see Appendix 2) there is no flap.

The two ultimate folios are entirely blank, except for the photographed wear and tear, humidity stains, and watermarks. Thus, the facsimile consists of 145 *inscribed* folios.<sup>82</sup> Nine of these, however, are mostly blank, being inscribed only with running heads and chapter titles, and thus appearing as blank or "empty" when compared to the remaining folios. This explains the late annotation found on the third of the three unnumbered folios that initiate the manuscript, "tiene ciento quarenta y cinco fox. entre escritas y blancas."<sup>83</sup> The note helpfully proves that no loss of folios has occurred since that annotation was made.

The facsimile shows that "Murúa 1590" is a work consisting of four parts: the *Historia* proper, the *Ficción*, a *Tabla* (Table of Contents) which encompasses both the *Historia* proper and the *Ficción*, and, on the verso of the last inscribed folio of the *Tabla*, a "Memoria" describing the weaving pattern for a *chumbi*, or girdle of finely woven cloth, to be worn by the Inca queens during important feasts. In its present state, only three folios (unnumbered) precede the first numbered folio, which is designated as number 8 in the second foliation entered in the manuscript. As will be argued later (see below, section 2.6.1), the front matter (up

<sup>82</sup> Ossio (2004, 22) describes the quantity as "approximately 145 folios": "El total de folios es alrededor de 145 como señala el mismo autor en la portada que inicia el primer libro." The note, however, is not in the hand of Murúa. On p. 25, Ossio assesses the length of the manuscript as "144 or 145 folios."

<sup>83</sup> "Fox." means "fojas," that is, "hojas." Ossio (2004, 75, note 1) transcribes this annotation as "Tiene ciento y quarenta y cinco folios (??) escritos y blancos."

to fol. 8, that is, up to the first folio referenced in the *Tabla*) originally consisted of one more folio than the 7 evidenced by the numbering of fol. 8.

The *Historia* proper is divided into 4 parts. It is apparent from the *Tabla* that originally they were not designated as “books” (this identification was instituted later), but rather were introduced by unnumbered headings:

Tabla de los capítulos que ay En este pressente libro, De la famosa ystoria y Relaçion, Del origen, principio y generalogía [*sic*] de los grandes Reyes y señores que fueron deste Reyno del pirú (chapters numbered 1-27) (f148r)

Tabla, de los susesos y grandes y famosos hechos de los Príncipes ynfantes y capitanes Hijos de los Reyes yngas y señores que fueron deste rreyno E prouincias del pirú (chapters numbered 1-16) (f148v)

Tabla, del gouierno que los yngas y señores tubieron, antes que los Españoles les viniesen a Este rreyno del pirú (chapters numbered 1-73) (f149r)

Tabla de la declaraçión del nombre deste rreyno del pirú, con la declaraçión de las ciudades (added: de spañoles) que ay En el (chapters numbered 1-16) (f150r)

Three foliations are found. Basically, they do not conflict, and they are in harmony with all the references found in the *Tabla*. What seems to be the earliest foliation is written with a thin pen nib, often partially or completely cut away under later binding. It can be seen, for example, on f133r. Because of an internal reference on fol. 95 recto to fol. “155” (see above, section 1.9, and below, section 2.6.2), this foliation may have continued beyond the currently ultimate inscribed folio (in the latest foliation: “150”), but, if this was the case, that numeration was subsequently cut away.

The second foliation is inscribed beneath the earlier foliation, and a broader pen nib has been used. It appears immediately above the top line of the frame that adorns nearly every page of the manuscript. It runs from 8 to 143 inclusive, that is, from the first chapter (“capítulo prohemial”) of part 1, up through the sixteenth and final chapter of part 4. Because of a double irregularity, which consists of two folios being *paginated* (one is identified as pages 42 and 43, the other as pages 61 and 62), we can infer that this foliation is secondary, based on the earliest foliation and on the *Tabla*.

Apparently, a third foliation runs from 144 to 150, carelessly omitting 145[bis]. The description given by Jiménez de la Espada in 1892 (see above, section 1.4), “un tomo folio de 147 ff. y tres sin foliar de tablas al fin,” does not match the current foliation perfectly, although the *Tabla* does start on fol. 148. Usually, in early modern Spanish manuscripts and imprints, the *Tabla* was not foliated, and

this may explain Espada's inexact report.

As will be shown later, the originally blank folios at the end of the manuscript must have been six in number, rather than the two that are extant, thus bringing the total number of folios up to 158.

Table 1: Summary of Foliations

	Visible foliations (earliest, secondary, and latest)	References in the <i>Tabla</i>	Non-extant foliation	Number of folios	Sequential numbering of folios
Front matter			[one folio], [1-6]	7	1-7
Title page of part 1			[7]	1	8
Part 1	8-34	8-34		27	9-35
Title page of part 2	35			1	36
Part 2	36-51	36-51		16	37-52
Title page of part 3	52			1	53
Part 3	53-125	53-125		73	54-126
Title page of part 4	126			1	127
Part 4	127-142	127-142		16	128-143
Title page of <i>Ficción</i>	143			1	144
<i>Ficción</i>	144-147	144	[145bis]	5	145-149
<i>Tabla + Memoria</i>	148-150			3	150-152
Final folios			[151-156]	6	153-158
Total				158	

### 2.3. Quires, Sewings, and Watermarks

The basic physical structure of a codex consists of the quires, each one symmetrically unfolding its folios from the central point, the sewing. The quires may all vary in the number of double folios included, and single folios may have been excised or inserted here and there (by pasting or sewing). However, unless changes have been made in every single quire, any codex of substantial length will display a symmetrical rhythm which, when found, is essential for a correct understanding of any deviation from that rhythm. In parchment manuscripts, the difference of texture of the fleshy and the hairy side of the folios is a primary witness when searching for possible irregularities in the quire structure, just as watermarks in paper manuscripts are of great help in ascertaining whether a codex has been manipulated after its initial construction, that is, whether losses, additions, transpositions, or substitutions of folios have occurred.

As mentioned, watermarks are occasionally visible on the photographic reproductions of the 2004 facsimile, quite easily when the folio is blank on both sides, and with great difficulty, if at all, when there is writing and a drawing. Two types of watermarks are found:<sup>84</sup> one depicts a Latin cross within a shield, with the initials AM<sup>85</sup> (16 instances identified, referenced below as "AM"), the other, a gauntleted hand holding a flower, and the initials PD<sup>86</sup> (5 instances identified, referenced below as "PD"). This is evidence of two stages in the construction of the manuscript, as will be demonstrated below.

In two cases, the photographic reproductions of the facsimile reveal sewings of the original codex. One of these sewings, between fols. 8 and 9, is immediately visible, the other, between fols. 32 and 33, is hard to find unless one looks for it exactly there. In both places there is also a modern sewing in the "clone." Because of this co-occurrence of modern and ancient sewings, one might suppose that the modern structure corresponds throughout to the ancient one, but this is not the case. For the greater portion of the manuscript, from fol. 24 through fol. 135, it is possible to identify with certainty the original manuscript's organization into quires. As mentioned, it differs throughout from that of the facsimile.

<sup>84</sup> Ossio (2004, 22) describes the watermarks of the P manuscript but does not chart their distribution.

<sup>85</sup> See Briquet 1968, vol. 3, nos. 5677-5704 (attested Genova 1565). It can be seen on fols. 55, 57, 60, 71, 74, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 91, 92, 108, 146, penultimate, and ultimate. The paper used by Guaman Poma in his *Nueva crónica* manuscript contains the same watermark-type (initials: AA, AI, GM), see Adorno and Boserup 2003c, 133-140, with reproductions (We here signal an erratum: the first paragraph on p. 135 should be deleted).

<sup>86</sup> See Briquet 1968, vol. 3, nos. 11243, 11246, 11263, 11274 (attested Madrid 1530-80) It can be seen on fols. 2, 12, 30, 33, 87.

Once the interior bulk of the manuscript has been analyzed and mapped into its physical components, it also becomes possible to make plausible conjectures about the original structure of the first and last quires (see below, section 2.6, and Appendix 2).

#### 2.4. Primary Folios and Replacement Folios

When the watermarks and a number of other characteristics mentioned above are compiled into a single array the folios of P fall into three groups: *primary* folios, *replacement* folios, and *pasted-on* folios.

Table 2: Primary Folios and Replacement Folios

	Watermarks	Foliation	Drawings	Layers	Number extant
Primary folios	AM type	Early and new; regular throughout	Yes, many	One	112
Replacement folios	PD type	Only new; two irregularities	None	Single (13) or double (22)	35
Pasted-on folios	[No data]	[No data]	Yes, many	Added layer	22

Basic for the understanding of the structure and history of P is the distinction between primary folios and replacement folios, and the fact that pasted-on folios invariably have been mounted on replacement folios. This coincidence of pasted-on and replacement folios makes it possible to conjecture a causal relation, that is, to infer that replacement folios were inserted into the yet unbound manuscript because of the need to anchor and support the pasted-on folios. The implications of these basic facts is that pasted-on folios are nothing other than primary folios of P that have been removed, that replacement folios are substitutes or dummies for such removed primary folios, and that in 22 cases (out of 35) these dummies support the reinstallation of 22 primary folios into P.

Primary folios correspond, folio by folio, to the references in the *Tabla*. At first sight, this is also the case with the replacement folios (as one would expect), but there are two exceptions: These exceptions are linked, and they are the result of one single error, committed when the replacement folios were produced. The *Tabla* refers chapters 7 and 8 in part 2 to fols. 42 and 43, respectively, and chapters 9 and 10 of part 3 to fols. 61 and 62, respectively. However, the manuscript here

consists not of twice two folios, as one would expect, but of twice *one* folio. In either case these folios have not been foliated, but *paginated*, so that the count was maintained, and references in the *Tabla* were matched by corresponding folio numbers. From this double error we can infer, first, that the secondary foliation followed upon the insertion of replacement folios, repeating and bridging the earlier, initial foliation of the primary folios; second, that while the entries and folio references of the *Tabla* were produced on the basis of the chapter titles on primary folios, the chapter titles that are found on replacement folios were produced on the basis of the *Tabla*; and third, that in the original manuscript one single quire encompassed the replacement double folio 42/43 and 61/62 and that there *must* have been a sewing, that is, that the center of the quire must have been located, between fols. 52 and 53.

### 2.5. *The Seven Original Quires of P*

With the clues gleaned up to this point, it is possible to reconstruct the codex in its original structure, which turns out to be quite different from the structure of its "clone." As shown in Appendix 2, the original 158 folios (or 79 double folios) were arranged in 7 quires varying in size from 18 to 28 folios (or 9 to 14 double folios). All these primary double folios carried the "AM" watermark. Later, 46 primary folios (or 23 double folios) were removed. There still remained, in place and intact, 112 primary folios (or 56 primary double folios) in a codex-structure, forming the bulk of the six last of the original 7 quires. Still later, replacement double folios were added to the mutilated manuscript, whereby the original quires were more or less recreated. However, a few deviations occurred. The missing replacement double folio next to 42/43 + 61/62 have already been mentioned. In addition, as explained in detail below (see below, section 2.6.1), the first quire was reconstructed with only 9½ double replacement folios instead of 12, arranged not as one quire, as originally, but as two small quires of 4½ and 5 double folios, respectively (see quires 1a and 1b in Appendix 2). While all the other quires had to be reconstructed with the same structure that they had had originally, the replacement of one large quire (quire 1) by two smaller ones (1a and 1b) was made possible, that is, it was an option, because there did not remain intact any primary double folio of the original quire 1.

The operation of adding replacement double folios to the remaining primary double folios would have been futile, unless material was at hand that could be added to the replacement folios by writing, by pasting, or by some other means. In 22 cases out of a total of 46, a previously detached single primary folio was available and could be reinstalled on, that is, pasted onto, a replacement folio.<sup>87</sup> Only one side of these reinstalled primary folios would be visible when they were pasted onto their respective replacement folios. Therefore, replacement folios

that carry on one of their sides a pasted-on folio with a frontispiece illustration characteristically carry on their other side a previously made copy of the text that would become obscured and permanently lost from the moment it was pasted face-down onto the replacement folio.

In a few cases, when both sides of a detached primary folio contained only prose text, the side of the folio that contained the neatly calligraphed and framed chapter title was chosen to be displayed. In all the remaining instances, that is, when the pasted-on folio carried a drawing, it was the side of the folio with the drawing that was chosen for display, while the other side (with prose text only) was copied before being pasted face-down onto the replacement folio and obscured.

The structure of the five central quires (nos. 2-6; fols. 24-135), as evidenced by double replacement sheets, is shown in Appendix 2. Quires 1a and 1b, which consist exclusively of replacement folios and pasted-on folios, and quire 7, which came to lose its four last folios, and which has been much restored, will require further detailed consideration (see below, section 2.6).

Our suggested model can be verified by locating the sewings in the original manuscript. They should appear between the eight pairs of folios numbered 8/9 (sewing photographically visible in the facsimile), 18/19, 32/33 (a sewing also photographically visible), 52/53, 77/78, 102/103, 124/125, and 145bis/146. If the sewings are not found in these locations, the explanation must be that P has been reconstructed in modern times, with the whole manuscript being cut apart into single folios and subsequently reassembled into new pairs, sometimes conjoining now-single primary folios to now-single replacement folios into synthetic or hybrid double folios. Such a course of events is extremely improbable, and we do not suggest that it has taken place. However, if it did occur, our proposal retains its validity as representing the state of the original codex before such comprehensive, latter day dismantling and restructuring took place.

Under normal circumstances, only one of the halves of a double folio in a folio size codex carries a watermark.<sup>87</sup> Hence, for example, if it is correct that fols. 68 and 87 were created out of the same double folio (see Appendix 2, quire 4), only one of them should carry that double folio's single watermark. This does turn out to be the case: the half of the double folio occupied by fol. 68 has

<sup>87</sup> One more removed folio (fol. 42) must have been available, but it was not reinstalled due to the fact that a replacement double folio was missing in quire 3. (Fol. 42 will be discussed further in sections 3.11 and 3.17).

<sup>88</sup> Normality should not be taken for granted. In the case of Guaman Poma's manuscript, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4to, three small quires (nos. 21, 25 and 26) are made up of what Adorno (2002, 13) has called "composite double sheets." These are constructed out of two single quarto size folios pasted together at the gutter. See Boserup and Adorno 2003c, 114, 130-132.

no watermark, but its other half, fol. 87, carries the "PD" marking. Similarly, in quire 2, fols. 30 and 33 have the "PD" watermark, but the corresponding halves of the double folios they are part of, that is, fols. 32 and 35, do not.

The 112 primary folios that are still in place in P must contain 56 "AM" watermarks. In the facsimile, where the watermarks are rendered photographically, we have been able to locate sixteen, all of which comply with the quire-structure we propose in Appendix 2. That is, there is no occurrence of twice watermark or twice no-watermark on any of the hypothesized double folios on which the facsimile has allowed us to identify watermarks. This constitutes so strong a corroboration of the proposed model that we believe that localization of the remaining 40 "AM" watermarks need not be given high priority.<sup>89</sup>

## 2.6. *The First and Last Quires*

While the end point of quire 1 and the starting point of quire 7 are sufficiently evidenced, the structure of quires 1 and 7 requires a few supplementary explanations.

### 2.6.1. *Quire 1*

There were originally 23 numbered folios preceding the first folio of quire 2, as evidenced by the extant foliation that goes from "8" to "23." When the codex was produced, the sum of the folios of this quire must have been an even number (because of being made up of double folios). If we suppose that there was a folio (probably the very first) that remained unnumbered, the original number of folios in the quire becomes 24 (12 double folios). Currently, instead of 24 folios or 12 double folios, we are faced with 19 replacement folios (9½ double folios) + 15 pasted-on folios. The visible sewing between fols. 8 and 9 pertains to the reconstructed quire, and it appears after only 4 folios (3 unnumbered folios and fol. 8). This suggests that two small quires of replacement folios were substituted for the original large quire.

At first glance, it seems improbable that the reconstruction of the very first quire of P should be so anomalous, with two small quires rather than one single large one, since all the following quires were reconstructed so as to correspond as much as possible to their original state. However, primary double folios were

<sup>89</sup> Beta-radiography would reveal the watermarks on single- as well as double-layered folios. The radioactive source is said (Schoonover 1987) to have no effect on the paper. For beta-radiographies of the watermarks in Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4to (Guaman Poma), see the illustrations in Boserup and Adorno 2003c.



extant in all the following quires, and this determined the number of replacement double folios that were needed, as well as the place they would occupy in the reconstituted quire structure. There was no such guidance (and constraint) in the case of the first quire. Available from quire 1 when P was reconstructed were 15 removed primary folios, 14 of which belonged originally to quire 1, and one, the displaced primary fol. 143 (adoring *aclla*), belonging to quire 7. They were to be arranged and pasted onto replacement folios. The last 10 of these 15 detached folios formed an uninterrupted sequence. It is a fair guess that they were allotted one small quire (quire 1b) of 5 double replacement folios (fols. 14-23).

There remained five detached folios, three containing front matter, and two containing a prose chapter and a frontispiece. The first one consisted of the prose text of chapter 1 (subsequently renumbered as chapter 2) and the frontispiece of the following chapter. The second one consisted of the prose text of chapter 2 (subsequently renumbered as chapter 3) and the frontispiece of the following chapter. Quire 1b started with chapter 6 (subsequently renumbered as 7). Hence, a small quire (1a) of 8 replacement folios (4 double folios) was constructed, which would host the required minimum: 3 front matter folios and 5 chapters with frontispieces. Various scenarios can be imagined for the sequence of events. Eventually, the chapter numbers were changed so as to comply with the *Tabla*, and one of the folios (currently fol. 8) was used to inscribe an introductory chapter ("capítulo prohemial") and a copy (under a variant title) of the original chapter 1 (for details, see below, section 2.10). Thus the count fell one folio short of what was actually needed. As a result there was no replacement folio left in the quire to support the detached primary folio containing chapter 2 (subsequently renumbered as 3) and the frontispiece of chapter 4. However, this logistical error was remedied by the addition of one single replacement folio, which eventually became fol. 10, tucked in loosely between the yet unnumbered replacement fols. 9 and 11. In order to reduce the risk of the additional single folio later being misplaced, a catch-word ("Cap.º 4.º") was inscribed in the lower righthand corner of the recto (currently f10v), referring to the frontispiece of chapter 4 on the verso of this same folio.

Fol. 10, as mentioned earlier (section 2.1), is reversed in the facsimile. However, it was correctly in place when the quire was foliated. The foliation "10" is inscribed in the upper right corner of the folio's original recto (currently its verso) but, being partly obscured by a later repair, it is barely perceptible in the facsimile. Fol. 10 was still correctly in place when running heads were inscribed. Thus, "Libro primero de la historia" appears on versos, "general del Piru" on rectos, as was the case with fol. 10 in its original orientation. It remained correctly inserted still later, when a first bookworm fed on the front cover parchment and on fols. 1-17 (a photographically reproduced worm-hole is also perceptible on f18r), as clearly demonstrated by the facsimile. Later fol. 10 was reversed, so that the worm holes

do not fit. This possibly occurred through misinterpretation of the catchword, if its reference to chapter 4 was understood as targeting the chapter proper (its titles and text) on f11r, rather than its frontispiece on f10v. Subsequently, another bookworm fed on, and left its traces in, the first ca. 15 folios.

Table 3: Summary of Quire 1a

Foliation	Replacement double folios A-D	Recto of replacement folio	Verso of replacement folio
1st unnumb'd	A1	Title page of work	Pasted-on: Andean landscape
2nd unnumb'd	B1	Blank	Pasted-on: Coat of arms of Mercedarians
3rd unnumb'd	C1	Title page of part 1	Pasted-on: Adoring <i>aclla</i> (was fol. 143)
8	D1	<i>Capitulo prohemial</i>	Chapter 1
SEWING			
9	D2	Copy of chapter 2 (was 1)	Pasted-on: Frontispiece of chapter 3
10	[Single folio]	Copy of chapter 3 (was 2)	Pasted-on: Frontispiece of chapter 4
11	C2	Title of lost chapter 4	Blank
12	B2	Title of lost chapter 5	Blank
13	A2	Title of lost chapter 6	Blank

### 2.6.2. Quire 7

This quire also contains a number of anomalies compared to the regular central quires of P. The clue to the reconstruction of this quire has already been mentioned (section 1.9): Bayle (1946, 27) pointed to a displaced textual element in P that can be identified in the facsimile as being fol. "155", referenced on primary f95r. There is no extant folio with such a high a number in P, but the reference obviously targeted the primary folio that is now the pasted-on folio (*aclla*'s morning toilette) on replacement fol. 143.

Bayle wrote that the "Appendix" of part 3 (= fol. 143) was "nothing but an expanded repetition of chapter 43 of part 3, evidently out of place, if one does not take it as a preamble to the idyll between the shepherd Acoytrapa and the discrete Chuquillantú, which serves to conclude the work."<sup>90</sup> The 2004 facsimile confirms that the folio in question has been relocated from one site to another

in the P manuscript. It is now fol. 143, but it must originally have been numbered "155", and the text written on it belonged to chapter 43 of book 3, as Bayle had suggested on the basis of his copy of L. As can be seen on the facsimile's f95r, there is a reference to fol. "155": "en este Reyno Vuo [hubo] mayor f° 155".<sup>91</sup> We conjecture that this note was not carried forward to L because Bayle makes no mention of it. The expression is completed in the "Appendix" text (f143r, formerly fol. "155"), so that it reads "En este Re[y]no del Pirú abía mayor primor en este negocio de Vírgines que seruían a los templos." (In this kingdom of Peru there was the greatest excellence in this occupation of virgins who served in the temples). This single example of the cutting and pasting, relocation, and renumbering of a text within P shows that Bayle had detected that the P manuscript, as it appeared when it was copied in 1890, had been subjected to fundamental reworking at some point in its history.

Thus, the text and drawing appearing on the folio pasted onto fol. 143 originally filled primary fol. "155" and they constitute today the continuation of the text found on f95r. We can make several inferences from this finding. First, the last quire (7) of the codex went on to fol. 156 and consisted of 22 folios, like the two previous quires. Second, primary fol. 143 is either lost, or it is to be identified with the folio pasted onto the already-mentioned third unnumbered folio in quire 1a. The second alternative should, in our view, be preferred, because the drawing features an *acella*, or *ñusta*, that is, a chosen virgin or a princess (she is unidentified), adoring the sun. Primary fol. 143 was situated between the end of the chronicle proper, and the shepherd-and-princess tale, "*Ficción y suceso*." Occupying f143v, the drawing of the adoring *acella* would then have served as frontispiece to the story, which begins on f144r. In its current context, the adoring *acella* serves as frontispiece to a chapter on the noble deeds in Peru of the Mercedarian order. We must add that the adoring *acella* on the third unnumbered folio in quire 1a, along with replacement fol. 143 and its pasted-on folio (*acella*'s morning toilette), are the only elements in P that appear in bewildering contexts.<sup>92</sup> Third, while the facsimile, like the original P manuscript

<sup>90</sup> See note 60.

<sup>91</sup> Ossio's transcription (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 177) is incorrect: "en este reyno *uno* mayor" ["in this kingdom *one* greater"], and it is incomplete, lacking "f° 155."

<sup>92</sup> The text on the reverse of the adoring *acella* drawing can partly be seen, and it appears to be the same block-type handwriting style used for other quotations from printed works (see below, sections 2.9 ["P3"] and 3.5.3). If it was originally primary fol. 143, it would in the earliest phase have been blank, separating the *Historia* from the *Ficción* (compare f126 between parts 3 and 4). Subsequently, it could receive the additional prose text referred to on f141r ("lo demas está fo. 143, página 2") and, on the reverse, a drawing serving as a frontispiece to the *Ficción*. Whatever the case may be, this pasted-on folio, together with the other two unnumbered front matter folios, constitute the only

(one must believe), contains only 152 folios (unnumbered fols. "151" and "152" are blank), P had once contained four more primary folios ([153]-[156]), which were parts of the double folios to which the extant fols. 136-139 belong. Referring to Table 4, primary double folios A, B, and H had been removed, and three single primary folios were later reinstalled on replacement fols. A1, B1, H1, and H2. While primary fols. 151 and 152 are still in place (with watermarks "AM"), the blank primary fols. 153 and 154, as well as the blank replacement fols. "155" and "156", were removed. There are no traces of them in the 2004 facsimile. The removal of fols. 153-156 weakened fols. 136-139 at the other end of the quire.<sup>93</sup>

Table 4: Summary of Quire 7

Foliation	Double folios	Primary folio, recto	Primary folio, verso	Replacement Folio, recto	Replacement Folio, verso
136	A1			Copy of cap. 10	Pasted-on folio: Primary f136 verso = frontisp. of cap. 11
137	B1			Pasted-on folio: Primary f137 = cap. 11	Copy of f137 verso
138	C1	Cap. 12	Frontisp. of cap. 13		
139	D1	Cap. 13	Frontisp. of cap. 14		
140	E1	Cap. 14	Frontisp. of cap. 15		

instances in the manuscript where separation of pasted-on folios from replacement folios would likely reveal information of importance for understanding the history of P.

<sup>93</sup> "155" in the call-out on f95r has here been taken to be a correct reference although two pieces of evidence suggest that the referenced page (currently f143r) had been directly adjacent to f150v. First, the inscription "vírgines escogidas que servían al sol y al templo" on f150v is difficult to explain if not referring to fol. "155," where it corresponds to the text and (word for word) to the short explanatory phrase inscribed on the drawing. Second, fol. 141, the corresponding half of the double folio that contains fol. 151 (see "F1" and "F2" in Table 4), shows evidence (in the 2004 facsimile) of having been refastened after having been loosened. We have discovered these contradictions in quire 7 by examining the evidence available in the facsimile; inspection of the original manuscript can perhaps resolve the issue.

141	F1	Cap. 15 (+ "lo demás está fo. 143")	Frontisp. of cap. 16		
142	G1	Cap. 16	Addition to cap. 16		
143	H1	[→3rd unnumbered recto, obscured text (cont. of 141r)]	[→3rd unnumbered verso, adoring <i>acella</i> ]	Pasted-on folio: Primary "155" ( <i>acella's</i> morning toilette)	Blank
144	I1	Start of <i>Ficción</i>	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>		
145	J1	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>		
145bis	K1	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>		
SEWING					
146	K2	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>		
147	J2	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>	Cont. of <i>Ficción</i>		
148	I2	<i>Tabla</i> , p. 1	<i>Tabla</i> , p. 2		
149	H2			Pasted-on folio: Primary 149 ( <i>Tabla</i> , p. 3)	Copy of f149 verso ( <i>Tabla</i> , p. 4)
150	G2	<i>Tabla</i> , p. 5	<i>Memoria</i>		
151	F2	Blank ("AM" watermark)	Blank		
152	E2	Blank ("AM" watermark)	Blank		
153	D2	Lost	(Lost)		
154	C2	Lost	(Lost)		
155	B2	[→143r, <i>acella's</i> toilette]	[→143v, blank]	Lost	(Lost)
156	A2	Lost	(Lost)	Lost	(Lost)

### 2.7. The Insertion of Replacement Folios and Pasted-on Folios

The purpose of replacement folios, simply put, was to support the re-installation of extant primary folios exactly where they had been located before being removed. The pasting of detached folios onto replacement folios normally

followed a pattern whereby the side of the detached folio selected to be visible, if a recto, would be pasted onto the recto of a replacement folio and, if a verso, would be installed on the verso of the replacement folio. This was done with folios carrying prose text on both sides, such as, for example, fols. 137 and 149; since both sides were easily copied prose texts, the default higher priority of the recto was respected and made visible, while the verso was obscured (after having been copied).

Basically, this also happened in the case of detached primary fol. 53, but it was pasted onto the *verso* of replacement fol. 52, and the now-lost verso text of primary fol. 53 was copied onto the recto of replacement fol. 53, spilling over onto the verso of replacement fol. 53. It happened because primary fol. 52, which would contain on its recto the title page of part 3, and on its verso the frontispiece of chapter 1 of part 3, was not at hand. (It had been inserted into the S manuscript, see below, section 2.11). Hence, there was much space available for reinstallation of primary fol. 53.<sup>94</sup> Obviously, it was the recto of primary folio 53 that was chosen for display because it contained the carefully calligraphed chapter title.

In all other cases, that is, when there was a drawing on the folio to be reinserted, the drawing (on the verso) was chosen for display, since it would be much more difficult to reproduce the carefully water-colored drawing than to copy the chapter's title and prose text.

In a few cases (fols. 42 and 143), on which we have already commented, the regular procedure described above has not been followed. First, primary fol. 42 must have been extant, because the text that was on its recto (part 2, chapter 7) has been copied onto "folio 42 recto," which is, in fact, *page* 42, since there is here only one replacement folio where two are needed, but the folio itself with its drawing could not be pasted onto the "verso" because this "verso" was actually *page* 43, which was reserved for the text of chapter 8. Second, replacement fol. 143, as already mentioned, was not used for the re-installation of what had been primary 143, but rather for that of primary "155." As we argued above (section 2.6.1), primary 143 is the detached folio now pasted onto the third unnumbered replacement folio of the manuscript, where its drawing of an "adoring *acella*" serves as the frontispiece of the "capítulo prohemial" on the Mercedarian order.

Several of the primary folios were no longer available when the reconstruction of the P manuscript took place. Thus, the replacement folios were left blank or "empty" on both sides, bearing only a running head and the number and title of the missing chapter, based on the information found in the *Tabla*. These blank replacement folios are eleven in number: fols. 11, 12, 13, 30, 32, 33, 35, 61, 62, 68, 87. To these we can add one more: replacement fol. 52, which would have

<sup>94</sup> See section 2.11.1 for further consideration of replacement fol. 52.

been blank on its verso (the recto has a short version of the title of part 3), if it had not been taken over by primary fol. 53, as detailed above.

Finally, another type of anomaly in connection with replacement folios and their pasted-on folios should be mentioned. The folios pasted onto the three unnumbered folios at the beginning of the manuscript have text inscribed on their reverse but, in contrast to the other pasted-on folios, these prose texts were apparently not copied and saved before being obscured by pasting. (Fol. 143, the *accha*'s morning toilette, seems not to have any prose text inscribed on its reverse).

### 2.8. The Drawings on the Pasted-on Folios

The 22 folios pasted into the P manuscript are all primary folios of P that have been re-installed in it.

Primary folios were removed so that their drawings could be used for some other purpose. Thus, 19 of the 22 pasted-on folios in P, and all five pasted-on folios in S, contain drawings. Concerning the 3 pasted-on folios in P that do not include drawings, it is apparent that they were detached only because they happened to be the corresponding halves of double folios that did contain drawings:

Table 5: Folios Detached from P that do not Include Drawings

Detached folio without drawing	Other half of same double folio
53 (current 52 verso) Text only	52v (currently in the S manuscript). Full-page drawing
149 Text only	143v (currently opposite f8r). Full-page drawing
137 Text only	"155" (currently fol. 143). Text + drawing
156 Blank (lost)	136v Text + drawing

The fact that fols. 136 and "155" were removed suggests that not only folios with full-page drawings, but also some with smaller ones were being removed in order to be recycled. Primary "155," which became folio 143, had a drawing at the bottom of the page; when the folio was reinstalled, drawing and text were cut apart and the two parts pasted in inverse order, with the drawing at the top of the page and the text beneath it.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The top-to-bottom reversal may have been carried out to follow the standard pattern of P in which drawings (being frontispieces) introduce, rather than follow, the texts they accompany. The drawing

Quire 1, which is the only one in the codex to have been totally fragmented, contained all the portraits of the twelve kings and two of the twelve portraits of queens (*coyas*) of the Inca dynasty. Out of a total of 46 primary folios that were removed from P, 24, or more than fifty per cent, belonged to quire 1. The portraits of queens were hosted mainly in quire 2. Five folios with portraits of queens were removed, due, in part, to the thorough fragmentation of quire 1 and, in part, to the specific need for two portraits of queens in the S manuscript (see below, sections 2.11 and 3.18).

The folios to be pasted were trimmed on all four sides, as one would do with images that are to be pasted into an album. With a few exceptions, the trimming followed the outer border of the drawn frames that surrounded the drawings as well as the chapter titles and chapter texts.<sup>96</sup> This trimming can have occurred immediately before pasting onto the replacement folios. In contrast, the four primary folios of P that came to be inserted into S (see below, section 2.11) were not trimmed, being installed into that manuscript by another technique.<sup>97</sup>

For unknown reasons, primary fol. 23, with a drawing representing queen Chimpo Coya, has been very severely trimmed. One third of the primary folio has been cut away, possibly in order to remove the coat of arms that occupied the upper left corner of the portrait. After reinstallation, part of the frame was redrawn, so that the page would look as much as possible like the others in the series. While the other pasted-on folios apparently were inserted before the running heads were inscribed, the opposite is true in this case: the word "Historia" in the running head is partly hidden by the pasted-on folio. We will return to fol. 23 in section 2.10.

### 2.9. *Hands and Styles of Handwriting*

Having analyzed the elements that constitute P, we can now turn our attention to an examination of the hands and the styles of handwriting. Leaving aside two late notes on the front matter folios concerning Murúa's origins and the length of the manuscript, respectively, and an owner's mark dated 1925 on f125v, the hands and handwriting styles found in P correspond to the main structural divisions of the manuscript that we have identified. Thus, the following examination

on "155" was the only one in P that violated this order; by being positioned beneath its accompanying text, it illustrated it. By cutting apart drawing and prose text and reinstalling them with the drawing on top, the reinstaller reproduced P's customary pattern of presentation.

<sup>96</sup> The transparency of the paper throughout the manuscript allowed the frames on either side of each primary folio to be drawn so that they coincided.

<sup>97</sup> See Boserup 2004a, 83-84.



corroborates the fundamental importance of distinguishing between the primary folios and the replacement folios of P.

The main hand, **P1**, is found on the rectos of primary folios of the *Historia* (including f125v), and on both sides of the folios of the *Ficción*, *Tabla*, and *Memoria*. It has inscribed the calligraphed and regular main text of the P manuscript, that is, the “fair copy” (“sacar en linpio”) mentioned in the prologue to part 4 (f126v). It is responsible for more than seventy-five per cent of the manuscript’s text, but its first appearance, due to circumstances analyzed above, is on fol. 24 (part 1, chapter 17), that is, at the beginning of the first of the extant quires that have been inscribed on primary folios.

On the versos of primary folios, and occasionally in corrections or brief additions on rectos, we find **P2**. It is a cursive hand, making short or long additions to the main text, often with little or no regard to the previous neat layout and execution of the basic fair copy. It displays many variants, apparently depending on a variety of factors. Brief additions by P2 are also found, as mentioned, on a few primary rectos, and on five of the replacement folios of quire 1 in part 1 (the “capítulo prohemial” and chapters 2, 3, 7, and 16 [f8r, f9r, f10v (which was originally f10r), f14r, and f23r, respectively]). P2 has also made corrections in the *Tabla* and redefined the divisions of the codex from unnumbered parts into numbered “books”. Likewise, it has inscribed the main title page and the title pages of the three first parts/books (all on replacement folios, that is, the rectos of the first and third unnumbered folios as well as f35r and f52r). Furthermore, P2 has inscribed the titles of some of the “empty” chapters as well as the running heads throughout the whole manuscript.

On the drawings, whether by Guaman Poma or by the other artist(s), P2, using many handwriting styles, is responsible for all the short phrases identifying the pictorial subjects on drawings that have not been inscribed by Guaman Poma, whom we identify below as P4.<sup>98</sup> Finally, P2 has inscribed the Latin epigram above and below the coat of arms of the Mercedarians (front matter). We identify it as P2’s calligraphic handwriting, used when not jotting down additions, but rather inscribing portions of the main text. It should be mentioned that in the S manuscript, this variant of the P2 hand (identified as S3 in Table 6) has inscribed not only the last part of the main text of S and the whole *Tabla* of S, but also the title page information of S (including a 4-line Latin epigram)

<sup>98</sup> The P2 hand, in its neater variants, shares a number of common traits with a document that was inscribed and signed by Murúa, as his hand can be seen in a document reproduced (but unidentified) by Ossio (2004, 53). Ballesteros (1962, vol. 1, pp. xxxiv, note 24, and p. ii), who reproduced the signature from that document, identifies it as a petition written on November 7, 1595, by Murúa from the Mercedarian convent in Cuzco when he was its *procurador* (see Barriga 1942, vol. 3, pp. 352-353). Murúa was seeking, on behalf of the convent, the return of certain usurped agricultural lands.

as well as other elements of the front matter (copies of numerous letters of recommendation).

In four instances, and embedded in textual additions inscribed by P2, we find P3. The P3 hand inscribed extensive quotations from a printed work, Jerónimo Román y Zamora's *República de la Indias Occidentales*, bk. 1, 2nd edition, 1595 (see below, section 3.5.3). It is a clear and regular block-type hand, imitating printed text. Comparison of orthographic habits in these passages and a passage copied from the same edition of Román y Zamora by P2 (f77v) seems to prove that P3 cannot be a non-cursive or calligraphic variant of P2, but rather represents a scribe executing a one-time assignment for P2. The four literally transcribed quotations are all found in part 3, and they come from four consecutive chapters (7-10) in the printed source.

On forty-three drawings (from f43v till the end), P4, *alias* Guaman Poma's particularly well known hand, has inscribed captions, that is, shorter or longer phrases identifying the pictorial subjects; see Appendix 6.

The obscured texts of pasted-on folios that were not copied onto replacement folios by P2 were copied by P5, a professional scribal hand apparently accustomed to copy charters and other official documents (with flourishes in signatures, etc.) rather than literary works. In part/book 1, P5 is responsible for the text of chapters 1, 8, and 9 through 15 (f8v, f15r, f16r-f22r, respectively), as well as for the chapter titles of "empty" chapters 4-6 (f11r-13r) in quires 1a and 1b. In book 2, P5 has inscribed the text of chapters 7 (f42r) and 9 (f44r), in book 3, the second half of chapter 1 (f53r and f53v), and all of chapter 11 (f63r), and in book 4, chapter 10 (f136r) and the second half of chapter 11 (f137v). Finally, P5 has copied a page of the *Tabla* obscured by pasting (f149v).

P1, P2 and P4 are found on the four folios that have migrated from P to the S manuscript. P2 is found throughout S (in a number of more or less neat and more or less relaxed variants, called "S3" in Table 6). Neither of the two scribal hands of S (S1 and S2) are attested in P.

Table 6: Summary of Hands in the P and S Manuscripts

		P manuscript	P-folios in S	S manuscript
P1	Scribe	Main text ( <i>Historia 1-4, Ficción, Tabla, Memoria</i> )	<i>Curacas'</i> letter, title page of part 3, chapter texts	

P2; S3	Murúa	Front matter, additions, corrections, captions on drawings	Revised title of work below <i>curacas</i> ' letter; captions on drawings	Fols. 2r-7r; fols. 366/382v to end, additions, corrections, instructions, captions on drawings
P3	Scribe	Four quotations embedded in P2 text		
P4	Guaman Poma	Captions on drawings	Captions on drawings	
P5	Scribe	Copies of obscured texts		
S1	Scribe			Main text up to fol. 171/191v
S2	Scribe			Fols. 171/191v through 366/382r)

### 2.10. The Chapter Numbering of Part 1 of P and the Identity of P2

The early chapters of book 1 inscribed on replacement fols. 8, 9, 10, 14 and 15, include some anomalous phenomena. They are surveyed in more detail in Appendix 3. The manuscript, as can be inferred from the *Tabla* (f148r), originally contained the following chapters:

Capítulo 1. Del origen y principio de los Yngas (primary fol. 8)

Capítulo 2. Del principio de los Yngas (primary fol. 9)

Capítulo 3. Del gran Mango Capac ... (primary fol. 10)

The replacement fols. 8-10 contain:

Capítulo prohemial ... (f8r, inscribed by P2)

Capítulo 1. Del nombre de los reyes del Pirú (f8v, inscribed by P5)

Capítulo 1 (corrected to: 2). Del origen y principio de los Reyes yngas ... (f9r, by P2)

Capítulo 2 (corrected to: 3). Del gran Mango Capac ... (f10v[r], by P2)

The numbers of the extant chapters 7 and 8 have been corrected from “6” and “7”, respectively, but the numbers of the empty chapters 4, 5, and 6, have not been corrected, and they must have been inscribed after the numbering of extant chapters had been revised and made to comply with the original numbering found in the *Tabla*. There are no further deviations between the numbers identifying the chapters throughout the manuscript and those assigned to them in the *Tabla*.

Several observations can be made. First, the “capítulo prohemial” (8r), which originally had no correlate in the *Tabla* of P, and which is inscribed by P2, prefigures the long inserted chapter on the Mercedarians in the S manuscript. Second, the title of chapter 1 on f8v (“On the name of the Inca kings”) does not match its contents (the political organization in the Andes before the rise of the Incas), which, however, matches the original title of the chapter in the *Tabla* tolerably well (“Del origen y principio de los yngas”). Meanwhile, in the S manuscript, the nearly identical contents of chapter 1 have at last been subsumed under a matching title: (“De cómo antiguamente no ubo en este Reino Rey ni señor unibersal hasta los yngas”). Third, P2 initially reduced the chapter numbers by one when copying from the removed primary fols. 9, 10, 14, and 15 (only the title on f15r). He subsequently abandoned the effort, assigned P5 to copy the *capítulo primero*, and reverted to a numbering of the chapters that matched the *Tabla* references. Fourth, there may be a connection between the peculiar status of fol. 10, loosely tucked in and later incorrectly fastened,<sup>99</sup> and P2’s initial bypassing of the original chapter 1 and renumbering of the first 8 chapters. Various scenarios can be imagined, but the exact causal relationship is difficult to ascertain. Fifth, the uncorrected numbering of chapters on fols. 11, 12, and 13, indicates that chapter titles were inscribed on “empty” replacement folios as one of the last procedures of the work of reconstruction. They were copied from the *Tabla* by P2. This fits well with the fact that running heads were inscribed later than the pasting of trimmed primary folios onto replacement folios. There is only one exception, folio 23, the severely mutilated drawing of queen Chimpo Coya (see above, section 2.8), which slightly overlaps the running head; it may first have been left aside and only pasted on, after some hesitation due to its mutilated state, as one of the very last acts in the complicated reconstruction of P. Sixth, the *Tabla* reflects, through corrections inscribed by P2, the insertion of the “capítulo prohemial”, and the renaming of chapter 1.

From the contributions made by P2, particularly the reconstructed quires 1a and 1b, we can put together an emergent picture of P2’s authority. It seems that P2 took the responsibility for the difficult parts of quires 1a and 1b under construction, letting P5 copy its easier parts (f8r, f15-22r). Chapter 16 (f23r)

<sup>99</sup> See above, section 2.6.1.

is particularly revealing with respect to P2's intellectual control of the project. The pasted-on folio, featuring the mutilated portrait of queen Chimpo, had on its back the original text of chapter 16. The mutilation had eliminated the end of every text line, and it would have been a waste of time to let a scribe (P5) conjecture about the missing parts; we can therefore suppose that P2 rewrote his own old text once more, easily filling out the gaps.

## 2.11. Elements of P in the S Manuscript

### 2.11.1. John Rowe's Theory

In the S manuscript, five folios were double-layered.<sup>100</sup> Blank folios had been pasted onto the reverse of full-page illustrations, obscuring the inscribed texts. After the layers had been separated, John Rowe analyzed the revealed texts and identified one of them (S, fol. 19) as having been internally recycled within S.<sup>101</sup> Rowe identified three of the four others as originating in P, the then-lost model of L, because they exactly filled out textual lacunae in Bayle's edition based on L. The fourth one contained textual elements with no direct context in P (L), but, by analogy, all four folios with pasted-on blank folios were assigned by Rowe to L's model (P), thus becoming the first known original drawings of the P manuscript (though migrated to S). All four of Rowe's identifications (Table 7, nos. 1-4) have been accepted by von Euv 1982, Adorno 2004, and Boserup 2004a. In addition to the fundamental observations made by Rowe, we can add, as mentioned above (section 2.9), that the hands P1, P2, and P4, are also found on these four folios.

Table 7: The Four Primary P-Folios Extant in the S Manuscript

Note: S, fol. 19, is not included in this table. Like the recycled folios originating in P, its text side was covered by a pasted-on blank folio, but, as pointed out by Rowe, it did not originate from P. Before being obscured by a pasted blank folio, the text of S, f19r, had been copied onto S, f16r.

No.	Original location	Content as primary P-folio, recto side	Content as primary P-folio, verso	Status in S: recto side (before degluing by H.P. Kraus)	Function in S, verso

<sup>100</sup> For full details, based on Rowe 1979 and 1987, see Adorno 2004.

<sup>101</sup> For details of the consecutive transpositions of folios within S, see Boserup 2004a.

1	P, front matter	Letter of recommendation by <i>curacas</i> of Cuzco to king Philip II, advocating for the chronicle's publication; added text: Title of work, <i>Historia general</i> etc.	The coat of arms of Peru (by Guaman Poma), with text by Guaman Poma	First cancelled, then covered by pasted-on blank folio	Frontispiece of book 3 (S, f283r [f307r]) – Caption added: Las armas del Reyno del pirú.
2	P, fol 32	Part 1, chapter 25 ("De la Reyna y señora Mama Ocllo") (f32r)	"Mama Raba Ocllo, coya": Frontispiece of book 1, chapter 26 ("De la gran Reyna y señora Raba Ocllo") (f33r)	First cancelled, then covered by pasted-on blank folio	Frontispiece of book 1, chapter 39 (S, f63r [f79r])
3	P, fol 52	Part 3, title page: ("Libro 3, del gouierno deste Reyno del Pirú") (f52r)	Inca ruler in his royal litter: Frontispiece (by Guaman Poma) of book 3, chapter 1 ("De la manera que los Yngas eran y de sus costumbres [addition: y con la magestad que caminaban"] (f52r)	First cancelled, then covered by pasted-on blank folio	Frontispiece of book 1, chapter 41 (on Huascar...) (S, f67r [f84r]) – Caption added: Guascar Ynga; caption added on facing page: Modo de caminar de los reyes yngas
4	P, fol 61	Part 3, chapter 9 ("Del traje y uestido que trayan las ñustas") (f61r)	Coya in procession: Frontispiece (by Guaman Poma) of book 3, chapter 10 ("De la magestad que trayan las Coias") (f61v);	First cancelled, then covered by pasted-on blank folio	Frontispiece of book 1, chapter 43: (on Chuquillantú ...) (S, f71r [f89r]) – Caption added: Chuquillantú, muger de Guascar Ynga; caption added on facing page: Modo de caminar de las reinas yngas.

Further observations can be made about the migration of folios from P to S. Just as no. 1 (coat of arms of Peru) served a different purpose after migration (P: frontispiece of the whole work → S: frontispiece of book 3), nos. 3 and 4 underwent a radical reinterpretation on their way from P to their new context in S. In P, they illustrated, respectively, the Inca king in procession, and his wife, the Inca queen, in procession, as frontispieces, respectively, of part 3's chapter 1 ("De la manera que los Yngas eran y de sus costumbres [added by P2:] y con la magestad que caminaban") and part 3's chapter 10 ("De la magestad que trayan las Coias"). Simply put, these two drawings represented a generic Inca king and a generic Inca queen in procession. As such, they were correctly referenced in S by inscriptions (again, by P2) on facing blank folios where the P-folios were

eventually inserted: “Modo de caminar de los reyes incas” (no. 3) and “Modo de caminar de las reinas incas” (no. 4).<sup>102</sup> At some point before or after migration to S they were redefined (once more, by P2) as ruler portraits (“guascar ynga” and “chuquillantú, muger de guascar ynga”). In S, they became frontispieces of the chapters introducing the eleventh Inca king, Huascar Inca, and his queen, Chuquillantú (S, book 1, chapters 41 and 43, respectively).

The four S-folios corroborate the model proposed above, or *vice versa*, since the above analysis is nothing but the application of Rowe’s findings to the rediscovered and nearly complete P manuscript. Furthermore, when considered in the immediate context of P, these S-folios supply us with crucial information for understanding the history of Murúa’s *Historia-cum-Historia general*, as will become evident below.

### 2.11.2. Juan Ossio’s Theory

Ossio challenges Rowe’s theory, suggesting that the 22 folios pasted into P originate from a “parallel,” “analogous,” or “previous” manuscript or draft (“borrador”), to which he also assigns two of the S-folios (no. 2, “Raba Ocllo” and no. 4, “Chuquillantú”). In Ossio’s view, Murúa intended to insert them in P, but for some reason they were inserted into S.<sup>103</sup> As for the two other S-folios identified by Rowe, Ossio assigns them to “another draft” (“otro borrador”), because he does not find space or confirming textual references for them in P, and he considers these criteria to be decisive determinants. Ossio has been led to this theory by Ballesteros’ speculations about drafts, which he has expanded and developed. We review below Ossio’s assertions about the folios pasted into S, in order to put forward our own assessment on the matter.

No. 1 (Coat of arms of Peru). According to Ossio, there is not allotted space (a blank folio) in P for this S-folio.<sup>104</sup> He believes that it originates from “another

<sup>102</sup> Though brief, Muñoz’s 1782 report of S had paid keen (and useful) attention to the topics rendered pictorially, making note not only of the ruler portraits and coats of arms, but also of the royal processions (“su modo de caminar en andas”). See his description above, in section 1.2.

<sup>103</sup> “De los otros cuatro estoy de acuerdo con Rowe que el de Raba Ocllo y el de Chuquillantú [nos. 2 and 4] podrían ser filiados con el manuscrito del propietario irlandés [P]. Sin embargo en este último no hay evidencias de cortes en las páginas. Por el contrario lo que se aprecia es que en los lugares donde iban a ir los dibujos las páginas están en blanco --- Por ejemplo en el caso de Raba Ocllo [no. 2] es claro ... que debía haber sido adherido en el lugar correspondiente en el manuscrito Galvín [P]. Por determinadas circunstancias Murúa no hizo esta operación” (Ossio 2004, 21).

<sup>104</sup> In reference to the illustration of the coat of arms of Peru, Ossio (2004, 21) remarks: “es el único que no guarda mayor correspondencia ni con el contenido del manuscrito Galvín [P] ni el Wellington [S].”

draft," different from the one that, according to his theory, supplied the 22 pasted-on folios of P, and that it migrated directly to S from that "other" draft. – There is no lack of space in P: a number of folios of quire 1 are lost, and this folio fits perfectly into P as a detached primary folio.

No. 2 (Raba Ocllo). Since there is in P a blank folio ready to host this folio, Ossio concedes to Rowe that "it could be affiliated" ("podrían ser filiados") with P, but, contrary to Rowe, Ossio chooses to let it originate in another manuscript or draft. According to Ossio, it was Murúa's intention to insert it into P, but for some reason it did not happen (and instead it was eventually inserted into S). – Of all the extraneous S-folios, this is the one that most evidently originates directly from P.

No. 3 ("Huascar Inca").<sup>105</sup> Because there does not seem to have been allotted space (a blank folio) in P for this S-folio,<sup>106</sup> Ossio assigns its origin to the same "otro borrador" as no. 1, and he suggests that it migrated directly from that draft to S. However, he acknowledges that the text on the reverse of Huascar has some likeness to the text on fol. 51v of P, which alludes to the execution of Tupac Amaru.<sup>107</sup> – In fact, the two texts are not look-alikes, but supplement one another perfectly.<sup>108</sup> As explained above (section 2.7), replacement fol. 52v was intended for the reinstallation of "Huascar Inca," but because this folio had migrated to S, the replacement folio was used instead as support for pasted-on fol. 53r.

No. 4 ("Chuquillantú").<sup>109</sup> This now-S-folio originally belonged in a location in P where two primary folios have been removed and only one replacement

<sup>105</sup> We use quotation marks to signal this Inca's name as a secondary identification of a figure that was in P initially assigned an identity as a generic figure of an Inca.

<sup>106</sup> "Aquel de Huáscar Inca cargado en una litera es cierto que no encaja directamente con ninguno de los capítulos del manuscrito que se reproduce en este facsímil" (Ossio 2004, 21).

<sup>107</sup> "Asimismo, el texto que está en el anverso es semejante al que alude a la ejecución de Túpac Amaru en el capítulo 16, libro 2º" (Ossio 2004, 21).

<sup>108</sup> At the bottom of P, 51v, we read: "No se vido jamás este ciudad del Cuzco en sus guerras ni trabajos | tan a pique de perderse como este día, pero quiso Dios que, sin escándalos ni guerras, acabáse este príncipe y mal logrado Amaru. En saliendo de su ..." This exposition continues without interruption on S, f67/84v (originally P, 52r): "... Preción todos los caciques, curacas y los demás yndios con algunos | de los nuestros acompañaron—llorando. En llegando | a la calle salían a los balcones y ventanas mugeres y doncellas y yndios | y yndias llorando—." Reading smoothly from the folio in P to its original sequel in P, which has now migrated to S, we have: "This city of Cuzco never found itself in its wars and hardships so close to being lost as on this day. But God willed that, without wars or scandals, this prince and ill-fated Amaru should come to his end. In leaving his (P, 51v) prison, all the lords, chiefs, and the rest of the Indians, along with some of our own people, accompanied—weeping. In arriving on the street, women and maidens and male and female Indians went to their windows, weeping —" (f52r).



folio subsequently inserted to replace it. That is, there are extant only two *pages* numbered 61 and 62, not folios, which would have yielded four pages. Since the recto of the S-folio (“Capítulo noveno”) is obviously the missing chapter 9 of P’s part 3, the recto of the folio is to be identified with primary f61r. This is also what Ossio entertains and accepts in the commentary to his transcription (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, page 142, note 109). In his *Introducción*, however, he takes the opposite approach to this case. Finding no blank page in P following “Capítulo 10, de la magestad que trayan las Coias” (replacement page 62) to which to assign the drawing of “Chuquillantú” on the verso of this S-folio (which had been the frontispiece of P’s chapter 10 in part 3, “De la magestad que trayan las Coias”), Ossio (2004, p. 21) assigns this drawing to chapter 27 of part 1 (f33v) where there is “space” for a ruler portrait of queen Chuquillantú. – Ossio presents this interpretation of the “Chuquillantú” folio as quite analogous to the Raba Ocllo folio. However, he is dealing with a single folio whose recto and verso cannot be separated for insertion into two locations widely apart in P (f33v in part 1; “page” 61 in part 3, respectively), if this folio had originally belonged to another, but “parallel” or “analogous” manuscript.

It is not entirely clear how many drafts Ossio postulates, nor how he relates them to one another. Sometimes he mentions three, sometimes two. Possibly, he envisages that up to three drafts were aggregated into one single “manuscrito paralelo o previo,” and that, in the end, all pasted folios in P and S belong there. However, even when thus concretized and simplified, Ossio’s theory as propounded in the *Introducción* (2004, pp. 10, 17, 20-22) is at variance with annotations he makes to his transcription. They follow Rowe’s theory.<sup>110</sup>

### 2.11.3 . *Points of Method*

Rowe’s primary concern was not the drawings but the texts. He had seen that the recto texts of these folios exactly filled out lacunae in Bayle’s edition of L, and he assumed that in L’s original, the then-lost P, there were 4 lacunae, each one consisting of 1 folio, corresponding to the 4 folios found in S. This, however, as we can see from the facsimile, is not what one encounters in P. In the places where Rowe envisioned lacunae (missing folios), P contains folios, some of them “empty”, others not, and it could seem to today’s observer of the facsimile that

<sup>109</sup> See note 105. “Chuquillantú” is a secondary identification for a generic royal female figure.

<sup>110</sup> Ossio (in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 96, note 46) writes: “Como ocurre con otros dibujos debió haber sido removido de aquí [P] para ilustrar lo que sería la versión final de la crónica de Murúa [S].” Regarding the missing Raba Ocllo drawing/folio in P, he (idem, 98, note 50) states: “El dibujo de esta coya fue trasladado [from where?] a la Historia General [S].”

Rowe therefore was on the wrong track.<sup>111</sup> However, the previous pages have shown that where Rowe thought that P had lacunae, we find instead *replacement* folios. They replace missing folios, that is, fill out lacunae. Rowe could not know that the lacunae had been prepared for the reinstallation of folios that earlier had been detached.

Ossio's theory ignores the difference between primary folios and replacement folios. The only issue that matters is whether the S-folios, considered as primary P-folios, fit in among the remaining primary folios of P. Rowe argued long ago, on the basis of an analysis of the textual evidence, that this was the case, and the 2004 facsimile of P confirms that he was right.

This confrontation of Ossio and Rowe may seem inconsequential, but it is important for two reasons.

First, we must ask whether the S-folio with the *curacas'* letter (Table 7, no. 1) is an ordinary element of the P manuscript itself or of some "other draft." – The *curacas'* letter is a document of paramount importance for the theory that Guaman Poma was Murúa's main indigenous informant and a close collaborator during the genesis of his *Historia*. It is considered to document their close collaboration on the strength of the hypothesis that it is a "draft" penned by Guaman Poma in imitation of the fictitious letter of recommendation of his father Guaman Mallque de Ayala, which is found in Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica*. Conclusive arguments have never been adduced for the priority of the Guaman Mallque-text, nor indeed for Guaman Poma's authorship of the *curacas'* letter.<sup>112</sup> Until the discovery of P, the *curacas'* letter was considered as a "draft," hypothesized as being jotted down in P by Guaman Poma. (His hand is on the reverse, which features the extensively commented Guaman Poma-drawing of the coat of arms of Peru.) Yet from the beginning it was patently clear that the letter had been inscribed by the same hand as the ordinary chapters of P [part 1, ch. 25, and part 3, ch. 9], discovered by Rowe. After the discovery of P, and insofar as its 22 inserted folios are interpreted as belonging to "other drafts," rather than to P itself, the *curacas'* letter, instead of becoming more tightly linked to P, can be dissociated totally from P, as if belonging to yet another "draft." – By reverting to Rowe's theory, the *curacas'* letter becomes contextualized (in the newly discovered P) more strongly than before, and, indeed, far from being a

<sup>111</sup> Ossio 2004, 21: "Sin embargo en este último [P] no hay evidencias de cortes en las páginas."

<sup>112</sup> That there is a textual relation between this text and the fictitious letter of recommendation of Guaman Poma's father is unquestionable, and well seen. But it does not follow that Guaman Poma drafted the letter of the *curacas*. More probable, on any count, is that Guaman Poma plagiarized and fictionalized the *curacas'* letter, which he knew from having illustrated the manuscript in which it had been inscribed (see below, 4.5).

free-going “borrador de carta,” it turns into an integrated part of a “copia en limpio”, that is, a print-ready manuscript.

Second, we must ask whether it is true that Ballesteros was on the right track in 1962 and in 1987 when he suggested, as a mere hypothesis, that P (which he only knew through L, that is, Murúa 1946a) consisted of a plurality of drafts. – It is this “historical lucidity” (“imaginando con gran lucidez histórica”) of Ballesteros (Ossio 2004, 13), which has induced Ossio to suggest that there is evidence in P and S for the existence of one, two, or even three “drafts,” and, consequently, to introduce the notion that Guaman Poma was the head of an artisanal production unit (*taller artesanal*) where members of his family were employed as scribes and illustrators. There is no evidence for such an atelier,<sup>113</sup> neither in Guaman Poma’s own book (except for his own claim about instructing his legal-petition-writing “decípulos” [Guaman Poma 1615, 499]), nor in his externally documented activities, nor in any other sources.<sup>114</sup> To date, the only “evidence” has consisted of Ballesteros’, and particularly Ossio’s, visions of P as an aggregate of elements derived from earlier “drafts,” rather than a tightly monitored manuscript evolving over time. In this context, one can hardly overestimate the importance of achieving a solid scholarly consensus on the question of whether Rowe’s theory of P was right or wrong.

### 2.12. *The Integrity and State of Preservation of P*

Our investigation has shown that neither P nor S offers evidence of material being interpolated into them from other drafts. P was fragmented, and P was reconstructed (with some, but not very extensive losses), and S was enriched with some elements of P. But there is no element in either P or S that comes from any other source. In fact, we have accounted for every single element in both manuscripts as originating in P or S.

P was not only carefully wrought in its various stages, but it is also well preserved. When we take into account that the twenty-two folios pasted into P are actually

<sup>113</sup> Ossio (2004) correctly qualifies his notion about an artisans’ workshop as “hipotético” on p. 52, but elsewhere he presents it as an established fact. On p. 48, for example, Ossio writes of Murúa as being surrounded by “informantes, dibujantes y amanuenses,” which on p. 49 turn out to be “Guaman Poma y el personal de su taller artesanal,” and on p. 54 a particular drawing is assigned to “Guaman Poma o sus familiares.”

<sup>114</sup> José Cárdenas Bunsen (1998, 2001) has challenged the prevailing opinion since Pietschmann 1908 concerning the manuscript of the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* being autograph from beginning to end. The adduced evidence for dictation and a variety of scribes, as can be imagined in a *taller*, does not carry the point. On Guaman Poma as author and as his own artist and scribe, see most recently Adorno 2004.

primary folios from the same manuscript that have been cut out from it and then reinserted into it by pasting onto replacement sheets, and when we discover that Rowe was correct when he argued that all four extraneous S-folios had migrated there from P, we come to the conclusion that only 20 primary folios of P are missing. Four of them were blank on both sides. Hence, out of the 152 inscribed folios of P, only sixteen have been lost (the text on one of them, however, primary fol. 42, is extant in copy). In other words, a full ninety per cent of P has been preserved to this day. For the details of these counts, see Appendix 4.

The impression of disorder and incompleteness conveyed by the early editions of P (made, of course, on the basis of L) was enhanced, first, by Bayle's insistence ("voy a declarar paladinamente") that P had to be a "mala copia" of a lost "authentic original," and, second, by the elevation of this impression into a theory of "uncleaned-up" drafts and notes ("un sucio") by Ballesteros. The discovery of P in 1996 and the publication of its remarkable facsimile in 2004 could have been the occasion for a fundamental revision of unsubstantiated speculations, but these have come to represent, regrettably, the culmination of nearly a century of steadily accumulating misimpressions and misunderstandings about the nature of the P manuscript.

Manuscripts often reveal much, directly or indirectly, about the model from which they have been copied or about an earlier version of the same work on which they are based. This is also the case with P. The discovery that as much as 90% of P has been preserved intact, and that it is a manuscript that was rationally, not haphazardly, planned, constructed, and developed, provides a solid basis for the systematic investigation of its internal history, and, beyond that, of possible antecedent and subsequent versions of the same work. In this Part Two of our study we have presented the elements that constitute the manuscript, moving from the most basic levels of its construction to the more complex levels of its receipt of its contents. We have sought to identify the constitutive elements of P and the logic of their assembly, fragmentation, and near-complete reconstruction. We went from gathering simple and indisputable codicological facts, such as watermarks, to more complex notions, such as "replacement folios". Our discussion culminated in the disentanglement of scholarly polemics over the complexities of migrated, recycled, and reinterpreted pictorial texts, that is, the water-colored drawings by Guaman Poma.

In the next part of our study, we will order chronologically the information that we have gathered and the analyses we have made. We do so in order to construct a plausible expression of the sequence of events that constitute the "early history" of the P manuscript from its earliest known antecedent version to its conservation and survival as a mutilated but still useful annex to the revised and expanded S manuscript that finally superseded it.

### *Part Three. The Early History of P*

We now turn to a chronological consideration of the construction of P. The new interpretative context that the facsimile publication of P has created allows us to assess a critically important piece of the Murúa puzzle (the *curacas'* letter of 1596) and to discover that there had been an earlier completed version of Murúa's work, which we will call C (= Cuzco). We will explore in detail the phases of the fragmentation of P and the logic of its reconstruction. With regard to the last phases of the evolution of Murúa's life-work, we venture to explain P's survival in spite of its being rejected by Murúa as a satisfactory version of his *Historia general del Perú*.

#### *3.1. Before P: The C Manuscript*

P contains some information about the period of time over which it was produced. Bayle (1946, 31-34) discovered long ago that the date of 1590, which appears both on the title page and at the end of the *Tabla*, should not be taken at face value.<sup>115</sup> Bayle (1946, 32-34) had identified two passages that refer to events of a decade later. First, on fol. 51v, Murúa refers to Martín García de Loyola as being the current governor of Chile. García de Loyola governed Chile from April 1592 until his violent death (at the hands of the Araucanians) on December 23, 1598.<sup>116</sup> Second, on fol. 137v, Murúa mentions the volcanic eruption near Arequipa of February 18, 1600. Augmenting Bayle's discoveries, Ossio (2004, 50, 191, note 175) has added a third and even later documented date for Murúa's additions to P: on fol. 106r, Murúa relates that he punished three Indian "idolaters" in the province of Aymaraes, when he was serving there as *comendador* and *cura*. Ossio has determined that Murúa had this charge between 1604 and 1606. All three passages are additions by P2, and they clearly indicate that Murúa continued working on P after 1606.

There is a fourth post-1590 date to be considered, and it also appears in a passage inscribed by P2. It is found in the only prologue that is extant in P, which is the prologue to part 4 (f126v). This text was written during the reign of Philip

<sup>115</sup> The title page (replacement folio, inscribed by P2) carries the notice, "acabóse por el mes de mayo del año de 1590," and the *Tabla* (P1) is dated "año de 1590."

<sup>116</sup> Hemming 1970, 461. García de Loyola's wife was Doña Beatriz Clara Coya (1588-1600), the great-granddaughter of Huayna Capac and the niece of the last Inca prince, Tupac Amaru (c. 1554-1572), who was executed by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (Hemming 1970, 506-507). Commenting on the six-year governorship of Chile by García de Loyola and Doña Beatriz, Hemming (1970, 461) notes that after the governor's assassination, "the Araucanians continued for many decades to use the skull of Governor García de Loyola [grand-nephew of St. Ignatius of Loyola] as a ceremonial drinking vessel."

III (1598-1621), as attested by the reference to the “cathólico Rey don Felipe, segundo Marte y tercero deste nombre.” Murúa here reveals that P is a fair copy of parts 1-3 of his book, to which he adds a fourth part: with the opportunity to make a clean copy of his book, he cannot but add to it an account of the riches and bounty of the kingdom of Peru and the excellence of its Spanish cities.<sup>117</sup> Thus the earliest possible date of the main text of P, the fair copy inscribed by P1, is late 1598.

This prologue, which appears at the beginning of the work’s part 4, comes in rather unexpectedly at this point because there is no other prologue in P. However, a cross-reference in part 3, chapter 25 (f77v), “como queda dicho en el prólogo,” confirms that there had been a prologue on one of the now-lost front matter folios in P.<sup>118</sup> This is what one would have expected, but not that it was a prologue to parts 1-3 only, as revealed by the supplementary prologue to part 4. It can be concluded, therefore, that before P there existed a full fledged earlier version of the *Historia*, consisting of a prologue and parts 1-3, and that P is a fair copy of it (“viendo la ocasión ... para sacar en limpio el presente libro”).

Additionally, the letter of recommendation of the *curacas* of Cuzco, dated May 15, 1596, which we can conjecture was inscribed by P1 on a front matter folio of P (currently located in S, see above, section 2.11), describes the work submitted by Murúa (C) with precision and in some detail.<sup>119</sup> Thus, it is not fortuitous that

<sup>117</sup> “Viendo la ocasión en las manos, prudente y discreto lecto[r], para sacar en limpio [*sic*] el presente libro, no quise perdonar a mi trabajo ni contentarme con sola la ystoria y gouerno de los yngas, por ser muy falto sino hacerlo entero y cumplido, poniendo aquí las grandezas y Riquezas deste Reyno del Pirú y las excelencias de las ciudades y villas que en el ay de españoles” (P, f126v; Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 221).

<sup>118</sup> The cross-reference to the prologue is inserted by P2 into a long literal quotation about quipus, from the second edition (1595) of Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas del mundo. De la República de las Indias Occidentales* [1575], bk. 3, ch. 26 (1897, vol. 2, p. 68): “Tenían grandes montones destas cuentas a manera de registros, como los tienen los escribanos, y allí tenían sus archivos [added in P: como queda dicho en el prólogo] y de tal manera, que el que quería algo, no tenía más que hacer de irse a los que tenían este oficio.” The origin of this passage was identified by Pärssinen (1989, 48) and acknowledged by Ossio (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 60).

<sup>119</sup> The *curacas*’ letter reads: “El qual [Martín de Morúa] abrá cinco años que a escripto una ystoria de nuestros antepassados, los rreyes yngas deste Reyno del pirú y de su gouierno, con otras muchas curiosidades por relación que de ello como de los viejos antiguos deste dicho Reino y de nosotros. Y que el estilo es fácil, eloquente, grave y sustancial, y la istoria [*sic*] muy verdadera como combiene al sujeto e personas de quien trata. Y que demás del servicio de V.Mag. que resultará de ymprimirse la dicha ystoria començándose a selebrar e hacer inmortal la memoria e nombre de los grandes señores como los merecieron sus hazañas, deseando que todo esto se consiga” (S, f283v). Significantly, “curiosidades” picks up a formula of the unabridged title of part 3, as evidenced by fol. 52 (in the manuscript S): “El gouierno que estos Reyes y Grandes señores Yngas tuvieron antes que los españoles viniesen a este Reyno del pirú, muy gustosso y con mucha curiosidad. Es como se sigue” (S, f67v).

the *curacas* do not mention Murúa's description of cities (including Cuzco<sup>120</sup>), while his treatments of Inca history (parts 1 and 2) and of Inca civic and social organization (part 3) are explicitly mentioned. The *curacas* further mention that the recommended book had been completed by Murúa five years earlier ("abrá cinco años que [Murúa] a escrito"). This fits well enough with the year, 1590, found on the title page of P considered as a copy of the title page of C.

### 3.2. From C to P

Cross-references within the text inscribed by P1 reveal more about the genesis of P. An important question is whether all four parts of the *Historia* were inscribed by P1 at approximately the same time or possibly over an interval of many years. If it could have stretched over many years, one could argue that only part 4 was inscribed after May 15, 1596, while the lost prologue and parts 1-3 were inscribed long before that date and constitute the very manuscript submitted by Murúa to the *curacas*.<sup>121</sup> This possibility, however, can be ruled out because there is a reference to part 4 in the running text of the P1 fair copy of parts 1-3. It is in part 2, chapter 13 (f48r), in which a long passage about the city of Huamanga ends thus: "Es ciudad de buen temple y de mucho Regalo y de gente muy yllustre y lúcida, como se dirá lo demás en la ystoria de la dicha ciudad." This cross-reference targets chapter 4 in part 4, and it proves that part 4 was completed or in the making when P1 inscribed the fair copy of parts 1-3. Since the main bulk of P was inscribed (P1) in one process, even if over a period of several weeks or months, and since part 4 had been copied by P1 not earlier than 1598, it is legitimate to assume that all the P1 fair copies of briefer texts can be dated to the same period. These briefer texts are the *Ficción*, the *Tabla*, the *Memoria*, and the letter of recommendation of the *curacas* of Cuzco.

The *curacas*' letter is dated May 15, 1596, and since it is known through the P1 fair copy of it, the P1 fair copy itself, to which the *Prólogo* of part 4 (inscribed by P2) explicitly refers ("sacar en limpio el presente libro"), must have been produced after May 15, 1596. Thus, it can be excluded that P (in any form) was the very manuscript submitted to the *curacas*. Rather, we can suppose that the enthusiastic declaration of the *curacas*, recommending to king Philip II the publication of Murúa's book, was an event that contributed to Murúa's decision

<sup>120</sup> Cuzco heads the 15 chapters, followed by Lima, Huánuco, Quito, Ica, Cañete, Choclococha, Huamanga, Camana, Arequipa, Arica, Chuquiago, Cochabamba, La Plata, and Potosí.

<sup>121</sup> Ossio (2004, 40) states that P was the manuscript submitted (or intended to be submitted, if it was only a "draft of a letter," cf. above, 2.11) to the *curacas*, and recommended by them for publication: "aquella carta de 1596 ... donde un grupo de *curacas* cusqueños decide respaldar la publicación del manuscrito de Galvin [that is, P]."

to initiate the production of a new fair copy (P) of his book, that is, to take decisive steps toward its eventual publication.

When P1 copied C, Murúa did more than just add part 4. This is evidenced by the cross-reference to the fuller treatment of Huamanga, mentioned above. Judging from P2's numerous later additions, it is probable that five years after C was completed, Murúa was prompted to add a number of supplements, corrections, and other enhancements to C before P1 started to make a fair copy of it, whether in installments or as one single assignment. However, this point should not be pressed. The text inscribed by P1 is not a new edition of C, as S is a new edition of P. It is a fair copy, says Murúa (f126v), and the probable date of completion of C, "por el mes de mayo del año de 1590" (P, title page) was not changed in the P1 copy made sometime after May 15, 1596. Neither in C nor in P was "1590" meant as an imprint date. It was the date of completion of the *Historia* as an intellectual achievement materialized in a manuscript (C). The addition of the 16 chapters of part 4 fulfilled a need in the work as conceptualized by Murúa, but it did not turn the fair copy into a new work. Furthermore, the date given as the date of composition had to comply with the information given in the *curacas*' letter, which was inscribed in proximity to the title page.

Apart from the addition of part 4, P came to differ from C in another very important respect. The *curacas* laud Murúa's style ("el estilo es fácil, eloquente, grave y sustancial"), but they do not mention the most salient characteristic of the manuscript of its later copy P: the water-colored drawings. It seems fair to infer that C was not illustrated.<sup>122</sup> The drawings are explicitly mentioned in P's prologue to part 4.<sup>123</sup> Had they existed when C's prologue to parts 1-3 was written, they would have been mentioned in that context, and there would have been no need to repeat the information about the visual enticement of the work in the prologue to part 4 written in 1598 or later. We can conjecture that the idea of illustrating his book may have stimulated Murúa to have a new fair copy of C produced, but it must remain a hypothesis.

Much must remain in the dark concerning peculiarities of C. Among errors that may have been conveyed from C to P, because they were only lately detected and corrected in P, is the faulty numbering of chapters in 57-73 of part 3, initially numbered 56-72 (fols. 109-125). The *Tabla* in P has the correct chapter numbers all along, and if C had no *Tabla*, the error in C may have been detected when P's *Tabla* was composed.

<sup>122</sup> This question is further discussed below, section 3.3.2.

<sup>123</sup> Murúa expresses the hope that his work will be welcomed by the reader: "con amoroso espíritu por las esmaltadas y barías pinturas y colores será uien recibido" (f126v).



### 3.3. The P Manuscript: A Professionally Produced Fair Copy

#### 3.3.1. Overview of the Contents

P was laid out as 79 double folios, folded and arranged in 7 quires of 12, 9, 10, 14, and 3 times 11 double folios, or 158 single folios (see Appendix 2); the paper used was of “AM” type (see above, section 2.4).

The version of Murúa’s *Historia* that was inscribed in P consisted of front matter and 132 chapters arranged in 4 unnumbered parts (see above, section 2.2). The front matter and first three parts were copied from a lost model, the manuscript C, to which were added part 4, the *Ficción*, a *Tabla* referencing all four parts plus the *Ficción*, and a short *Memoria*.

The front matter, up to the title page of part 1, consisted of 7 folios (0 + 1-6). The following contents are evidenced or can be conjectured, with each item occupying its own folio: the title page of the whole book, the *curacas*’ letter (recto) and the coat of arms of Peru (verso; extant in S), the coat of arms of the Inca kings,<sup>124</sup> the Andean landscape (extant in P), the coat of arms of the Mercedarians (extant in P), and a prologue to parts 1-3 (including an exposition on *quipus* as historical sources).<sup>125</sup> A blank folio may intentionally have preceded the title page, as is the case in the later S manuscript.

Table 8: Hypothetical Reconstruction of Quire 1

Note: Lost folios are represented by italics. Inspection of the prose texts on the reverse of nos. 4 and 5, as well as an investigation of the watermarks of nos. 2, 4, and 5, in conjunction with watermarks on fols. 18-23, may make it possible to suggest a less hypothetical sequencing of nos. 2-5.

First half of quire	Recto	Verso	Last half of quire	Recto (chap.)	Verso (frontispiece)
No. 0	<i>Blank</i>	<i>Blank</i>	Fol. 23	16	Queen 2
No. 1	<i>Title page of work</i>	<i>Blank</i>	Fol. 22	15	Queen 1
No. 2	<i>Curacas’ letter</i>	Coat of arms of Peru (in S, f283)	Fol. 21	14	Príncipes yngas
No. 3	<i>Blank</i>	<i>A version of the coat of arms of Inca kings, that is found in S, f13</i>	Fol. 20	13	Inca king 12

<sup>124</sup> S, fol. 13; in P (f28r), such a drawing is referenced as being “al principio de este libro.”

<sup>125</sup> P, f77v: “como queda dicho en el prólogo.”

No. 4	(Obscured text)	Andean landscape (P, 1st unnumbered folio)	Fol. 19	12	Inca king 11
No. 5	(Obscured text)	Coat of arms of Mercedarians (P, 2nd unnumbered folio)	Fol. 18	11	Inca king 10
No. 6	<i>Prólogo</i>	<i>Blank</i>	Fol. 17	10	Inca king 9
No. 7	<i>Title page of part 1</i>	<i>Frontispiece of part 1, chapter 1</i>	Fol. 16	9	Inca king 8
Fol. 8	Text of part 1, chapter 1	Frontispiece of part 1, chapter 2	Fol. 15	8	Inca king 7
Fol. 9	Text of part 1, chapter 2	Frontispiece of part 1, chapter 3 (Inca king 1)	Fol. 14	7	Inca king 6
Fol. 10	<i>Text of part 1, chapter 3</i>	<i>Frontispiece of part 1, chapter 4 (Inca king 2)</i>	Fol. 13	6	Inca king 5
Fol. 11	<i>Text of part 1, chapter 4</i>	<i>Frontispiece of part 1, chapter 5 (Inca king 3)</i>	Fol. 12	5	Inca king 4

Three folios had on their rectos the title statements of the first three parts. Only the third is extant (f52r, currently S, f67r/84r):

El gouierno. Que Estos, | Reyes. y grandes. señores, | yngas tuvieron. antes. que. | los españoles, viniesen, | a este Reyno. del pirú | mui gustosso, y con | mucha curiosidad | Es como. se sigue.

The entry in the *Tabla* is abbreviated: “Tabla del gouierno que los yngas y señores tubieron antes que los Españoles viniesen a este rreyno del pirú” (f149r).

A whole folio was also assigned for the title page of part 4 (fol. 126) but it was left blank<sup>126</sup> because the title page information in the model from which P1 copied part 4 was inscribed above the title of the first chapter. Fol. 127 recto therefore has two title boxes within the framing, the superior one containing the title of part 4: “Declaración del nombre deste rreino del pirú con las ciudades que ai en el.” It corresponds to the *Tabla* entry except for the addition of “de españoles”: “Tabla de la declaración del nombre deste rreyno del pirú, con la declaración de las ciudades <de spañoles> que ay en el” (f150r).<sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> At a later stage, the *Prólogo* to part 4 was added on f126 verso, facing chapter 1 of part 4, and still later (probably), Guaman Poma, by mistake, created a drawing on f126 recto, facing the last page of part 3 (see below, section 3.7.3).

<sup>127</sup> The last two words, apparently inscribed by P1, pick up the expression “y las excelencias de las ciudades y villas que en el ay de españoles,” which is found in the *Prólogo* to part 4 (f126v).

A whole folio (f143) was also left blank between the end of the *Historia* proper (f142v) and the beginning of the *Ficción* (f144r).<sup>128</sup> The manuscript ended with 6 blank folios.

### 3.3.2. Single-Page Chapters

Each of the unnumbered parts of the *Historia* started with a “Capítulo primero.” While the *Ficción* extended over 6 folios (including the initial blank separation folio) and had 4 pages set aside for illustrations, the chapters of the *Historia* proper were composed according to one simple scheme. They never exceeded a single page of text, and they included finely framed chapter titles of varying sizes, as determined by the length of the respective titles. Thus, every chapter had its own, single folio, invariably inscribed with the chapter’s title and the single-page chapter text on its recto.

There is only one exception to this pattern, and it is found in the very last chapter (and page) of part 3, corresponding to the last page of the *Historia* in the C manuscript. The verso of f125 is inscribed by P1 in continuation of the recto. The tapered conical ending of P’s part 3 probably reproduces the colophon that decorated the last page of C. This occurrence leads us to ask whether C was designed to have blank versos or whether its chapters were copied in such a way as to provide blank versos to accommodate further textual additions, or perhaps even illustrations/frontispieces which in that case, however, were never prepared. Thus, it is possible that C was designed to have frontispieces, as P (and, much later, S). However, as argued above (section 3.2), C was probably not illustrated, since neither the *curacas*’ letter nor, apparently, the lost prologue to parts 1-3 makes any mention of drawings.

Before any text was copied, each of the recto pages of P was ruled with a thin lead-point. The number of ruled lines per page varies according to the amount of text to be inscribed. The maximum number of lines is 36 (*Ficción*, f145). All chapters of the *Historia* (and the first page of the *Ficción*) included a calligraphed title embedded in the framing of the whole page, leaving space for 28-32 lines of text. Thus, the amount of prose text per chapter varied substantially, but harmony and uniformity of layout were achieved by adjusting the distance between the ruled lines (i.e. the number of lines on the page), by conically

<sup>128</sup> At a later stage, folio 143 was inscribed with a continuation of the text on folio 141 on its recto and the drawing of an adoring *aella* was created on its verso, as frontispiece to the *Ficción*. Still later, under the reconstruction of P, it was moved to the beginning of the manuscript, facing folio 8 recto, where it became the 3rd unnumbered folio with its recto text pasted onto a replacement folio and its adoring *aella* displayed as frontispiece to the “capítulo prohemial”.

tapering the lines of script at the bottom of the page (the end of the chapter), and by skillfully adapting the size and heaviness of the letters to the amount of text of the current chapter (Compare f38r, which consists of thirty lines, a brief title, and a relatively short text, with f39r, which has thirty-two lines, a lengthy title, and a much longer text.)

### 3.3.3. The Framing of Recto Pages

With the exception of the front matter folios, as well as f126r (reserved as title page for part 4 but left blank at this stage of the evolution of P), and f147r (one of the three pages left blank at this stage between the end of the *Ficción* and the beginning of the *Tabla*), all rectos carried text that was carefully inscribed by P1 within the boundaries of a double-lined frame. These frames, however, were not all of the same type. They vary in the way the chapter title is separated from the chapter text. The five variants, A-E in Table 9, do not occur haphazardly but in a sequential series with an increasing degree of complexity. The framing system evolves, step by step, and the framing of title and text becomes more and more integrated into one common structure.<sup>129</sup>

Table 9: Framing of Chapter Texts

Type	Folios (total)	Part, chapters	Description
A	8-34 (27)	1,1-27 (all of part 1)	1 line of separation between title and text; title in trapezoidal box within common 2-line frame
B	35-69 (35)	2,1-16 (all of part 2) and 3,1-17	2 lines of separation between title and text; title and text in separate rectangular boxes within common 1-line frame
C	70-109 (40)	3,18-57	4 lines of separation; title and text in separate 2-line frames; perspective <sup>130</sup>
D	110-122 (with variants 116 and 117), 144 and 145bis (15)	3,58-70 (with variants on 3,64 and 3,65) and the <i>Ficción</i>	3 lines of separation; title and text in separate but contiguous double-line frames; perspective

<sup>129</sup> In the S manuscript, all chapter titles are calligraphed and all text pages are framed, as in P, but title and text are not separated by horizontal lines.

<sup>130</sup> The illusion of a modest visual perspective is achieved by drawing lines that miter the corners of the frames.

E	123-125 and 127-142 (19)	3,71-73 and 4,1-16 (all of part 4)	2 lines of separation; title and text in integrated adjacent double-line frames; perspective (variations of this type due to long titles); fols. 124, 128, 137, 139)
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The frames were drawn after the body of the text was inscribed (see f52v and the rectos of fols. 58, 60, 66, 67, 93, 94, 112, 123, 125, where the frame is interrupted by or circumvents protruding letters), but was part of the making of a page. A thin, pencil-drawn line may have guided the scribe on the yet unframed page. A thin pen nib was used for inscribing the text of each chapter, while a thicker one was used for inscribing the chapter titles and for drawing the frames. Additionally, a thin pen nib was used to create the intricate, twisted decorative lines of frames of type A (fols. 8-34) and the elaborate cross-hatching and filigree-like variants of type D (see fols. 116 and 117). The ruling also guided the distance between the twin lines of the horizontal sides of the frames and the letter size of the calligraphic inscription of chapter titles (cf. e.g. fol. 53). Thus, frames and all text on recto pages are strictly monitored and modular throughout the manuscript.

#### 3.3.4. *The Foliation*

As part of P1's fair copy, a small, discrete foliation was added on the top right corner of the rectos. In many cases, this primary foliation was later partly or entirely cut away, but a later foliation, subsequent to the addition of replacement folios, was inscribed just above the frame; it coincided throughout with the primary foliation.<sup>131</sup> In the facsimile, remains of the primary foliation can be seen from folio 26 onward, and it is still intact on fols. 59, 60, 86, 88, 89, 105, 113, 133, and 134. No primary foliation can be seen on the folios of the *Ficción*. The primary foliation was not introduced on one folio in the front matter, possibly the very first folio, and probably by design.

#### 3.3.5. *The Table of Contents*

The *Tabla*, inscribed by P1 on three folios following a blank folio separating it from the *Ficción*, includes references that correspond chapter by chapter to the primary foliation.

The *Tabla*'s version of the titles of parts 3 and 4 can be compared with the title pages inscribed by P1 on f52r (currently S, f67r/84r) and on f127r, respectively. In the first case, only the superfluous rhetoric (which goes back to C) is bypassed in

<sup>131</sup> Exceptions occur where too few replacement folios had been added, see below, section 3.11. (For details, see above, section 2.7).

the *Tabla*, while in the latter case the *Tabla* copy is slightly expanded. In contrast, the *Tabla* entries for the single chapters are very much abbreviated throughout. Only twice (part 1, chapter 8, and part 3, chapter 69) are they allowed to occupy more than one line.

The first reference in the *Tabla* is to fol. 8: chapter 1 of part 1. Thus, there are no references to the front matter (e.g. the prologue to parts 1-3). The last reference in the *Tabla* is to the *Ficción* (fol. 144).

On the verso of the last folio of the *Tabla* P1 inscribed a "Memoria" on the weaving pattern of a *chumbi* (see above, section 2.2). It is not referenced in the *Tabla*, and it may or may not go back to the 1590 C version of Murúa's book.

### 3.3.6. Conclusion

The fair copy produced by P1 was an exquisite and professional piece of craftsmanship, quite unlike the character of a draft (*borrador*) in which emphasis is placed on composition rather than presentation. Great care was exercised in the production of the "finished" fair copy. However, soon after its completion in 1596 or later, P2 began to make a number of additions to the prose text without apparent concern for the esthetic value of P1's work. Soon, the *copia en limpio* was transformed into a repository of textual and graphic materials which could be used in a subsequent new version of the *Historia*.

We can calculate the time period of this transformation by taking into account the dates of contemporary events referred to in the manuscript (see above, section 3.1). Within approximately two years or less, from after the preparation of the *curacas'* letter of 1596 and prior to, or more or less contemporaneously with, the violent end of García de Loyola's governorship of Chile (December, 1598), P2 elaborated and augmented many expositions in the manuscript, and P was thoroughly and systematically expanded and transformed.

## 3.4. Additions to P: The Priority of Texts or Drawings

### 3.4.1. Filling out Blank Pages

When one pages through the facsimile, it seems evident that P was originally planned to include a complete set of frontispieces of its 132 chapters. However, the drawings are not mentioned on any of P's original title pages, neither the one copied from C (which is not surprising), nor the one that was later inscribed as a P2 addition below the copy of the 1596 letter of the *curacas*. With minor variants, the new title drafted in or after 1596 anticipates the title of Murúa's 1613 version (S). Both (see their transcription in our Introduction, above) refer to themselves as "general histories" that present a sweeping panorama spanning

the period from the origins of the Incas through the settlement of the Spanish and the establishment of their cities.<sup>132</sup> Both versions include the part/book that describes the cities, but neither of them makes any mention of the graphic side of the work. Only in the prologue to part 4, which at a late moment, ca. 1600, looks back upon the whole of P, does Murúa refer to “las esmaltadas y barías pinturas y colores.”

P was originally laid out and copied (P1) in such a way that every chapter started on a recto and the chapter never exceeded this single page of text. This simple scheme left a blank page between all chapters, which can be interpreted equally well as a blank page at the end of every chapter (available for later textual additions) or as a blank page facing every chapter (available for the addition of a frontispiece). In part 1, every blank page was filled out with a frontispiece drawing (portraits of Inca kings and queens). In the remaining three parts, however, a number of blank pages were filled to the brim with additions pertaining to the chapter on the reverse, while others, starting at the top, were only partly filled with text. Later on, it can be inferred, the remaining blank space in parts 2-4 were filled out with drawings (frontispieces) in sizes varying from a full page to a half page, or even much smaller.

#### 3.4.2. Additions Made After the Inclusion of Drawings

The great majority of additional texts (P2) were introduced before drawings were incorporated in parts 2-4, and the textual additions inscribed by P2 subsequent to the inclusion of drawings are few and normally brief, overwriting the bottom of frames on pages with text or inscribed in blank areas within drawings. In three instances Murúa succeeded in adding longer texts in locations where (in principle) a previously included drawing on the verso page prevented it. In these cases, the addition refers to a location in the manuscript beyond the boundary of the *Historia* proper:

1. At the bottom of f95r (a chapter on the virgins of the sun), a catch-word and “fo. 155” targets a folio that later was pasted onto replacement fol. 143 (see above, section 2.7). The reference was neither cancelled nor brought up to date, after it became obsolete through the migration of fol. “155” to the place previously occupied by fol. 143.

2. At the bottom of f126v (the prologue to part 4), a cancelled reference

<sup>132</sup> The chapter on the cities can be seen as the logical conclusion to the story of Spanish conquest and settlement insofar as one can imagine Murúa presenting their establishment as the emblem and achievement of Western civilization and their illustration as the satisfying counterpart to the folio 1 verso drawing of the verdent and snow-peaked but untamed Andean landscape.

targets "fo. 153" (?). The reference was later cancelled and is illegible in the facsimile.<sup>133</sup>

3. At the bottom of folio 141 recto (description of the city of La Plata), a reference reads: "lo demas está fo. 143", and on the next line: "pagina 2." If "pagina 2" can mean "page 2 of the present chapter" rather than "the verso of fol. 143," the target can be identified as the obscured reverse (recto) of the primary folio that was reinstalled as a pasted-on folio on the third unnumbered folio facing f8r and serving (with its displayed verso: adoring *adlla*) as frontispiece to the chapter on the deeds of the Mercedarians. This reference was cancelled, possibly when primary fol. 143 was displaced because fol. "155" had occupied the original position of fol. 143 in the reconstructed quire 7.

These cases have in common Murúa's solution to the need for more space: the use of blank folios at the end of the manuscript. He apparently did so, however, only on these three occasions.<sup>134</sup> From this we can infer that the drawings did not prevent Murúa from adding whatever supplements he wished until he definitively gave up P and concentrated all further work on the version of his book which was eventually to become the S manuscript. In consequence, it can also be inferred that the addition of drawings to parts 2-4 took place quite late during the process of expansion and transformation of P, that is, after P2 had introduced nearly all of the textual additions included in P.

### 3.4.3. Cross-Referencing Drawings

It is remarkable that the text of P, whether inscribed by P1 or subsequently augmented by P2, contains very few references to the drawings. The P1 fair copy contains more than twenty cross-references to the texts of other chapters, and more than ten are found in the additions of P2. One of the latter is inserted above the line in a P1 passage: "como queda ya dicho" (f54r, line 12). These cross-references are the result of Murúa's repeated passes over his own text, and they reveal his endeavour to make his exposition more clear by tightening its structure and rendering its inevitable repetitions less irritating. In contrast, there are only two references to drawings embedded in the P1 fair copy, and one within the P2 additions:

<sup>133</sup> Inspection of the original would probably make possible a positive identification of this cross-reference. The legible words "de V[uestra] M[agestad]" and "deste V[uestro] Reyno" make it probable that the target of the reference was an elaborate salutation formula.

<sup>134</sup> Further textual additions that have been cancelled or are unreadable for other reasons are found in the margins (top or side) of f128r, f129v, and f135r.



1. In chapter 21 of part 1 (f28r), at the end of the detailed description of the iconographic elements in the coat of arms suspended above the entrance of the Inca's palace in Cuzco, the P1 fair copy continues: "las cuales están pintadas al principio de este libro." The folio that contained this drawing is not extant.<sup>135</sup>

2. In chapter 1 of part 2 (f36r), while recounting "fabulous" reports about "captain" Pachacuti Inca, the running text of P1 mentions the apparition of a man clad in crimson and refers to "this drawing:" "una persona vestida de colorado, como parece en esta pintura, con una trompeta en la una mano y un bordón en la otra." The drawing would have been on the verso of the title page of part 2. Unfortunately, it is one of the folios that was removed but not later reinstalled.<sup>136</sup>

3: In chapter 16 of book 4 (on Potosí), the P2 addition (f142v) mentions, with a reference to "this drawing", the silver with which the king of Spain sustains the Christian world: "... con lo cual nuestro católico Rey sustenta toda la cristiandad, como se ve por esta pintura, pues dice el Inga, 'Ego fulcio columnas eius.'" <sup>137</sup>

These few references to the drawings over the course of the more than 100 extant chapters with frontispieces reveal their limited integration into the textual framework, and they stand as corroborative evidence of the lateness with which the hand-colored drawings supplemented the quasi-finalized text.

#### 3.4.4. Working in Parallel, Partly Coordinated

Although few in number, the cross-references to drawings offer evidence to the effect that Murúa's preparation of C, before its contents were copied by P1, ran parallel with the illustration project in a complex process that cannot

<sup>135</sup> Ossio (in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 96, note 46) takes for granted that a similar drawing among the front matter folios of S has migrated from P to S and is the very illustration to which Murúa refers in P. Inspection of the watermark found on S, f13v, disproves this hypothesis, see above, section 1.14.2 and note 78.

<sup>136</sup> Ossio (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 103, note 51) asserts that the drawing does not match, apparently thinking that f34v is the frontispiece of f36r, because it has a person clad in crimson, with the inscription (by P2) "Pachacuti ynga." The drawing on f34v fills up the space that was left after the names of 34 ethnic groups subdued by Inca captains had been inscribed by P2, and the person clad in crimson is probably a generic representation of an Inca captain, rather than the portrait of a historical one. As mentioned in section 2.11.1, P2 has in more than one case made additional interpretative inscriptions on drawings with generic content.

<sup>137</sup> Instead of transcribing the perfectly legible text of the P manuscript, Ossio (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 246) repeats and further corrupts the inept rendering of Bayle's copy of L. Ossio thus reprints Bayle's (in Murúa 1946a, 417) "colugnas [sic]," while the manuscript, f142v, has "columnas." In the same sentence, however, he departs from Bayle (L) when it comes to Latin (the motto of Potosí

be elucidated in detail. It is imaginable that C can have included "al principio" a drawing of the coat of arms of the Inca kings without triggering an explicit mention in the letter of the *curacas*. Yet it is more probable that the reference to the coat of arms of the Incas and to the drawing of the "man in crimson," respectively, were added to the text of C shortly before P1 copied these chapters, thus providing information that would be useful to the prospective artist.

One more aspect of the drawings and their relation to the text in P indicates that the artist and the author did not collaborate closely. Ossio (2004, 25, 49) has observed that text and drawings often have a very tenuous relation to one another. In the same vein, we have mentioned (section 2.11.1) that in some cases, P2 has reinterpreted or historicized drawings, such as "Guascar ynga" and "Chuquillantú muger de Guascar ynga" We suggested that this is the case with the P2 inscription "Pachacuti ynga" on the man clad in crimson of f34v, which for the artist represented a generic Inca captain or king rather than one particular, historical Inca ruler. Finally, some brief P2 additions to chapter titles can be explained as being triggered by the desire to link the prose exposition and the drawing, as in the addition to the title of chapter 1 of part 3: "y con la magestad que caminaban" (f52v). As often happens, author and artist were not closely coordinated. Yet after the inclusion of the illustrations, P2 did his best to relate text and drawing, repairing discrepancies that would confuse the reader and linking the visual to the verbal text wherever possible.

The idea of including illustrations in his work may have been a major incentive for Murúa to make a fair copy in which there would be space enough for a complete set of frontispieces. The illustration project was fulfilled in part 1, where nearly all of the frontispieces are ruler portraits.<sup>138</sup> In parts 2-4, another artist came into the picture: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.<sup>139</sup> By that time, many blank pages had been filled with additional textual material, but many others were still blank. Guaman Poma apparently was given *carte blanche* to fill out with illustrations all remaining gaps. Within the *Historia* proper, the drawings are all frontispieces, introducing the text that follows.<sup>140</sup> The artist must have been instructed to create the alternating picture/prose pattern in this manner.

"Ego fulcio columnas eius") and prints "Juicio" instead of "fulcio," which is found in P and in Bayle (and surely in L). The error is evidently imputable to the scanning of Bayle's text (see Ossio 2004, 62-63): the applied program for automatic optical character recognition (OCR) was weak in Latin, and guessed at Spanish "Jui-cio" instead of Latin "ful-cio."

<sup>138</sup> The drawings on f21v and f22v are not ruler portraits in the strict sense but have motifs of rulers' "everyday life," that is, the king's council and the queen's morning toilette, respectively.

<sup>139</sup> The coats of arms found in the upper lefthand corners of the portraits of Inca queens in part 1 were drawn by Guaman Poma.

<sup>140</sup> Concerning the drawings on f126r and f143r (primary "155"), see below, section 3.7.3.

### *3.5. Textual Additions that Antedate the Drawings*

#### *3.5.1. Additions on Rectos*

Author and artist worked concurrently. It is not possible to distinguish in all cases between the textual additions inserted before, and those introduced after, the drawings were prepared. Nevertheless, it is possible to make such assessments in some instances. We begin by considering the great number of pre-drawing additions.

P2 additions are in some cases so brief that they are contained on the recto alone, normally below the P1 text, encroaching on the bottom of the frame. Like corrections and amendments in the text itself, these additions can equally well have been introduced before or after the creation of the drawings. For example, on f31r, the addition (in the margin) is a late note-to-self of P2 (probably while working on the S version) about information in the current chapter that should be moved to the chapter on the city of Cuzco. On f36r the addition consists of only two lines, and on f46r and f47r the additions are simple announcements about the contents of the following chapter: “como se dirá (como lo dirá) en el cap. siguiente.”

Folio 106 recto was mentioned above (section 3.1). It contains a 3-line addition by P2 below the chapter inscribed by P1. The addition fits into the space available, with the third line overwriting the bottom part of the frame. This addition is datable to after the year 1606. It is possible, as suggested above, that the addition is on the recto because in 1606 (or later), the verso was already occupied by a drawing, and that the addition, which is partly autobiographical, would have been more detailed if there had still been more room available on the verso.

#### *3.5.2. Additions on Versos*

In contrast to the previously mentioned additions, those on verso pages can in general be considered as earlier than the addition of drawings. As mentioned, the versos were probably left blank by P1 because they were reserved for use as frontispieces. This program was carried out up to the end of part I (f33v), but from f34v onward, prose texts were sometimes inscribed before the artist was allowed to do his work. As detailed in Appendix 5, there are 17 cases in which the frontispieces are of much reduced size because the page was already occupied by a prose exposition, and there are 15 cases in which there is no frontispiece because P2 additions already filled the verso to the brim when Guaman Poma was involved as artist. In most cases, the additional verso text is initiated on the bottom of the preceding recto page.

The addition on f137v describing the volcanic eruption near Arequipa of February 18, 1600, is interpreted below (section 3.6) as the earliest time limit for the drawings of P (or in part 4 of P).

### 3.5.3. Embedded Quotations from Román y Zamora

Marti Pärssinen (1989, 48-49) has identified three extensive literal quotations from Román y Zamora's *Repúblicas del mundo* (1575, 1595), nos. 1-3 in Tabel 10, below.<sup>141</sup> Pärssinen used Bayle's edition (Murúa 1946a), and in 1989 he could not know that in two cases (nos. 2 and 3) they are inscribed by P3. Studying the facsimile of P, we have discovered that P3 has inscribed two additional passages (nos. 4 and 5), which we have identified as also being literal quotations from Román y Zamora's *República de las Indias Occidentales*.

Table 10: Quotations in P from Jerónimo Román y Zamora, *Repúblicas del mundo*

No.	P, folio	P, part and chapter	Hand	Román y Zamora (1575; 1595), book and chapter; 1897 edition
1	f77v	3,25	P2	2, 16; 1897, v. 1, pp. 67-68
2	fol. "155" → f143r	3,43	P3	1, 8; 1897, v. 1, pp. 115-118
3	f112v	3,60	P3	1, 7; 1897, v. 1, pp. 108-109
4	f119v	3,67	P3	1, 9; 1897, v.1, pp. 121-122
5	f122v	3,70	P3	1, 10; 1897, v. 1, pp. 127-128

Quotation no. 1, inscribed by P2, includes a number of insertions by P2, and the transcription is relatively free. The quotations inscribed by P3 are all embedded in passages inscribed in P2 and render very faithfully the printed original's orthography, abbreviations, and punctuation. In a few cases, P2 has subsequently included small adjustments to the new context.<sup>142</sup>

### 3.5.4. Other Characteristics of Verso Texts

The versos were not ruled, but the thin paper allowed the inscribed lines of text on the rectos to serve as guidelines for the inscription of textual additions.

Full-page textual additions up to f73 were not framed. From f77v onward, however, they are invariably framed, as are the drawings throughout the ma-

<sup>141</sup> Pärssinen is cited by Ossio (Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 160, note 131, 199-200, note 189, 246-247, note 236).

<sup>142</sup> These adjustments include the interpolation of "como está dicho en el prólogo" (no. 1) and the alteration of "lo dejo para el capítulo siguiente" to "lo dejo para otro capítulo" (no. 3). Taking

nuscript. The heavy framing on the rectos guided the verso framing.

In a number of cases, the P2 additions result in corresponding additions to the titles of the augmented chapters.<sup>143</sup> The simplest such additions occur in part 1; they consist of an Arabic numeral referring to the sequential order of the Inca queens, added to the titles of some of those chapters and corresponding to the same numeral that appears on the respective portraits. The emendation of the chapter title serves to link the frontispiece drawing to its accompanying chapter (f25r, f26r, f27r, f28r, f29r), avoiding the reader's potential confusion as to whether the pertinent portrait appears before or after the prose exposition of the chapter. The most notable instances of these late-added chapter title references target the textual material that appears on the following (not the preceding) verso. These emendations are found in chapter title additions that call attention to the topics of the lengthy additions that P2 made to the chapters of part 3, on Inca civilization and society (chs. 2-8, 14, 15, 21, 44 [f54r-f60r, f66r, f67r, f73r, f96r, respectively]), and, in part 4, to those on the cities (chs. 2, 4, 8, 9 [f128r, f130r, f134r, f135r, respectively]). A different phenomenon is the addition of what seems to have been a long subtitle, perhaps amounting to a plot summary or a moral commentary that was written, and has been subsequently cancelled, within the title frame of the *Ficción* (f144r).

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, f125v is exceptional: in the C manuscript, chapter 73 of part 3 was the last chapter of the *Historia* proper, and it was allowed to fill both recto and verso, since no more frontispieces would be needed at this point.

### 3.6. Guaman Poma's Involvement in P: Between 1596 and 1600

When did Guaman Poma illustrate parts 2 through 4 of P? As already established (sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2), it occurred after the overwhelming majority of textual additions had been incorporated. Apart from short phrases identifying the

text no. 1 as a sample of the quality of Ossio's transcription and annotation, we have found in the transcription of f77v (quotation no. 1) six misreadings of the perfectly legible P manuscript: por otra arte (Ossio's transcription: parte), curioso (oscura), a manera de pater nostres (pater noster), espanta (espantaba), cuentas (cuerdas), pestilencia (pestilencias), que los antiguos (pues los antiguos). All six errors are repeated from Bayle (in Murúa 1946a) and represent misreadings of the copyist responsible for the L copy of 1890. As for the annotation, Ossio misinterprets Pärssinen (1989, 48) and limits the Román-quotation to 8 lines of text. Consultation of the source (Román) reveals that the literal quotation extends over more than 20 lines.

<sup>143</sup> Less frequently, a late addition to the chapter's title simply refers to the initially redacted text in order to draw the reader's attention to the material already there, as "y de cómo en su tiempo conquistaron los españoles este reyno" supplements part 2, chapter 10's title about Atahualpa and his great deeds (f45r). See also f65r (part. 3, ch. 13), where a late addition to the chapter title calls

pictorial subjects on drawings, there are only a few textual additions that were introduced after the inclusion of Guaman Poma's drawings (see below, section 3.8). Insofar as these prose additions contain datable elements, they can help us locate, and limit, the timespan of Guaman Poma's involvement as artist. There are three such pertinent additions:

1. On folio 51 verso, there is a P2 addition of 14 lines inscribed within the frame of the drawing. This emendation, mentioned above, refers to Martín García de Loyola as the current governor of Chile, which was a mission he fulfilled from April, 1592, until his death on December 23, 1598. Bayle had pointed out that this evidenced the fact that Murúa continued working on P beyond 1590, but we can deduce even more information from the facsimile. The addition is inscribed above the drawing of the execution of Tupac Amaru in such a way that the text does not interfere with the top of the hat of one of the executioners. This gives us a latest date for Guaman Poma's participation: The drawing cannot be later than December 1598 (or sometime in early or mid-1599, if we allow for some time for information on events in Chile to reach Peru), but it need not in any way have been the last drawing that Guaman Poma executed for Murúa.

2. On folio 137 verso, a textual addition sets another lower limit for Guaman Poma's involvement as artist. It is the account of the volcanic eruption at Arequipa of February 18, 1600, also noted by Bayle as indicative of Murúa's continued work on P after 1590. Bayle was unable to make inferences regarding the time period of the illustration's execution, since extremely few data on the graphic dimension of P were available to him (only L was known at that time).<sup>144</sup> The evidence of the facsimile allows us to infer that the P2 addition on primary f137v (now P5 on a replacement folio) concerning the 1600 eruption made it impossible for Guaman Poma to create a frontispiece for the chapter starting on the recto of f138r, which describes the city of Arica.<sup>145</sup> Had there been space left on f137v, Guaman Poma would no doubt have filled it with a frontispiece.<sup>146</sup> So Guaman Poma must have been at work illustrating P, at least in part 4, after February 18,

attention to the sacrifices and ceremonies to be made to honor the *huacas* and, more simply, in other cases, to recommend the chapter to the reader's attention: "tócanse cosas buenas" and "es capítulo muy curioso" (part. 3, chapters 53, 60, 67 [f105r, f112r, f118r]).

<sup>144</sup> See our Introduction, note 2, for a summary of the drawings that Bayle's edition reproduced.

<sup>145</sup> The original P2 addition about Arequipa, inscribed on primary f137v, is obscured, but it was previously copied onto replacement fol. 137v by P5. Had there been a drawing (featuring the city of Arica) on primary f137v, it would have been made visible instead of primary f136r. Additionally, because of its 44 lines of condensed text, there can be no doubt that primary f137v did not contain a drawing.

<sup>146</sup> Regarding Guaman Poma's occasional need to work in very cramped pictorial space, see the very small drawing of the city of Cochabamba (f139v).

1600. This implies that the frontispiece of the chapter on Arequipa (f136v), which depicts an ash-rain over the city, can refer specifically to the February 1600 eruption of the Huaynaputína volcano near Arequipa, or generically to this as well as earlier eruptions mentioned on f137r/v.<sup>147</sup>

3. On f106r there is an addition referring to Murúa's already-completed assignment as *comendador* ("commander," law-enforcement officer) and *cura* (priest) in the province of Aymaraes, which Ossio has discovered took place in 1604-1606 (see above, section 3.1). This dating is important for determining Murúa's latest additions to P, that is, sometime after 1606. Furthermore, one can argue that the P2 addition would have been inscribed on the verso instead of the recto (and been more detailed), if space had been available on the verso, and therefore that the verso was at that time already occupied by a full-page drawing by Guaman Poma, and that thus the addition was inscribed on whatever space was left at the bottom of f106r. However, the year 1606 as the latest point in time for Guaman Poma's involvement in P is too late to be significant: his collaboration with Murúa had probably ceased some years earlier.

The available evidence suggests that P was produced as a fair copy and then transformed into a repository of supplementary textual and graphic materials used over a long period of time, perhaps ten years, that is, from sometime after May 15, 1596, through sometime after 1606. As for Guaman Poma's involvement in P, the earliest and latest time limits are 1596 (sometime after May 15) and 1600 (sometime after February 18), respectively.

### 3.7. The Inclusion of Drawings

#### 3.7.1 General Remarks

Excepting the drawings on front matter folios and the four full-page illustrations added to the text of the *Ficción*, all extant drawings are frontispieces in the sense that they do not refer to the current (preceding) chapter, but to the chapter immediately following the drawing. Exceptions to this rule are fols. 126 recto

<sup>147</sup> Ossio's discussion of this issue seems confused (2004, 54-55). He thus believes, in contrast to what we have shown (above, section 3.4), that drawings were included before P2 additions on verso pages, and he confuses the P2 addition on f136v (about the city of Camaná) with that about the city of Arequipa, which is on f137v: "Esto es sugerido por el añadido [f137v] donde Murúa describe esta erupción [of 1600] en el manuscrito Galván[P], que, como se puede apreciar, ha sido superpuesto al dibujo [which is on f136v]." We are in agreement with Ossio as to the date of the drawing of the ash-rain over Arequipa (after 18 February 1600), but while this date complies with our theory of the relationship between P and Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica* (P-NC), it represents, as conceded by Ossio (2004, 54), an exception to his (NC-P), see below, section 4.5.

and “155” (see below, section 3.7.3). If it is correct that the verso pages were initially planned to carry such frontispieces, the original plan was carried out through part 1. In part 2, we find a solitary full-page addition on f48v. Through the 89 chapters of parts 3 and 4, numerous versos had been used for inscribing more or less extensive textual additions, and the illustrator had to make do with the space that was left. Extant in these two parts (in P and in S) are 52 partial or full-page frontispieces; in 13 cases, the textual additions left no space at all, not even for a mini-frontispiece; in 24 cases, no evidence is available.<sup>148</sup>

The drawings fall into two groups: (a) those that were probably not made by Guaman Poma (unnumbered fols. 1 and 2, and all of part 1), and (b) those that apparently were, bearing as they do the constellation of his familiar iconographic traits. These drawings include the coats of arms next to the portraits of Inca queens in part 1,<sup>149</sup> and all the drawings in parts 2 through 4 as well as those in the *Ficción*. Since there are no P2 additions on versos in part 1, the portraits of Inca kings and queens may have been added here at any point in time. If it is correct, as suggested, that the coats of arms next to the portraits of the Inca queens were drawn by Guaman Poma, the portraits of the Inca queens themselves (fols. 24-33; 8 extant in P, 1 in S) must predate his involvement in the comprehensive illustration project.

The case for Guaman Poma's role as illustrator is a strong one, and it dates from the studies of Mendizábal Losack (1961, 1963), who worked with the few illustrations from L (as copy of P) reproduced by Bayle, along with the 1936 Paris facsimile edition of Guaman Poma's work, and (from 1962) Ballesteros' edition of the S version of Murúa's *Historia*. These inquiries into the shared artistic style of drawings in Murúa's manuscripts and Guaman Poma's are part of a fourfold constellation of positive evidence for their relationship. Fundamental is the subject matter of the drawings, which runs in series: the Inca kings, their queens, the officers of political and societal organization, and the cities of the kingdom. Ossio (2004, 29-38) has most recently reviewed these points of common pursuit with regard to the chapters' contents and, therefore, by default, with the pictorial texts in the works of both authors. Two particularly revealing elements are the coats of arms created by Guaman Poma in both the P manuscript and the *Nueva corónica* manuscript, and the captions and annotations in his handwriting that

<sup>148</sup> Frontispieces in parts 3 and 4 of P are found on the versos of fols. 63-66, 69-72, 74-76, 78-86, 88-111, 113, 114, 117, 117, 120, 121, and 141. The count of three P-frontispieces in S excludes the folio with the coat of arms of Peru, since it was not a chapter frontispiece in P.

<sup>149</sup> These shields are found in P on the versos of fols. 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 31, and in S on f63/79r (formerly P, f32v) and f283/307r (formerly within the front matter of P). The compositional and interpretative identity is especially evident upon comparing P, f26v, with the *Nueva corónica*'s title page, and S, f283/f307, and P, 31v, with the *Nueva corónica*'s p. 83.



are occasionally found on the drawings (see Appendix 6). In short, with regard to (1) representations of heraldry, (2) captions inscribed within the pictorial field, (3) the subject matter of the paintings, and (4) their artistic style, Guaman Poma's creation of Murúa's drawings is beyond question.<sup>150</sup>

As mentioned above (section 3.4.3), the text of the *Historia* contains two cross-references to drawings that appeared earlier in the text, in the front matter and on the verso of the title page to part 2, respectively (f28r, f36r). The former is now in S and the latter has disappeared. There is a third such cross-reference, appearing not in the P1 fair copy but in a P2 addition. It is the reference in the written account of Potosí, "como se be por esta pintura" (f142v), which refers back to that chapter's frontispiece (f141v). Likewise, in one single instance (f145r), the prose text of the *Ficción* refers ("la figura lo muestra") to a drawing that follows it on the next page.

The drawings of P were framed; there is only one extant exception (f126r; see below, section 3.7.3).<sup>151</sup> When a verso includes both a P2 textual addition and a drawing, the frame integrates matter pertaining to one chapter with a frontispiece of the next. The frame was drawn by following the lines of the frame on the recto, which was easily visible through the thin paper. While the recto frames start by being concentric boxes, the verso frames from f23 onward have "perspective:" oblique lines in the corners to create the illusion of mitering (see above, note 130).

As Ossio has observed, the drawings do not always correspond very well to the chapter contents. It is indicative of a rather loose connection between author and artist. Furthermore, as mentioned above (section 2.11.1), Murúa (P2) apparently redefined or historicized certain drawings (Pachacuti Inca, Huascar Inca, Chuquillantú).

At least fourteen chapters of P were without frontispieces because of previous textual additions that took up the available space,<sup>152</sup> and as many as thirteen frontispieces may be lost among the 20 removed and missing folios.<sup>153</sup> Within the front matter, the loss of a drawing of the coat of arms of the Inca kings is documented (see above, section 1.14.2). The small-size "frontispieces" may seem

<sup>150</sup> We will not discuss these matters in detail, but they will be entertained briefly below, in Part Four.

<sup>151</sup> Although the pasted-on primary "155", currently occupying folio 143r, seems to be unframed, some lines of its original frame are still visible.

<sup>152</sup> These fourteen chapters lacking frontispieces are as follows: Part 2, chapter 14 (f48v); Part 3, chapter 4 (f55v); 3,5 (f56v); 3,7 (f58v); 3,9 (f60v); 3,16 (f67v); 3,22 (f73v); 3,26 (f77v); 3,71 (f122v); Part 4, chapter 1 (f126v); 4,2 (f127v); 4,3 (f128v); 4,9 (f134v); 4,12 (f137v).

<sup>153</sup> These thirteen frontispieces would be found as follows: Part 1, chapter 1 (f7v); 1,2 (f8v); 1,5 (f11v); 1,6 (f12v); 1,7 (f13v); 1,24 (f30v); 1,27 (f33v); Part 2, chapter 1 (f35v); 2,8 (f42v); 2,9 (f43v); Part 3, chapter 11 (f62v); 3,17 (f68v); 3,36 (f87v).

meaningless compared to the full-page frontispieces, but Murúa may have been aware that the drawings would in any case be resized as woodcuts or engravings when his book was printed. His goal may have been to collect as many “original” motifs as possible in order to provide abundant material on which an artist in Spain eventually could elaborate.

### 3.7.2. Versos Without Facing Chapters

Because each part of the book was initiated by a separate title page, the end of each of the four parts was irregular insofar as there was no facing chapter. Remarkably, this problem was “solved” differently in all four cases. We mentioned above (section 3.3.2) that in one exceptional case, that is, the last chapter of part 3 (f125v), the P1 fair copy continued onto and filled up the verso page. It was the ultimate page of the *Historia* as copied from C, and no frontispiece would follow. Similarly, the verso of the last chapter of part 4 (f142v) was filled by a P2 addition.

The problem of finding an appropriate way of ending the series of facing frontispiece-plus-prose chapter was solved differently in the two remaining cases. It was done in part 1 by referring forward to part 2, and in part 2 by referring back to the last chapter of part 1, as follows:

The last page of part 1: On f34v, the last page of part 1, there was a textual addition: a list of 34 ethnic groups conquered by the Incas. A drawing of an Inca, clad in crimson, was added alongside the list. He is shown slaying a foe, while above, coming down from the sky, a male figure clad in blue blows a trumpet. It is a frontispiece to part 2: “De los príncipes y capitanes del gran reyno del Pirú.” On the crimson man, P2 has added the notation “Pachacuti ynga” in reference to the ninth Inca, who greatly increased the territorial extent of the empire.<sup>154</sup>

The last page of part 2: On f51v, the last page of part 2, a drawing of the execution of Tupac Amaru refers back to the final chapter (16) of that part: “Del noble ymfante [*sic*] y capitán Amaro y de cómo los españoles le degollaron”. Chapter 16 of part 2 thus stands out as the only chapter in P that has both a frontispiece and a following illustration. The frontispiece (f50v) shows Tupac Amaru being led forward with a golden rope or chain by his captor, Martín García de Loyola. In this way, the graphic rendering of the end of the Inca dynasty could be stretched over two drawings depicting first the capture and then the execution of Tupac Amaru, the last male offspring of the Inca dynasty. Apparently, this in turn invited further textual additions; one extending from f51r to f52r (the

<sup>154</sup> Ossio (in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, p. 105, note 51) interprets this drawing to be the frontispiece of the first chapter of part 2. This chapter, however, must have had its own frontispiece (now lost) on primary fol. 35v.

latter, now is S), and one contained on P's f51v. Both were inscribed after the introduction of the drawings (see below, section 3.8).

### 3.7.3. Two Exceptional Cases

While all other pages with drawings are framed, f126r is not. According to the book's characteristic formatting of its division into parts (later: books), there should not have been a drawing on this page. Instead, it should have been occupied by the title page of part 4. However, the title of part 4, "Declaración del nombre deste rreino del Pirú con las çiudades que ai en el," had been inscribed in a rectangular frame poised above the frame featuring the title of chapter 1 ("Capítulo primero del nombre deste rreyno, de el Pirú y sus riquezas"), which occupies that page (f127r). This layout probably reflects quite accurately the layout of the small manuscript by Murúa that must have served as model for the P1 fair copy of part 4 in addition to C (see Appendix 8). Exceptionally, therefore, f126r was blank when P was handed over to the artist. The manuscript was not sewn and bound, and the artist (Guaman Poma) probably took out every double folio from the stack of quires when doing his art-work in the spaces left empty at that time by P2.

Referring to Appendix 2, we know that f126r belonged to the second half of the double folio 123 plus 126. Under normal circumstances, the facing pages constituted by f123v plus f126r would appear as blank and inscribed, respectively, and the blank page would have to be made into a frontispiece for the chapter on f124r (Part 3, chap. 72: "De los nombres de los otros seis meses y de las fiestas que acostumbrauan los yndios en todo el año"). Here, however, Guaman Poma was confronted with two facing blank pages. Apparently, he chose to make a frontispiece for chapter 72 on both blank pages. The former now carries what became the "real" frontispiece of chapter 72 in part 3, representing a public feast hosted by the Inca ("fiesta del ynga"), with the Inca king and his queen, a female musician and other women, probably *acllas*, in attendance (f123v). The latter, which was separated from "its" chapter when the double folio was reinserted into the quire structure, features a male Inca court dancer and a female musician. When Guaman Poma realized his error, f126r was abandoned; although hand colored, it was left unframed.

The drawing of the morning toilette of an *aclla* (virgin of the sun) on the often-mentioned fol. "155," later pasted onto replacement fol. 143, is also irregular: it had never been, and is not now, a frontispiece. When it was still primary fol. "155," it bore the written text at the top of the folio and the drawing at the bottom. The order was reversed when the two pieces, now cut apart, were re-installed on replacement fol. 143. Originally, therefore, this drawing referred backwards, illustrating the text above itself, but as re-installed it refers,

like the regular frontispieces, to the text that follows it. However, as part of folio “155,” this drawing of an *aclla*, like the other three drawings in the *Ficción* that originally preceded it (f146v, f147r, f147v), was an illustration of current text on the same page, not a frontispiece. The artist, hence, had not realized that folio “155” in reality was a continuation of folio 95 (part 3, chapter 43: “De las casas que auía de yndias de recogimiento dedicadas al sol”) in the *Historia* proper, where he was supposed to make only frontispieces, not illustrations embedded in the prose text.

### 3.8. Textual Additions Made After the Introduction of Drawings

Just as the size of drawings had to be adapted to the space left by previously inscribed textual additions, subsequent textual additions had to be adapted to previously included drawings. A particularly complex instance, showing that author and artist to some extent worked concurrently, is the just-mentioned addition to f95r on fol. “155”. Because of the existence of a drawing on f95v, the addition to the chapter on “yndias de recogimiento” (*acllas*) (f95r) was referred to fol. “155” (f143r). There, in turn, it was adorned with an additional drawing. The textual addition contains a long literal quotation (by P3) from Román y Zamora (see above, section 3.5.3, with Table 10, no. 2). The complex sequencing of the elements of chapter 43 of part 3 (twice alternating textual and pictorial phases) thus reveals a glimpse of Murúa and Guaman Poma working simultaneously on the enhancement of P.

The vast majority of textual additions preceded the drawings, but the following instances can be considered as certain or, in a few cases, probable *post*-drawing additions. They either carefully avoid encroaching on any part of the drawing, or do so minimally.

Table 11: Textual Additions Inscribed after the Inclusion of Drawings

No.	Folio	
1	34v	This is the continuation of the list of conquered ethnic groups, encroaching on the drawing; the lists appear on both sides of “angel with trumpet.”
2	37v	The text encircles the head and weapon of captain Inca Urcon.
3	50v	These are texts of <i>arawi</i> , or poetic traditions, regarding Tupac Amaru, Sayri Tupac, and Titu Atauchi. They include the vertical column as well as the texts beneath the lefthand column and under the Inca’s feet.
4	51v	The last line of this text surrounds the hat of one of the executioners of Tupac Amaru.

5	51r-51v-52r	This text is spread over three pages, from the bottom of 51 recto, the bottom of 51 verso, to 52 recto (now in S).
6	66v	The text appears within the frame of the drawing, but it was possibly created before the drawing and has been incorporated into it, as occurs on f132v and f133v.
7	66v	The text appears beneath the frame of the drawing.
8	95v	A full-page drawing occupied this verso, and the addition is signalled (f95r) as being located on fol. "155" (quotation from Román y Zamora, currently f143r, earlier fol. "155")
9	135r	The earlier textual addition and the drawing filled out the verso, so that the addition has come to occupy the vertical margins of the recto.
10	141r	A full-page drawing occupied the verso, and the addition is signalled (on f141r) as being located on "fo. 143 pagina 2" (This is probably the reverse of the adoring <i>accha</i> , 3rd unnumbered folio, facing the "capítulo prohemial".)

Addition no. 4 was interpreted above (section 3.6) as setting a latest limit (December 23, 1598, that is, beginning of 1599) for the inclusion of the drawing of the 1572 execution of Tupac Amaru.

Apart from the P2 additions listed above, the hand P2 is also found in hundreds of captions added to drawings. They include longer texts on the drawings of Incas in part 1, names and dynastic numbers of kings and queens, and (on drawings by Guaman Poma) supplements to the mostly very short captions (identifications or explanations) inscribed previously by P4, that is, Guaman Poma himself. This small corpus of autograph Guaman Poma texts of P (including the relevant S-folios) has been assembled in Appendix 6.<sup>155</sup>

### 3.9. From Parts (C) to Books (S)

In the *Tabla*, P2 has modified the main structure of the *Historia* from the original fourfold division into unnumbered parts to a division into books numbered 1 through 4. This division by books seems to have been partly implemented in running heads before the fragmentation of P. There are no running heads on the P-folios that migrated to S, but this seems to be due to the fact that running heads were at first only inscribed at the beginning of books. Significantly, on the second folio of book 3 (replacement fol. 53r) P5 has reproduced from primary

<sup>155</sup> No other Guaman Poma autographs are known, apart from the 1190 pages of the Copenhagen manuscript of the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, and his signature in AGI (Seville), Audiencia de Lima 145.

f53v (before the folio was cropped and pasted-on) what would eventually become the standard running head of versos in book 3: "Libro tercero del gouierno." The first three running heads of book 2 and the first six of book 4<sup>156</sup> differ from the running heads that follow and that seem to have been mechanically inscribed, probably after the reconstruction of P. We can conclude that the book structure was implemented as part of a renewed editing of P in connection with the addition of supplementary textual and graphic material, but that it was not carried out through the full body of the work (from f8r through f146r) until after the phases of fragmentation and reconstruction were completed, or, rather, that the books' running heads were only introduced systematically as part of the latest phase of the reconstruction process.

### 3.10. *The Partial Fragmentation of P*

At some point in time, after P had thus been filled with prose text, textual additions and water-colored drawings, Murúa began to produce a new version of his *Historia*, which eventually developed into the version known through the manuscript S. P was immediately (or gradually) given low priority or simply abandoned. However, the superseded P contained valuable elements that could not be copied easily into the next, expanded manuscript. A number of folios (double folios, as P was still unbound) were removed, in all likelihood because of their frontispieces. Most of these double folios included full-page drawings, but some of them contained smaller drawings, such as the depiction of the an ash-rain over Arequipa, and of the *accha's* morning toilette (f136v, f143r). If removed as double folios, these were subsequently cut into single folios which could not simply be reinserted into a quire-structure. Eventually, four such single folios were inserted into the manuscript S, as detailed above (section 2.11.1).

### 3.11. *Replacement Folios*

Soon after this partial fragmentation, or after some time, P was reconstructed. A number of single folios (22) were at hand, but they could not just be inserted or pasted into the manuscript from which they originated. Instead, new blank double folios (watermark "PD," see above, section 2.4) were inserted within or on the outside of the remaining blocks of intact primary double folios. The replacement folios functioned as dummies of the previously removed primary

<sup>156</sup> There seems to be no running head on f128r because a previous addition takes up all the space. Hence, the running head on the facing verso (f127v) apparently contains the text of both halves of the full running head: "libro quarto de las riquezas y excelencias deste reyno del Pirú, de las ciudades."

double folios and as supports for the reinsertion of those twenty-two single folios that were at hand. Twenty-four folios were never reinserted (see above, sections 2.4 through 2.6, summarized in Appendix 4): one was at hand but could not be re-installed because “its” replacement folio was missing (primary fol. 42), four had probably already been assigned to the S manuscript, and 19 apparently never turned up.

Excellent guidance, consisting of the early foliation on primary folios, and the folio-by-folio references of the *Tabla*, was available during this process of replacing removed primary double folios. In quire 2, two double folios were missing, one of them its center (see Appendix 2); in quire 3, three double folios were missing (two outer leaves of the quire, and one in its center); in quire 4, only one double folio had to be replaced; quires 5 and 6 were intact; in quire 7, three double folios had to be replaced.<sup>157</sup>

In spite of the simplicity of the replacement procedure, an error seems to have occurred in quire 3: instead of the three double folios needed, only two were added to the quire. This led to a double irregularity in the foliation. Fols. 42 and 43, and fols. 61 and 62, became *pages* 42 and 43, and 61 and 62, respectively, when the whole manuscript, subsequent to the reconstruction, was foliated/paginated once more (see section 2.2). Because the following *page* 43 was reserved for fol. 43, this irregularity prevented the then-extant primary fol. 42 from being pasted into P, with the drawing face-up, after the chapter on the recto had been copied onto *page* 42. It is the only instance in which a folio (containing a drawing) that was extant at this stage has disappeared because it could not be hosted in the reconstructed manuscript.

### 3.12. Copying and Pasting

The detached single primary folios of P that were available after the fragmentation process were to be pasted onto the newly installed blank replacement folios. This technique had one obvious drawback: only one side of the pasted-on folio would be displayed. Quite logically the side that would be the most difficult to reproduce was the one chosen for display. These were the versos containing a water-colored drawing or, if there was no drawing, the rectos with their fancy framing of the chapter titles. The text on that side of the detached folio which was to be sacrificed when pasted onto the replacement folio was first copied onto that side of the replacement folio that had been selected for this purpose (normally the recto; f137v is the single exception<sup>158</sup>). The side to be sacrificed was covered

<sup>157</sup> For a detailed discussion of quires 1 and 7, see section 2.6.

<sup>158</sup> Although the primary folio is not extant, the text on f8v (P5) appears to be copied from a detached

with paste and secured to the still blank side of the replacement folio. At some stage during this process, each folio was carefully trimmed along the exterior borders of the frame of the drawing or of the chapter text, respectively.<sup>159</sup> In the S manuscript, where another method for fastening loose folios was applied,<sup>160</sup> the folios removed from P were not subjected to such trimming.

This procedure of copying and pasting can be observed in a regular fashion on the following eighteen of the total of twenty-two reinstalled folios:<sup>161</sup> 9, 10<sup>162</sup>, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 44, 53, 63, and 136,<sup>163</sup> 137, and 149. Three of them (53, 137 and 149) only carry text. The recto of fols. 53 and 137, with the finely framed and inscribed chapter titles, were displayed as reinstalled, while the text on the verso was copied onto the following page; both sides of folio 149 (part of the *Tabla*) contained plain text, so the verso was copied onto the replacement verso and the recto was displayed on the replacement recto.

With four exceptions, all chapters copied from the sacrificed reverse of primary folios pasted onto replacement folios were inscribed by P5, a hand found only on replacement folios. The exceptions, all within the remains of quire 1 (1a and 1b), were inscribed by P2, either because Murúa in these cases was not satisfied with the C version of these chapters (part 1, chapters 2, 3, 7, and 16) or because the reconstruction of quire 1 was significantly more complicated than the occasional repairs needed in the following quires (see section 2.6.1).

### 3.13. Quire 1 (1a and 1b)

No intact primary double folio remained in quire 1. We have not been able to determine with certainty the original sequence of available folios up to fol. 8 because the foliation and *Tabla*-references only start at fol. 8. Instead of one huge quire of 12 double folios, two small replacement quires (1a and 1b) were made, consisting of 4 and 5 double folios, respectively. Quire 1b was easy enough to prepare: chapters 7 through 16 were assigned to fols. 14 through 23. Chapters 7 and 16, which were to be copied on the outer double folio (f14r plus f23r) of the replacement quire, were inscribed by P2, and the remaining 8 chapters (8-15) were inscribed by P5.

primary folio. – Concerning the text on *page* 42, equally a P5 copy, but without a pasted-on primary counterpart, see above, section 3.11)

<sup>159</sup> For the trimming of f23v, see above, section 2.10.

<sup>160</sup> See Boserup 2004a, 83-84.

<sup>161</sup> The four other pasted-on folios are the three unnumbered front matter folios, and fol. "155" *alias* fol. 143.

<sup>162</sup> On this folio, see above, section 2.1.

<sup>163</sup> In some copies of the facsimile fol. 136 is by error one-layered, see above, note 81.



Quire 1a, however, was miscalculated, and in the end there was no replacement folio in this quaternion (4 double folios) for fol. 10. Its chapter text was copied onto a single replacement folio, the drawing was trimmed, and the text side pasted onto the replacement folio. This minimal, reconstructed element then was loosely tucked in between fols. 9 and 11. In this small quire of 8+1 folios, all texts are inscribed by P2, except f8r (chapter 1), which is by P5 and therefore probably copied from a primary folio that was extant but has not been preserved. This chapter bears another name (“Del nombre de los Reyes del Piru”), but its content corresponds to the title of chapter 1 in the *Tabla*: “Del origen y principio de los yngas” (overwritten by: “De el nombre de los reyes del Piru”), as well as to the content of chapter 1 in the S version of the *Historia*, which at last came to carry a name that fits: “De cómo antiguamente no ubo en este Reino Rey ni señor unibersal hasta los yngas.”

Because the first two chapters in P (and in C, we must surmise) had nearly identical titles, Murúa seems to have planned to reduce the number of chapters, assigning number 1 to the chapter that had been numbered 2 in C and in P, before fragmentation. This renumbering, done in connection with the copying of chapters that were going to be obscured, was abandoned after chapter 7, that is, P’s chapter 1 was copied (by P5), and the original numbering of chapters 1-7 was corrected into 2-8.

Murúa furthermore composed or rewrote a “capítulo prohemial” on the achievements of the Mercedarian order (f8r). No such chapter is referenced in the *Tabla*, and it is improbable that C and/or P had such a chapter among the front matter folios. However, P had a full-page drawing of the coat of arms of the Mercedarians, with a Latin epigram inscribed by P2.<sup>164</sup> There is no similar “capítulo prohemial” in S, but the Mercedarian coat of arms is included in its grand title-page device, below the respective coats of arms of Castille and León, Peru, and the Inca kings. A chapter on the order’s history in Peru was later added to book 3 in the S manuscript.

Among the primary front matter folios of P, two are extant in P (Andean landscape and Mercedarian coat of arms), while a folio with the coat of arms of Peru is lost (its later counterpart in S is extant) (see above, section 1.14.2). A folio with a drawing of an adoring *acella*, including as-yet unidentified textual additions on its pasted-down reverse, was recycled as the frontispiece to the new

<sup>164</sup> “Dum fluet unda maris curretque per ethera Febus / Vivet mercedis candidus ordo mihi.” (To me, the white order of grace [the Mercedarians] will live as long as water flows in the sea and Phoebus hurries across the sky). P2 made a number of mistakes while calligraphing these few words (cetera for ethera, Fevus for Febus, Vibet for Vivet), which were subsequently corrected in another ink. Ossio (in Murúa 2004, vol. 2, 75) has the following readings, which give no meaning: “perchera” (for: per ethera) and “ordomsí” (for: ordo mihi).

chapter on the Mercedarians because it had lost its original site after fol. "155" had taken its place as fol. 143.

### 3.14. *Running Heads and Foliation*

The folios that migrated from P to S have no running heads. After reconstruction, runnings heads were supplemented throughout P where they were missing, probably first only on the folios at the beginning of parts/books, then (as part of the conversion of "parts" to "books") over all the subsequent folios of the respective "books" (see above, section 3.9). The introduction of this feature subsequent to the insertion of the replacement folios and to the pasting onto them of detached primary folios is especially evident, for example, on f15v, f16v, and f44v, where "Libro primero" or "Libro segundo" occurs partially or completely on the trimmed primary folio pasted onto the replacement folio. This new series of running heads also completed the process of renaming Murúa's whole work as *Historia general*.<sup>165</sup>

An extra foliation, running from 8 to 143 and following the early foliation, was introduced after the reconstruction of P. The replacement folios needed foliation because the pasted-on folios had been trimmed, and the early foliation had disappeared. Hence all folios were foliated anew. The error that led to the *pagination* of fols. 42/43 and 61/62, whereby the numerical series was maintained in spite of a missing double folio, has been discussed above.

### 3.15. *Title Pages*

It so happened that the title pages of the whole work and of parts/books 1-3 had been removed, and that part/book 4 had no title page of its own. The primary title page of P's part 3 is extant (f52r), but it had been moved to the S manuscript [S, f67r/f84r], so this part also has a title page inscribed on a replacement folio. Apparently, the wording of the reconstructed title-page statement of book 3 was not taken from the *Tabla*, but rather from the first complete and intact set of pre-fragmentation running heads (primary f53v + primary f54r): "Libro 3<sup>o</sup> del gouierno deste Reyno del Pirú."

Similarly, the reconstructed title page of book 2 (replacement fol. 35r) does not reflect the *Tabla* information, but rather, with a small addition, the running head of the nearest primary folios: "Libro segundo de los príncipes y capitanes del [added: gran Reyno de el] Pirú."

<sup>165</sup>The running heads can be summarized thus: (1) "Libro primero de la historia | general del Pirú," (2) "Libro segundo de la historia | general del Pirú," (3) "Libro tercero del gouierno | del Pirú" (this was the pre-fragmentation formula, repeated 40 times post-reconstruction), or "Libro tercero de la historia | general del Pirú" (30 times), and (4) "Libro quarto de la historia | general del Pirú."

Again, the reconstructed title page of book 1 (recto of third unnumbered replacement folio) reflects not so much the *Tabla* as the title (with an addition) of the nearest chapter (replacement fol. 9r): “Libro primero del origen y principio de los reyes Yngas del [added: gran reyno del] Piru.”

As for P’s title of the whole work, it appears to be quite outdated when compared to the new running heads, not to mention the new title of P inscribed below the *curacas’* letter (*Ystoria general e libro del origen y descendencia de los yncas señores ... asta la entrada de los españoles, con su modo de gouernar, condiçion y trato, y la descriçion [sic] de las mas prinçipales çiudades y villas ...*, see above, our Introduction). The title on unnumbered replacement fol. 1r, *Historia del origen, y genealogía Real de los Reyes ingas del Piru. De sus hechos, costumbres, trages, y manera de gouierno*, takes no account of the added part 4 and fits better to the hypothesized C manuscript than to P, which is already a *Historia general*. The outdated title is also picked up by the *Tabla*, which combines into one syntagm the titles of the work and of part/book 1: “Tabla de los capítulos que ay en este presente libro de la famosa ystoria y relacion del origen principio y genealogía de los grandes Reyes y señores que fueron deste Reyno del Piru.” It thus seems certain that the primary folio that was the model for P’s current title page was a copy of C’s title page; the primary folio is not extant, unless it is to be found on the obscured reverse of the first pasted-on folio in P, which on its current verso contains a colorful depiction of a forested Andean landscape with the cordillera in the background.

### 3.16. Sewing and Binding

At some point in time after reconstruction, P was sewn and bound. Fol. 10 had been loosely tucked in between fols. 9 and 11. The running head and chapter number gave unambiguous information on the folio’s intended placement. Furthermore, a catch-word had been added on f10r (“Cap° 4°”) referring to its verso. However, this well-meant signal was misunderstood as referring to the “empty” chapter page f11r, not to the frontispiece of chapter 4 on the verso, and fol. 10 was ultimately reversed and wrongly fastened to the adjacent folios so that its verso came to face f9v and its recto, f11r. This late and banal rebinding error is confusing insofar as it gives a false impression of disorderliness in a manuscript that was constructed, developed, and reconstructed with the greatest care and consequence.

### 3.17. Why was the P Manuscript Reconstructed?

Our contention is that P was reconstructed because Murúa realized that the drawings would be more useful if they were kept intact within P than if they were removed, cut apart, trimmed, and kept as a stack of separate and suddenly

decontextualized drawings. We do not see the reconstructed P as a manuscript being completed in view of publication. P was fragmented because the S version had emerged, and the text of the P version could be discarded as outdated, while the drawings still represented an important asset. Murúa started to recycle drawings in S, but he soon must have realized that it was better to keep them in their original context, as an album. As models for an engraver illustrating a printed version of his book, there were definite advantages in having the more than one hundred drawings secured in one single volume, together with the explanations (chapters) pertaining to each of them.

The structure of P is very regular, and in one respect very peculiar. The text on the recto of a folio never refers to the drawing on the reverse. If a folio is separated from the manuscript, both the removed drawing and a drawing left behind in the manuscript will be deprived of the prose texts that they were supposed to illustrate, and that to some extent explain what they represent. Removal of drawings from P thus entails a substantial loss of information. This information can be dispensed with if all the drawings are simultaneously assigned to new locations, but the P and S versions of the *Historia* are so different in their structuring of the material that this would be a highly complicated operation. We have seen above (sections 2.11) that while the recycling in S of the frontispiece representing queen Raba Ocllo went smoothly, that of the “Huascar Inca” and “Chuquillantú” frontispieces were self-contradictory and resulted in unresolved ambiguities within S.

Another case that illustrates what we believe was Murúa’s dilemma, and which made him suspend the operation of fragmenting P, is constituted by P’s “folio” 42, actually page 42. As we have seen, the primary folio must have been available, since P5 has copied the chapter text on the replacement folio’s recto. The drawing, however, could not be accommodated, because page 43 was reserved for primary fol. 43 (which, however, is lost). Unless we choose to interpret this anomaly as a singular error from Murúa’s side (which is possible), it is remarkable that if Murúa had chosen to display the drawing of fol. 42, he would have had two adjacent drawings without their respective chapter texts, while by choosing to have the removed chapter text copied, he “saved” the context of the drawing on f41v. One can only speculate about what Murúa then did with primary fol. 42: even if primary fol. 43 turned up (or actually was at hand), fols. 42 and 43 could not be hosted in a satisfactory way in P because of the missing double replacement folio.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Only one of the 22 pasted-on folios has lost its prose context; it is the chapter-less frontispiece of the adoring *accha*, originally primary f143r, currently facing f8r (the chapter on the Mercedarians) and occupying the third unnumbered folio.

Only in their original textual setting of P could the more than one hundred drawings be of any use when, some day, the *Historia general* would be printed. P had to be reconstructed with texts, if the work invested in the drawings was not to be lost. The fragmentation operation was put to an end when this was realized. In theory, if rectos and versos had been related to one another, that is, if in pairs they had pertained to the same topics, there would have been no need to stop the extraction of drawings and no reason to reconstruct P. But since they did not, that is, since the versos and its rectos throughout the *Historia* pertained to different chapters (and therefore to different topics), P had to be as intact as possible if its drawings were to be reused in connection with a printed publication of the *Historia*.

This also explains the fundamental paradox of P and the origin of Ballesteros' and Ossio's erroneous conceptions of P as a collection of pieces of various (undocumented) drafts. The paradox is as follows: why was Murúa so keen to preserve or copy some chapter texts, while sometimes leaving whole chapters blank? In other words, why is P partly reconstructed, partly dumped? The answer we offer is that the reconstructed P was never meant to be a book read consecutively. After the S version emerged, the prose texts (chapters) of P served only as annexes to the drawings. That is, P was only to provide an album with drawings.

Yet at the same time, as we have analyzed them, many of the careful efforts at reconstruction have no bearing on such a purpose as that hypothesized above: Would it be necessary to reconceptualize the work as numbered "books" instead of unnumbered "parts"? Why bother to draw a frame for the mutilated drawing of the queen Chimbo? Would running heads really be needed, if this were a mere "album," juxtaposing pictorial texts with prose expositions? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the decision (or the transition to the decision) to move away from P and create S was not so clear cut, or definitive, at the time when it was taken. The difficulty of creating, and then choosing between, two options, neither of which is altogether or at least immediately and obviously satisfactory, is not only Murúa's but any author's dilemma. On the horns of it, Murúa may have chosen to keep both options open, that is, restoring P and forging ahead with the already begun S, for as long as he was able to do so. This model gives us no definitive answer, but it does corroborate the vagaries of an author's experience: weighing against one another many non-compatible factors and keeping them afloat until even that strategy can no longer be sustained.

### 3.18. After P: The S Manuscript

P's 1598 (or later) prologue to part 4, and the completion date of "May 1590" inscribed (retained) on P's title page, demonstrate that C and P were fundamentally the same work, in spite of the inclusion of the 16 chapters of part 4 as

well as many other additions (including the prologue to part 4), and in spite of the addition of more than one hundred drawings. By 1606 (or later), however, Murúa had gathered more textual material, and he was ready to take the next step. P could not accommodate more information without a multiplication of the number of cross-references to additions at the end of the manuscript. Furthermore, Murúa was dissatisfied with the structure of P, in which the history of Inca kings, queens, and captains ran in parallel instead of progressing in a single, integrated chronological sequence. P had already for some time been renamed *Historia general (del Pirú)*, as attested by the P2 addition of the new and expanded title below the *curacas*' letter and by the lately added running heads (see above, sections 3.14 and 3.15). The new title of the work (quoted above, in our Introduction and in section 3.15) explicitly took account of part 4 on the cities of Peru.

The new work, which would eventually become the S manuscript as we know it, was very much expanded, and again it was designed as a work in three parts (or rather "books," as already introduced in P, at a late stage). Their content was, in short: Book 1: Inca history; book 2: Inca government; book 3: cities of local tradition as well as those established by the Spanish. S was dated 1613 on its title page, and again the date was not changed, although further changes and enhancements were carried out over the following years.<sup>167</sup> Like P, S had been laid out with blank pages separating all 163 chapters, and, as had been the case with P, Murúa succeeded in finding an artist for the earliest period of the historical part of book 1: portraits of Inca kings and queens.

However, the decoration program was discontinued before it was completed.<sup>168</sup> There was no Guaman Poma available to carry on the project, but the finely water-colored drawings could be moved from one manuscript to the other. Three ruler portraits were missing in S in the twin sequence of 12 Inca kings and queens: Raba Ocllo (11th queen), Huascar Inca (12th Inca), and Chuquillantú (12th queen). Three drawings were removed from P and inserted into S, so that the ruler series would be complete. The drawing chosen for Raba Ocllo was

<sup>167</sup> See Boserup 2004a, 84-87, 92-94, on the reshuffling of the initial chapters of S.

<sup>168</sup> The S manuscript has a total of 38 drawings. From chapter 3 onward, S contained 20 "portraits" of Inca kings and 10 of Inca queens, to which were added one king portrait and two queen portraits from P. The unequal number of kings and queens is due to the fact that some Inca kings are treated in more than one chapter (in contrast to what is the case in P), and because the illustration project was discontinued after chapter 32 and before reaching the end of the dynasty. Appendix 4 shows how the 9 times added instruction, "No se a de pintar," or simply "No", plus the three P drawings introduced into S, correspond to a reconceptualization of the illustration program of S: the 20-9+1 king portraits become 12, just as did the 10 + 2 queen portraits, that is, the minimum required to display the complete Inca dynasty as canonized under viceroy Toledo ca. 1570.

appropriate enough, being a real ruler-type portrait, but for Huascar and his wife, drawings that had been made for quite different purposes were reinterpreted as ruler portraits.<sup>169</sup> One folio with a coat of arms was detached from among the front matter folios of P and inserted into S. The coat of arms of Peru was inserted as frontispiece to book 3 (cities). Eventually, these four extraneous folios were fastened securely into S by pasting at the gutter, and blank folios were pasted onto them, so that the text passages on the rectos disappeared completely from sight and would not disturb the flow of chapters in S.

### 3.19. *The Illustration Project of S*

The reason adduced above for reconstructing P may help to understand why only four folios were transferred from P to S. Although extremely damaging to P, the four recyclings did not (with one exception) spoil other drawings insofar as no important information pertaining to them was removed and sacrificed. Except for the folio with the drawing of Raba Ocllo, none of the migrated P-folios had text on the reverse that belonged to (and therefore explained the meaning of) another frontispiece: (1) the *curacas'* letter on the reverse of the coat of arms of Peru obviously had no frontispiece; (2) the reverse of "Huascar Inca" was a title page without relation to the facing drawing of the execution of Tupac Amaru; (3) the reverse of "Chuquillantú" contained one of the chapters (part 3, chapter 9; fol. 60) that never had a frontispiece because the facing page had been filled with textual additions to the previous chapter before Guaman Poma began to illustrate P; (4) only in the case of Raba Ocllo (11th queen) would the migration from P to S entail a loss of information regarding the significance of another drawing: that of Mama Ocllo (10th queen, f31v). However, one can object that the ruler portraits, in contrast to the drawings illustrating Andean antiquities, are self-explanatory and that the loss of the accompanying texts would not reduce the usefulness of these drawings as models for an illustrator of a printed version of Murúa's *Historia*.

Although building on scant evidence, these remarks are pertinent. After having implemented a minimal repair of the series of ruler portraits in S, Murúa discontinued the fragmentation of P. Instead of merging more P-drawings into

<sup>169</sup> One can ask why the real ruler portraits in P of Huascar Inca (20v; extant in P) and Chuquillantú (33v; lost) were not chosen instead, unless the reason is, precisely, that fol. 33 had disappeared. The choice seems to pertain to that period when maintaining (or reconstructing) P intact, and pursuing at the same time the prospect of S, were both entertained. Removing from P the "modo de caminar" processional paintings did not destruct one of P's fundamental aspects: the series of rulers, male and female, civil and military, that represented the ordering of Andean (and Inca) society. Additionally, the reverses of "Huascar" and "Chuquillantú" had no frontispieces, so no other drawing was "destructed", cf. above, section 3.17, and below, section 3.19.

S with the risk of creating havoc in both P and S, Murúa changed his mind and made P into an annex to S, an album of illustrations, which would eventually provide models or be used as inspiration for an engraver when the work was to be printed. According to this model, P and S must be considered as having arrived to Spain together.

During 1615-1616, Murúa had acquired all the necessary recommendations and permissions to print his work, and when the author could no longer pursue his project because of incapacitation or death or other reasons, S was still in a number of respects a work "in progress." When Murúa disappeared, so did the key to understanding fully the relationship between S and P.

We have now arrived at that point in the history of the manuscripts of Murúa where we began our account of their "modern" history in Part One of this study. As mentioned there, S was included in the library of the main house of the Mercedarian order in Madrid. What happened to P before it was included in the library of the exiled Spanish Jesuits in Poyanne, France, is still unknown.

### 3.20. Conclusion

Substantial information has been gained by allowing the four P-folios of S to contribute fully to the elucidation of the complicated internal history of P, and, on this basis, the history of Murúa's grand historical, ethnographical, literary, and artistic project has also come into focus. Some points are fairly clear, corroborated in multiple ways. Other points are hypothetical, waiting for corroboration or better explanations based on more decisive evidence, stronger arguments, or technical investigations.

Beyond our tight focus on P and the evolution of Murúa's *Historia*, we believe that the results achieved thus far have new and far-reaching implications for the much-debated issue of the working relationship between Murúa and Guaman Poma: its chronology, the question of priority, and the assessment of the impact on Guaman Poma of his collaboration with Murúa (and vice versa). We will take up these issues in Part Four of our study.

### *Part Four: Guaman Poma and Martín de Murúa*

In this concluding portion of our study, and based on the cumulative weight of the evidence adduced and interpreted above, we seek to untangle the many assertions that have become commonplaces regarding the Murúa/Guaman Poma relationship, to reassess the similarities and differences between their works, and to show where Guaman Poma "parts company" with his one-time employer. We put forward the reverse of the model offered by Juan Ossio, whereby Guaman Poma began first but finished last, that is, that Murúa followed Guaman Poma's lead



but then surpassed him. By coordinating the evidence of the dating of Murúa's P manuscript with the documented activities of Guaman Poma's biography, we demonstrate that Guaman Poma underwent a significant artistic and literary apprenticeship with Murúa but that, breaking away from it in 1600, went on to write his own magnum opus. As for Guaman Poma's leadership of, or participation in, an artisanal workshop, there is simply no evidence for it.

#### *4.1. The Theory of Murúa's Multiple Lost Drafts*

In Part One of this study, after having disentangled a number of confused reports about the two Murúa manuscripts P and S, we have shown that the theory of Murúa's multiple drafts was a hypothesis fostered in response to the confusing evidence offered since 1909 by the Loyola copy (L) of the vanished manuscript P, which was compounded by the rediscovery of S in the early 1950s.

Within the framework of an investigation of a textual tradition, undocumented lost drafts should only be introduced as a last resort, when all other possibilities have been examined and eliminated. Anything can be imagined to have happened within the vague notion of a "draft," and the introduction of hypothetical lost drafts into a textual tradition usually does not solve problems but rather obscures them. They often become a euphemistic way of treating the extant hard evidence that does not behave according to the scholar's initial expectations.

Applied to the transmission of Murúa's *Historia general*, the "idea" of explaining contradictory manuscript evidence by referring to lost drafts was initiated four decades ago by Ballesteros. Over the last two decades it has been vigorously repeated and expanded by Ossio. The theory has not been critically reassessed in the light of the important new evidence that has surfaced since it was conceived: Rowe's discovery in 1979 of a number of original P-folios within S, and Ossio's own discovery in 1996 of the manuscript P.

In Part Two of this investigation, we conducted a codicological analysis of P on the basis of the remarkable facsimile published by Ossio and the available reports about the P-folios contained in S. This led to the conclusion that the theory of Murúa's multiple drafts cannot be sustained. We have shown that P is not a conglomerate of elements from earlier drafts, that is, that it does not contain any material trace of other "previous," "parallel," or "analogous" manuscripts. On the contrary, P is (and was) a unitary, coherent and self-contained manuscript. Superficially examined, it may look like an aggregate of elements from various sources, but the history of its calamities is a different one.

At some point in time, P was fragmented (25% of it was, literally, cut to pieces), but soon afterward it was reconstructed from the quires and fragments that were still at hand. However, some parts of P had already been recycled and installed in the manuscript S, and others were apparently lost. Although the lost

parts amounted only to 10 to 12% of the manuscript, the replacement folios, the pasted-on folios, and the lacunae together created the impression of a very disorderly and unfinished manuscript, particularly because P since ca. 1900 was known only through a copy (L) that gave no clear clues as to how its model could have deteriorated into the condition it was in at that time (1890). In contrast to the theory of multiple drafts, our theory of fragmentation and reconstruction allows for all the elements of P to find their original placement in one single and well-documented manuscript, the structure of which is corroborated by compelling codicological evidence. This evidence is sufficiently manifest for us to have been able to glean it in the published facsimile, without recourse to the inaccessible original.

In our Part Three, taking now as a given the status of P as an unitary and self-contained entity, we outlined the sequential stages of its creation and development, right from its immediate model (C), which was dated 1590 and documented in 1596 by the recommendation letter of the *curacas* of Cuzco, and by Murúa's reference to it in his prologue (to part 4) of 1598 or later. These stages include the addition of substantial amounts of prose exposition to the initial fair copy of C that constituted the main bulk of P, and the inclusion of more than one hundred illustrations, followed by an experiment which seems to have been quickly abandoned: the recycling of P-drawings in S, the successor manuscript of P, which was in fact a new edition of the *Historia general*. We suggested that P was reconstructed because it was the only way to save the drawings in a way that would allow them eventually to serve as models for illustrations of a published version of Murúa's ultimate version (S) of his life-work.

#### 4.2. *The Theory of Guaman Poma's taller artesanal*

Closely connected to the theory of multiple lost drafts, and following it like a shadow, is Ossio's theory of multiple amanuenses and artists, linking to a theory of an artisanal production unit, a *taller* (atelier) where the drafts and fair copies were made of both written texts and drawings. Beside the supposed evidence for hypothesized drafts of P, which has turned out to be nothing but folios cut out of, and reinserted into, the P manuscript itself, there exists no concrete evidence for such a *taller*. Yet Ossio insists that Guaman Poma's family and associates worked in such an artisanal atelier, under Guaman Poma's leadership.<sup>170</sup> From Guaman

<sup>170</sup> Ossio (2004, 40) hypothesizes about the existence of such artisanal arrangements on the basis of contemporary artisans' workshops: "muchos otros [dibujos] debieron proceder de su autoría o de un taller, como sucede con los artesanos peruanos contemporáneos, que pudo estar bajo su liderazgo." He (Ossio 2004, 48, 49) also refers to Murúa's reliance on "Guaman Poma y el personal de su taller artesanal," consisting of "informantes, dibujantes y amanuenses."

Poma as hypothetical head of a literary and artistic atelier there is only a short step to the idea – soon presented as though it were an established historical fact – that he became Murúa's main informant and close collaborator.<sup>171</sup> It followed, in turn, that much of Murúa's book imitated the model of Guaman Poma's own chronicle while it was in the making.<sup>172</sup>

As far as P is concerned, the evidence for Ossio's workshop theory rests on the presupposition that the *curacas'* letter (inscribed on one of the front matter P-folios currently contained in S), which Ossio since 1985 has called "a draft of a letter" ("un borrador de carta"), was penned by Guaman Poma (or by someone very close to him). It was thus viewed as merely an adaptation to the context of Murúa's work of the fictitious letter of recommendation of Guaman Poma's father (dated 1587), which the son had invented and included in his *Nueva corónica*.<sup>173</sup> However, we have shown in the structural and historical analysis of P carried out here that when all the elements of this manuscript are considered together, the evidence supports the argument that the *curacas'* letter is a copy of an original document, of May 15, 1596, which was inscribed as an integral

<sup>171</sup> Ossio's conclusions about the working relationship of Murúa and Guaman Poma are seen in the following statements: "Lo más probable es que este sacerdote contrató los servicios del indígena, cuyas habilidades en el manejo del castellano, de la escritura y, posiblemente, del arte pictórico no le pasaron desapercibidas. Este contacto inicial debió haber tenido lugar en la década de 1580 posiblemente en el Cusco" (Ossio 2004, 50); "Ahora simplemente podemos conjeturar que, si la obra está fechada en 1590 y presenta tantos parecidos con la *Nueva corónica*, alguna relación debieron de tener, lo que podía traducirse en una de colaboración y aprendizaje" (Ossio 2004, 60).

<sup>172</sup> In these references, Ossio moves between the models of the individual Guaman Poma as artist and chronicler and Guaman Poma working with associates: "Tan al unísono marchan [Guaman Poma y Murúa] que por momentos pareciera que el mercedario cediese a la tentación de organizar su material en los esquemas cuaternarios del cronista indígena" (Ossio 33); "Una vez más los dibujos que [Murúa] asocia con esta parte son casi exactos a los de Guaman Poma" (Ossio 36); "En realidad, la narración de Murúa coincide con la que dan otros cronistas, pero para mostrarse más exhaustivo y original usa los nombres que da Guaman Poma y parte de su tradición" (Ossio 40); "La única explicación que se me ocurre para esta situación es que el sacerdote copió dibujos, quizá por su valor decorativo y estético, pero, al igual que las tradiciones orales que circulaban, sin entender su significado. Lo dicho hasta el momento sugiere que, así como saqueó a otros cronistas de origen europeo, Murúa no tuvo el más mínimo inconveniente de hacer lo mismo con Guaman Poma y el personal de su taller artesanal" (Ossio 49); "Guaman Poma y sus posibles allegados le habían sido útiles como un primer paso. Además le proveían de materiales novedosos que estaba seguro permanecerían en el anonimato por ser de indígenas. Ellos le habían proporcionado la estructura y los dibujos que decoraban su obra" (Ossio 2004, 60-61).

<sup>173</sup> About the authorship of the *curacas'* letter in S Ossio (2004, 18) writes: "como he sostenido en distintas oportunidades [Ossio 1985, 2000, 2002] debió derivarse de la mano de Guaman Poma o

part of the front matter of P as conceived by Murúa shortly after that date. The *curacas'* letter is inscribed on the reverse of a folio that eventually came to be adorned with a drawing of the coat of arms of Peru, which was executed and extensively commented upon by Guaman Poma himself. However, the *curacas'* letter itself is *not* inscribed by the hand of Guaman Poma. It is inscribed by P1, the hand responsible for the main text of P. Hence the *curacas'* letter offers no evidence of either a close collaboration between Murúa and Guaman Poma before 1596, or the existence of any literary and artistic workshop under the latter's leadership.

#### 4.3. The Theory of Literary Evolution from "Indigenous" to "European"

According to Ossio's often repeated model of the relationships among the three extant "illustrated chronicles", that is, Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica* (NC), and the two versions of Murúa's *Historia* attested in P and S, respectively, each one of them represents a separate stage in a mono-dimensional evolution from the "indigenous" to the "European": NC (indigenous) → P ("in between") → S (European).<sup>174</sup> As we understand Ossio, the relations here symbolized by a simple arrow synthesize three criteria, a linguistic, an artistic, and what we could call a mediatic criterion:

Table 12: Ossio's Criteria of Evolution From "Indigenous" to "European"

	Linguistic criterion	Artistic criterion	Mediatic criterion	Stage in evolution
Guaman Poma: <i>Nueva crónica</i> manuscript	Quechua-inflected Castilian	indigenous style	publication not envisaged	mostly indigenous
Murúa: P manuscript	Castilian with Quechua words	"in between"	aggregate of drafts	"in between"
Murúa: S manuscript	native Castilian	European style	made ready to print and publication	mostly European

de otro indígena que fue cercano al cronista indio." Later, Ossio (2004, 40) mentions only Guaman Poma as the letter's author: "aquella carta de 1596 ... que suponemos fue redactada por el mismo Guaman Poma." He defines the letter as a draft: "En realidad se trata de un borrador de carta modelada de acuerdo a otra que aparece en la *Nueva crónica* como escrita por el padre del cronista indio" (Ossio 2004, 18-19).

<sup>174</sup> About Murúa's P manuscript Ossio (2004, 60) writes: "No debía escapársele que lo que escribió primero estaba muy contaminado de un tono indígena que sería criticado." In Ossio's theory, this concern led Murúa to the conceptualization of S.

The linguistic criterion applied by Ossio consists of assessing the pervasiveness of Quechua words in Guaman Poma's work and the influence of Quechua in the structure of his written Spanish. These are actually two different criteria, lexical and grammatical/syntactic, and they are questionable when used as an evolutionary framework for assessing a particular relative chronology of literary works within a span of twenty to thirty years. The embedding of Quechua words in P cannot be reduced to "faulty Castilian," and so the postulated dichotomy, and ensuing "evolution," become a question of the authors' mother tongues and nothing more.

Likewise, Guaman Poma's general dependence on European motifs and iconographic style is a well-known fact, and the thematic repertory of the illustrations in the three examined works varies greatly. In reality, a stylistic comparison can be established only with regard to the ruler portraits, which, as motifs, relate to their own, complex iconographic tradition. It is far from obvious that the stylistic differences displayed by the three series of ruler portraits represent stages in a common evolution, rather than individual reactions to common standards, such as the famous paintings commissioned by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo.

Finally, Guaman Poma clearly expressed the hope to have his book published.<sup>175</sup> Thus, in precise and recognizably conventional ways, he made it print-ready to the best of his abilities.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, we can now appreciate that P, correctly interpreted, was not a collection of drafts but also a print-ready manuscript before

<sup>175</sup> Assuming the persona of his father, and under his own name also, Guaman Poma (1615, 7, 11) twice requests that the king publish his work and show favor to its author: "Y que demás del seruido de vuestra Magestad que rezultará ynprimirse la dicha historia ..., suplico a vuestra Magestad sea seruido de favorecer y hazer merced al dicho mi hijo don Felipe de Ayala;" "Y la dicha merced pide y suplica para cienpre de la dicha ynpreción a su Magestad, del dicho libro compuesto por el dicho autor, don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ... pues que lo merese de la dicha auilidad y trauajo." He also foresaw his book taking its place in Rome and in Spain: "Lo tendrá en el archibo del mundo como del cielo, en el catretral de Roma para memoria y en la cauesa de nuestra cristianadad de nuestra España, adonde recide Sacra Católica Real Magestad, que Dios le guarde en España"; in his "dialogue" with Philip III, he asks that his book be placed in the archive in the service of justice: "que se ponga en el archibo para uer la justicia." These references to the archives are not metaphorical, but legal: Guaman Poma (1615, 751, 991) foresaw his work as the basis for a code of laws (see also Adorno 2000, 8-9). Ossio's assertion (2004, 61) that Guaman Poma had no further aspirations for his work than that it reach the monarch's hands ("a mi parecer Guaman Poma solo se contentaba con que su manuscrito llegase a manos del Rey") requires him to ignore the explicit and repeated declarations by Guaman Poma himself, one of which Ossio (2004, 20), in fact, transcribes.

<sup>176</sup> Adorno 1979-80; idem, 2002; Boserup 2004b.

it was expanded and ultimately superseded by S. Thus, the three examined works are on a par insofar as awareness of European media is concerned.

Ossio's model of a mono-dimensional organic evolution from "indigenous" to "European," as applied to the three "illustrated chronicles," is inconsistent and does not further the understanding of the specific characteristics of each work. In the end, it boils down to a reiteration of two sets of facts, set up in a simplifying grid: first, that Guaman Poma was a native-born Andean, while Murúa was born, grew up, and was educated in Spain; second, that Guaman Poma declared in 1615 to have worked on his book since ca. 1585, while P carries the date of 1590, and S is dated 1613.

#### 4.4. *Murúa's P Manuscript and Guaman Poma's Nueva corónica: Similarities and Contrasts*

With regard to the content of the works, the series of portraits of the ancient Inca kings, their queens, and captains, the representations of the Incas' reigns and wars, as well as their political and social institutions, and the offices, customs, and practices of Inca society, are common to both the P manuscript and the *Nueva corónica* of Guaman Poma. Ossio (2004, 29-50) examines these many coordinates, and notes how the two authors "march in unison" (p. 33) on many topics. The study of the commonalities between Murúa's work (as known through Bayle's and other editions of the L copy of P) and Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica* began as early as 1958, as pointed out by John Murra (1992, 63), when John Rowe published his study of the similarities between Murúa's [P] and Guaman Poma's works with regard to the age-grades of Andean society. In 1967 Ramiro Condarco Morales (1967, 302-305) also noted the striking similarities and juxtaposed the texts of Murúa and Guaman Poma to demonstrate them. He (1967, 303), and later Murra (1992, 64), were struck by their common, unusual treatment of the *acllas*, "the women kept in Inca administrative centers who performed primarily weaving duties for the state." Although the names and duties assigned to them by Murúa and Guaman Poma differ, as Murra (1992, 64) notes, he perceives the very close literary relationship between the two by observing that "Murúa and Guaman Poma are the only ones among the many sources for pre-Columbian Andean life to refer to six kinds of *aclla*." Ossio (2004, 32) examines these similarities in his comprehensive review of the thematic convergences and differences between the two authors, including the chapters on the colonial cities.

One of the most specific and revealing instances of the similarity in content of Murúa's and Guaman Poma's works is, on one hand, the letter of presentation from the native lords of Cuzco, which is one of the P texts inserted into the S manuscript, and, on the other, the letter of presentation from "don Martín Guaman Mallque de Ayala" in Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. In

1985, Ossio suggested that Guaman Poma was the author of both letters.<sup>177</sup> We will return to the consideration of the *curacas*' and Guaman Mallque's letters below.

The discovery of P and its publication in facsimile allow us to add to the list of the similarities of content between P and the *Nueva corónica* a number of formal elements that both have in common.

The original compositional pattern and book layout of P displays remarkable similarities to the *Nueva corónica*. Murúa's practice of placing a frontispiece before nearly every chapter's prose text is a principle that we see applied consistently throughout Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. If it were an ideal sought but not quite achieved in P, it was realized by Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica* manuscript.

With regard to the ordering of the segments of the work, the early version of P, divided into unnumbered groups of chapters rather than their later identification as numbered "books," is echoed in Guaman Poma's organization of his work into sequences of elements consisting of frontispiece + text, introduced by "capítulo primero" (but never followed up by a "capítulo segundo", etc.). Guaman Poma uses the "capítulo primero" designation for the announcement of his expositions and as the principal means for dividing all the segments of his work. While Murúa's P manuscript uses the "capítulo primero" convention for the first chapters of its parts (f8v, ff36r, f52v, f127r), Guaman Poma uses it to organize his work at the level of the parts ("Primer corónica," "primer conquista," and "El primero buen gobierno," respectively (GP 1615, 1, 370, 438), as well as its chapters, whether it be "primer comienzo" (GP 1615, 15, 33), "primera generación" (GP 1615, pp. 13, 23, 85), "capítulo primero" or "primer capítulo" (GP 1615, 49, 79, 145, 196, 237, 300, 303, 317, 330, 520, 575, 689, 752, 806, 834, 923, 1005, 1092, 1140), or "primera historia" (GP 1615, 120, 491, 675, 717), "primera reina" (175), "primer milagro," or (93) "primer becita general" (195). The two "systems" are not identical, but while Guaman Poma's can be understood as a partial imitation of Murúa's system in the P manuscript, the latter cannot be conceived as being an imitation of Guaman Poma's.

This leads us to consider some points of contrast between P and the *Nueva Corónica* in their treatment of specific themes and particularly in the use of the graphic medium.

<sup>177</sup> Ossio (2004, 19-20, 40, note 33) transcribes both texts, and he remarks that the similarities he has long observed (since 1985) have been more recently expanded by Tom Cummins, referring to rhetorical formulas in the *prólogo* to part 4 of the *Historia* and to Guaman Poma's *prólogo al lector* at the beginning of the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. The detection of such similarities, however, has no bearing on the question of priority, and it does not imply dependency except in a most extenuated and general manner.

With regard to the illustrations, Guaman Poma expands the idea of a chapter's frontispiece to include, within his "capítulos primeros," several subchapters, each introduced by a pictorial text. He has expanded, in other words, the notion of an introductory frontispiece and turned it into the principal and, in fact, primary exposition of his prose text. As Adorno (1979, 29, 31) confirmed on the basis of her 1977 examination of the *Nueva corónica* manuscript and her observations of the variations in the tones of its ink as one after another page was filled out, the compositional priority of pictorial to prose text in the preparation of Guaman Poma's manuscript, as well as the rhetorical effect of the drawings, constitute "the foregrounded text of which the written one is a subsequent elaboration or complement." This contrasts with the clear evidence that we have seen in P of Murúa's illustrations having been added after the prose texts were set in place, with the result that the drawings are not uniform but varied in size, and their content is often independent of the text they accompany.

Ossio (2004, 25, 49) has noted this written/pictorial divergence with regard to the treatment of the Inca kings and queens in Murúa's P manuscript, and he takes as examples the cases of Inca Roca and Pachacuti Inca (P, f14v, f17v); Guaman Poma's drawings of these figures (1615, 102, 108) are related to the respective written texts which describe their stance, accouterments, and the colors of the garments they wear. In Murúa's case, as Ossio sees it, that is, starting from the picture, the written text does not allude in any minimal way to what has been represented in the drawings.<sup>178</sup> The two cases he has adduced are drawings on pasted-on folios, and Ossio would see this non-correspondence as another indication of their emanating from outside the P manuscript. However, we have seen that the distinction between primary folios and pasted-on folios is irrelevant, since all pasted-on folios are also primary P-folios, so, on the contrary, the examples adduced by Ossio corroborate our notion that text and illustrations are loosely connected in P, as opposed to Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica*, where they are intimately related. Ossio himself has observed that (also primary) frontispieces exhibit varying degrees of independence from the prose texts they are supposed to introduce.

The character of the drawings that can be clearly attributed to Guaman Poma stands out from those which cannot be so readily identified as the work of his pen (or brush). Adorno (1979, 29, 31) argued long ago that "Guaman Poma's graphic representations do not merely illuminate or illustrate the written text, in the European manuscript tradition, nor are they as unimaginative and arbitrarily placed as the conventional wood-cut or copper engraving decorations found in

<sup>178</sup> Ossio (2004, 49): "En cambio en el manuscrito Galvin [P], que repite estas escenas, no encierra en su texto ni la más mínima alusión a lo representado en los dibujos."



early printed books. These full-page drawings visually narrate hundreds of events in Guaman Poma's chronicle." Even longer ago, in 1953, Ballesteros appreciated the narrative quality of Guaman Poma's drawings in the comparative context of Murúa's work. Shortly after his discovery of the S manuscript, Ballesteros (1953a, 242) observed that while the pictures in Murúa's work (he refers, of course, exclusively to S) serve as illustrations, they serve in Guaman Poma as narration: "En el indio, muy a tono con su cultura y con su mundo intelectual, la ilustración es un complemento casi indispensable, con valor narrativo, al tiempo que para el fraile es solamente un aditamento, no consubstancial con la obra, y elaborado posteriormente." Although Ballesteros's explanation of Guaman Poma's capacity for visual narrative on the basis of his indigenous culture is dubious at best,<sup>179</sup> he captures the outstanding aesthetic quality of dynamism in Guaman Poma's art in contrast to the dignified but decidedly stiff figures that decorate Murúa's S manuscript.<sup>180</sup>

With regard to content, Guaman Poma's *Nueva crónica* and Murúa's P manuscripts differ in the amount of detailed information they offer in their treatment of similar themes. Condarco Morales's 1967 (302-305) textual comparisons revealed that Guaman Poma often elaborates the content of the material that he takes from Murúa so that, for example, he specifies the flora and fauna referred to by Murúa simply as "los frutos de la tierra," or he gives Quechua terms for phenomena mentioned more generically by Murúa. While Guaman Poma has the same ethnographic and geographic repertory as the P manuscript, he greatly expands Murúa's treatment of the already mentioned age-grades of Andean society as well as his survey of Andean and coastal cities. With regard to the age-grades, Guaman Poma's treatment is not only more extensive, it is, as John Murra (1992, 63-64) observed, a more "finished," that is, a corrected version:

In 1958 Rowe compared in detail both authors' versions of the age grades; there was no doubt then, nor is there today, that both texts have a single origin. While Murúa is not very interested in the welfare features, both men list the blind, the crippled, and others not fit for active service on row four; both have three rows of able-bodied and six rows for the young. Both feature men and women in the same order. But who was first? The internal evidence points to Murúa. His Quechua texts are full of mistakes; Guaman Poma's have been corrected. I have the impression that Murúa compiled the list, while Guaman Poma saw, revised, and added the welfare dimension.

<sup>179</sup> See Teresa Gisbert (1992) and Maarten van de Guchte (1992) for the evidence of Guaman Poma's appropriation of European artistic styles and models.

<sup>180</sup> The one exception is a drawing that depicts the adoration of Manco Capac Inca (S, 17r).

This concrete, specific instance of the discussion of the Andean age-grade system suggests, as Murra read it, that Murúa's P manuscript was created before Guaman Poma's.

#### 4.5. *The Curacas' Letter and the Question of Priority*

There is no evidence of contact between Murúa and Guaman Poma before 1596. By that time, Murúa had completed C (around 1590), and after having received the recommendation of the *curacas* of Cuzco, he further expanded and edited his work (P) with the aim of publication in mind. He had P illustrated, and he was still making additions to P as late as 1606. A third and final version of his work (S), anticipated in P by the new title for the work written beneath the *curacas'* letter, was completed by 1613.

While the evidence of Murúa's activities suggests that he enjoyed an unbroken and successful ecclesiastical career, archival documents (Prado Tello and Prado Prado eds. 1991), known since the 1950s and published in full in 1991, have shown that Guaman Poma's life fell into two distinct periods. The year 1600 was the turning point. In 1599 he had been successful in his petitions to the Real Audiencia in Lima in defense of his family's and kinsmen's rights to lands in the valley of Chupas in the jurisdiction of Huamanga (Adorno 1993, 74). The defeated plaintiffs in these land litigations, the Chachapoyas, subsequently made successful accusations of imposture against him, and he was convicted on those charges and exiled from Huamanga on December 18, 1600.<sup>181</sup>

Adorno (1993, 80-84) has suggested that this series of events led Guaman Poma to take the steps to become a writer in his own right, when all avenues of social participation were closed to him. Although elaborated a decade before the publication of the facsimile of P, this theory is now supported by the evidence offered there and in S. It allows for a model according to which Guaman Poma collaborated with Murúa up to the time of his conviction and exile from Huamanga at the end of 1600. After that date, when the Spanish colonial justice system on which he had relied betrayed him, Guaman Poma undertook his own, independent literary project. Looking with new eyes upon the administration of colonial society as a site of corruption and injustice, he found new aims and a new focus (his "nueva *corónica*") for his intellectual and artistic talents.

In Ossio's view, Guaman Poma's life is "mysterious."<sup>182</sup> Although he (Ossio 2004, 60) mentions Guaman Poma's legal troubles (Ossio 2004, 60), he puts

<sup>181</sup> For the documents of these decade-long proceedings, see Prado Tello and Prado Prado, eds., 1991; for the analysis and interpretation of these documents, in relation to other pertinent texts, see Adorno 1993.

<sup>182</sup> Regarding what he calls "la misteriosa vida de Guaman Poma," Ossio (2004, 27, note 15) makes

them in the context of a work already begun, taking at his word Guaman Poma's assertion about the 1580s commencement of his project. As we have seen, Ossio suggests that Guaman Poma's manuscript preceded Murúa's "1590."<sup>183</sup> According to his model, the manuscripts were developed along a single track, going from a more indigenous style and perspective to a more European one, with Guaman Poma's manuscript as the point of departure (*Nueva corónica* → P → S). Yet the evidence adduced for this theory is neither strong nor specific.

We propose a different model. We take P as the "origin" (remembering that it came from C) and suggest that from P both the *Nueva corónica* and S emanated simultaneously and independently (*Nueva corónica* ← P → S). We base our conclusion on the evidence provided, first, by the letter of the *curacas* of Cuzco (found in P) and that of "don Martín de Ayala" (in the *Nueva corónica*) and, second, by the related yet different contents of the P and *Nueva corónica* manuscripts, especially in light of Guaman Poma's views on Murúa's work.<sup>184</sup>

The analysis of P has shown that the *curacas*' letter was originally inscribed there, on one of the unnumbered front matter folios, where it could provide the model for Guaman Poma's own letter of presentation in the *Nueva corónica*, which he carefully devised according to Murúa's ordered formula of elements and which he antedated to a year that preceded Murúa's presentation letter by

reference to a certain "document" whose content he rejects (that Blas Valera wrote the *Nueva corónica*) but whose "authenticity" he nevertheless entertains. Although such recent "discoveries" have not been accepted by the international scholarly community on the basis of the lack of positive, authenticating evidence, the shadowy prospect that such materials provide of other actors and relationships in Guaman Poma's life fits well with Ossio's speculative theories. The unknown portions of Guaman Poma's biography would be better served by pursuing further documentation about his relationship with historical figures whom he mentions, such as the church inspector Cristóbal de Albornoz, the Franciscan brothers of the Oré family in Huamanga, and members of the Dominican order in the same community and in Lima.

<sup>183</sup> "Para aquel entonces ["la década de los '80"] Murúa ya debía tener una decisión firme de escribir su obra mientras que en el caso de Guaman Poma se encontraría en un estado muy incipiente" (Ossio 2004, 60).

<sup>184</sup> Ossio (2004, 38-50) has carefully laid out the points of comparison and contrast of the P and NC manuscripts. With regard to the differences between P and S, Rowe (1979, 2) remarked on S's expanded treatment of Inca history which, in relation to P, offers "a more coherent and detailed account of events before the Spanish invasion and a circumstantial account of Inca resistance to the Spanish." He added that the material from P on Inca institutions was reorganized and condensed in S. For example, Murúa devoted some eighteen chapters in P (part 3, chapters 44-62) to ritual Andean beliefs and religious practices. He devoted fewer chapters, about thirteen, to these subjects in S (part 2, chapters 24-37). Departing from P, Murúa further elaborated in S the description of colonial Peru and added late chapters on the activities of the Mercedarian order.

almost a decade. Insofar as the *curacas*' letter's reference to the year 1596 can be taken as an authentic dating, and given the evidence of events narrated in P that stretch into the year 1600 (the Arequipa earthquake), this presentation letter aptly provided a model for Guaman Poma's own, later one. Furthermore, Guaman Poma antedated his letter to 1587 in an effort to provide a plausible letter of presentation from one of the only authorities the *indio ladino* writer could plausibly call upon, that is, one of his own forebears.

Pietschmann (1908; idem in Tello, 1939, 83) long ago pointed out the implausibility of the letter of "don Martín Guaman Mallque de Ayala" as being of such a personage's authorship, and he ascribed the letter to Guaman Poma himself. Yet Guaman Mallque's letter is still to this day occasionally cited as evidence that Guaman Poma *did* spend thirty years, as he claims (1615, 916, 976, 991), serving the king, that is, writing his chronicle.<sup>185</sup> But the arithmetic doesn't work. These thirty years, dating backward from 1615, bring us to 1585. Indeed, Guaman Poma backdates the letter of presentation that he attributes to don Martín Guaman Mallque de Ayala almost to that year, 1587. However, he then forgetfully has "don Martín Guaman Mallque" claim that his son had *already* spent two decades writing his (now concluded) work: "el cual abrá como ueynte años poco a más o menos que a escrito unas historias de nuestros antepasados agüelos" (Guaman Poma 1615, 6). This would place Guaman Poma's *conclusion* of his literary project in the 1580s and its impossible inauguration in the 1560s, as Condarco Morales (1967, 291) pointed out.

Alternatively, as Pietschmann remarked (1939, 83), if counting from the 1613 date affixed to the letter that follows Guaman Mallque's and bears Guaman Poma's name, it would mean that Guaman Poma started writing his work at least forty-six years earlier. It is clear, on balance, that if "Guaman Mallque"'s letter can be used as a proof of anything, it is of Guaman Poma having followed the model of the *curacas*' letter in P in crafting his own presentation letter in the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Together with a number of other aspects of P, the *curacas*' letter corresponds to the generic elements of P that Guaman Poma had made note of, or remembered, when planning and composing his own work.

<sup>185</sup> On one occasion Guaman Poma states clearly that he spent thirty years writing his work: "Con tanto trauaje de cin escrito cosa alguna el trauaje a costado treynta años, andando muy pobre desnudo" (Guaman Poma 1615, 1091). On another, he claims to have spent thirty, or possibly twenty, years writing: "El autor don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, digo que el cristiano lector estará marauillado y espantado de leer este libro y corónica y capítulos y dirán que quién me la enseñó, que como la puede sauer tanto. Pues yo te digo que me a costado treynta años de trauaje ci yo no me engaño, pero a la buena rrazón beynte años de trauaje y pobresa" (Guaman Poma 1615, 715).

#### 4.6. *The Originality of the Nueva corónica*

Finally, Guaman Poma's more famous criticisms of Murúa's chronicle also speak to the corrective that he sought to achieve by his own work. As Guaman Poma (1615, 1090) remarked, Murúa "does not declare where the Inca came from nor how nor in what manner nor from whence" or whether the Incas were legitimate rulers. Murúa had expressly taken as his own the version of Andean history as "researched" and elaborated by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo's historians, and thus he briefly states that there were only local lords in ancient times, who managed "their miserable settlements and houses without order" ("tenían sus pueblezuelos y casa sin orden") (P, f8v [part 1, chapter 1]).<sup>186</sup> In response and smartly taking an anti-Toledo stance (lessons learned from Murúa), Guaman Poma elaborates the long tradition of pre-Incaic rulers and stages of Andean civilization, thus postulating a non-idolatrous incipient Inca era that prevailed and died out before the appearance of Manco Capac. It is implausible that Guaman Poma's chronicle antedated Murúa's on this ground, for if Murúa had had Guaman Poma's work at his disposal, he likely would have taken from Guaman Poma some of the substance (such as the four ages of pre-Incaic Andean humanity) of his pre-Inca history, even if he wished to present it as primitive and barbarous, without virtue.

When Guaman Poma (1615, 15) lamented that Murúa did not declare, regarding the Incas, "how their line came to an end," he implied the absence or inadequacy of accounts of the Spanish invasion and conquest on the heels of the civil war between the princes Huascar Inca and Atahualpa Inca. Murúa's P manuscript devotes only a half dozen chapters to these events (part 2, chapters 10-16), and the figure of Francisco Pizarro himself is mentioned only as the superior of Lorenzo de Aldana in the account of the latter's founding of Quito and of Pizarro's being queried by the Inca captain Quisquis about Spanish currency (P, f131r, f133r [part 4, chapters 5, 7]).<sup>187</sup> For his own part, Guaman Poma highlights graphically and at great length the Spanish conquest of Peru, devoting to those events a long transitional section, "Conquista," between his "new chronicle" and his treatise "on good government." He narrates at great length the pretensions of the Pizarros and the Almagros, the murderous conflicts that

<sup>186</sup> The S manuscript makes the same assertion, but augments it at greater length by emphasizing as liberating the "right rule" of the viceroy Toledo (Murúa 1962-64, 1:20 [lib. 1, cap. 1]).

<sup>187</sup> The S manuscript goes into much greater length on these topics, with some twelve chapters devoted to the civil wars between Huascar and Atahualpa, and some twenty-seven to the Spanish conquest of Peru (Murúa 1962-64, 1:131-171; 171-274 [lib. 1, caps. 45-57; lib. 1, caps. 58-85]). Once more we see the expansion, from the P to S manuscript, on the topic of Inca and Spanish colonial political history.

arose between them, the rebellions of subsequent Spanish caudillos against the Castilian king, and, finally, the viceroy Toledo's culpability in the capture and execution of the last Inca prince, Tupac Amaru.

All these events are portrayed in great detail in drawings and prose texts in the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. We take as an example Guaman Poma's treatment of the viceroy Toledo, which was surely motivated by Guaman Poma's criticism of the versions of Andean history-as-usurpation that the viceroy authorized, as well as Toledo's historic role in bringing the Incas to their end. In Murúa's P manuscript, the viceroy does not appear anywhere in the account of the capture and execution of Tupac Amaru. Guaman Poma, in responsive contrast, narrates this sequence of events at considerable length, creating more complex versions of the drawings on the same topics that he had created in Murúa's manuscript.<sup>188</sup> Guaman Poma completes this "Buen gobierno" sequence by portraying the viceroy Toledo, overcome by his own arrogance and the despair of having been refused an audience with king Philip, slumped dead in his chair: "Y acabó su uida sentiéndose del dolor de no uer la cara de su rrey y señor ... Y acá la soberbia le mató a don Francisco de Toledo" (Guaman Poma 1615, 460, 461).<sup>189</sup>

In brief, Murúa was an historian and ethnographer. Guaman Poma was an artist-and-illustrator-turned-author by virtue of what he had learned from Murúa about the genre and subgenres of historical writing in the book of Murúa to which he had contributed. At the same time, the lessons Guaman Poma learned included his own assessment of the adequacy, and inadequacies, of the historiographic treatment carried out by his one-time "mentor."

Guaman Poma illustrated Murúa's P manuscript, but he was not involved in its composition. As we pointed out, the identification of Guaman Poma as Murúa's sole or main informant rests on the presupposition that text and image are intimately connected in P, as they are in Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica*. As we have seen, this is a presupposition that does not stand up under scrutiny.

Nevertheless, by creating most of the paintings of P, Guaman Poma became intimately acquainted with the kind of book that Murúa had created and the kind of 'chronicle' that he had composed. When Guaman Poma determined to make his vocation that of reformer, satirist, and counsellor to the king of Spain, he had Murúa's P manuscript in mind. He wrote and illustrated his own 'new chronicle' in emulation of, and opposition to, P as a physical artifact, and to Murúa, as its conceptualizing creator.

<sup>188</sup> Compare P, f50v, f51v, and Guaman Poma 1615, 451, 453.

<sup>189</sup> Guaman Poma is inconsistent in citing the place of Toledo's death: In his prose text, Guaman Poma (1615, 461, 460) suggests that it occurred at Toledo's home; the caption under the picture, however, states "en Castilla, en la corte."

Transgressing the simple emulation of Murúa, Guaman Poma's originality as an author and as his own illustrator lies in his implementation, into the Murúan scheme, of a 'beginning' (pre-Incas) and an 'end': the Spanish conquest and the contemporary (corrupt) colonial society. In terms of literary history, Guaman Poma is thus deeply indebted to Murúa, but in terms of literary and artistic achievement, his work vigorously sets up an alternative to that propounded by Murúa. In this respect, as a political thinker and author, he is deeply original, and his work should be considered, in the best sense of the term, an "anti-Murúa," making use of a diversity of genres and techniques in order to further his own program of political colonial reform. Thus, Martín de Murúa's 1596 version of his *Historia* (P) is at the origin of two different developments. On one hand, it is the basis for Murúa's expanded and recomposed 1613 version (S) of Inca history. On the other, for Guaman Poma, it is not only the text that served as his apprenticeship as illustrator, but also and more importantly, it was the point of departure for Guaman Poma's negation of the adequacy of Murúa's description of Andean civilization and the postulation ("nueva corónica") of his own alternative to the Spanish colonial chronicle tradition. The felicitous publication of the *Códice Murúa* has made it possible for us to illuminate a few crucial years (1596-1600) along the path trodden by Guaman Poma on his way to becoming "el autor Ayala."

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### Appendix I

Extant Drawings in the Two Murúa Manuscripts. (See the Introduction)

			Still extant in "Murúa 1590" (P)	Moved from "Murúa 1590" (P) to Murúa 1613 (S)	Extant in Murúa 1613 (S)	Total of extant drawings	Total of extant drawings by Guaman Poma
"Murúa 1590" (P)	Front matter	Andean landscape; coat of arms of Mercedarians (1st and 2nd unnumb'd folios)	2				
		Coat of arms of Peru		1			1



*Index of P-folios Reproduced on Plates I-VIII*

Front matter, unlocated fol. (S, f283/307) – Figs. 25 & 26	Fol. 51v – Fig. 19
Front matter, verso of 3rd unnumbered fol. – Fig. 24	Fol. 52 (S, f67/84) – Figs. 29 & 30
Fol. 9v – Fig. 9	Fol. 54v – Fig. 13
Fol. 10v – Fig. 21	Fol. 61 (S, f71/89) – Figs. 31 & 32
Fol. 21r – Fig. 22	Fol. 66v – Fig. 20
Fol. 24r – Fig. 1	Fol. 70r – Fig. 3
Fol. 25v – Fig. 10	Fol. 85v – Fig. 14
Fol. 32 (S, f63/79) – Figs. 27 & 28	Fol. 110r – Fig. 4
Fol. 34 v– Fig. 17	Fol. 112v – Fig. 15
Fol. 36r – Fig. 2	Fol. 116r – Fig. 5
Fol. 37v – Fig. 18	Fol. 123r – Fig. 6
Fol. 48v – Fig. 11	Fol. 125v – Fig. 7
Fol. 50v – Fig. 12	Fol. 127r – Fig. 8
	Fol. 136v – Fig. 16
	Fol. 143r “155” – Fig. 23

## SUMMARY

ROLENA ADORNO AND IVAN BOSERUP: *Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa*.

The 2004 publication of the facsimile edition of Fray Martín de Murúa's *Historia del origen y genealogía Real de los Reyes ingas del Pirú*, dated 1590 on its frontispiece and referred to here as “Murúa 1590,” is an important event in Andean and Spanish colonial studies. This is so for two reasons. First, the facsimile's publication makes possible the thorough study of the “Murúa 1590” manuscript, which has to date been known only indirectly through brief reports and editions based on a copy of it made in 1890 and is currently inaccessible in a private collection. Second, the facsimile makes possible the evaluation of the relationships of “Murúa 1590” to the other known Murúa manuscript (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16), dated 1613, and to the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (1615; Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 2232 4to), whose author-artist, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, produced some ninety drawings for the richly illustrated “Murúa 1590.” Because the “clone” facsimile reproduces a significant number of the physical characteristics of “Murúa 1590,” it lends itself to a systematic codicological analysis and thus provides the opportunity to re-examine the commonplaces about its relationship to the manuscripts with which it has long been associated.

Our aim in this four-part study is to discover the compositional process of “Murúa 1590” and to assess its relationship to “Murúa 1613” and Guaman Poma's 1615 chronicle. In Part One we trace the history of scholarship on Murúa's manuscripts from the seventeenth century to the present day. We undertake this

task in order to show how canonized views of the Murúa textual tradition have emerged and therefore how they have affected recent and current thinking about the relationships between Murúa's works (and with that of Guaman Poma). In Parts Two and Three, we analyze the "Murúa 1590" manuscript from structural and historical viewpoints, respectively. We show that what first seems to be an extremely complicated hybrid codex (Juan Ossio's theory of multiple drafts) turns out to be the result of procedures undergone by one single manuscript, ninety percent of which has been preserved more or less intact. We demonstrate, furthermore, that "Murúa 1590" is an expanded copy, produced starting in 1596 or later, of a version that was briefer, lacked illustrations, and had been completed in and/or dated 1590.

In Part Four, we consider the relationship of Murúa's and Guaman Poma's works on the basis of this new understanding of the "Murúa 1590" manuscript. Thus, we challenge the model offered by Juan Ossio, whereby Guaman Poma's work in its incipient stages became the model for Murúa's works in a mono-dimensional evolution that proceeded from the "indigenous" (Guaman Poma's manuscript) to the "European" ("Murúa 1590," followed by "Murúa 1613"). Based on our accumulated evidence, we show that the 1590 and 1596 versions of Murúa's works represented in the "Murúa 1590" manuscript were the first manuscripts to be written, that Guaman Poma then illustrated the 1596 version, and that subsequently Murúa went on to create "Murúa 1613" without Guaman Poma at his side. Meanwhile Guaman Poma, independently and after 1600, created his "new" chronicle, in juxtaposition and opposition to the one which he had illustrated for Murúa. As for Guaman Poma's involvement in "Murúa 1590" we set the earliest and latest time limits as 1596 (sometime after May 15) and 1600 (sometime after February 18), respectively, and we find no evidence of an artisanal workshop in which Guaman Poma served as participant or head.

## RESUMEN

ROLENA ADORNO AND IVAN BOSERUP: *Guaman Poma y los manuscritos de Fray Martín de Murúa.*

La publicación hacia finales del año 2004 de la edición facsimilar de la *Historia del origen y genealogía Real de los Reyes ingas del Pirú*, del cronista mercedario Martín de Murúa que lleva en el frontispicio la fecha de 1590 y que está referida aquí como "Murúa 1590," constituye un acontecimiento significativo en los estudios coloniales hispano-andinos por dos razones fundamentales. Primero, la publicación del facsímil permite el estudio detallado del manuscrito "Murúa 1590," que hasta la fecha se conocía solo indirectamente a través de breves reportes y ediciones basadas en una copia de éste realizada en 1890 y que actualmente se encuentra en una colección privada. Segundo, el facsímil hace posible la evaluación de las relaciones de "Murúa 1590" con el otro manuscrito conocido de Murúa (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16), cuyo folio primero destaca el año de 1613, y con la *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615; Copenhagen, Biblioteca Real, GKS 2232 4to), cuyo autor y artista, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, tuviera a su cargo noventa de los dibujos preparados para el ricamente ilustrado "Murúa 1590." Dado que el facsímil "clon" reproduce un número significativo de las características físicas de "Murúa 1590," se presta para un análisis codicológico sistemático y nos

proporciona, por tanto, la oportunidad de reexaminar los lugares comunes acerca de su relación con los manuscritos con los que ha sido asociado por mucho tiempo.

Nuestro objetivo en este estudio cuatripartito es descubrir el proceso de composición de "Murúa 1590" y evaluar su relación con "Murúa 1613" y con la crónica de Guaman Poma de 1615. En la primera parte, trazamos la historia de los estudios dedicados a los manuscritos de Murúa desde el siglo XVII hasta el presente. Asumimos esta tarea con la finalidad de mostrar cómo surgieron las opiniones consagradas sobre la tradición textual de Murúa y, en consecuencia, cómo han afectado las concepciones recientes y actuales sobre las relaciones entre las obras de Murúa (y también con relación a la de Guaman Poma). En la segunda y tercera partes, analizamos el manuscrito "Murúa 1590" desde puntos de vista estructural e histórico, respectivamente. Mostramos que lo que a primera vista parece ser un códice híbrido de extrema complejidad (la teoría de los múltiples borradores de Juan Ossio), es, en realidad, el producto de procesos a los que se sometió un solo manuscrito del cual se ha conservado intacto un noventa por ciento. Demostramos, a mayor confirmación, que "Murúa 1590" es una copia expandida, comenzada en 1596 o poco después, de una versión más breve, carente de ilustraciones, que habría sido terminada y/o fechada en 1590.

En la parte final, evaluamos la relación entre las obras de Murúa y Guaman Poma sobre la base de este nuevo examen del manuscrito "Murúa 1590." Así, cuestionamos el modelo propuesto por Juan Ossio, según el cual la obra de Guaman Poma en su estado más temprano habría fungido de modelo para las obras de Murúa en una evolución mono-dimensional que procedería de lo indígena –representado por el manuscrito de Guaman Poma– a lo europeo –encarnado en el manuscrito "Murúa 1590" seguido por "Murúa 1613." Basándonos en la evidencia acumulada, mostramos que las versiones de la obra de Murúa de 1590 y 1596 representadas por el manuscrito "Murúa 1590" fueron los primeros manuscritos que se escribieron, que Guaman Poma entonces ilustró la versión de 1596, y que posteriormente Murúa emprendió la creación del manuscrito "Murúa 1613" sin la colaboración de Guaman Poma. Mientras tanto Guaman Poma, independientemente y después de 1600, creó su "nueva" crónica en yuxtaposición y oposición a aquella que había ilustrado para Murúa. Para la intervención de Guaman Poma en "Murúa 1590" establecemos como límites temporales más temprano y más tardío, respectivamente, los años de 1596 (en algún momento posterior al 15 de mayo) y 1600 (después del 18 de febrero), y no encontramos evidencia alguna de un taller artesanal en el cual Guaman Poma haya servido como aprendiz o maestro.

## SAMMENFATNING

ROLENA ADORNO OG IVAN BOSERUP: *Guaman Poma og Fray Martín de Murúa håndskrifterne.*

Der er to grunde til at udgivelsen i 2004 af en faksimile af Fray Martín de Murúas *Historia del origen y genealogía Real de los Reyes ingas del Pirú*, der på titelbladet bærer årstallet 1590, og som her omtales som "Murúa 1590," er en betydningsfuld begivenhed for udforskningen af Andesområdet kultur og historie i den spanske kolonitid. For det første gør faksimilen det muligt at studere i detaljer

"Murúa 1590" håndskriftet, der opbevares utilgængeligt i privat eje, og som hidtil kun har været kendt gennem kortfattede omtaler og udgaver udarbejdet på grundlag af en afskrift udfærdiget i 1890. For det andet gør faksimilen det muligt at bestemme forholdet mellem "Murúa 1590" og håndskriftet til den anden kendte version af Murúas værk (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, dateret 1613), og mellem "Murúa 1590" og *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 4to, dateret 1615). Sidstnævnte håndskrifts forfatter og tegner, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, skabte knap et hundrede kolorerede tegninger i det rigt illustrerede "Murúa 1590" håndskrift. Da faksimilen gengiver et stort antal af det originale manuskripts materielle karakteristika, gør den det muligt at gennemføre en systematisk kodikologisk analyse af håndskriftet og at undersøge kritisk en række hævdvundne opfattelser om "Murúa 1590" og dets forhold til de to nævnte håndskrifter, som det længe har været sat i forbindelse med.

Vores formål med denne firedelede undersøgelse er at indkredse, hvordan "Murúa 1590" blev til, og at bestemme dets forhold til henholdsvis "Murúa 1613" og Guaman Pomas 1615 krønike. I første del følger vi Murúa-forskningen fra det 17. århundrede til i dag. Vi viser hvordan der er opstået dogmer om Murúa's tekstoverlevering og hvordan de helt op til nyeste tid har styret forskernes forestillinger om forholdet mellem Murúas arbejde og Guaman Poma. I anden og tredje del analyserer vi "Murúa 1590" fra henholdsvis et strukturelt og historisk synspunkt. Vi viser, at hvad der ved første øjekast tager sig ud som en ekstremt kompliceret og hybrid kodeks (Juan Ossios teori om mange kladder forenet i "Murúa 1590") i virkeligheden er resultatet af en række ændringer der har fundet sted i ét og samme håndskrift, som alt i alt er bevaret for halvfems procents vedkommende. Vi viser endvidere, at "Murúa 1590" er en udvidet renskrift, iværksat i 1596 eller senere, af en kortere version, der var uden illustrationer og som blev afsluttet og/eller dateret i 1590.

I fjerde del betragter vi forholdet mellem Murúas og Guaman Pomas arbejder ud fra denne nye forståelse af "Murúa 1590" håndskriftet. Vi anfægter den model, hvorefter en tidlig version af Guaman Pomas arbejde blev det forbillede, efter hvilket Murúa udarbejdede sit værk. Denne teori bygger på forestillingen om en éndimensional udvikling, der forløber fra det "indfødte" (Guaman Pomas håndskrift) til det "europæiske" ("Murúa 1590" og, i næste stadie, "Murúa 1613"). Omvendt fører vore undersøgelser frem til, at de i "Murúa 1590" indeholdte 1590- og 1596-udgaver af Murúas værk var de tidligste, at Guaman Poma illustrerede 1596-udgaven, og at Murúa sidenhen skabte "Murúa 1613" uden at Guaman Poma havde nogen andel deri. I mellemtiden forfattede Guaman Poma få efter år 1600 og uden kontakt med Murúa sin egen "nye" krønike, som parallel og i opposition til den, som han tidligere havde illustreret for Murúa. Hvad angår Guaman Pomas inddragelse i udarbejdelsen af "Murúa 1590," kan den tidligste og seneste mulige dato bestemmes til henholdsvis 1596 (efter den 15. maj) og 1600 (efter den 18. februar), og vi har ikke fundet nogen bekræftelse på teorien om at Guaman Poma var medlem eller leder af et kunstindustrielt værksted.

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### Appendix I

Extant Drawings in the Two Murúa Manuscripts. (See the Introduction)

			Still extant in "Murúa 1590" (P)	Moved from "Murúa 1590" (P) to Murúa 1613 (S)	Extant in Murúa 1613 (S)	Total of extant drawings	Total of extant drawings by Guaman Poma
"Murúa 1590" (P)	Front matter	Andean landscape; coat of arms of Mercedarians (1st and 2nd unnumb'd folios)	2				
		Coat of arms of Peru		1			1

### Appendix 2

#### Survey of the Structure of the P Manuscript (Before and After Fragmentation and Reconstruction). (See sections 2.2 through 2.6).

Note 1: The foliation, here extended so as to encompass also the blank folios at the end of the manuscript, runs only to "156", because one folio at the beginning of quire 1 was missed in the count up to folio 8 (possibly the very first folio, on purpose), and one was missed (by error) in quire 7 ("145bis").

Note 2: The difference of 11 between the 46 detached primary folios and the 35 extant replacement folios is accounted for by a "loss" of 5 folios in quire 1, of 2 in quire 3, and of 4 in quire 7.

Note 3: Two primary folios were displaced under the reconstruction of P: primary "155" was pasted onto replacement fol. 143, and primary fol. 143 was pasted onto the folio facing f8r.

Note 4: The six ultimate primary folios, "151-156," were originally blank, except fol. "155," which carried an addition to the text of fol. 95 recto.

Note 5: This Table includes the 5 single primary folios which are extant in the manuscript S and which are discussed in section 2.11.

	Folios as foliated in P (" " indicates the midpoint of a quire)	Original number of primary folios	Primary folios still in place	Removed primary folios	Original number of replacement folios	Replacement folios still in place	Primary folios pasted onto replacement folios in the P manuscript	Primary folios pasted into the S manuscript	Primary folios missing from original quire
Quire 1 (24 folios) – Before fragmentation	0; 1-11   12-23	24	0	24				1 (Coat of arms of Peru, became S, fol. 283/307)	9 (5 unnumb'd [3blank?]; 8; 11; 12; 13)
Quire 1a (8 folios and one (fol. 10) added).	3 unnumb'd; 8   9-13				8+1	8+1	5 (1st and 2nd unnumb'd; 3rd unnumb'd (=143); 9; 10)		[4] (8; 11; 12; 13)
Quire 1b (10 folios).	14-18   19-23				10	10	10 (19-23)		
Quire 2 (18 folios)	24-29	6	6						
	30	1		1	1	1			1 (30)
	31	1	1						

Quire 6 (22 folios)	114-124   125-135	22	22						
Quire 7 (22 folios)	136, 137	2		2	2	2	2 (136, 137)		
	138-142	5	5						
	143	1		1	1	1	1 (= "155"; primary 143 is pasted-on to 3rd unnumb'd. in quire 1a)		
	144, 145, 145bis   146, 147, 148	6	6						
	149	1		1	1	1	1 (149)		
	150, "151", "152", [153], [154]	5	3	2	2				2 (153 blank; 154 blank)
	"155", [156]	2		2	2		[1 ("155", currently fol. 143)]		1 (156 blank)
Sum		158	112	46	39	35	22	4	20

### Appendix 3

Changes within the *Tabla* and the Replacement Folios of Quire 1 (1a and 1b). (See section 2.10)

<i>Tabla</i> , original state	Replacement folios: before addition of new chapter 1	Replacement folios: after addition of new chapter 1	<i>Tabla</i> , current state, taking account of final state of replacement folios
	8r Cap. prohemial	8r Cap. prohemial	Cap. prohemial – fol. 8
		8v Cap. 1: Del nombre de los Reyes del Pirú	Cap. 1: Del nombre etc. – fol. 8
Cap. 1: Del origen y principio de los yngas – fol. 8			
Cap. 2: Del principio de los yngas – fol. 9	9r <i>Cap. 1</i> : Del origen y principio de los Reyes yngas del Pirú	9r <i>Cap. 2</i> : Del origen etc.	No change

Cap. 3: Mango Capac – fol. 10	10r <i>Cap. 2: Mango Capac</i>	10r <i>Cap. 3: Mango Capac</i>	
Cap. 4: Sinche Roca – fol. 11	11r Blank	11r <i>Cap. 4: Title: Sinche Roca</i>	No change
Cap. 5: Lloque Yupanqui – fol. 12	12r Blank	12r <i>Cap. 5: Title: Lloque</i>	No change
Cap. 6: Mayta Capac – fol. 13	13r Blank	13r <i>Cap. 6: Title: Mayta</i>	No change
Cap. 7: Capac Yupanqui – fol. 14	14r <i>Cap. 6: Capac Yupanqui</i>	14r <i>Cap. 7: Capac Yupanqui</i>	No change
Cap. 8: Ynga Roca – fol. 15	15r <i>Cap 7: Ynga Roca</i>	15r <i>Cap. 8: Ynga Roca</i>	No change
Cap. 9: Yaguar Guacac – fol. 16	16r <i>Cap. 9: Yauar Guacac</i>	16r <i>Cap. 9: Yauar Guacac</i>	No change

#### Appendix 4

State of Preservation of the P Manuscript. (See section 2.12)

	Actual foliation	Original number of primary folios	Primary folios extant in P	Primary folios extant in S	Total number extant	Total number lost
Up to "9"	[0] + [4] + 3 unnumbered + fol. 8	9 (1 blank)	2 (Andean landscape, coat of arms of Mercedarians)	1 (coat of arms of Peru)	3	6 (1 blank)
Rest of bk.1	9-34	26	20	1 (32: Raba Oello)	21	5 (11, 12, 13, 30, 33)
Bk. 2	35-51	17	14	0	14	3 (35, 42 [copy of 42r extant], 43)
Bk. 3	52-125	74	69	2 (52: Huascar; 61: Chuquillantú)	71	3 (62, 68, 87)
Bk. 4	126-142	17	17	0	17	0
<i>Ficción, Tabla, Memoria</i>	143-145, 145bis, 146-150	9	9 (incl. 143 [→ 3rd unnumber'd folio])	0	9	0
Final folios	[151-156]	6 (5 blank)	3 (151, 152, 155 [→143])	0	3	3 (153, 154, 156, all blank)
		158 (6 blank)	134 (2 blank)	4	138	20 (4 blank)



## Appendix 5

Reduced or Missing Frontispiece Drawings due to Textual Additions (See section 3.5.2)

Folio nr.	Chapter on recto	Verso: Text	Notes on content of text addition	Verso: Drawing	Function of drawing	Catch-word of verso text on bottom of recto
34	1,27	Part	List of 34 conquests (other lists added after drawing)	Reduced	Frontispiece of part 2	
48	2,13	Full page		None		este terzero hijo ...
50	2,15	Part	Lyrical texts (some added after drawing)	Reduced	Frontispiece (Tupac Amaru)	
53 (now 52v)	3,1	Full page		None		otras cosas
54	3,2	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (royal litter)	la   manera
55	3,3	Full page		None		y como
56	3,4	Full page		None		a los quales
57	3,5	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Inca's family)	abía en el
58	3,6	Full page		None		y es cosa
59	3,7	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Pachacuti)	en este mismo
60	3,8	Full page		None		[unreadable] pues no son
67	3,15	Full page		None		tenian sus oratorios
73	3,21	Full page		None		dizen que
77	3,25	Full page		None		lo qual era una inbención
96	3,44	Part		Reduced		todo esto lo hazían
112	3,60	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (confesiones)	no se a po[dido]
118	3,66	Part	List of provinces	Reduced	Frontispiece (tributo)	
119	3,67	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (crops)	en este Reyno del
122	3,70	Full page		None		otras muchas fiestas
125	3,73 (Book end)	Full page		—		llaman
126	4, Prologo	Full page		None		
127	4,1	Full page		None		y así mismo
128	4,2	Full page		None		

129	4,3	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Huánuco)	
130	4,4	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Quito)	
131	4,5	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Ica)	fundó así mesmo ...
134	4,8	Full page		None		
135	4,9	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Camana)	
136	4,10	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Arequipa)	
137	4,11	Full page		None		ay en esta ciudad como
138	4,12	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Chuquiapo)	es esta villa ...
139	4,13	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Cochabamba)	y ablauan ...
140	4,14	Part		Reduced	Frontispiece (Chuquisaca)	
141	4,16 (Book end)	Full page		—		lo demás esta fo. 143 página 2

### Appendix 6

Explanatory Texts Inscribed by Guaman Poma on Drawings of the P Manuscript. (See section 3.8)

In P	In S	Location	Transcription
[Front matter]	283/307r	Around and below the coat of arms of Peru	la primera, las armas de chinchaysuyo   la segunda, las armas de andesuyo   la tercera, las armas de collasuyo   la quarta, las armas de condesuyo   estas quatro armas fueron las armas de los quatro Reys antiguos de los quatro partes destos rreynos del piru   el primero gran señor sobre los tres fue apo guaman chaua yarobilca allauca guanoco del pueblo de guanoco el biejo
54v		On image	las andas del ynga
57v		On lower frame	el ynga y la coya y dos hijos
[61v]	71/89r	Beside figures	coya y Reyna   corcobadilla
63v		Beside edifices	ande suyo   colla suyo   la gran ciudad del – cuzco   chinchaysuyo   conde suyo
65v		Above edifice	dos casas de piedra parda de cantería del ynga

## Appendix 7

Drawings in the S Manuscript (See sections 3.18 and 3.19)

Drawing no.	Fol. in S	Fol. in P	Chapter in S	Subject matter of drawing and/or chapter	Inscribed instruction	Kings/queens in revised plan
1	*2r		Book 1	Title page device		
2	2r / 13r		Front	Coat of arms of Inca kings		
3	3r > 7r / 19r		2	Manco Capac (adoration of)		
4	5r > 9r / 21r		3	Cinchiroca (coronation of)		
5	5v > 9v / 21v		3	Manco Capac		King no. 1
6	7r / 23r		4	Mama Huaco		Queen no. 1
7	8v / 24v		5	Cinchiroca		King no. 2
8	9v / 25v		6	Chympo Coya		Queen no. 2
9	10v / 26v		7	Ynga Lloque Yupanqui		King no. 3
10	11v / 27v		8	Mama Cuya		Queen no. 3
11	12v / 28v		9	Maita Capac Inga		King no. 4
12	13v / 29v		10	Chimpo Urma		Queen no. 4
13	14v / 30v		11	Capac Yupanqui		King no. 5
14	15v / 31v		12	Chimpo Oello		Queen no. 5
15	16v / 32v		13	Ynga Roca		King no. 6
16	17v / 33v		14	Cusi Chimpo		Queen no. 6
17	18v / 34v		15	Yahuar Huacac		King no. 7
18	19v / 35v		16	Ypa Huaco		Queen no. 7
19	20v / 36v		17	Viracocha Inga		King no. 8
20	21v / 37v		18	Mama Yunto		Queen no. 8
21	22v / 38v		19	[Yupanqui / Pachacuti]		King no. 9
22	24v / 40v		20	id.	No se a de pintar	

23	26v / 42v		21	id.	No se a de pintar	
24	28v / 44v		22	id.	No	
25	30v / 46v		23	[Mama Anahuarque]		Queen no. 9
26	31v / 47v		24	[Tupa Inga Yupanqui]		King no. 10
27	33v / 49v		25	id.	No	
28	35v / 51v		26	id.	No	
29	38v / 54v		27	[Mama Ocllo]		Queen no. 10
30	40r / 56r		28	[Huaina Capac]		King no. 11
31	41v / 57v		29	id.	No	
32	44r / 60r		30	id.	No	
33	46r / 62r		31	id.	No se a de pintar	
34	48r / 64r		32	id.	No se a de pintar	
			33	(id.)		
			34	(id.)		
			35	(id.)		
			36	(id.)		
			37	(id.)		
35	*63r / 79r	P, 32v	38	Mama Raba Ocllo (by unknown artist)		Queen no. 11
			39	(Huaina Capac)		
36	*67r / 84r	P, 52v	40	"Huascar Inca" (by Guaman Poma)		King no. 12
			41	(id.)		
			42	(id.)		
37	*71r / 89r	P, 61v	43	"Chuquillantú" (by Guaman Poma)		Queen no. 12
38	*283r / 307r	P, front	Book 3, front	Coat of arms of Peru (by Guaman Poma)		

*Appendix 8*

Relationships among Manuscripts of Guaman Poma and Martín de Murúa (C, P, S, L). (See sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.18, 3.19, and 4.5)

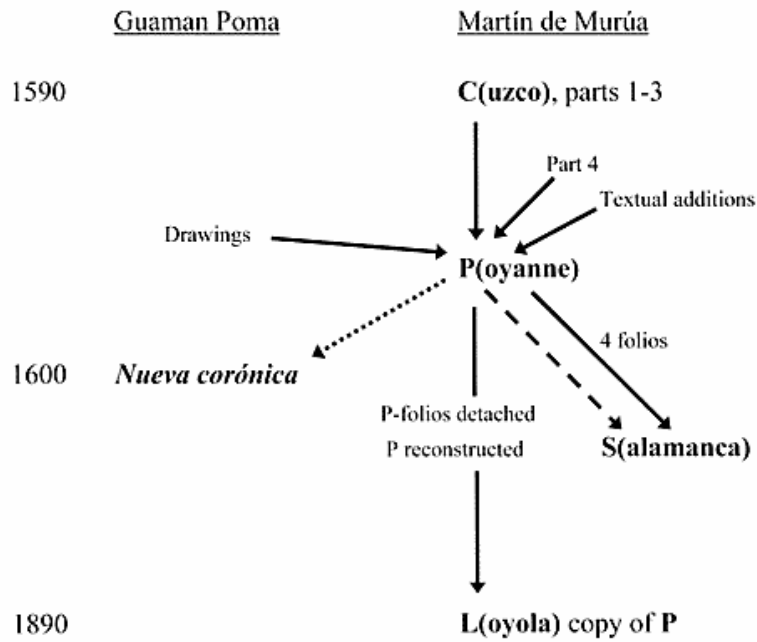


Plate I. P's Calligraphed Text and Framing Systems (I).

Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 1. Type A frame. 1-line separator. P. f24r (1:17). Hand P1.



Fig 2. Type B frame. 2-lines separator. P. f36r (2:1). Hand P1.



Fig 3. Type C frame. 4-lines separator. P. f70r (3:18). Hand P1.



Fig 4. Type D frame. 3-lines separator. P. f110r (3:58). Hand P1.

## Plate II. P's Calligraphed Text and Framing Systems (2).

Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 5. Variant of type D frame.  
P. f116r (3:64). Hand P1.



Fig 6. Type E frame. 2-lines separator.  
P. f123r (3:71). Hand P1.



Fig 7. End of part 3, verso inscribed by P1.  
P. f125v (3:73). Recent owner's mark.



Fig 8. Variant of type E frame.  
P. f127r (title of part 4 and 4:1). Hand P1.

Plate III. P's Verso Pages (1): Full-Page Frontispieces and Textual Additions.  
 Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 9. King Manco Capac. Unknown artist. P. f9v (frontispiece of 1:3). Hand P2.



Fig 10. Queen Chimpu Urma. Unknown artist. P. f25v (facing 1:19). Armas by Guaman Poma.



Fig 11. Full page textual addition. P. f18v (addition to 2:13). Hand P2.



Fig 12. Full page textual addition (to 2:15). P. f50v. Hand P2. Ill. (facing 2:16) by G. Poma.



Plate IV. P's Verso Pages (2): Frontispieces by G. Poma in Remaining Blank Areas.  
 Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 13. Frontispiece (3:3) below textual addition.  
 P. f54v (add. to 3:2). Hand P2.



Fig 14. Full-page frontispiece (3:34).  
 P. f85v. Captions by G. Poma (hand P4).



Fig 15. Frontispiece (3:61) below textual addition.  
 P. f112v (add. to 3:60). Hands P2 and P3.

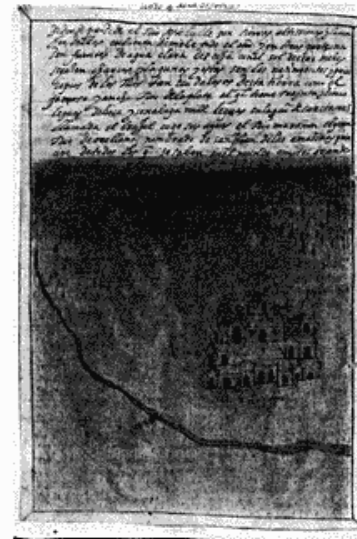


Fig 16. Frontispiece (4:11) below textual addition.  
 P. f136v (add. to 4:10). Hand P2.

Plate V. P's Verso Pages (3): Texts Added after the Drawings of Guaman Poma.  
 Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 17. List extended around drawing.  
 P. f3v (facing title page of part 2). Hand P2.



Fig 18. Textual addition around top of drawing.  
 P. f37v (facing 2:3). Hand P2.



Fig 19. Texts in blank spaces around drawing.  
 P. f51v (ill. of 2:16). Hand P2.



Fig 20. Texts in blank spaces around drawing.  
 P. f66v (facing 3:15). Hand P2.

## Plate VI: Fragmentation and Reconstruction of P.

Courtesy of Mr. Sean Galvin, County Meath, Ireland, and Testimonio Compañía Editorial, Madrid.



Fig 21. Copy of obscured text on replacement folio P, f10v (1:3). Hand P2.



Fig 22. Copy of obscured text on replacement folio P, f21r (1:14). Hand P5.



Fig 23. Reinstalled text and ill. (acella's toilette). P, f143r (was "155"). Hand P3. Ill. by G. Poma.



Fig 24. Reinstalled frontisp. (adoring acella). P, verso of 3rd fol. (was f143r). Ill. by G. Poma.

Plate VII. P-Folios Migrated to S (1).

Courtesy of the The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



Fig. 25. Curacas' letter and book title. S, f283/307v [P, fr]. Hands P1 and P2.



Fig. 26. Armas of Peru. S, f283/307r [P, frv]. Ill. and texts by G. Poma.



Fig 27. Chapter crossed out and obscured. S, f63/79v [P, f32r (1:25)]. Hand P1.



Fig 28. Queen Raba Ocllo. Unknown artist. S, f63/79r [P, f32v (facing 1:26)]. Armas by G. Poma.

## Plate VIII. P-Folios Migrated to S (2).

Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

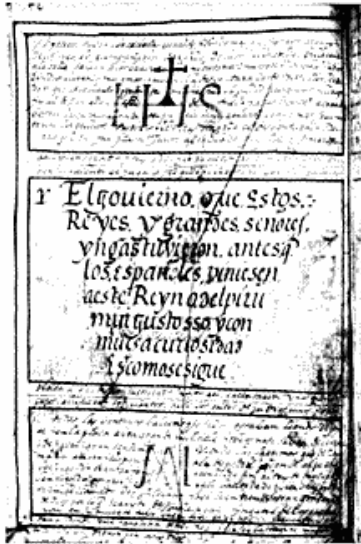


Fig. 29. Tile page crossed out and obscured. S, f67/84v [P, f52r (part 3)]. Hands P1 and P2.



Fig. 30. Inca king in procession "Huascar Inca." S, f67/84r [P, f52v (facing of 3:1)]. Ill. by G. Poma.



Fig. 31. Chapter crossed out and obscured. S, f71/89v [P, f61r (3:9)]. Hand P1.



Fig. 32. Inca queen in procession "Chuquillantu." S, f71/89r [P, f61v (facing 3:10)]. Ill. by G. Poma.

*Appendix 8*

Relationships among Manuscripts of Guaman Poma and Martín de Murúa (C, P, S, L). (See sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.18, 3.19, and 4.5)

