Contents

Introduction

BRIAN S. BAUER

In 1613, Martín de Murúa, a Mercedarian friar, finished writing his magnum opus *General History of Peru* (*Historia General del Piru*),[1] writing across its ornate cover page "In La Plata,[2] in the year [of] our [lord] 1613."[3] A draft of this immense manuscript had already passed through more than two years of reviews and had been approved by numerous officials of the Church in different cities of what are now Peru and Bolivia. Murúa also produced an earlier version of this work in 1590 titled *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*.[4] In the more than twenty years that had passed since the 1590 and the 1613 versions, the form of the chronicle had dramatically changed, with large sections added and other parts removed (Adorno and

1 The full title is *Historia General del Piru origen i descendençia de los incas, donde se trata, assí de las guerras çiviles suyas, como de la entrada de los españoles, descripçión de las çiudades i lugares del, con otras cosas notables*. [General History of Peru: Origin and descent of the Incas: Which deals with their civil wars, as well as the arrival of the Spaniards, description of the cities and place within it, with other notable things.]

2 Now called Sucre (Bolivia). At that time, La Plata was one of the largest cities of South America, its growth fed by the vast mineral wealth of the Bolivian highlands.

3 "En La Plata por N. Ano de 1613." The last page of the document also contains the date of 1613 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:383v).

4 The full title is *Historia de origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru. De sus hechos, costumbres, trages y manera de gouierno*. [History and genealogy of the Inca kings of Peru. Of their works, customs, clothes, and manner of governing.] Sometime later Murúa may have produced another version, or he may have simply changed the title to *General History and Book on the Origin and Lineage of the Inca Lords of This Western Kingdom of Peru*.

https://doi.org/10.5876/9781646426553.c000b

Boserup 2008:9).[5] The final manuscript, totaling around 775 pages, included thirty-four new illustrations that had been created specifically for this work, as well as four other illustrations,[6] which had been removed from an earlier draft that Murúa had written and were repurposed for new uses in his *General History of Peru*.[7]

As Murúa set aside his quill pen and polished brass inkwell (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:244), and removed his glasses (244), he couldn't help but reflect on the arduous journey his *General History of Peru* had yet to endure. Decades of tireless dedication had brought him to this moment, but he knew there were still additional offices of the Church in Potosí and the Crown in Buenos Aires, as well as the more demanding offices in Spain, through which his manuscript had to pass. Little did he know that he would die only two years later in Spain, only a few months after his return, and that his manuscript, after having passed through all the necessary steps and having been approved by King Felipe III in 1616 for publication,[8] would disappear from public view for almost 350 years. Its first printing finally took place between 1962 and 1964, certainly an unimaginable date and cultural context for Murúa.

The final version of Murúa's *General History of Peru* is divided into three books and includes both front and back materials. The manuscript begins with a cover page featuring an elaborate coat of arms drawn by an unknown artist and calligraphed by Murúa (2008 [1616]:2r).[9] The front materials also include two short epigraphic poems written by Murúa (2008 [1616]:2v), and fourteen letters of support,[10] concluding with a statement signed by King Felipe III, and a ten-year license for

5 It is believed that Murúa produced several other intermediate versions, now lost, between the two surviving manuscripts (Adorno and Boserup 2008). For a detailed discussion of the various possible manuscripts produced by Murúa, both before and after 1590, see Adorno and Boserup (2008).

6 Three of the four illustrations that were removed from an earlier version and inserted into the *General History of Peru* were drawn by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, while one was produced by an individual referred to as Galvin Artist 1 (Adorno and Boserup 2008). For a detailed description of how the illustrations were removed and inserted into the *General History of Peru*, and the effect that these migrations had on both manuscripts, see Adorno and Boserup (2008:31–36).

7 As these illustrations were reused from an earlier version, their opposite sides contained text from the earlier manuscript. This problem was resolved by pasting blank sheets over the outdated texts. The "lost" texts were revealed in 1979, when the pasted sheets were removed (Adorno and Boserup 2008:12).

8 Although Murúa's *General History of Peru* contains the date of 1613 on its cover page, the book continued to be edited and was finally approved for publication in Spain in 1616. For this reason, we use the date 1616 when referring to this work.

9 Throughout this project, we have relied on the works of Adorno (2008) and Adorno and Boserup (2008) for the identification of different individuals' handwriting.

10 Some of the letters of support may have once been loose and were later included as front materials when the volume was rebound.

the book to be published (Murúa 2008 [1616]:3r–11r).[11] Following these materials, Murúa (2008 [1616]:13r) presents what he claims to be the coat of arms of the Inca,[12] along with a dedicatory message to the prince of Spain and his unnamed bride,[13] and a message to the reader (Murúa 2008 [1616]:14r–15r).

The first book of Murúa's *General History of Peru* is titled "Book One on the origin and descent of the Incas, lords of this Kingdom of Peru, the conquests they made in different provinces and nations and [their] civil wars until the arrival of the Spaniards. . . ."[14] It is the largest of the three books comprising the manuscript and contains all but two of the illustrations. The book spans 410 pages, thirty of which feature illustrations, and is organized into ninety-three chapters.

The second book is titled "Of [the] Inca's government in this kingdom and the rites and ceremonies that they kept."[15] This middle section consists of forty chapters written across approximately 190 pages and includes no illustrations. As implied by the title, this book provides descriptions of various aspects of the kingdom, as well as the rites and celebrations of the Inca. Large amounts of book 2 have been taken directly from other sources.

The third book is titled "The Kingdom of Peru and its principal cities and towns."[16] Similar in length to the second book, it spans some 190 pages and is divided into thirty-one chapters.[17] It features one reused drawing as its cover page, labeled by Murúa as "The Coat of Arms of the Inca Kingdom." Originally created by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala for an earlier text, this illustration was removed from the abandoned work and inserted into the *General History of Peru*. The third book includes additional information on the functioning of the former Inca Empire and descriptions of the most important Spanish cities in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

---

11 These pages are not reproduced in this translation (see Murúa 2008 [1616]).

12 A similar coat of arms appears in *The First New Chronicle* (Guaman Poma de Ayala 2004 [1615]:83).

13 Murúa dedicated his work to Prince Felipe (1605–1665), the future king of Spain (Felipe IV), and his bride, whose name is left blank in the manuscript. Since Felipe married Elisabeth (Isabel) of France, in 1615, it is curious that the place remained blank.

14 "Libro sobre el origen y descendencia de los Incas, señores de este Reino del Perú, las conquistas que hicieron en diferentes provincias y naciones y [sus] guerras civiles hasta la llegada de los españoles . . ."

15 "Del gobierno que los incas tuvieron en este reino y ritos y ceremonias que guardaban."

16 "Donde se trata en general y particular de este reino del Perú y las ciudades principales y villas de él."

17 Chapters 11 and 12 of book 3 were later removed, but their former existence is recorded in the table of contents. Furthermore, a new unnumbered chapter was added between chapters 8 and 9 of book 3, which provides detailed information on the Mercedarians in Peru (Murúa 2008 [1616]:329r–330r). The removal of the old chapters and the insertion of new chapters appear to have been done on the advice Alonso Remón after Murúa arrived in Spain.

The manuscript ends with a table of contents, which lists several chapters that are no longer held within the work. The table of contents also does not list one chapter that appears to be a last-minute addition. These discrepancies serve as evidence of critical final modifications made to the manuscript after Murúa's arrival in Spain.

Because of its late publication (1964), and the absence of translations, Murúa's masterwork on the history of the Incas has been underused by scholars interested in the Indigenous history of the Andes and the early Colonial Period of Peru.[18] However, in the past two decades, because of the extensive research of a core set of scholars, led by Juan M. Ossio, Thomas B. F. Cummins, and Rolena Adorno, the contents of Murúa's works, both his 1590 and 1616 manuscripts, have come under intensive study. Ossio's and Cummins's investigations, and the dedicated work of their colleagues, have produced two groundbreaking, edited volumes (Cummins and Anderson 2008; Cummins and Ossio 2019) that provide a vast corpus of new information on the life and times of Murúa and the production of his works. These authors have also overseen the production of unprecedentedly accurate facsimiles of Murúa's manuscripts. A facsimile of Murúa's earlier work, *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]), which is currently held in a private collection, was edited by Ossio and published by Testimonio Compañía Editorial in 2004.[19] Later, Cummins and Ossio (2019) arranged that all the drawings from Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* and his *General History of Peru* be published and placed online.[20] We also now have access to both a printed

18 Before the Getty Research Institute printed a facsimile of the *General History of Peru* and provided a digital copy online, there had been only two earlier printed editions, both produced by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (1964, 1987). The first edition, now long out of print, is a two-volume set that carefully reproduces the original document from photostatic images produced when the manuscript was briefly in the Oxford University Library (Anderson 2008:3). The second edition is a far inferior version that contains many transcription and copyediting mistakes.

19 This document is generally called the Galvin Murúa Manuscript, in respect to its current owner. At some time, this manuscript was removed from the Jesuit College in Alcalá de Henares (Spain) and relocated to the Jesuit archive in Poyanne (France). Sometime in the 1950s, the manuscript entered the complex network of rare book dealers and was eventually purchased by John Galvin. It was recognized as a missing work of Martín de Murúa by Juan Ossio in the early 1980s, and he has published widely on it. Since this manuscript has a title page, we prefer to refer to it by the name assigned to it by Murúa, the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*. For a full history of this manuscript and its recent rediscovery, see Anderson (2008), Adorno and Boserup (2008), and Ossio (2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2019a, 2019b).

20 For the drawings from the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]), see https://assets.ey.com/content/dam/ey-sites/ey-com/es_pe/topics/growth/ey-manuscrito-galvin-v1.pdf.

and a digital facsimile of Murúa's *General History of Peru* published by the Getty Research Institute (2008),[21] which now owns the manuscript.[22]

The recently published facsimiles of Murúa's works have provided unprecedented access to them, resulting in a flurry of investigations, many conducted by renowned Andean researchers.[23] Numerous articles have focused on Murúa's writings, examining the physical production of his manuscripts and the illustrations. Adorno (2008), Adorno and Boserup (2008), Turner (2019), and Ossio (2004 [1590], 2019a) have explored the intricate way in which the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]) was created, expanded, illustrated, dismantled, and then reassembled. They have also highlighted how specific illustrations from this work were utilized to enhance Murúa's *General History of Peru*. Adorno (2008) and Adorno and Boserup (2008) have also analyzed the handwriting of the surprisingly large number of individuals involved in the production of Murúa's works, most importantly in the corrected sections and in the passages marked for removal by the Mercedarian and Royal censors.

Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman (2008) and Trentelman (2019) have examined the colors and the composition of the paints used in the illustrations, along with Cummins (2008b, 2019a, 2019b), who discussed the different artists involved in creating the illustrations. Phipps (2019) has also compared the clothing shown in the manuscripts with those that continued to be used in the Andes. Notably, Adorno (2008), Adorno and Boserup (2008), Ossio (2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2019b), among other researchers, have provided detailed comparisons between the various surviving drafts of Murúa's two works and that of Guaman Poma de Ayala.[24] Furthermore, Francisco Borja de Aguinagalde (2019) has discovered a wealth of new archival data on Murúa and his family. These chapters, articles, and numerous others written in

21 For the facsimile, see https://www.getty.edu/publications/resources/virtuallibrary/9780892368952.pdf. For the drawings from *General History of Peru*, see https://assets.ey.com/content/dam/ey-sites/ey-com/es_pe/topics/growth/ey-manuscrito-getty-v1.pdf or www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105SX6.

22 For this study, we have relied on both the printed and the online versions of Murúa's *Historia General del Piru* produced by the Getty Research Institute. Accordingly, when we refer to specific folios, we use their folio numerations. Murúa's *General History of Peru* was formerly known as the Wellington Manuscript and is now referred to by many as the Getty Murúa Manuscript. Since this work has a title page, we refer to it as the *General History of Peru*, the name given to it by its author.

23 Other especially noteworthy early articles on Murúa's works include Álvarez-Calderón (2007), Ballesteros Gaibrois (1964), Pärssinen (1989), Pease (1992), and Rowe (1987).

24 Adorno and Ossio have spent much of their careers studying the works of Murúa and Guaman Poma de Ayala. I have provided references to some of their most recent articles and leave the reader to explore their vast contributions to Andean historiography.

the past decade have transformed our understanding of the life, times, and works of Martín de Murúa.

Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]) and his *General History of Peru* (2008 [1616]) are particularly thought provoking, as Murúa's primary artistic collaborator was the now famous Andean author Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Guaman Poma de Ayala completed his own chronicle in 1615 titled *First New Chronicle and Good Government*.[25] Guaman Poma de Ayala's work is a vast, nearly 1,200-page letter to the king of Spain that includes nearly 400 illustrations. Although it was completed around the same time that Murúa finished his own history, it was discovered in the Danish Royal Library in 1908 by the German scholar Richard Pietschmann. Thanks to Rolena Adorno and the Danish Royal Library, a digital facsimile of the *First New Chronicle* is now available online.[26]

It is evident that Guaman Poma de Ayala worked with Murúa for a period of time, as several of Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustrations are included within Murúa's *General History of Peru*. Moreover, many of the illustrations found in Guaman Poma de Ayala's the *First New Chronicle* are based on drawings that he previously made for Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*. In other words, these three manuscripts, which are among the most important works to survive from the early Colonial Period of Peru—and describe the history of the Incas, the invasion of the Andes by the Spanish, and the major cities of the Viceroyalty of Peru—have a complex and overlapping history, just like their authors' lives.

Martín de Murúa's *General History of Peru*, perhaps due to its large size, remains one of the last early works on the history of the Incas to be translated from Spanish into English.[27] In this work, we translate the first book of Murúa's magnificent manuscript and offer extensive footnotes to provide scholarly contexts to many his observations. We also provide this brief introduction on the life of Martín de Murúa and his works, acknowledging our indebtedness to those authors listed in the preceding passages, and particularly those included within Cummins and Anderson's (2008) and Cummins and Ossio's (2019) edited volumes.

25 *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*.

26 See http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm.

27 To add to the complexity of Murúa's works, a third manuscript, now known to be a late, poor copy of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]), was found in the Casa Mayor de la Campania in Loyola (Guipúscoa, Spain). This copy is referred to as the Loyola Manuscript and was published in 1911, 1922, and 1946 (see Ossio 2008b). In this work, we do not directly deal with the Loyola Manuscript.

THE EARLY LIFE OF MARTÍN DE MURÚA

Less than two decades ago, our knowledge of Martín de Murúa's life was limited (Ossio 2004 [1590]). However, thanks to the dedicated scholarship of Adorno, Cummins, Ossio, and their colleagues, our understanding of Murúa has significantly expanded. As mentioned, we now have two edited volumes that examine the life and works of Murúa (Cummins and Anderson 2008; Cummins and Ossio 2019), along with numerous independent scholarly studies, some decades old, but most written more recently.

Despite these recent advancements, the documentation of Martín de Murúa's life remains inadequate, with significant periods for which information is scarce. Given his extended stay in Peru and the important positions he held within the Mercedarian Order, the lack of information on his life is surprising. Murúa briefly mentions the positions he held in Peru and Bolivia in his written works, and researchers have extensively discussed a series of official letters found in the *General History of Peru*, which document his visits to various cities between 1611 and 1615. Nevertheless, the number of clear and specific details is frustratingly limited. Fortunately, Francisco de Borja de Aguinagalde (2019), working in the archives of Escoriaza and elsewhere, provides the first comprehensive overview of Murúa's formative years and his final months in Spain. As a result of Borja de Aguinagalde's work, we now know far more about Murúa's early and late life in Spain, compared to the many decades he spent in Peru.

Martín de Murúa was born in the Gipuzkoa region in the town of Escoriaza, part of the autonomous Basque Country of northern Spain. Although his exact date of birth is not known, baptismal records indicate that an unnamed male child from the Murúa family was baptized in the town of Escoriaza on 3 November 1566. Borja de Aguinagalde (2019:205) suggests that this record may correspond to the birth and baptism of Martín de Murúa. Furthermore, documents found by Borja de Aguinagalde reveal that Murúa returned to his hometown of Escoriaza on 5 November 1615, just a month before his death on 5 December 1615. If the day of baptism is correct, Murúa lived just under fifty years, the majority of which were spent in the Andes.

Martín de Murúa was one of six children (four sons and two daughters) born to Pedro de Murúa, a barber and surgeon of Escoriaza, and María Ruiz de Gallaistegui (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:200). The Mercedarians became active in the Basque area in the late 1400s and later established monasteries in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, overseen by a larger facility in Burcena (i.e., Baracaldo). In 1562, the head of the Mercedarian Order of the region initiated the construction of a *beaterio*, named Santa Ana, for devout women. This *beaterio*'s construction is significant for this

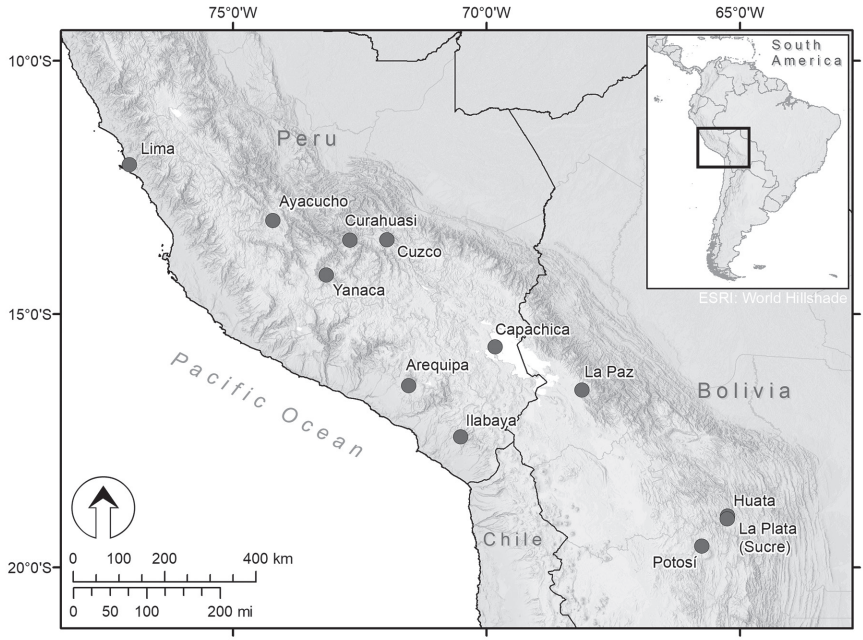

Figure 0.1. Map of southern Peru and northern Bolivia (drawn by David Reid).

study because Martín de Murúa's younger sister, Cataline de Espiritu Santa, would also become a Mercedarian and joined the Santa Ana Beaterio as a prominent member. In addition, Martín de Murúa provided substantial contributions for the *beaterio*'s construction, sending at least three large payments while he was overseas. Presumably, based on these contributions, he requested and received permission to be its first chaplain upon his return to Spain from Peru (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:202–203, 243).[28]

MARTÍN DE MURÚA'S ARRIVAL IN PERU AND HIS FIRST POSITIONS

Martín de Murúa joined the Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced y la Redención de los Cautivos, better known as the Mercedarian Order, in Spain at an unknown date. However, in a deleted section of his *General History of the Incas*, Murúa notes that Fray Pedro Guerra "placed the habit upon me" (Murúa 2008 [1616]:327v).

28 In August 1592, Martín de Murúa's mother, Maria Ruiz de Gallaistegui, proudly recorded that two of her sons belonged to religious orders: Martín was a Mercedarian, and his younger brother Andrés (n. 1572) was a Franciscan (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:206).

Although Murúa's departure from Spain and his arrival in Peru are unrecorded, Ossio (2008a:93, n11) convincingly suggests that Murúa traveled with Pedro Guerra to Peru in 1577, making him eleven at the time if we accept the unnamed baptismal record.[29] Some suggest that his first posting as priest was in the early 1580s in the town of San Salvador de Capachica on the shores of Lake Titicaca (Ballesteros Gaibrois 1987:6; Morrone 2019; Ossio 2008b:436).[30] While his early movements in Peru are not well defined, we know that he was in Cuzco by 1585 (Adorno 2008:116; Barriga 1942; Palacio 1999) and he most likely left for Arequipa in late 1599 (figure 0.1).

MARTÍN DE MURÚA AND THE WRITING OF THE *HISTORY AND GENEALOGY OF THE INCA KINGS* (2004 [1590])

During his time in Cuzco, Murúa rose to become the *procurada del convento* and may have held other important positions as well. His position as the head administrator of a religious community in Cuzco provided Murúa access to a wide range of Indigenous elites and Spanish officials, and perhaps to Church scribes who could help him produce his first work. Murúa appears to have finished his first work, *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, in May 1590, as indicated by the date on its cover page.[31] Several months later, he submitted this manuscript (or a slightly different version) to a group of local lords (*curacas* and *caciques*) for reading and commentary. However, for unknown reasons, their response took several years. By 1595, Murúa still held official positions within the Mercedarian Order in Cuzco, but he was also representing the Mercedarians over a land dispute in the village of Curahuasi (Adorno 2008:116; Ossio 2008b:436). The following year, on 15 May 1596, six years after it was completed, Murúa's work was returned to him by the local lords of Cuzco.[32] Their response was very positive, and Murúa received

29 Others hold different opinions; e.g., Ballesteros Gaibrois (1964:xxxiv) speculates that Murúa arrived in Peru between 1550 and 1560, dates that predate Murúa's possible birthdate as suggested by Borja de Aguinagalde (2019).

30 The time that Murúa spent in Capachica is unclear, although he does mention that he worked there in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*.

31 The cover page of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* contains the words, "[finished] in the month of May 1590." The production history of this manuscript is surprisingly complex and spanned more than a decade. I offer a short summary here, based on a far more detailed history presented by Adorno and Boserup (2008).

32 We know of this late response by the *curacas* and *caciques* of Cuzco from a reused illustration now contained within the *General History of Peru* (Murúa 2008 [1616]:307v). This sheet was removed from its original text and placed within the *General History of Peru* so that the drawing made by Guaman Poma de Ayala, which shows the coat of arms of the

their strong endorsement for the publication of his work (Adorno and Boserup 2008:9–12).[33]

Rather than finishing his book after receiving the recommendations of the *curacas* and *caciques* of Cuzco, Murúa continued to expand it over the next decade: taking notes, rewriting parts, adding new sections, and having illustrations drawn. We know that Murúa was still making significant changes to the work in 1598 when he added an entirely new book to the manuscript (Adorno and Boserup 2008:10; Ossio 2008b:436) and that he continued to make other changes over the next several years, even after he left Cuzco.

Murúa was the procurator of the Mercedarian Friary, San Juan Letrán, in Arequipa in late 1599 (Ballesteros Gaibrois 1964:34n5; Ossio 2008b:436; Pease 1992). He provides a day-to-day description of the now-famous 19 February 1600 eruption of Huaynaputina, suggesting that he witnessed it. Relatively soon afterward, in the early 1600s, Murúa was sent to the Province of Aymaraes, where, according to Guaman Poma de Ayala (2004 [1615]:648 [662], 781 [795]), he served as the priest of the town of Yanaca and of three nearby villages, Pocohuanca, Pacica, and Pichiua (figure 0.2).[34]

Sometime, presumably toward the end of his work on the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, Murúa hired two artists to develop illustrations for the manuscript (Adorno and Boserup 2008:43). The first artist, whose name is not known, drew portraits of the ten royal Incas and Coyas. Guaman Poma de Ayala was the second

Kingdom of Peru, could be reused. The other side of the folio contains a copy of a letter of recommendation from the Cuzco elite, dated 15 May 1596, written by the same scribe who transcribed the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*. However, a slightly different title is provided for the work below the letter of recommendation. Written by Murúa, it reads *General History and Book on the Origin and Lineage of the Inca Lords of This Western Kingdoms of Peru*. This different title may simply represent a last-minute title change introduced by Murúa, or it may indicate that Murúa had produced a modified version of his work that is now lost. Adorno and Boserup (2008:11–17) strongly argue in favor of the former existence of a now lost version of Murúa's work that they call "The Cuzco Version." (It should also be considered that since the letter from the Indigenous leaders of Cuzco and the new title are written by different individuals, it is possible that they were composed on different dates and thus do not have the close association that is generally presumed.)

33 This act of public reading is similar to that undertaken by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in 1572 after he completed his *History of the Incas*. If Murúa knew of Sarmiento's work, he may have wanted to also include such a public confirmation.

This letter was addressed to King Felipe II (1556–1598), while the final version of the *General History of Peru* was approved by King Felipe III (1578–1621) and dedicated to the future Felipe IV (1605–1665).

34 Guaman Poma de Ayala (2004 [1615]:607 [621]) certainly visited Yanaca and the nearby village of Tiapara.

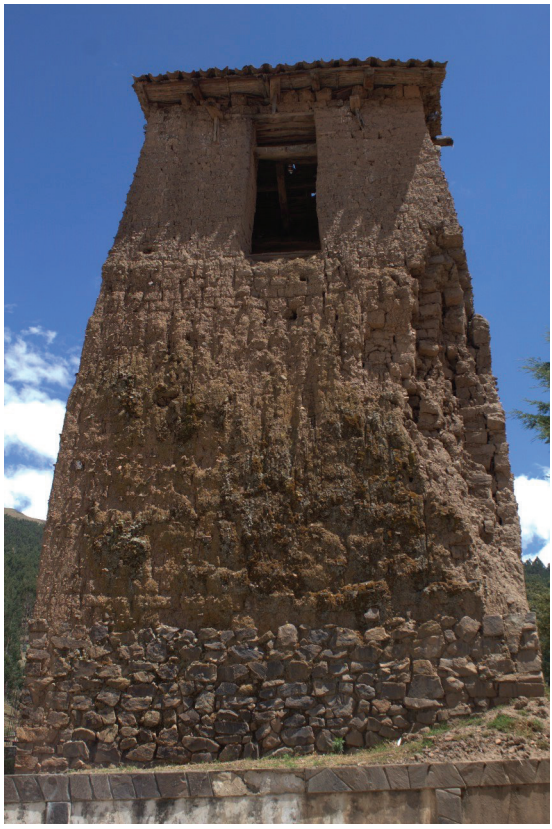

Figure 0.2. An early colonial bell tower stands near the center of Yanaca, perhaps marking the location where Murúa once preached (photograph by Valentin Ubidio Maldonado Allcca).

artist to provide drawings for the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. He added coats of arms to the already drawn portraits of the Coyas and contributed more than 100 other illustrations to the rest of the manuscript. Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustrations are found on pages that were left blank within the already written manuscript, or they were added in margin spaces—frequently at the end of chapters. Murúa added captions and other notes to the illustrations provided by both of these artists, indicating that he reviewed their contributions and continued working on the manuscript, at least in small ways, after the drawings had been added. Years later, when Murúa completed his *General History of Peru*, the illustrations contained within the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, particularly those of the Incas and the Coyas, served as a source of inspiration for yet another anonymous artist to illustrate Murúa's final manuscript.

After more than a decade and a half of collecting information and having two artists draw illustrations, Murúa stopped working on his *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, and began writing a new, expanded work. This new manuscript would conclude with his now-famous *General History of Peru*. The work would contain a fresh set of thirty drawings and a complex cover page. The work would also contain four old illustrations that were removed by Murúa from the abandoned *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* manuscript and repurposed to be included in the new writing project. Of the four repurposed illustrations that were taken from the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and inserted into the *General History of Peru*, three were works of Guaman Poma de Ayala and one was from the anonymous artist who had also worked on the first manuscript.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARTÍN DE MURÚA AND FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA

The relationship between Martín de Murúa and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala has long captivated scholars' interests, even more so with the voyeuristic knowledge that their relationship began with cooperation and ended in acrimony. Interpretations of their relationship are sometimes also clouded by racial and nationalist sediments and the understandable concern that European colonization efforts unquestionably elevated the achievements of westerners and diminished the contributions of Indigenous peoples.

When only Murúa's *General History of Peru* and Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The First New Chronicle* were known, it was widely assumed that Guaman Poma de Ayala had worked closely with Murúa, as both an illustrator and informant, and that their collaboration had taken place over a long time. However, the discovery and publication of Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* have clarified the production sequence of the different manuscripts and the distinct contributions of these two writers (Ossio 2008a, 2008b). In an unprecedentedly detailed study of Murúa's and Guaman Poma de Ayala's manuscripts, Adorno and Boserup (2008) suggest that the collaboration between these two individuals was later, shorter, and more restricted than assumed.

As outlined above, Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* was the first of the three manuscripts to be completed and it was presented to a group of local leaders in Cuzco in 1590. This Cuzco manuscript most likely did not contain illustrations, since artwork is generally added during the final stages of manuscript preparation (Adorno and Boserup 2008:23, 43) and the Cuzco elite made no mention of illustrations when they wrote their note of approval in 1596. Murúa continued to

work on this manuscript, or more likely a later and more extended version of it, after 1596 (Adorno and Boserup 2008:9). We know that Murúa was still working on the manuscript after he left Cuzco in the late 1590s, as it provides a seemingly eyewitness description on the February 1600 Huaynaputina eruption in the Arequipa region. The fact that remarkably similar illustrations of this eruption are included in both Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The First New Chronicle* pushes their encounter into the early 1600s, a time after Murúa had left Arequipa and was working in the Aymaraes region.

While Murúa was stationed in Arequipa, Guaman Poma de Ayala lost a series of lawsuits in Ayacucho focused on the recovery of family lands (Prado Tello and Prado Pardo 1991). On 19 December 1600, Guaman Poma de Ayala was sentenced to 200 lashes and forced into exile for two years. This exile may account for his movement into the Aymaraes around the same time that Murúa also entered the region to start a new assignment in the town of Yanaca.

Guaman Poma de Ayala (2004 [1615]:729 [743]) places himself in the Aymaraes sometime between 1604 and 1606, during the short time that Gaspar de Zúñiga Acevedo y Velasco (aka Carlos Monterrey) was the viceroy of Peru (Ossio 2001; 2004 [1590]:18, 50; 2008a:77, 84, 92). His detailed account of the abuses of Murúa in Yanaca, and his references to other individuals who lived in that town, suggest that Guaman Poma de Ayala visited the community, and it was there, perhaps, that the collaborative work between the two authors took place. We also know that Murúa was absent from the Aymaraes for part of 1606 as he was attending the birth of Felipe IV in Cuzco, reducing their overlap even more. This leaves a relatively narrow window of two, perhaps three, years when we know that both men were in the Aymaraes.

As Ossio (2008a:84) posits, we may never know "what happened between 1604 and 1606 in the Province of Aymaraes to produce the enmity that led Guaman Poma to refer in such derogatory terms to someone who was formerly his friend and employ." Nevertheless, there are some clues. While Murúa makes no direct mention of Guaman Poma de Ayala in either of his surviving texts, the same cannot be said for Guaman Poma de Ayala (2004 [1615]:517 [521], 647–649 [661–663], 906 [920], 1080 [1090]), who directly attacks Murúa in four different sections of his work (Ossio 2008a:78). Guaman Poma de Ayala states that Murúa fathered illegitimate children,[35] and was a cruel parish priest who frequently abused members of his parish. To emphasize that later point, he provides a drawing of Murúa beating a woman for not weaving fast enough—an event that most likely took place in Yanaca (figure 0.3).

35 When discussing the possibility that Murúa fathered children in the Andes, it is worth noting that among Murúa's possessions when he died was a "a shiny ribbon that is said to be the insignia worn by the Creole daughters of Spaniards in the Indies" (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:244). Perhaps the ribbon was a keepsake from a daughter.

Figure 0.3. Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustration from his *First New Chronicle* (2004 [1615]:647 [661]) showing the ill treatment of a woman weaver by Martín de Murúa. The caption reads "Fathers/Fry Mercedario Morua. They are violent and authoritative and treat Indians so poorly that they use a stick to make them work in the doctrines of this Kingdom, there is no solution" (courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek).

Guaman Poma de Ayala also charges Murúa with being an incompetent historian. In a direct criticism of Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, which he had helped to illustrate, Guaman Poma de Ayala accuses Murúa of failing to research the entire history of the Incas and for being a racist writer:

> Fray Martin de Murúa, of the order of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives, wrote another book about the history of the Incas. He began to write it but did not finish—better said—he neither began nor finished—because he does not explain where the Inca came from, how, in what way, or from where. He also does not explain if [the Inca] had the right to rule nor how his lineage ended. He did not write about the ancient kings, the great lords or other matters; instead, he wrote entirely against the Indians. (Guaman Poma de Ayala 2004 [1615]:1080 [1090])

Elsewhere, Guaman Poma de Ayala (2004 [1615]:906 [920]) reveals even more personal grievances he harbored against Murúa, accusing him of both wife stealing and dismissing his views on Andean history:

> Look Christian, at all that I have suffered, even to the extent that a Mercedarian friar named Murúa attempted to take my wife away from me in the town of Yanaca. These are the offenses, harms, and misfortunes [I have encountered]. They refuse to tolerate [a] Christianized Indian who speaks in Spanish; they became frightened and ordered my immediate expulsion from these towns. They pretend that we are fools, donkeys, in order to take away everything. (Guaman Poma de Ayala 2004 [1615]:906[920])

It seems clear that after working for some time with Murúa, Guaman Poma de Ayala dissolved the relationship, having seen Murúa's abusive behavior, his lust, and his disregard for Indigenous people, even for those individuals who had learned to read and write in Spanish. It is even possible that his exposure to Murúa's manuscript, and his intense dislike of the man, motivated Guaman Poma de Ayala to begin his own chronicle, which grew to be filled with 400 drawings.

Within this scenario, the likelihood of Guaman Poma de Ayala being a key informant in the production of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* is reduced. While the contents of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and the *First New Chronicle* differ considerably, the outlines of the two are similar, indicating that Guaman Poma de Ayala used Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* as a general guide for his own work. It is also not surprising that many features of Murúa's first book were repeated in his second book project, the *General History of Peru*. All three works, for example, share the same general organization: beginning with precontact times, followed by the conquest, and concluded with a description of various Spanish cities. They each also include separate chapters on the different Incas and Coyas as well as on important "captains," a feature unique to these two

Figure 0.4. Two illustrations, both drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala, showing the encounter between Inca Sayri Tupa Yupanqui and Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza in Lima. The left illustration comes from Murúa's (2004 [1590]:49v) *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. The right drawing is from Guaman Poma de Ayala's (2004 [1615]:440 [442]) *The First New Chronicle* (courtesy of Det Kongelige Bibliotek and EY).

writers. Perhaps the largest, overlapping sections between the two authors, in these three works, are their descriptions of what they call "*calles*," or what we now call male and female age groups (Rowe 1958). Furthermore, it can be noted that many of the illustrations drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala for the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* are similar to drawings found in his *First New Chronicle*. This is not surprising, since Guaman Poma de Ayala would have remembered many of the drawings he had produced while working for Murúa and then selected to reproduce them within his own work (figure 0.4).

There is also the occasional phrase or description that can be found in all three works. Nevertheless, given the massive size of the works and the fact that Guaman Poma de Ayala worked with Murúa in Yanaca, there is surprisingly little overlap between the written texts of these two authors. In other words, one author did not copy large sections from the other, nor did one serve as the single informant or source of information for the other. The evidence suggests that these two authors

wrote their works separately, with little direct collaboration beyond the work that Guaman Poma de Ayala did as an illustrator for Murúa.

It should be emphasized that while three drawings by Guaman Poma de Ayala were eventually included in Murúa's second work, the *General History of Peru*, this does not indicate that Guaman Poma de Ayala had a hand in its production. On the contrary: their relationship had dissolved at least a decade earlier, after Guaman Poma de Ayala finished illustrating the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. Guaman Poma de Ayala would have had no knowledge of the *General History of Peru* or that three of his drawings would eventually be repurposed and included within it.[36] In other words, it is likely that Murúa never knew that Guaman Poma de Ayala began formally writing his own chronicle after their work together ended and that Guaman Poma de Ayala never knew that Murúa had started on a new version of Inca history after their collaboration had finished.

MARTÍN DE MURÚA AND THE WRITING OF THE *GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU*

Although we do not know when Murúa abandoned the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and started drafting the *General History of Peru*, we do know that the latter was begun after the working relationship between Murúa and Guaman Poma de Ayala ended (ca. 1604 or 1606) and that the final version was completed in La Plata in 1615. Filling in this timeline, I believe that there is evidence that large parts of the *General History of Peru* were written while Murúa was in the city of Cuzco. For example, while describing the trophies brought to Cuzco after Tupa Inca Yupanqui's conquest of the islands of Avachumpi and Niñachumpi, Murúa (2008 [1616]:50v) writes, "He also brought back horse hides, heads, and bones, all to be shown here [in Cuzco] as an ancient custom among the Incas to showcase unusual items that could cause wonder and astonishment." Another example can be found within Murúa's description of the works built by Huayna Capac in the city of Tomebamba. Murúa (2008 [1616]:63v) writes, "In addition to this, [Huayna Capac] placed the most venerated and respected *huaca* here in Cuzco, called Huanacauri, [in Tomebamba]." A third case occurs where Murúa (2008 [1616]:76v) discusses a fabled gold chain of the Incas: "Some old and elderly people say that this wondrous

36 It can also be noted that Guaman Poma de Ayala's manuscript was sent to the king of Spain from Lima around 1615, while Murúa spent that year traveling from what is now Bolivia to Buenos Aires. Accordingly, there is little chance that they met after their working relationship ended in the Aymaraes or knew of their separate manuscripts.

chain was thrown in a large lake that is in Huaypo,[37] three leagues from this city of Cuzco, when the Spaniards arrived." A fourth case is found within Murúa's (2008 [1616]:180v) description of Vilcabamba: "[Toledo] was unaware of [Cusi Titu Yupanqui's] death because the Indians of Vilcabamba had carefully concealed it, preventing anyone from that area or here in Cuzco to leave or enter." While it is difficult to know how much scrutiny should be given to these lines, we do know that Murúa did visit Cuzco toward the end of his time in the Aymaraes, as he describes the celebrations that took place in Cuzco in 1606 with the birth of Felipe IV. Perhaps it was during that time that Murúa began his second manuscript, which is, interestingly, dedicated to Prince Felipe.

A newly discovered document may also provide a possible date for when Murúa ended his time in the Aymaraes. Among the documents found in his possession when Murúa died was a receipt dated 29 June 1609, indicating that he owed nothing to the inhabitants of an unnamed town (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:243). It is likely, given what we know about his life, that the unnamed town was that of Yanaca and that Murúa secured this document as a form of personal protection at the end of his turbulent time in the Aymaraes.

Evidence that Murúa was in Lima on 15 February 1610, about seven months after the receipt was issued, has been found independently in the archives in Lima (Lohmann Villena 2004 cited by Ossio 2008a:93 n.21) and in Spain (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:216, 243). On that day he sent 1,000 pesos to the Santa Ana Beaterio in northern Spain. Within this donation, 200 pesos were for the direct benefit of his sister, Cataline de Espiritu Santo, who was already a member of that religious community. This was the first of at least three large donations that Murúa sent to the Santa Ana Beaterio (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:216–217). Although the sources of his funds are unknown, his wealth appears surprising, and this substantial transfer of funds seems to support the common complaint, voiced by Guaman Poma de Ayala, that certain priests misappropriated funds intended for the Church or the *corregidor* for their own purposes. The donation also suggests that Murúa was already laying the groundwork for his return to Spain, since years later, he would seek and receive specific favors from the Mercedarians based on his history of contributions to this *beaterio*.

A set of letters now included within the front materials of the *General History of Peru* provide information on Murúa's movements within Peru and what is now Bolivia between the years 1611 and 1615. These letters were most likely once loose, but they are now included within the modern binding, grouped out of chronological order, in the front of the chronicle (Adorno and Boserup 2008:29). Eleven of these letters are copies made by Murúa, while the final four are originals, written

37 Modern Lake Huaypo.

in Spain after Murúa's return. Some of the letters were a formal part of the publication process, as the highest-ranking members of the Mercedarian Order needed to approve the work, along with specific offices of the Crown. Other letters are from various important individuals and appear to have been included by Murúa to document that there was widespread support for the publication of his manuscript.

From these letters, we know that on 25 August 1611, Murúa was in the town of Ilabaya in southern Peru. At that time, he may have been on his way to his new assignment as the priest of the small town of Huata near La Plata.[38] In Ilabaya, Murúa met with Martín Domínguez Jara, the commissioner of the Holy Office. Apparently, the archbishop of the city of La Paz, Domingo de Centeno y Valderrama, had asked Jara to read and provide comments on Murúa's work. Jara specifically mentions the work as being titled the *General History of Peru*, and he praises the contents of the book and notes that its publication would be a great service to God. These words of praise would be copied, almost verbatim, by several other officials who read the document over the next two years. This letter also provides evidence that Murúa had completed a readable draft of his magnum opus before he began his journey into Bolivia.

Murúa appears to have traveled from Ilabaya and arrived at the city of La Paz in early September of 1611. On 6 September, his book was read and approved by Pedro González, the inspector general for the bishop in La Paz. Two days later, on 8 September, the book was reviewed by Diego Guzmán, a leading cleric of the same city. Both officials strongly encouraged its publication.

From La Paz, Murúa traveled on to La Plata and perhaps the nearby village of Huata. Apparently, sensing that his time in the Americas was coming to an end, Murúa sent a second installment of funds to the Santa Ana Beaterio, from La Plata on 22 December of 1611. The funds were sent to Spain on the first convoy of ships to sail in the new year (1612), and they were delivered by his brother to the convent with a statement by Martín de Murúa requesting that he would be appointed as the first chaplain of the Santa Ana Beaterio on his return to Spain (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:216).[39]

Although one would think that a career that included a high position in Cuzco but that ended with a posting in the small town of Huata would have been a cause

38 Huata was formally named Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Huata. Not to be confused with Santiago de Huata on the shores of Lake Titicaca. During Inca times, the city of La Plata was called Chuquisaca. The Spaniards changed its name, and La Plata became the capital of the Audiencia de Charcas. After independence, the city was renamed Sucre after Antonio José de Sucre.

39 At the time of his death, Murúa had an official letter from the Mercedarian Order naming him as the foundational priest of the Santa Ana Beaterio (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:243).

for disappointment, Murúa shows no qualms with his new posting and on the cover page of his *General History of Peru*, he proudly documents his authorship, stating that it was written by "Fry Martín de Murúa, Elector General, of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy and the Redemption of the Captives, priest of Huata." He also mentions his position in Huata in the final chapter of book 2, writing that he was the priest and the commander of an "Indian town," one league from the city of La Plata, called Huata. In addition, several of the later letter writers mention Murúa as the priest of Huata. Therefore, he must have served in that position during the final years of the manuscript preparation.

One advantage of the location of Huata is that it provided Murúa with relatively easy access to a series of important individuals within the Church, located in La Plata, La Paz, and Potosí—the three most important towns of the Charcas, the political unit of the Viceroyalty for what is now Bolivia. All three of these towns also had Mercedarian complexes that no doubt facilitated his stays while different officials were reviewing his manuscript.

Murúa may have spent part of 1612 in Huata, fulfilling his duties for his new parish. However, in early February of that year, Murúa seems to have traveled the short distance from Huata to the city of La Plata seeking the penultimate round of approvals for his manuscript by members of the Church. On 8 February 1612, on the orders of Alonso de Peralta, the archbishop of La Plata, Francisco Bázquez, read and approved Murúa's work. In his letter of approval, Bázquez notes that Murúa had lived in Peru for more than fifty years. He also notes that Murúa was currently the priest of Huata, indicating that Murúa was already installed in his new assignment (Murúa 2008 [1616]:6r).

On 10 May 1612, in the same town of La Plata, the manuscript was read by Alexo de Benavente Solís, the canon of the Cathedral and City of La Plata, and he added his approval to the growing number of letters praising the book. Four days later, on 14 May 1612, Gutiérrez Fernández [Hidalgo], the conductor of the Cathedral of La Plata, read and approved the *General History of Peru*. In his letter, Fernández Hidalgo specifically mentions that Murúa had spent a long time serving in Cuzco. Since Fernández Hidalgo had been the conductor of the Cuzco Cathedral (1591–1597), perhaps this is a reference to the years that they spent together working in Cuzco.

Some ten months later, Murúa was in the immense city of Potosí, to gather the approval of the highest members of his own order. There the manuscript was read and approved of by three different individuals. On 3 March 1613, Luis Carrillo, the examiner for the General Language of Peru, approved the work. The following day Baltasar de los Reyes, the commander of the Mercedarian Convent in Potosí, and Pedro de Arze, the head of the Mercedarians in Cuzco, Charcas, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, praised the book. Being a cautious administrator, Arze gave his recommendation for printing, adding the condition that the manuscript needed to gain

approval of the Crown in Madrid. Adorno (2008:117) notes that Murúa had served under Arze during his time in Cuzco, so these two men already knew each other. Murúa may have stayed in Potosí for some five months, past 3 August 1613, when he sent additional funds to the Santa Ana Beaterio (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:217).

After completing his work in Potosí, it can be assumed, Murúa returned to La Plata. There, he elicited the help of two scribes to produce a clean, final version of the manuscript intended for presentation to the Crown. These scribes most likely copied the penultimate version that had been read in Ilabaya, La Paz, La Plata, and Potosí but that is now lost. The task of writing was divided equally between the two scribes to such an extent that they switched turns midway through a specific page (Murúa 2008 [1616]:191v). Adorno (2008:100) writes, "Two scribes produced the bulk of the text, and their work is neatly divided at the approximate midpoint of the manuscript. Getty Scribe 1 started at folio 18r . . . and, with the exception of folio 20 (a latter addition set down by Getty Scribe 2), carried on through the sixth line of folio 191v. Getty Scribe 2 took over at the seventh line of folio 191v and calligraphed the text through folio 382r." As they were working on the final version, both scribes occasionally stopped and corrected minor errors in their work.[40]

When the transcription was completed, Murúa carefully read over the work, making several adjustments. For example, he inserted a few words into different chapters to provide clarification. He also corrected spelling and grammatical errors, and addressed cases of dittography and other scribal mistakes. Furthermore, he filled in blank spaces the scribes had left, perhaps because of illegible words in the draft document, and addressed other minor issues within the text. In total, more than 100 corrections were made at that time and later (Adorno 2008:101–102). Nevertheless, the scribes did a remarkable job in producing such a long manuscript. It also evident that while in La Plata, Murúa added a table of contents to the back of the work (Murúa 2008 [1616]:384r–387v) and copied the letters that he had collected up to that point (Adorno and Boserup 2008:29).[41]

After the scribes produced a clean copy of the *General History of Peru*, Murúa engaged an artist to create illustrations for the narrative. These illustrations were meant to be placed on pages that been intentionally left blank at the ends of chapters.[42] This artist had access to the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* as they

40 We have marked the most notable of these corrections.

41 It is possible that Murúa retained the originals of the letters, and they were among the items in his possession when he died (see Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:240–246). The fact that the final letters from Potosí were copied suggests that the production of the final manuscript occurred after he had spent time in La Plata. See also Adorno (2008), Adorno and Boserup (2008), and Ossio (2019b) for detailed descriptions of the two Murúa manuscripts.

42 There are two additional blank folios within the manuscript, folios 94 and 121, which may have been intended to hold additional drawings that were never executed.

Figure 0.5. The four illustrations that were removed from the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and inserted into the *General History of Peru*. From left to right: A. Mama Rahua Ocllo (Murúa 2008 [1616]:79r), B. Huascar Inca (Murúa 2008 [1616]:84r), C. Coya Chuqui Llanto (Murúa 2008 [1616]:89r), and D. The coat of arms for the Kingdom of Peru (Murúa 2008 [1616]:307r). The first drawing was produced by an unknown illustrator, although the coat of arms in the upper left was later added by Guaman Poma de Ayala. The other three illustrations were drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala (courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 [83.MP.159]).

copied the coat of arms that accompanied the Coyas,[43] and incorporated them within the drawings of the Incas in the *General History of Peru* (figure 0.5). In certain portraits, the artist also chose to reproduce other aspects of the Incas and Coyas found in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* to include in their own illustrations of the Inca nobility.

However, for some unknown reason, the illustration project stalled after the drawing of Huayna Capac in book 1, chapter 31 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:64r). To complete the planned set of illustrations, Murúa returned to his *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* and removed four drawings that had been created decades earlier, for reuse in the *General History of Peru*. Since these four illustrations—three of which were by Guaman Poma de Ayala and one by a different artist—already had texts written on their opposite sides, sheets of blank paper were pasted over the old texts to hide them.

The first of these illustrations (Murúa 2008 [1616]:79r), drawn by the unknown artist, contained a portrait of Mama Rahua Ocllo and a coat of arms that had been added by Guaman Poma de Ayala. The opposite side of the drawing contained chapter 29 from the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. This folio was pasted over with a blank page to conceal the old text (figure 0.5).

43 These coats of arms were initially incorporated into the Coya drawings in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* by Guaman Poma de Ayala, after an unknown artist had completed them. For additional insights into the two Murúa manuscripts, see Adorno (2008), Adorno and Boserup (2008), and Ossio (2019b).

The second relocated illustration was inserted right before chapter 42 of book 1 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:84r). This illustration is meant to provide a portrait of Huascar Inca; however, the original drawing, created by Guaman Poma de Ayala, was intended to depict a more general scene titled, "How the Inca kings traveled" in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. To bridge the transition from its previous usage to its new purpose, Murúa (2008 [1616]:84r) added a new title at the top of the drawing, stating that it was illustrating Huascar Inca. The opposite side of the illustrated page featured the title page of book 3 of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, so this folio was concealed by a blank sheet.

The third relocated illustration was inserted just before chapter 43 of book 1 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:89r). Murúa modified this drawing, suggesting that it was a portrait of Coya Chuqui Llanto, the wife of Huascar Inca. However, it was originally drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala for a more general use in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, depicting "How the Coyas and Queens, women of the Inca, went about." To aid the reader in understanding its new usage, Murúa (2008 [1616]:89r) added a new title at the top of the drawing, indicating that it illustrated "Chuquillanto, wife of Huascar Inca." The opposite side of the illustrated page contains chapter 9 of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, titled "The costume and dress that all the *ñustas*, Coyas, and married women worn." This folio was covered with a blank sheet to hide the text.

The fourth relocated illustration, showing the "coat of arms for the Kingdom of Peru," was inserted in the *General History of the Incas* as the frontispiece for book 3 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:307r).[44] This illustration was originally drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala for use in the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. On the opposite side of the page is the letter of recommendation from the Cuzco elite, dated 15 May 1596.[45] A blank sheet of paper was pasted over this letter so that the illustration could be reused, and the text hidden.[46]

44 The coat of arms of the Kingdom of Peru is composed of four smaller coats of arms representing the four *suyus*.

45 The date of this letter has caused confusion in understanding Murúa's and Guaman Poma de Ayala's collaborative efforts. Because the letter is dated 1596 and concerns a submission that occurred some five years earlier, some scholars have logically suggested that the submission date can be used to date Murúa's and Guaman Poma de Ayala's working relationship. However, Adorno and Boserup (2008) propose that the verso of the letter was originally blank and that Guaman Poma de Ayala illustrated this blank side years after the letter was written. If this is the case, then, the date of the letter marks a time after which the working relationship between the author and the illustrator began.

46 It is worth noting that by 1613, when this sheet was removed from the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* and inserted into the *General History of Peru*, the letter of recommendation from the *curacas* and *caciques* of Cuzco was seen as less valuable than the artistic work contained on its opposite side.

At some time during its production, perhaps once the illustrations were completed, Murúa wrote the title of his new book, *General History of Peru*, on the top of the elaborately decorated cover page. At the bottom of the page, he wrote, "In La Plata, in the year [of] our [lord] 1613" (Murúa 2008 [1616]:2r).[47] The same date was also placed at the bottom of the final page of the manuscript. Nevertheless, his work was far from over. Even though the text and the illustrations for the manuscript were now complete, and Murúa had assembled an impressive collection of supporting letters, he still needed approval from his order (both in the Viceroyalty and in Spain) and from the Spanish Crown before his work could be published.

Murúa began his journey back to Spain in mid-1614.[48] Instead of traveling from the village of Huata to the port of Arica on the Pacific, where he could board one of the many Spanish ships transporting silver from the mines of Potosí to Spain, Murúa chose to travel eastward across the Andes to set sail on the Atlantic from Buenos Aires. On 28 September 1614, Murúa was in the city of Córdoba, in modern-day Argentina, where he obtained another letter of support. His book was read and praised by Luis de Quiñones Osorio, the governor of Tucumán. While this reading was not necessary for the publication process, it's possible that Murúa wanted to accumulate additional letters of support.

Upon reaching the Spanish seaport of Buenos Aires, Murúa's book was read, praised, and approved on 17 December 1614 by Francisco de Irujo, the head of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. This step must have been a great relief to Murúa, as it was the last approval required before he departed for Spain, where he hoped his book would be printed with the assistance and support of the Mercedarian Order.

MARTÍN DE MURÚA'S RETURN TO SPAIN

Until just a few years ago, little was known about Murúa's return to Spain and even the year of his death was unknown. However, thanks to the archival work of Francisco Borja de Aguinagalde (2019), the situation has changed. It is now known that Martín de Murúa departed from Buenos Aires in a convoy of six ships, carrying silver, perhaps from Potosí. Several of these ships, carrying Murúa and an Andean servant from Potosí, arrived in Lisbon on 15 August 1615. Over a month later, on 20 September 1615, Murúa sent a message to his brother Diego de Murúa in Escoriaza, indicating that he was still in Lisbon but short on money. Although Murúa must

47 This sentence was crossed out when the manuscript was reviewed for printing in Spain.

48 It has been suggested that Murúa needed to travel to Spain to attend a meeting of the Mercedarians in Calatayud, Zaragoza, which was to be held on 5 June 1615 (Álvarez-Calderón 2007; Placer 1987). If this is correct, he arrived too late to attend this meeting.

have been looking forward to returning to his hometown after spending so many decades abroad, there were several crucial steps in the publication process that needed to be completed first (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:218). These included contacting the head of his order in Madrid so that they could review the manuscript, after which it could be submitted to the Crown for a publication license. Murúa also needed to find a professional artist to transform the drawings in the *General History of Peru* into printable illustrations.

From Lisbon, Murúa traveled to Madrid, where his work was reviewed by the Mercedarian fray Alonso Remón, who recommended a series of important changes.[49] Remón served as a supportive editor and censor, modifying the manuscript to make it more acceptable to the Spanish Court. These "recommendations" were most likely made before Murúa left Madrid, since Murúa rejected a few and offered alternative phasing for others. Adorno (2008:103) writes, "Remón may rightly be called an editor . . . because of the many instances where Remón corrected Murúa's word choice, deleted his expressions of excessive praise, excised his self-referential statements, and substituted the past tense for the present . . . Moreover, in at least two instances we see Remón and Murúa working in sequence if not in concert."[50]

Remón's editorial changes generally included crossing out words, lines, or paragraphs with a single or a few pen strokes. The original text can still be seen beneath these marks, unlike the later heavy redactions made by the Court's censor, Pedro de Valencia, which aimed to obscure the original text. Adorno (2008:104–105) also notes, "His was what I would call a 'friendly censorship,' designed not to condemn Murúa's work but to secure its passage through the complex channels of publications. It was, after all, Remón's signed, formal recommendation of the manuscript for publication that set off in Madrid the series of events that culminated in the granting of the royal license to print."

In addition to numerous small changes, Remón also demanded some large alterations to the manuscript. For example, it appears that at this time, the original chapter 1 was removed and replaced with what appears to be a hastily written text (Murúa 2008 [1616]:16r–16v), a large section of book 1, chapter 63, describing Francisco Pizarro's encounter with Atahualpa, was marked for removal (Murúa 2008 [1616]:134v–137r), and the first page of chapter 5 was removed from book 3 (Adorno 2008:113). Two other major changes likely took place at this time: chapters 11 and 12 of book 3 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:329r–330r), which described a large celebration that occurred in Cuzco in 1606, were removed, and an unnumbered chapter, written

49 Later, in 1618, Alonso Remón wrote a history of the Mercedarians, titled *Historia general de la orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, redención de cautivos* (Cummins 2008a:5, n2).

50 For a detailed analysis of the many editorial changes that were introduced into the text during its various stages of preparation, see Adorno (2008).

by Murúa, describing the works of the Mercedarians in Peru, was inserted between chapters 8 and 9 of book 3 (Adorno 2008:101). Other last-minute changes made at this time, revealed by the watermarks of the pages, include the copying of the support letters written in Córdoba and Buenos Aires, Murúa's dedicatory epistle to the Spanish crown prince, and his prologue to the reader (Adorno 2008:101).

Remón also reviewed the illustrations in the manuscript. He approved some, but on others he wrote "do not paint" and on others simply "no." It seems that Remón wanted to reduce the number of drawings, so that there was only one drawing per Inca and Coya (Adorno 2008:104; Adorno and Boserup 2008:32). In total, Remón marked nine drawings for removal (Murúa 2008 [1616]:40v, 42v, 44v, 49r, 51v, 57v, 60r, 62r, and 64r).

Having carefully reviewed the manuscript, Alonso Remón signed his letter of approval in Madrid on 22 October 1615 (Murúa 2008 [1616]:8r). On that same day Francisco de Rivera, the newly appointed head of the Mercedarians, signed and sealed a letter approving that the manuscript be sent on to the Crown (Murúa 2008 [1616]:10r).

Once the number of drawings had been decided upon and the manuscript had been approved by the Mercedarian Order, Murúa may likely have begun to search for a professional artist to create the final illustrations for publication. This search seems to have been quickly resolved, as among his personal belongings inventoried after his death was a signed contract between Murúa and the well-known Flemish artist and printer Pedro Perete,[51] who was then living in Madrid, to create the illustrations for the book (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:218–219, 241).

Murúa then entrusted his prized work with the Mercedarians so that they could oversee the final steps of the publication process, while he returned to his hometown of Escoriaza (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:219). It must have been a difficult decision for Murúa, as he had carried different versions of the manuscript across much of the Andes since 1590. However, he must have had great faith in the power of the Mercedarians to see his lifelong project to the end, and certainly he was eager to visit his hometown after so many decades abroad.

As Murúa and his Andean servant departed Madrid and made their way toward Escoriaza, they encountered Murúa's brother Diego in the port city of Somosierra, walking in the opposite direction to meet him in Madrid (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:220). It must have been an emotional reunion, considering Murúa had spent most of his life separated from his family. By 5 November 1615, the two brothers had reached the house of Diego in Escoriaza, and shortly afterward, Murúa, accompanied by two of his brothers, made the short trip to the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz to

51 Also known as Pieter Perret.

visit the bishop of the diocese. Along the way, Murúa surely thought of the Santa Ana Beaterio that he was to lead and his younger sister, Cataline de Espiritu Santa, who was in residence there.

However, on 22 November 1615 Murúa fell ill with a fever in his hometown (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:220). Martín de Murúa, who had left Escoriaza some fifty years before and had spent his adult life in the service of the Mercedarians in Peru died on 6 December 1615 from typhoid, less than three months after returning to Spain. The Andean servant who was traveling with him also fell ill but appears to have recovered (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:248).

Although Murúa had arrived in Lisbon, the ship carrying his personal items from Peru, docked at Laredo (Portugal). The responsibility for and the cost of transporting Murúa's luggage from Laredo to Escoriaza fell to his brother Diego. Murúa's goods arrived after his death, and the final arrangements for the inheritance were not completed until 15 April 1616 (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:247). Several objects of special note are listed among the items that arrived in Escoriaza, including two live macaws, certainly exotic animals to have in Spain at that time. Murúa also owned a fine wool shirt, so fine that it was thought to be the shirt of an Inca King.[52] The inventory also listed a handwritten manuscript described as "a draft of his book with some figures of the Indians."[53] It is likely that this was the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, first completed in Cuzco in 1590 and later abandoned in the early 1600s, possibly while Murúa was in the Aymaraes region, after Guaman Poma de Ayala had filled it with drawings. After the payment of debts, which had been incurred by his brother Diego, the remaining possessions of Murúa, including the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*, were turned over to the Mercedarians and sent to their monastery in the nearby town of Logroño (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:226).[54]

THE FINAL PREPARATION OF THE *GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU*

After Murúa's death, his *General History of Peru* continued its path toward publication. On 28 April 1616, the manuscript passed through the office of Pedro de Valencia,

52 This shirt may be the same one that Murúa collected while in the town of San Salvador de Capachica and that he mentions in his *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (Murúa 2004 [1590]:73v). It may also be the royal Inca tunic that is now owned by Dumbarton Oaks (Hamilton 2024).

53 "Un boron de su libro con algunas figures de las yndias" (Borja de Aguinagalde 2019:223).

54 The *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* disappeared into the archives for several centuries and then embarked on a long journey, ending in the private library of Sean Galvin. A facsimile was made available to the public in 2004 through the work of Juan M. Ossio.

the royal censor. His redactions are made with closely spaced loops, making it very difficult to read the underlying text, as was his intention.[55] After reading and redacting the manuscript, Valencia gave his formal approval for its publication:

> By order of Your Highness, I have read the book entitled General History of Peru, origin and descent of the Incas, etc. composed by Father Fray Martín de Murúa, Redemption of Captives, Commander, and Priest of Huata, and it seems to me that the request license can be given so that it may be printed because it does not contain [any]thing against [our] faith or good customs and will greatly help to fill the history of Peru. (Murúa 2008 [1616]:91)

About a month later, the manuscript successfully passed its final prepublication steps, which entailed the issuing of a license by Felipe III (Murúa 2008 [1616]:111r)[56] and the final rubrication of the text by the Crown notary, Gerónimo Núñez de León. The royal license granting "Fray Martín de Murúa of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy" permission to print the *General History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru*[57] for a period of ten years was signed by Felipe III himself (I, the king) in Madrid on 26 May 1616 and was notarized by Núñez de León. Then, after practicing his rubric several times on the blank side of the royal license (Murúa 2008 [1616]:111v), Núñez de León placed his mark at the bottom of each page of the manuscript, indicating that they had been individually approved for publication.

Even with the manuscript licensed for publication by the king, several critical steps remained before it could be printed and sold. The next step would have involved the author, after receiving the final illustrations, finding investors willing to support the publication project. Once a printer had been contacted, the financial arrangements agreed upon, and the typesetting completed, a printed version of the book would be checked against the Court-approved manuscript. A final approval decree would have then been issued by the Court and the price assigned (Adorno 2008:120).

However, these final steps never occurred, because the royal license for publication was issued in May of 1616, almost six months after the death of Murúa.[58] It

55 Valencia made only five redactions: two in book 1, which are included in this translation, and three in book 3. See Adorno (2008:113–115) for a more complete description of Valencia's censorship.

56 Adorno (2008:120) notes that these three individuals—Valencia, Núñez de León, and Felipe III—also approved the publication of the second part of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries* in January 1614, and by November 1616 the typeset version of that work was approved.

57 It is worth noting that the Court may have required a slight change of title for Murúa's work.

58 It is possible that the Crown was unaware of Murúa's death when the publication license was approved.

seems that without the driving force of the author to continue pushing the process forward, Murúa's work, which was first conceived of in Cuzco, perhaps in the mid- to late 1580s, and had evolved through several different versions and illustrators, was set aside.

THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE *GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU*

Although the recent history of the *General History of Peru* has been described by various authors (e.g., Adorno and Boserup 2008; Ballesteros Gaibrois 1987; Hemming 1970; Ossio 2008b; and perhaps most completely by Anderson 2008), it is appropriate to provide a brief summary here.[59]

At some point after the Court granted the publication license, the manuscript was returned to the Mercedarians. Later, it was placed in the library of the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca, Spain (Anderson 2008:2). Its presence in that library was first recorded in 1782 by the historian Juan Bautista Muñoz. Charles IV ordered the consolidation of the major works in the libraries in Spain into the holdings of the Royal Library, so the *General History of Peru* was moved to Madrid (2008:2). When Charles IV was deposed by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808, Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, took control of the Crown's holdings, which included the Royal Library (2008:2).[60] Joseph Bonaparte's rule over Spain was short lived. In less than five years, he was forced to flee the region taking a wagon train of materials from the Royal palace with him. Under the leadership of Arthur Wellesley (the future first duke of Wellington), a coalition of forces defeated the French and captured the wagon train in the Battle of Vitoria on 21 June 1813. Although Wellesley strongly denounced the looting of the kingdom's treasures that followed, he had many items shipped back to England. Years later, after Ferdinand VII declined to accept the return of the book, it ended up in Wellesley's personal library. It was there that Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois's researcher, Miguel Enguídanos Requena, gained access to it, leading to its first publication in 1964 (2008:3). As a result, for a period, the manuscript was known as the Wellington Manuscript. Starting in 1979, the manuscript changed hands several times,[61] until it was acquired by the J. Paul

59 For the complex history of the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (i.e., the Galvin Manuscript and the Loyola Copy), see Cummins (2008b) and Ossio (2008b, 2019b).

60 Anderson (2008:2, citing Ballesteros Gaibrois 1964:xxvii) notes that the seal of Joseph Bonaparte could still be seen on the manuscript as late as 1961.

61 As the manuscript was being prepared for sale in 1979, John Rowe was commissioned to write an evaluation of the work (Anderson 2008).

Getty Museum in Los Angeles in 1983, when it purchased the Ludwig collection of European illuminated manuscripts.[62] The manuscript is now commonly referred to as the Getty Murúa Manuscript, although we prefer to refer to it by its author's title, the *General History of Peru*.

MURÚA'S SOURCES

Juan Ossio (2008a:93n11) suggests that Murúa traveled to Peru with his mentor, Pedro Guerra, in 1577. If correct, this would place Murúa's arrival approximately forty-six years after Pizarro landed on the shores of the Inca Empire and only five years after the fall of Vilcabamba and the execution of Tupac Amaru Yupanqui. It suggests that early on, Murúa may have had access to a few surviving soldiers who had traveled with Pizarro, such as Martín Alonso de Mesa (d. 1587) or Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo (d. 1589).[63] He may also have had access to a few aging Andeans who could remember the era of Huascar and Atahualpa. However, by the time Murúa finished the first version of his work, the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (1590), there may have been no surviving eyewitnesses of the Inca Empire at its height or the Spanish invasion.

Between his arrival in Peru and his departure, approximately fifty years later, Murúa had access to many Spaniards who had arrived soon after the tragic events of Cajamarca, as well as individuals of mixed birth and Andeans who continued to follow the traditions of their parents and grandparents. One Spaniard, who many earlier scholars have passed over, was the Mercedarian friar Nicolás de los Ríos. He may have provided much of Murúa's information on the Spanish raid into Vilcabamba and the execution of Tupac Amaru. We know of de los Ríos through Baltasar Ocampo Conejeros's (2013 [1611]) description of Vilcabamba, in which he provides a detailed account of Tupac Amaru's execution. Ocampo Conejeros credits de los Ríos as an eyewitness and his major informant to the events on that eventful day. Since de los Ríos and Murúa were both members of the same order and were living in Cuzco at the same time, it is likely that Murúa and de los Ríos discussed the final years of the Incas.[64] In fact, there are many sections within Murúa's description

62 Therefore, the book carries the record number of "Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159)" within the Getty Collection.

63 E.g., Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo, the last of the men who were with Pizarro in Cajamarca, died in 1589.

64 Other Mercedarian eyewitnesses to the execution of Tupac Amaru were Gonzalo Ballesteros, who is known to have overlapped with Murúa in Cuzco, as well as Gonzalo de Mendoza (Ocampo Conejeros 2016 [1611]:130).

of the Vilcabamba raid and Tupac Amaru's execution that resemble those found in Ocampo Conejeros's (2013 [1611]) account, suggesting that Murúa paid careful attention to the information that de los Ríos recounted. Or alternatively, Ocampo Conejeros and Murúa met in Lima sometime during 1610 or 1611, when we know that they were both in that city.

Andean Sources

In addition to interviewing both Spaniards and Andean officials, Murúa had access to other remembrances of the past. There is ample evidence, for example, that the deeds of the Incas were recorded in epic songs or told in official narratives, which were presented on special occasions, such as when an Inca returned from a conquest. Murúa (2008 [1616]:40r) records such a case as he describes Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's return to Cuzco: "Upon [Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's] return, he ordered epic songs of their victory over their enemies to be sung as he entered [the city] until he reached the House of the Sun." These songs were also sung during the mourning rituals for an Inca or when his body was brought out for the public to see on special occasions. Murúa (2008 [1616]:87v) provides the following description of the return of Huayna Capac's body to Cuzco after his death in Ecuador: "Many lords and people left Cuzco just to accompany the body of Huayna Capac and to enter with him in the triumph. They sang sad and melancholy songs, recounting Huayna Capac's heroic deeds and praying to the Creator for him." These songs were also performed by members of his kin group on other occasions. For example, when telling of the life of Inca Yupanqui, Murúa (2008 [1616]:46r) writes, "He was accompanied by a great multitude of people, lords, *orejones*, as well as commoners, all painted with different colors and designs, dancing and twirling without pause, some singing and others responding, [reciting] the stories and deeds of [Pachacuti] Inca Yupanqui."

In his earliest work, Murúa provides a detailed account of these epic songs:

> These Indians had neither letters nor laws nor statutes nor ordinances but only the songs and dances, which they called and continue to call arabic. They memorized and retold the past and ancient things in this way: many of them gathered together, both male and female Indians, and they joined hands or crossed arms, and one of them led, and [the others] sang in chorus. The guide would begin, and all the others would respond, and this would last for three or four hours, until the guide finished their story, and sometimes they would mix a drum in with the singing, and in this way they would tell their stories and past memories, how their Incas died, how many

> [there were], what [offices] they [held], what deeds they did, and other things. They communicated to young and old the things which they did not want to be forgotten in this way. (Murúa 2004 [1590]:58r)

Therefore, some of the information that Murúa includes in his history may have been obtained from individuals who remembered songs or other types of oral history recounting the deeds of each Inca. And it is possible that some of the similarities between Murúa and those of other writers stem from their exposure to the same songs.

At times, the information that Murúa received from different Indigenous sources would have been complementary, but on other occasions there was no consensus about what had occurred. An example of Murúa receiving mixed information about a specific event is seen within his discussion of a rope that was made in honor of Huascar Inca's birth. Murúa (2008 [1616]:76v) writes, "Some old and elderly people say that this wondrous chain was thrown into a large lake that is in Huaypo, three leagues from this city of Cuzco, when the Spaniards arrived. Others say that [it was thrown] into the lake near the town and *tambo* of Urcos, on the royal road to Potosí, six leagues from this city [i.e., Cuzco]." Murúa also indicates that he often did not understand the relationship between various narratives that he heard. He writes, "This [mixing] causes great difficulties for those who hear them and are trying to recover information" (Murúa 2008 [1616]:23v).

Besides conducting interviews with individuals and groups, Murúa claims that much of his information came from the reading of *quipus*.[65] For example, as a statement of authenticity, he writes:

> They had no written letters and did not know how to write or [record] history, more than what was recorded on their quipus. These [quipus] are strings on which they tie knots, recording anything they want. These [quipus are the sources] of what I have said and shall say in all of this history. (Murúa 2008 [1616]:22v)

The Incas used *quipus* as mnemonic counting devices, meaning that specific numbers were recorded in the form of knots on *quipu* cords, and those numbers could be deciphered by trained individuals. However, the specific context to which those numbers referred had to be memorized by the *quipu* reader. In other words, if we find the number 14 recorded on a *quipu* cord, we will not know what that number corresponds to: days? alpacas? tribute? or towns?

Some *quipus* may have also contained other information beyond numbers, recorded in mnemonic form, including what we might call histories. For example, we have the

65 Additional information may have come from other Indigenous sources, such as a series of painted boards that were stored in a temple in the Cuzco Valley. These boards are mentioned by Cristóbal de Molina (2011 [ca. 1575]) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]), both of whom worked on their own histories of the Incas in the early 1570s.

reading of one account of the conquests of Tupa Inca Yupanqui that was originally recorded on *quipus* (Rowe 1985) that matches much of what Murúa reports.

While discussing the coastal city of San Marcos de Arica, Murúa describes how he believed these more "event-based" *quipus* worked as mnemonic devices:

> As they did not know how to read or write, they used their *quipus* instead of writing, which, as we have said, are very elegant and well-made cords, and in them, they tie many large knots [representing] conquered towns, and in other smaller [knots represent] the number of defeated Indians, and in a black cord, those who had died in the war. (Murúa 2008 [1616]:367r).

Accordingly, it seems likely that Murúa did collect some of his information about the Inca from *quipucamayocs* (*quipu* readers), especially during the period that he lived in Cuzco. However, it is also certain that his sources were far more complex than what he was willing to admit to the reader.

Spanish Sources

Despite Murúa's (2008 [1616]:22v) claim of historical authenticity, stating that all of his information came from Indigenous sources, we have found, like many other researchers who have studied Murúa (Adorno 2008; Adorno and Boserup 2008; Álvarez-Calderón 2007; Bayle 1946; Duviols 1962; Pärssinen 1989; Porras Barrenechea 1986; Rowe 1987, to name only a few), that large parts of his chronicle were copied or paraphrased from earlier Spanish documents. Murúa alludes to having read some Spanish sources, but he is ungenerous in acknowledging the sources from which he copied substantial amounts of specific details.

Murúa copied large amounts of information from Cristóbal de Molina's lost *History of Peru* (ca. 1571) for use in books 1 and 2 of his *General History of Peru*. We know this because much of the same material also appears in Miguel Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea antártica* (1951 [1586]), and Cabello Valboa, unlike Murúa, states that he had access to Molina's *History of the Incas*. Similar information also appears in Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa's chronicle (2007 [1572]), although the source of Sarmiento de Gamboa's overlapping information is less well understood. Murúa also appears to have had access to a second manuscript of Molina's titled *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas* (2011 [ca. 1575]), which describes various ceremonies conducted in Cuzco during the last years of the Inca Empire. Much of this information is contained in book 2 of Murúa's *General History of Peru*.

It will be evident to most who are familiar with the early chronicles of Peru that Murúa copied, as so many other earlier writers did, large sections from two critically

important manuscripts written by Juan Polo de Ondegardo: "De los errores y supersticiones de los indios" (2012 [n.d.]) and *Notables daños de no guardar a los indios sus fueros* (2021 [1571]). Small sections of these works were copied into book 1, while Murúa copied dozens of pages for use in book 2.

The earliest printed book that Murúa extracted information from is Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indies* (1552). Although López de Gómara lived in Spain, he is best known for his description of Hernán Cortés's invasion of Mexico. Some of Murúa's descriptions of the Coyas, especially that of Chimpo Ocllo, reflect Aztec practices taken from López de Gómara (Álvarez-Calderón 2007:115; Bayle 1946; Rowe 1987:753–761).

Murúa also copied sections from Diego Fernández de Palencia's *Primera y segunda parte de la Historia del Piru* (1963 [1571]). Fernández lived in Peru for several decades and wrote largely about the civil wars among the Spaniards following the Spanish invasion. Murúa (2008 [1616]:168r) appears to refer to Fernández's book, writing, "As a book has [already] been written about them [i.e., the Spanish civil wars], I touch upon all these things briefly, since my intention here is to discuss only the Incas." Murúa mentions explicitly his use of Fernández when describing the journey of Sayri Tupac to Cuzco, "At the time when they went, as is stated in the Chronicle of Peru, Sayri Tupac had not [yet] received the tassel" (Murúa 2008 [1616]:f.136r). While a few scattered sentences from Fernández are contained within book 1, much larger sections are present in book 2.

Murúa also copied sections from Jerónimo Román y Zamora's *Repúblicas del Mundo*, first published in 1575 (Pärssinen 1989; Rowe 1987). Román y Zamora, an Augustinian, copied some of his information from Bartolomé de Las Casas's work *Apologética historia sumaria* (1988 [1566]), as pointed out by Adorno (2008:123n15). However, Román y Zamora's book was quickly denounced by the Council of the Indies for its criticism of Spanish actions in the Americas and was banned from being printed. As a result, Román y Zamora was forced to rewrite large sections of his work and a second edition, one that met the requirements of the Crown, was published in 1595. Fine sleuthing by Adorno and Boserup (2008:19) indicates that Murúa had access to the 1595 approved edition of Román y Zamora, and not the earlier 1575 work. Most of the information taken from Román y Zamora appears in book 3 of Murúa's manuscript.

Murúa also copied information from Jerónimo de Oré's *Símbolo católico indiano* (1598), or they shared a common source, for inclusion within book 1. Oré was a Franciscan from Huamanga (Adorno 2008; Rowe 1987). Since the two men were contemporaries, it is possible that they knew of each other and attended some of the same important events.

Furthermore, we know that Murúa had access to the results of two investigations conducted by the Augustinians in 1595 and 1599–1600 regarding the death of Padre Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba. During their failed effort to nominate Ortiz for sainthood, the Augustinians conducted a series of interviews in the Vilcabamba region and in the city of Cuzco (Bauer et al. 2014). Murúa copied much of the information contained in various testimonies into his work.[66] Since the investigations of Padre Diego Ortiz started in 1595, they are not included in Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* (2004 [1590]), but they are included with his *General History of Peru* (1616).[67]

There is further indirect evidence suggesting that Murúa integrated other documents into his narrative. This becomes apparent through abrupt shifts in tone and style within the text. This phenomenon is most prominently demonstrated when Murúa initiates a chapter with a meandering treatise or moral tale, only to subsequently transition into a straightforward historical account. In such instances, it seems as though he briefly departs from the historical framework he was employing to introduce a metacommentary, aimed at aiding the reader in contextualizing the events within a broader perspective.

REGARDING MURÚA'S *GENERAL HISTORY OF PERU* AND THE WORKS OF MOLINA [CA. 1571, 1575], CABELLO VALBOA [1586], SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA [1572], AND COBO [1653]

Since the first printing of Murúa's *General History of Peru*, scholars have explored the complex relationship that exists between his manuscript and the works of Cristóbal de Molina (ca. 1571, ca. 1575), Miguel Cabello Valboa (1586), Pedro Sarmiento

66 Parts of the Augustinian reports were also copied by Antonio de la Calancha for inclusion in his *Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (1981 [1638]).

67 There are also small sections throughout Murúa's *General History of Peru* that overlap with information provided by Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1557]) and a few sections that match information provided by Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua in his work *Relación de las antigüedades deste reyno del Piru* (1993 [ca. 1613]). So, there has been some questioning about whether Murúa had access to these works. Juan de Betanzos was an early Spanish settler in Cuzco, who married an Inca noblewoman and wrote one of the earliest detailed reports on Inca society. Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua was an Indigenous writer who lived in the Cuzco region during the late 1500s and early 1600s. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence that Murúa had access to either Betanzos's or Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's work. The overlaps can easily be accounted for by widely shared oral traditions within the Inca capital.

de Gamboa (1572), and Bernabé Cobo (1653) (e.g., Álvarez-Calderón 2007; Araníbar 1963; Julien 2000; Ossio 2008a; Pärssinen 1989; Pease 1992; Rowe 1985, 1987).[68]

Cristóbal de Molina's writings serve as a crucial starting point in understanding the interweaving of these different but related historical narratives. Molina was born in Spain and arrived in Cuzco in 1556. He served as the priest of the Hospital for the Natives of Our Lady of Succor in Cuzco for many years, and he also held the position of the preacher general of the city for nearly twenty years.[69] Molina was an outstanding Quechua speaker, and his advanced language skills allowed him to record the history, prayers, and the religious celebrations of the Inca in unprecedented detail.

Sometime between February 1571 and October 1572, Molina was ordered by Viceroy Toledo to write a work on the history of the Incas. This was the first of two important manuscripts that Molina wrote within a relatively short time. Although no copy of Molina's first report, commonly referred to as the *History of the Incas* (ca. 1571), survives, we know of its existence because Molina specifically mentions that he gave a copy of it to Bishop Sebastián Lartaún. Molina's report on the history of the Incas must have impressed Lartaún, as sometime between 1573 and 1575 the bishop requested that Molina write a second report, this one focused on the rituals of the Incas. This second report, *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas* (ca. 1575), describes various ceremonies conducted in Cuzco during the last years of the Inca Empire and has been widely published.

There are numerous sections in books 1 and 2 of Murúa's *General History of Peru* that contain overlapping information with materials found within Molina's *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, indicating that Murúa had access to it. However, there is also evidence that Murúa, along with two or three other early writers, had access to Molina's earlier *History of the Incas*, and they all copied large sections from it into their own chronicles.

In the opening statement of Molina's *Account on the Fables and Rites of the Incas* (ca. 1575), he provides a summary of his now lost *History of the Incas* (ca. 1571).

> The account that I gave to Your Most Illustrious Lordship [described] the dealings, origin, lives, and customs of the Incas who were the lords of this land; how many there were, who their wives were, and the laws they made, [the] wars that they waged, and [the] people and nations that they conquered. Because, in some parts of the account, I discussed the ceremonies and rituals that they established, although not in

68 Bauer has explored these relationships in two earlier publications, and his views continue to evolve (see Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]:25–34 and Molina 2011 [ca. 1575]:xix–xxii).

69 Both Antonio de la Calancha (1981 [1638]:1883) and Baltasar de Ocampo Conejeros (2013 [1611]:39) note that Molina was with Tupac Amaru on the day of his execution. Molina died in Cuzco in 1584.

> much detail, I thought it was proper now, principally because Your Most Reverend Lordship has requested it of me, to expend additional effort so that Your Most Reverend Lordship [can] learn about the ceremonies, rituals, and idolatries that these Indians had. (Molina 2011 [ca. 1575]:3)

From this brief description we can see how valuable Molina's *History of the Incas* would have been to other early writers researching the history of the Incas.

A copy of Molina's *History of the Incas* must have been archived somewhere in Cuzco, as Vasco Jacinto López de Contreras y Valverde, writing in Cuzco in 1649, specifically mentions it as an important source for his overview of the history of the city. He writes:

> They give the same origin of the city's foundation as they attribute to the descent and royal blood of the Incas. I have found another version that mentions it, and in/at? some length, in a manuscript that, by command of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, was written by the Father Cristóbal de Molina. [He was an] elderly priest [and] a scrutinizer of the intricate *quipus*, annals of those times, or, better said, labyrinths where the Indians would barbarically imprison the memories of their ancient past. (López de Vasco de Contreras y Valverde 1982 [1649]:43)

Some researchers have assumed, based on the opening line of the *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, that Molina wrote his *History of the Incas* at the request of Lartaún when he arrived in Cuzco (Calvo Pérez and Urbano 2008; Urbano 2008a, 2008b; Urbano and Duviols 1989). However, it should be noted that Molina only indicates that he had given a copy of his history to Lartaún and that the bishop had then requested a second study to be made concerning the rituals of the Incas. In contrast, López de Vasco de Contreras y Valverde's reference to Molina's *History of the Incas*, provided above, specifically states that Molina's first work was written at the request of Viceroy Toledo. The request would have been made during Toledo's relatively brief stay in Cuzco (February 1571–October 1572).[70] Murúa must have also found a copy of this work during his stay in Cuzco (before 1585–1599).

Now let us turn to Miguel Cabello Valboa and his *Miscelánea antártica* (1591 [1586]). Miguel Cabello Valboa arrived in Peru in 1566 and traveled widely, although it is not clear if he visited Cuzco. Cabello Valboa was ordained as a priest in Quito in 1571 and started writing his work soon afterward. His *Miscelánea Antártica* was completed in Lima, some fifteen years later, in 1586. Researchers (Loayza 1943; Markham 1873:viii–ix) have long suggested that parts of Molina's *History of the*

70 The request for Molina to write a history of the Incas was among several other similar requests that Toledo made to different Spaniards then in Cuzco, including Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]) and Ruiz de Navamuel (1882 [1572]).

Incas are preserved within the *Miscelánea antártica*, as Cabello Valboa specifically notes that he used the work of the "venerable Father Cristóbal de Molina," along with that of several other writers, to research the origins of the Inca Kings (Cabello Valboa 1951 [1586]:259–260). Both Cabello Valboa and Molina were in Lima for the Third Provincial Council (1582–18 October 1583) some three years before Cabello Valboa finished his work, so perhaps this is when Cabello Valboa gained access to Molina's *History of the Incas* (Núñez Carvallo 2008:91). Some researchers suggest that Murúa had direct access to Miguel Cabello Valboa's work, since numerous passages in the *General History of Peru* duplicate passages in the *Miscelánea antártica*. However, it is more likely that both Murúa and Cabello Valboa had access to Molina's *History of the Incas* and that they both used it as a common source of information (Julien 2000; Rowe 1985).

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa also wrote a well-known work titled the *History of the Incas* in Cuzco in 1572. Sarmiento de Gamboa, a sea captain and cosmographer of the viceroyalty, traveled with Viceroy Francisco de Toledo on his general inspection of Peru. When they arrived in Cuzco, Toledo asked Sarmiento de Gamboa to write a history of the Incas.[71] Sarmiento de Gamboa's brief time in Cuzco overlapped with Molina's long-term tenure in the city, and there are numerous passages within Murúa's *General History of Peru* that overlap with information presented in Sarmiento de Gamboa's *History of the Incas* and Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea antártica*, suggesting that the information came from Molina.

While it is known that Cabello Valboa copied information directly from Molina's *History of the Incas*, establishing the relationship between Sarmiento de Gamboa's and Molina's works is more difficult to assess. The problem lies in the fact that both Sarmiento de Gamboa's and Molina's times in Cuzco overlapped, and they were both charged by Viceroy Toledo to write histories of the Inca. Sarmiento de Gamboa and Molina also must have known each other and attended some of the same public events, and it is even possible that they shared sources and informants on Inca history. Therefore, the many passages in Sarmiento de Gamboa's *History of the Incas* that overlap with information found in Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea antártica* may be the result of Molina and Sarmiento de Gamboa sharing the same sources and informants, or may be the result of Sarmiento de Gamboa having access to, and copying information from, Molina's *History of the Incas*.[72]

---

71 Like Molina's Account of the *Fables and Rites of the Incas* (ca. 1575) and Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea antártica* (1586), Sarmiento de Gamboa's *History of the Incas* (1572) has been widely published.

72 Both Cabello Valboa (1951 [1586]) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]) end their chronicles with the death of Atahualpa, so it is likely that Molina's *History of the Incas* also ended with this event.

Table 0.1. Martín de Murúa and the *General History of Peru*.

1552	Francisco López de Gómara finishes his *General History of the Indies*, a source used by Murúa.
3 November 1566	An unnamed male child of the Murúa family is baptized in the town of Escoriaza.
ca. 1571	Cristóbal de Molina finishes his now lost work titled *History of the Incas*, a source used by Murúa.
1571	Diego Fernández de Palencia finishes his *First and Second Part of the History of Peru*, a source used by Murúa.
1572	Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa finishes his *The History of the Incas*.
	The town of Vilcabamba is burned and Tupac Amaru, the last Inca ruler, is captured and executed in Cuzco. The Mercedarian Nicolás de los Ríos witnesses the execution.
ca. 1575	Cristóbal de Molina finishes his now lost work *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*, a source used by Murúa.
1577	Pedro Guerra, and perhaps Murúa, sails to Peru.
Early 1580s	Murúa is stationed in San Salvador de Capachica.
1585	Murúa has relocated and is stationed in Cuzco.
1586	Miguel Cabello Valboa completes his *Miscelánea antártica*. Like Murúa, Cabello Valboa had access to Molina's 1571 document on the history of the Incas.
1590	Murúa finishes a draft of his work titled *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru*. He submits the manuscript to a group of local lords in Cuzco for review.
1595	Murúa represents the Mercedarians in a land dispute in Curahuasi. Jerónimo Román y Zamora finishes his revised edition of *Republics of the World*, a source used by Murúa.
15 May 1596	The *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru* is returned to Murúa after being approved of by the local lords of Cuzco. Murúa continues to conduct research.
1598	Jerónimo de Oré finishes *Símbolo católico indiano*.
1599	Murúa relocates to Arequipa.
1599–1600	Augustinians in Cuzco finish their second investigations concerning the death of Padre Diego Ortiz in Vilcabamba.
19 February 1600	Murúa witnesses the eruption of Huaynaputina.
12 December 1600	Guaman Poma de Ayala is banished from Huamanga.
Early 1600s	Murúa relocated to the town of Yanaca, where he continues to work on the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*.
Early 1600s	Guaman Poma de Ayala and an unknown artist provide drawings for Murúa's *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. Sometime later, Murúa sets this work aside and begins writing his *General History of Peru*.

continued on next page

Table 0.1.—*continued*

1606	Murúa attends the birth celebrations of Felipe IV in Cuzco. He may have begun to draft his *General History of Peru* during this visit.
29 June 1609	Murúa leaves an unnamed town (most likely Yanaca) with a letter indicating that he owed nothing to the community.
15 February 1610	Murúa is in Lima and sends funds to the Santa Ana *beaterio* in Spain.
1611	Baltasar Ocampo Conejeros finishes his *Description of the Province of Vilcabamba* in Lima.
25 August 1611	Murúa is in the town of Ilabaya, and the *General History of Peru* is read by Martín Domínguez Jara, the commissioner of the Holy Office.
6 September 1611	Murúa is in La Paz, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Pedro González, inspector general for the bishop.
8 September 1611	Murúa is in La Paz, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Diego Guzmán.
22 December 1611	Murúa is in La Plata, and he sends funds to the Santa Ana *beaterio*.
8 February 1612	Murúa is in La Plata, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Francisco Bázquez. Bázquez notes that Murúa is the Mercedarian priest of the nearby town of Huata, indicating that he was already installed in this new assignment.
10 May 1612	Murúa is in La Plata, and his *General History of Peru* is read by *Alexo de Benavente Solís*, canon of the Cathedral and City of La Plata.
14 May 1612	Murúa is in La Plata, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Gutiérrez Fernández Hidalgo, the conductor of the cathedral. In his letter, Fernández Hidalgo specifically mentions that Murúa had spent a long time serving in Cuzco.
3 March 1613	Murúa is in Potosí, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Luis Carrillo, the examiner for the general language of Peru.
4 March 1613	Murúa is in Potosí, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Baltasar de los Reyes, commander of the Mercedarian Convent, and by Pedro de Arze, the head of the Mercedarians in the Viceroyalty of Peru.
3 August 1613	Murúa is in Potosí, and he sends funds to the Santa Ana *beaterio*.
Late 1613?	Two scribes produce a final version of the *General History of Peru*.
Late 1613?	The illustrations for the *General History of Peru* are completed. Murúa removes four illustrations, three of which were drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala, from his *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings* for inclusion in the *General History of Peru*.
Late 1613?	Murúa is in La Plata. He declares the *General History of Peru* completed and writes the date and the location on the illustrated cover page and on the last page of the manuscript.
Mid-1614?	Murúa leaves La Plata and begins his trip back to Spain.
28 September 1614	Murúa is in Córdoba, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Luis de Quiñones Osorio, the governor of Tucumán.

continued on next page

Table 0.1.—*continued*

17 December 1614	Murúa is in Buenos Aires, and his *General History of Peru* is read by Francisco de Irujo, the head of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.
1615	Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala completes his *First New Chronicle and Good Government*.
Mid-1615	Murúa and an Andean servant from Potosí sail from Buenos Aires to Lisbon.
15 August 1615	The ship carrying Murúa arrives in Lisbon.
20 September 1615	Murúa sends a message to his brother Diego de Murúa in Escoriaza stating that he was still in Lisbon.
22 October 1615	Murúa is in Madrid and the *General History of Peru* is read, edited, and approved by the Mercedarian censor Alonso Remón. Francisco de Rivera, the head of the Mercedarians, writes a letter approving Murúa's manuscript be sent on to the Crown for review.
Late October 1615	Murúa recruits Pedro Perete to create the final illustrations for the book. He leaves the *General History of Peru* in Madrid for the Crown to review and begins a trip to visit his hometown of Escoriaza.
Early November 1615	Murúa and his Andean servant meet Diego de Murúa in Somosierra.
5 November 1615	Murúa arrives in Escoriaza. Soon afterward, Murúa, accompanied by two of his brothers, travel to Vitoria-Gasteiz.
22 November 1615	After returning to Escoriaza, Murúa and his Andean servant become sick.
5 December 1615	Murúa dies of typhoid in Escoriaza. The Andean servant recovers.
15 April 1616	An inventory is made of Murúa's possessions, which include "a draft of his book with some figures of the Indians," a likely reference to the *History and Genealogy of the Inca Kings*. Murúa's goods are given to the Mercedarians.
28 April 1616	The *General History of Peru* is read, edited, and approved by Pedro de Valencia, the royal censor.
26 May 1616	A royal license to print the *General History of Peru* is signed by Felipe III, and the manuscript is notarized by Gerónimo Núñez de León. They seem unaware of Murúa's death.
1782	Juan Bautista Muñoz records that the *General History of Peru* is held by the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca, Spain.
Early 1800s	The *General History of Peru* is moved from Salamanca to the Royal Library in Madrid.
1808	Charles IV is forced off the throne and replaced by Joseph Bonaparte.
21 June 1813	Arthur Wellesley defeats Joseph Bonaparte in the Battle of Vitoria. Among the spoils is the *General History of Peru*. Wellesley takes the manuscript to England, and it is placed in his personal library.
1964	Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois publishes the *General History of Peru* after it was found by Miguel Enguídanos Requena in the Wellesley library.

continued on next page

Table 0.1.—*continued*

2004	A facsimile of Códice Murúa, *Historia y genealogía de los reyes incas del Perú del padre mercenario Fray Martín de Murúa*, Códice Galvin, is published after being identified by Juan Ossio.
2008	A facsimile of *Historia General del Piru* is published.

In 1653, Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit priest and formidable naturalist, finished one of the last and most important chronicles of Peru, *The History of the New World* (*Historia del Nuevo Mundo*). Cobo traveled extensively in Peru, and he spent several years in Cuzco. Like most writers of his time, Cobo was inconsistent in acknowledging his sources. Nevertheless, in the introduction to book 12 of his *History of the New World*, Cobo (1979 [1653]:98–102) describes the three major sources that he used while writing his overview of Inca history and religion. Cobo states that his most importance source on the Incas was Polo de Ondegardo's report "De los errores y supersticiones de los indios." In fact, Cobo had the original manuscript with Polo de Ondegardo's own signature, which, like so many other documents, had been sent to Archbishop Jerónimo de Loayza. Cobo also acknowledges his debt to Cristóbal de Molina, indicating that he used a "copious account of the rites and fables that the Peruvian Indians practiced in pagan times." This is an unmistakable reference to Molina's *Fables and Rites of the Incas*, which we know was sent to Loayza. Cobo also states that he made extensive use of a report on the history and government of the Incas written for Viceroy Toledo.[73] However, it is unclear whether he is referring to Sarmiento de Gamboa's *History of the Incas*, Molina's *History of the Incas*, or another manuscript.[74] Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a complex relationship, and much overlap, between Murúa's *General History of the Incas* and Cobo's *History of the New World*, the details of which remain to be explored.

73 Cobo writes: "Viceroy Francisco de Toledo took great care in obtaining a true history of the origin and form of government of the Inca kings, and to this end, since he was in the city of Cuzco himself, he ordered all the old Indians who remained from the time of the Inca kings to be brought together. To ensure that the proceedings were conducted with less danger of misunderstanding in an undertaking whose ascertainment was so much desired, each Indian was interrogated separately; they were not allowed to communicate with each other. The person entrusted by the viceroy to make this inquiry, who was one of those working under him on the general inspection, made the same careful inquiry with all the old Incas he found in the Provinces of Charcas and Arequipa, and with former Spanish conquistadores who were in this land, not a few of whom still lived at that time" (Cobo 1979:100 [1653:bk. 12, ch. 2]).

74 The reference to the "provinces of Charcas and Arequipa" suggests that Cobo was working from Sarmiento de Gamboa's manuscript; however, it has not been documented that there was a copy of this work in Cuzco after the author sent the final version to Spain in 1572.

Figure 1.1. The coat of arms of the Inca Kings (courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 [83.MP.159], f.13r).