



THE GETTY MURÚA

Essays on the Making of
Martín de Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*,
J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16

Edited by Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson



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"Historia General del Piru," J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig
XIII 16*

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WE SHOULD LIKE to thank Thomas Crow and Gail Feigenbaum of the Getty Research Institute and Michael Brand and Thomas Kren of the J. Paul Getty Museum for their support of the ambitious project we envisioned for making Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* more accessible to Andean scholars and more widely known to those intrigued by the Inca empire and early colonial Peru. This volume of essays is one component of that undertaking. Issued simultaneously with the facsimile of Murúa's illustrated manuscript, it provides various perspectives on the creation and content of the seventeenth-century original.

We are much indebted to Rolena Adorno, Ivan Boserup, Juan M. Ossio, Elena Phipps, Karen Trentelman, and Nancy Turner, each of whom contributed finely honed expertise and fierce determination to the collective endeavor of bringing the various elements of the Murúa project into being. We have learned so much from our colleagues from New Haven, Copenhagen, Lima, and New York, and we will miss their visits to Los Angeles. Seán Galvin graciously shared his table, his time and wit, and his precious manuscript for an unprecedented and unforgettable period of study and display. Cecelia Klein of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Jeanette Peterson of the University of California, Santa Barbara, conducted a graduate seminar devoted to the Getty Murúa, guiding their talented students toward our enterprise. Kristen Collins, Kurt Barstow, Elizabeth Morrison, and Christine Sciacca of the Getty Museum's Manuscripts Department patiently and efficiently hosted endless consultations of the manuscript over the last few years. Angelica Afanador Pujol and Amanda Herrin as research assistants and Emily Engel as a Getty graduate intern were invaluable to Barbara Anderson, contributing to all facets of the Murúa project, from supervising photography to critical review of the various materials, and offering the vital, fresh perspectives of young scholars.

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BARBARA ANDERSON AND THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS

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Introduction

1. The Journey of a Chronicle from New World to Old and Back

BARBARA ANDERSON¹

Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* (1616; General history of Peru)—or the Getty Murúa—holds within its covers not only one of the first illustrated accounts of Inca and Spanish colonial Peru but also, as the essays in this volume reveal, a fascinating and complex tale of the making and early reception of the manuscript itself. It also provides tantalizing clues to its author's biography, although Murúa himself remains a mystery. He came to Peru from his native Spain in the late 1500s as a member of the Mercedarian Order,² returned to Spain by 1615, and left no further traces of his existence after 1616, when his manuscript for the *Historia general* was received at the Palacio Real in Madrid. Much more is known about the manuscript's rich and far-flung life on three continents. Treasured by the few who knew of it, and even playing a minor role in several major historical events, Murúa's *Historia general* has essentially remained hidden in plain sight for over three hundred years.

The earliest indications of its travels are to be found within the manuscript itself and bear witness to its journey toward publication, an end that Murúa fervently desired but never realized. Like all authors aspiring to print in the Spanish empire, he had to acquire written approvals of his work from both secular and religious authorities in order to obtain a royal license to publish. As Rolena Adorno explains in her essay for this volume, fifteen approbations are inserted, out of chronological order, at the front of the manuscript (folios 3–11).³ Gathering these testaments to the historical accuracy and doctrinal orthodoxy of his text, and possibly crafting the final version, Murúa apparently took the manuscript across the Viceroyalty of Peru, which at the time included nearly all of South America. He moved northeast from Ilabaya (Peru) to La Paz (Bolivia) in 1611, then southeast to La Plata (Sucre, Bolivia) in 1612, southwest to Potosí (Bolivia) in 1613, and southeast again to Córdoba de Tucumán (Córdoba, Argentina) and, finally, Buenos Aires in 1614. In 1615, the *Historia general* reached the Mercedarian monastery in Madrid. From there, it made its way to the Spanish king, Philip III, who granted his approbation in 1616, appending the license to publish, which, despite the royal imprimatur, came to naught—perhaps because, as Adorno proposes in her essay in this volume, it had the bad luck to follow El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's history in seeking official and financial sponsorship.

These approvals are bound between two unsigned and undated texts in different hands (folios 2v, 14r) that add to the biographies of the manuscript and its author like scribal ghosts. On folio 2v are two unattributed poems addressed "Al autor" (To the author) that are calligraphed in a hand considered by Adorno to be an amateur's emulation of a professional scribe's. This amateur's hand is used as well, she argues, for the title and inscriptions on the title page, many of the approbations, the last folios of the final chapter, and the table of contents. Adorno ascribes this hand to Murúa and characterizes these text blocks as "fair copies of materials drafted earlier."⁴ In other words, she argues, these folios postdate the bulk of the manuscript, marking a last-minute reworking of its presentation. Folio 14r contains another set of intriguing chronological clues. Written in a scrawled cursive script that Adorno attributes to a less carefully calligraphic Murúa, its text is a florid, anonymous, and enigmatic offering of the manuscript "A su Alteza de el Principe de España N. S. D. Philippo 4º y a su Alteza Princesa de España y Señora

N.” (To His Highness, the Prince of Spain, Our Lord Don Philip IV, and to Her Highness, the Princess of Spain and Our Lady) in which a blank is left after “Alteza” where the princess’s name should appear.⁵ How it was that Murúa knew that the crown prince was married but did not know the name of the bride is puzzling. Philip married the French princess Isabel de Bourbon in 1615 and was crowned king in 1621, so the letter offering his work as a gift would have been drafted between those years. The most likely date is 1616, the year that the royal notary’s rubric was added to each recto throughout the manuscript, and also the year in which an annotation about the current viceroy of Peru⁶ and a new, unnumbered chapter were probably inserted. This appears to have been Murúa’s last testament regarding the disposition of his *Historia general*.

The Getty Murúa seems either to not actually have been received into the collections of the future Philip IV or to have been returned to the Mercedarians in Madrid soon after its acceptance by the royal court, because the Americanist bibliographer Nicolás Antonio wrote in 1672 that the manuscript went from the Mercedarian library directly to the collection of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado.⁷ Ramírez was a diplomat and lawyer with close ties to both Philip III and Philip IV, and in 1631, the latter appointed him to the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies), which was the governing body of Spain’s colonies in the Americas.⁸ Upon Ramírez’s death in 1658, the broadly humanistic library of this major bibliophile contained many manuscripts and virtually all extant publications pertaining to the New World. After his death, some of his holdings were confiscated for review by the Holy Office of the Inquisition (Inquisitio Haereticae Pravitatis Sanctum Officium), but the vast remainder was inventoried before ending up in Salamanca, at the library of his alma mater, the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca,⁹ where the Getty Murúa was recorded in 1782, in the earlier of its two surviving inventories.¹⁰ Because the Getty Murúa does not appear in the inventory taken following Ramírez’s death, it may have been among those items scrutinized by the Holy Office and only later forwarded to Salamanca.

It is unclear how widespread was the *Historia general*’s reputation or its use as a source in the numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century histories of the New World, but the text was certainly known. Subsequent to Antonio’s bibliography of 1672, Andrés González de Barcia’s bibliography of 1738 included a brief entry on Murúa’s work, which he lifted from Antonio but which made no reference to the manuscript’s physical location.¹¹ The first documented scholarly examination of the manuscript occurred in 1782, when Juan Bautista Muñoz, who held the office of cronista mayor de las Indias (royal chronicler of the Indies), consulted it in Salamanca as he traveled around Spain in search of unpublished sources for a history of the Americas that was left uncompleted at his death in 1799.¹²

Shortly after Muñoz saw the manuscript in Salamanca, Charles III ordered the closure of all the *colegios mayores* (major colleges) attached to universities in Spain because he was threatened by their educational authority and power to influence ideas. Around 1802, Murúa’s *Historia general* and many other precious medieval and Renaissance manuscripts left Salamanca for Madrid, when Charles IV appropriated treasures from the libraries of recently defunct *colegios* to enrich his library in the royal palace. An inscription on the title page of the Getty Murúa, “De la Biblioth.^a del Coll^o M.^{or} de Cuenca” (From the library of the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca), also appears, in a similar hand, in other volumes claimed by Charles IV and probably records this transfer, which is documented in a manuscript inventory now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.¹³ Not long after the *Historia general*’s return to the Palacio Real, Charles IV was forced off the Spanish throne by Napoléon Bonaparte, who replaced him with his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, in 1808. Joseph had his own seal stamped inside the new bindings he commissioned for many of the books in the royal library, especially those works that had only recently entered the palace. This seal, now lost, survived until 1961, when it was removed during the rebinding of the manuscript.¹⁴

The manuscript was not fated either to remain at court or to fulfill its intended purpose, which was to educate the Spanish homeland about the New World. In 1813, the manuscript entered a new phase in its life, finding itself a pawn in the Peninsular War, fought to drive the French from Portugal and Spain. England sent its most dashing military hero, Arthur Wellesley (the future 1st Duke of Wellington), to command the combined English, Spanish, and Portuguese troops. In the aftermath of the decisive battle of Vitoria on 21 June 1813, Joseph attempted to escape to France in a caravan of carriages loaded with books and paintings taken from the palace. When he realized that Wellington’s men had his entourage surrounded, Joseph leapt onto a waiting horse and galloped to safety over the Pyrénées, leaving the looted treasures behind. Wellington seized them, had them shipped to England, and, knowing little about art, asked his brother, Henry Wellesley, British ambassador to Spain, to

arrange for their evaluation and speedy return to the newly reinstalled Spanish king, Charles IV's son, Ferdinand VII. Wellington's brother appreciated the importance of the hoard, and through diplomatic channels in England he tried for two years to get them all properly repatriated. In 1816, in an uncharacteristic act of generosity, Ferdinand officially declined to accept them back, making a gift of them to Wellington in gratitude for removing the French.¹⁵

As we now recognize, when the Getty Murúa left Spain, it was participating in yet another historical moment, namely, a significant shift in the history of international collecting. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, the Peninsular War, and other erupting conflicts across Europe, objects in private collections went abroad in droves. England was the primary destination, both for war booty and for items sold by newly impoverished nobles in war-torn countries. It was in this period that the art of Spain and its colonies first became known and desirable to collectors outside the Spanish empire and broadened the definition of England's national patrimony to include treasures made outside its borders but regarded as part of its collective cultural identity.

The manuscript soon had a brush with the pantheon of English literature as well. After reading William Robertson's acclaimed history of Peru,¹⁶ Wellington realized the value of Murúa's *Historia general*, and in 1824, he offered to lend it to Sir Walter Scott, thinking that it would make good material for a historical novel. Although Scott did dispatch his son to retrieve the manuscript from the duke's house, it is not known whether the author ever actually saw it, and he certainly did not use it in his own work.¹⁷ After that, Murúa's *Historia general* seems to have gathered dust in the Wellington libraries, ending up at Apsley House, the family's London residence. Only in 1951 did the manuscript's long obscurity end, when it was rediscovered by Miguel Enguidanos Requena, at the time Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois's assistant at the Universidad de Madrid, and immediately made available to the scholarly community by Gerald Wellesley, 7th Duke of Wellington, an amateur historian. He allowed it to be deposited at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where the photostatic copy that Ballesteros studied was made.

Along with many of the manuscripts and books acquired at Vitoria by Wellington, Murúa's *Historia general* was auctioned at Sotheby's London in 1979 and bought by H. P. Kraus, the legendary New York bookdealer, who then sold the Vitoria hoard to Peter and Irene Ludwig, two well-known collectors in Germany who had extensive holdings in European illuminated manuscripts. They kept the collection until 1983, when they sold it, again through Kraus, to the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, where it has finally begun to receive the attention it so richly deserves.

2. Historiography of the Manuscript

THOMAS B. F. CUMMINS

Few, if any, of the more than four hundred illuminated manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum's collection have been visited and studied as much as Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*. Produced in the second decade of the seventeenth century, it is one of only three extensively illustrated manuscripts, all interrelated, on the history of early colonial Peru. The other two are a second, earlier manuscript by Murúa, entitled *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru* (1590; History of the origin and royal genealogy of the Inca kings of Peru)—or the Galvin manuscript—and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno* (1615; The first new chronicle and good government). The latter has received intense study since it was discovered in Copenhagen at Det Kongelige Bibliotek at the beginning of the twentieth century, but until recently, both of Murúa's manuscripts have remained in relative obscurity despite their singular importance.

The interdisciplinary and innovative scholarship of the essays gathered in this volume is a direct consequence both of the Getty Murúa's extraordinary historical nature and of its relationship to the other two. These essays, however, are only a middle stage in the unfolding analysis of the Murúa manuscript that began with its entry into the museum's collections over twenty years ago. Its arrival in Los Angeles was purely serendipitous, given that it was acquired as part of the Ludwigs' collection of European illuminated manuscripts, which had been cataloged in its entirety by Joachim M. Plotzek and Anton von Euw, both curators at the time at the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne.¹⁸ The presence of the manuscript at the Getty went unnoticed by Andean scholars until the ethnohistorian R. Tom Zuidema and the historian Sabine MacCormack saw it while they were Getty scholars at the

Getty Research Institute in 1990 and 1991. They quickly and generously spread the word that this important work was now accessible for study. Since that time, the manuscript has been the focus of collaborative efforts by staff and scholars at the Getty Research Institute, the J. Paul Getty Museum, and the Getty Conservation Institute to further the manuscript's study and dissemination. This volume of essays is but one result of this ongoing endeavor. It is published along with a facsimile of the manuscript intended to make Murúa's *Historia general* much more accessible to scholars, and both volumes are issued on the occasion of an exhibition at the Getty Research Institute devoted to the representation of Peru during the three centuries following the Spanish conquistadors' arrival among the Inca in 1530.

The Getty Murúa was first made available to the general public by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, who published an edited transcription in the early 1960s after his assistant recognized the manuscript in the Duke of Wellington's collection.¹⁹ In his edition, thirty-seven of the manuscript's images were arranged in several small groups, not placed with their accompanying text, and published as halftones, not in color.²⁰ Despite this major shortcoming, the extraordinary nature of the visual material in the manuscript was clear. Yet it went largely unnoticed by almost all Andean scholars, even those who dealt substantively with Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, with its nearly four hundred illustrations.²¹ The general problems presented by illustrated manuscripts (such as models and sources, the issue of workshops, and the training of artists) have never been of concern to Andeanists pursuing either historical or art historical studies, primarily because there are so few such manuscripts relating to Peru. Focus has been on the individual characteristics of the three manuscripts, with most attention paid only to the *Nueva coronica*. Therefore, more often than not, the images were seen as tangential to the study of Murúa's work, which was often cast in a lesser and sometimes in a decidedly negative light within the history of Andean chronicles. John Howland Rowe, an eminent Andean scholar, provides an excellent example. Rowe was given access to Murúa's *Historia general* in 1979, while it was in Kraus's possession, before it reached the Ludwigs' collection in Cologne. He was commissioned by Kraus to write an evaluation of the manuscript, which traveled with it to Germany and then to Los Angeles.²² In it, Rowe makes various acute remarks about the illustrations and even identifies some of the drawings as being by Guaman Poma. However, he only briefly refers to the results of his analysis of the Getty Murúa's images before he comes to the main point of his only published essay dedicated to the manuscript. Entitled "La mentira literaria en la obra de Martín de Murúa" (The literary lie in the work of Martín de Murúa), it pursues a rather disparaging argument about Murúa and his use of inappropriate sources, which Rowe characterizes as "mentiras," or lies.²³

One of the few scholars to understand the positive value of both of Murúa's manuscripts has been Juan M. Ossio, one of the contributors to this volume. An anthropologist by training, Ossio was the first to focus on Guaman Poma's manuscript in terms of how it could be studied from an Andean perspective.²⁴ This proved to be a turning point in the interpretive approach to that important manuscript, as he stressed a more hermeneutical study based upon the Andean structures that inform both the historical narrative and the images. In 1968, two years before completing his thesis on Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, Ossio was granted access to Murúa's *Historia general*, while it was still in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. In 1985, he published a small volume of color reproductions of just the thirty-eight images in the manuscript, making them more available in general, and in Peru in particular, where Ballesteros's edition had limited circulation.²⁵ More important, he announced in 1982 that another manuscript by Murúa had been offered for sale to the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú in Lima.²⁶ This version was eventually sold through a rare book dealer, Warren Howell of John Howell Books in San Francisco, to John Galvin, the father of the present owner, Seán Galvin. Ossio's tireless efforts and the current owner's generosity have since resulted in the appearance of both an extremely faithful facsimile of the Galvin Murúa and a companion volume that contains Ossio's transcription and study of the manuscript.²⁷ Without Ossio's efforts over the past twenty years, both of Murúa's manuscripts would still be languishing in obscurity.

While Ossio was pushing forward the publication of the Galvin manuscript, he and I began to unite our efforts, so as to bring both of Murúa's extant works into better focus. I had first studied the Getty manuscript in 1991 with the idea of someday producing a facsimile. In fall 2000, Ossio was invited to the University of Chicago to offer a seminar on Murúa's two manuscripts. As a result of this event, we decided that it was an opportune time to bring scholars who were writing about Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* together with scholars who were studying Murúa's manuscripts. We knew, for example, that Elena Phipps had been a guest scholar at the J. Paul Getty Museum,

where she collaborated with Nancy Turner of the museum's Paper Conservation Department on an investigation of the colorants in the Getty Murúa's illustrations. Thus, Ossio and I organized the symposium "Peru in Black and White and in Color: The Unique Texts and Images in the Colonial Andean Manuscripts of Martín de Murúa and Guaman Poma," which was held in April 2002 and sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago and the Newberry Library. The symposium was a marked success in many ways. For example, Rolena Adorno, when invited to participate, had responded that at the time she had nothing more she wanted to say on Guaman Poma and had never looked at either of Murúa's manuscripts. Happily, she contributed not only a paper coauthored with Ivan Boserup on the virtual edition of Guaman Poma's manuscript but also a paper that introduced the topic of censorship and self-censorship in the Getty Murúa. Boserup presented his very first codicological work on the Getty manuscript, which he began in January 2002, upon receiving our invitation to participate. Since then, both Adorno and Boserup have published numerous studies regarding Murúa's work.²⁸ The symposium also strengthened the efforts of Ossio, the only scholar to have studied the Galvin manuscript itself, to have it issued as a facsimile of the highest quality, a goal that he achieved in 2004.²⁹ The symposium likewise provided a forum for Phipps and Turner to share their initial results concerning the colorants used in the manuscript and their relation to the colorants of Andean textile and for me to furnish an overview of the images in the three manuscripts and the links among them.³⁰

The papers presented at the symposium form the basis of this volume. Adorno and Boserup have extended their work on the codicology of the Getty Murúa, and their contribution allows us to better understand how the Getty manuscript came to be as it is, tracing its development from its predecessors, especially the Galvin manuscript. Adorno's historical essay concerning the final alterations made to the *Historia general* offers a tour-de-force of interpretation about the latter stages in the production of a manuscript in the early 1600s in Spain. Equally compelling is Ossio's essay relating the Getty Murúa to both the Galvin version and Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*. Phipps and Turner have joined with Karen Trentelman of the Getty Conservation Institute to produce an innovative study of the illustrations that combines humanistic and scientific inquiry in a precise and productive manner. My study provides another, art historical perspective on the images in the Getty Murúa. Together, the essays in this volume provide one of the most complex and interdisciplinary studies of any illustrated manuscript and a thorough and original analysis of this particular colonial Andean work.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this essay was delivered at the World Library and Information (IFLA) conference in Buenos Aires, 22–27 August 2004, and is posted at <http://www.ifla.org/IV/ifla70/papers/073e-Anderson.pdf> (20 February 2007).

2. The Order of Our Lady of Mercy was founded in Barcelona in 1218 by Saint Peter Nolasco, its main function being to rescue Christian captives from the Moors. Although the order spread quickly to France, Portugal, and Germany, in Murúa's day it was strongest in Spain and Latin America. Over the centuries, the order's initial impetus declined in import, and the order seemed to lose its way after the conquest of the Moors in Spain in 1492. In the 1560s, in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, Philip II of Spain perceived the order to be in need of serious organizational and disciplinary reform, and the Mercedarian leadership realized that the order might not survive without a clear identity. A critical component of the order's attempts at reform was investigation into its own history, as Emily Engel has noted in an unpublished paper, and she has suggested that Murúa's inspiration to write a history of Peru was a direct product of this campaign, which produced other histories as well, particularly the *Historia general de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redención de Cautivos*, by Fray Alonso Remón, published in Madrid between 1618 and 1633, and Fray Bernardo de Vargas's *Chronica Sacri et Militaris Ordinis Beatae Mariae de Mercede Redemptionis Captivorum*, published in Palermo, Italy, between 1619 and 1622. See Taylor, *Structures of Reform*; Engel, "Stepping into Time," 10; and Adorno, this volume, esp. 118–21.

3. Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 27, 29; and Adorno, this volume, 98, 116–18.

4. Identified as S[alamanca]3 in Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 164–65. See also Adorno, this volume, 101.

5. The nomenclature is puzzling. The use of "highness" (*alteza*) for Philip and his wife is correct, and the titles "prince" and "princess" were normally limited to the first son and heir to the Spanish throne and his wife. But the heir apparent to the Spanish throne is properly styled "prince of Asturias," not "prince of Spain."

6. Adorno argues that the text must have been finished by 1616 not only on the basis of an annotation identifying Francisco de Borja y Aragón, príncipe de Esquilache—who served as viceroy of Peru from 18 December 1615 to 31 December 1621—as the most recent and current viceroy but also on the basis of the manuscript's rubrication; see Adorno, "La censura," 40, 48–49; and Adorno, this volume, 98, 103.

7. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2:108–9. Gumersindo Placer notes that Alonso de Rojas mentioned Murúa's work in his *Catalogus Scriptorium* (Toledo, 1617), 2:614–15, as did Pedro de San Cecilio in his unpublished "De Scriptoribus" of 1618, although neither identified the manuscript's location; see Placer, "Fray Martín de Murúa," 41. José M. Mansilla has observed certain similarities in wording between Murúa's *Historia general* and Tirso de Molina's *Historia general de la orden de la Merced* (1637), suggesting that Molina, who was the Mercedarian Order's official historian, used Murúa's final manuscript; see Mansilla, "Martín de Murúa." My thanks to Thomas Cummins for this reference.

8. Entrambasaguas, *La biblioteca*, 1:xi–xv. Although he may have been officially appointed *consejero* (counselor) in 1631, Ramírez’s association with the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias is already documented in 1628, when he received payment for his counsel to the king; see Heredia Herrera, *Catálogo*, 5:1987 (nos. 737, 877).
9. Entrambasaguas, *La biblioteca*, 1:xi–xv, xxxiii. Constantino Bayle knew of Ramírez’s connection with a manuscript by Murúa, but, writing before the rediscovery of the Getty manuscript and assuming only one such manuscript, Bayle thought that Ramírez had owned the original of the Loyola copy; see Bayle, “Introducción,” 35. The Galvin manuscript was never recorded in the Salamanca library, so it cannot have been that mentioned by Antonio as having belonged to Ramírez; see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 7.
10. Navarro, “Copia del índice,” fol. 32r: “Martin de Muroa, Elector General del orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced: Historia general del Pirú; origen y descendencia de los Incas.”
11. González de Barcia’s bibliography was a revised and expanded edition of the first bibliography of the New World, *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*, written by the Peruvian historian Antonio de León Pinelo and published in 1629. León Pinelo’s next book, *Tratado de confirmaciones reales de encomiendas para las Indias Occidentales*, was published in 1630 and dedicated to Ramírez in a statement dated 1628, which means that León Pinelo is likely to have known the latter’s collection by 1628. Nonetheless, neither edition of León Pinelo’s bibliography includes Ramírez among the collectors of works on the Americas, yet, being Peruvian by birth, León Pinelo would surely have been interested in Ramírez’s library and especially in Murúa’s history. His *Aparato político* of 1695 is recorded in the Salamanca inventory of 1782; see Navarro, “Copia del índice,” fol. 2r. Either León Pinelo and Ramírez only met in 1628 and the latter did not have access to the former’s collection in time for the publication of his bibliography or Ramírez did not own Murúa’s manuscript until after 1628. See León Pinelo, *Epitome*, 2:644.
12. It has often been repeated that Muñoz copied the *Historia general*, and that at his death, the copy was deposited in the Academia de Historia in Madrid but later lost. Adorno and Boserup have succinctly described the evidence concerning Muñoz’s consultation and have persuasively refuted the idea that he ever made a copy; see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 116–20.
13. MS 18037, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. For a discussion of the manuscripts taken by Wellington after the battle of Vitoria, see Hobson, “Manuscripts,” 485–97.
14. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, the Getty Murúa’s first editor, mentioned the seal in his introduction to the first published transcription; see Ballesteros Gaibrois, “Introducción” (1962), xxvii.
15. Wellington, “Prólogo,” xvi–xix.
16. Robertson, *History*.
17. Wellington, “Prólogo,” xix.
18. In the four-volume catalog of the collection, Murúa’s *Historia general* appears among the history manuscripts; see von Euw, “XIII 16 Martin de Murúa.”
19. Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64). See also the two revised editions: Murúa, *Historia general* (1986); and Murúa, *Historia general* (2001)—neither of which reproduces any of the illustrations.
20. *Las armas reales de los yngas reyes* (Royal coat of arms of the Inca kings) (folio 13r) was not reproduced.
21. For example, Adorno’s *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance* and López-Baralt’s *Icono y conquista* both explore extensively the drawings of Guaman Poma but ignore their relation to Murúa’s images in the Getty manuscript—Adorno entirely, while López-Baralt relegates the Getty Murúa’s images to a footnote (the images from the Galvin manuscript became available only after these works were published).
22. Dated 1979 and entitled “Martín de Murúa’s Manuscripts on Inca History and Culture,” John Rowe’s evaluation accompanied the manuscript from the Ludwigs’ collection to the Getty Museum, where I read it in 1993. At some point, Rowe’s original typescript was lost, but a copy acquired by Adorno from Rowe’s wife, Patricia Lyon, has now joined the Getty Museum’s curatorial file. Rowe’s essay is the basis for von Euw’s “XIII 16 Martín de Murúa.”
23. J. Rowe, “La mentira literaria,” 753–61.
24. See Ossio, “The Idea of History”; Ossio, “Guaman Poma: Nueva coronica”; and Ossio, “Myth and History.”
25. Ossio, *Los retratos*. In 1968, the manuscript was at Stratfield Saye, the home of the Dukes of Wellington, near Reading.
26. Ossio, “Una nueva versión.”
27. Ossio’s vision was to make available as expeditiously as possible a high-quality facsimile of the Galvin Murúa, so that scholars could begin close study of this important and relatively inaccessible work, previously known only through the flawed Loyola copy of 1890. This unselfishness on Ossio’s part extended to providing a transcription of the Galvin manuscript to accompany the facsimile, even though, by necessity, it had to be a somewhat hurried and thus imperfect venture. Unfortunately, the transcription’s imperfections have allowed for ungenerous criticisms.
28. See, for example, Adorno, “La censura”; Adorno, “Estudiosos”; Boserup, “Quelques observations”; and Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma.”
29. This facsimile is the basis for all studies of the Galvin Murúa, except for those by Ossio.
30. Also presented at the symposium was work by José Cárdenas (Yale University), Raquel Chang-Rodríguez (The Graduate Center and The City College of the City University of New York), Valerie Fraser (University of Essex), Carlos González Vargas (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), Bruce Mannheim (University of Michigan), Hugo Rosati Aguerre (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), Francisco Sánchez Cabello (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), and R. Tom Zuidema (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

The Making of Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*

FRAY MARTÍN DE MURÚA'S history of the Inca of Peru exists in two manuscript versions.¹ They cover approximately the same subject matter, each providing an account of the rise and fall, governance, and religion of the Inca empire and a survey of the ancient Inca and colonial Spanish cities and the mines of the Viceroyalty of Peru.² Here, we examine the two manuscripts (Galvin and Getty) in tandem because it is impossible to understand the making of the later one without scrutinizing the making, unmaking, and remaking of its predecessor. The Galvin manuscript is the earlier and shorter of the two, approximately half the length of the Getty version.³ The Galvin, in its most complete state, was illustrated throughout with 128 to 130 hand-colored drawings, of which 117 are extant, while only the first fifth of the Getty Murúa includes illustrations, of which 34 are original to the manuscript and 4 were incorporated from elsewhere.

The existence of the Galvin manuscript was announced by the Spanish historian Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, who discovered it in 1879 in the Spanish Jesuit exile house in Poyanne, France; he identified it with a manuscript described in 1739 by the Jesuit Miguel Venegas as being housed at the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares, Spain.⁴ Until recently, due to its disappearance in 1900 or thereabouts, the Galvin version has been available to scholars only through a defective, handwritten copy executed in 1890, subsequent to the return of the Society of Jesus to Spain and the resettlement of its archive at its principal house, in Loyola, Guipúzcoa. This copy is referred to as the "Loyola copy," or sometimes, confusingly, as the "Loyola manuscript," and it has been the basis of the four more or less complete editions of the Galvin version of Murúa's history published during the first half of the twentieth century.⁵ In the 1950s, the Galvin manuscript was offered for sale to the national library of Spain and to that of Peru, but it was eventually purchased by a manuscript dealer in San Francisco and then acquired by the father of its current owner, Seán Galvin of County Meath, Ireland.⁶ After years of searching, Juan M. Ossio located the manuscript in 1996, and as a result of his initiative and under his guidance, a facsimile edition, the *Códice Murúa*, was published in 2004.⁷ Ossio's companion volume to the facsimile provides the first published transcription of the Galvin version of Murúa's history to be based on the manuscript itself.⁸

The Getty manuscript was mentioned in 1672 by the pioneering Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio as having been in the possession of the Castilian statesman and bibliophile Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado. After Ramírez's death in 1658, it came into the library of the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca, where in 1782, it was consulted and briefly described by the Spanish historian and founder of the Archivo General de Indias, Juan Bautista Muñoz, in his unpublished survey of sources on Spain's history in America.⁹ Like the Galvin manuscript, the Getty Murúa fell out of the reach of scholars less than twenty years after its rediscovery, and it remained inaccessible for the next 150 years: it was incorporated into the private library of the Spanish king in 1802 and then, after the battle of Vitoria in 1813, into that of Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, and his successors.¹⁰ The Getty manuscript was rediscovered in the early 1950s by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, who published a two-volume edition in 1962 and 1964. The manuscript became generally accessible to scholars after 1983, when it was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

In their making and unmaking, the two manuscripts share certain procedures. Both are calligraphed fair copies of now lost predecessors. They were produced not by Murúa himself but by scribes working under his supervision: one for the Galvin, and two others, many years later, for the Getty.

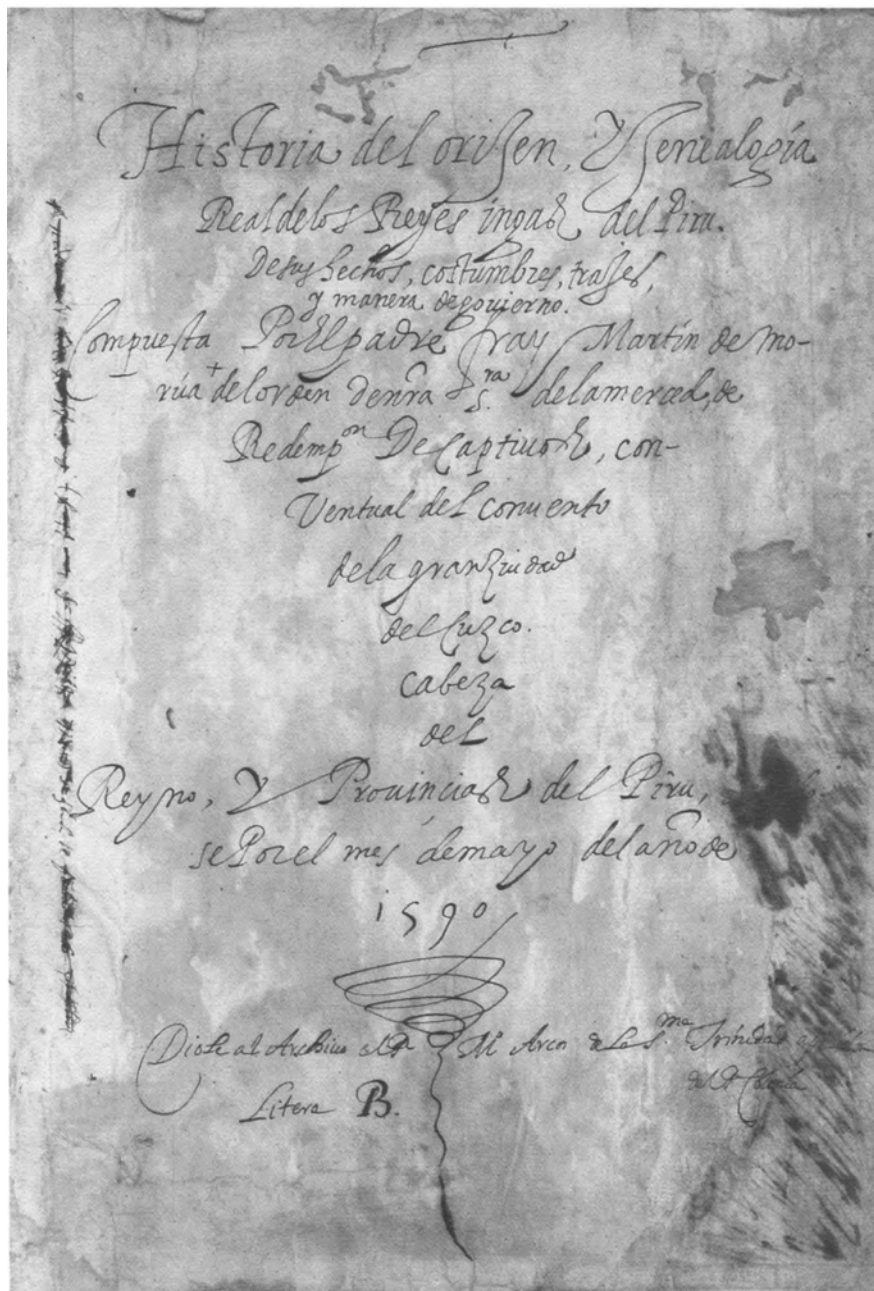


FIG. 1. Title page, written in Murúa's hand on a replacement folio. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, recto of first folio. Private collection

Both of these fair copies were subsequently reworked by the author himself, and yet another scribe was involved when the Galvin manuscript was dismantled and reconstructed. Today both the Galvin and the Getty manuscripts appear as having been transformed, albeit to differing degrees, from clean and completed manuscripts to works in progress. Thus, in 1946, Constantino Bayle questioned whether the Galvin manuscript—which Bayle knew only through the Loyola copy—should seriously be considered a finished manuscript, as implied by its title page,¹¹ which gives the title as *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru. De sus hechos, costumbres, trajes, y manera de gouerno* (History of the origin and royal genealogy of the Inca kings of Peru, of their deeds, customs, clothing, and manner of governing) and lists its time of completion as around May 1590 (fig. 1). The Galvin manuscript itself—as reproduced in facsimile in 2004—has confirmed the soundness of Bayle's skepticism: it had been ready for the printer at some point in time, but it did not remain so. Illustrations, additions to the text, including quotations from further readings, and notes of many kinds were added to the fair copy, which would soon be abandoned as a manuscript intended for publication. It was then partly dismantled and later reassembled, albeit incompletely, by Murúa or under his supervision.¹²

The Getty manuscript also underwent important changes after its initial completion. These modifications were of a different kind than those affecting the Galvin, however. They were introduced in Madrid by Fray Alonso Remón, who reviewed Murúa's manuscript for the Mercedarian Order, and

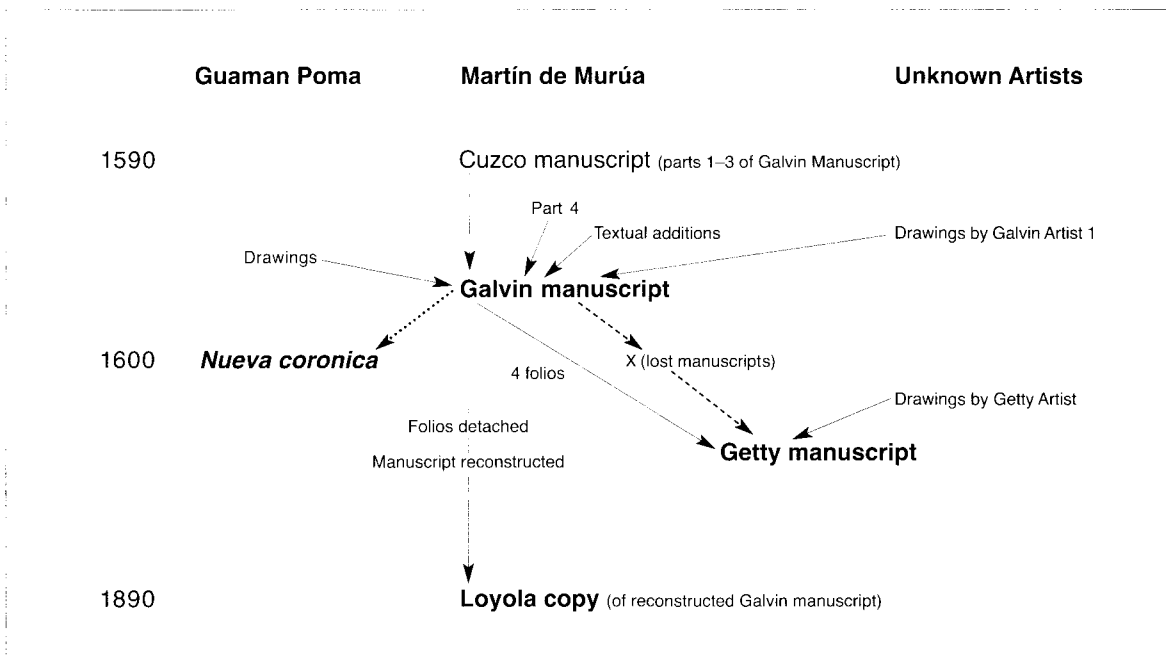


FIG. 2. Relationships among the manuscripts of Murúa's history of Peru, their illustrators, and Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*

by the royal censor of the Consejo Real de Castilla (Royal council of Castile), as part of the process of receiving permission for its publication.¹³ The royal authorization to print the manuscript was granted in 1616, after the recto of every folio of the Getty manuscript was rubricated by the royal notary, or *escribano de cámara* (clerk of the king's chamber), Gerónimo Núñez de León (see p. 99, fig. 3).¹⁴ The Getty manuscript nevertheless remained unpublished for nearly three and a half centuries.¹⁵

We conjecture that at least two additional versions of Murúa's history (one prior to the Galvin, one between the Galvin and the Getty) must have existed in manuscript form. Most of the Galvin manuscript was probably copied (with only small changes) from a lost, shorter version submitted to the native lords (*curaca*) of Cuzco in 1590 or 1591 for their endorsement. We have called this lost manuscript the "Cuzco" version.¹⁶ At least one lost manuscript can be posited between the Galvin and the Getty, because the extant versions differ so much from each other that the two scribes who calligraphed the Getty manuscript must have had before them a written model that in structure, content, and wording was much closer to the Getty than to the Galvin in its latest and most complete form. We have summarized the lost intermediary (or intermediaries) between the Galvin and the Getty by the letter X.

Thus, we can identify the major editorial steps leading from the earliest, lost Cuzco version to the final, extant Getty version as it appears today (fig. 2). Murúa composed, restructured, expanded, and rewrote his history over a period that stretched from before May 1590 (the date on the current title page of the Galvin manuscript) through autumn 1615 (the date when Mercedarian authorities in Madrid approved the Getty manuscript for publication). Originally devising his project as a work in three parts followed by the Andean legend (*ficción*) of the shepherd Acoitapra and the *ñusta* (princess) Chuquillanto,¹⁷ Murúa expanded the Cuzco version with a fourth part, to which he later added a one-page prologue (copies of both elements are included in the Galvin manuscript). In the Getty version, Murúa reverted to a tripartite division of his now vast repertory of historical and ethnographic materials related to Inca and Spanish rule in the Andes. (The *ficción* became a chapter in book 1.)

Two main lines of evolution can be observed in Murúa's conceptualization of his work. First, the materials collected (including those taken from other authors) gradually become more clearly classified as either ethnographic or historiographic information. Although thoroughly restructured and rewritten, Murúa's ethnographic information on Inca governance, notable events, and practices¹⁸ and on Andean and Spanish cities remained quite stable during the successive transformations of his work. Second, and in contrast, the historical narrative underwent fundamental changes. His treatment of the Inca era evolved from a series of thematic sweeps through Inca history (book 1 of the Galvin manuscript deals with the kings [*inca*] and the queens [*coya*], book 2 with captains and nobles, book 3 with governance, and book 4 with cities and resources) into the creation of a single, integrated

Causa de los Principales Indios, que son de la Nación de la Okañqui
 del cargo cauleca de estos Reynos y prouincias del Piru: a la Real Magestad
 Del Rey don Felipe Nuestro señor

Entre las cosas que esta gran Ciudad, formada y poblada de Indios y de otros
 al servicio de V. Magestad, ha padecido hazer estima de el ygenio y curiosidad de el padre fray
 Martin de morua Religioso del orden de nuestra Señora de las Mercedes Redempcion de
 captiuis; el qual abra cinco años leua y fizo una Historia de nuestros Antepassados
 Los Reyes yngas de este Reino del Piru. Y de su gobierno, con otras muchas curiosidades
 Por Relacion que de ello hizo, de los Viejos antiguos de este dho Reino y de otros, que
 el estilo es facil y loquente, y trae muy circunstancial, y la historia muy Verdadera, como conviene
 al sujeto, y personas de quien trata, y que demas del servicio de V. Magestad, que Resulta de
 Imprimirse, la dicha Historia, comenzandose a celebrax, y hazer y immortal la memoria
 y Nombre de los grandes Señores, como lo merecieron sus hazanas, deseando que de esto
 se consiga: y millmente: Suplicamos a V. Magestad, se sirva de favorecer y hazer Merced
 al dicho Padre fray Martin de morua, para que su pretension baya adelante, que es lo que
 y ha de su Ciudad, Pretende, de que Resulta de V. Magestad Grande, y particular Merced
 cuya sacra, catolica y Real Magestad, Nuestro señor guarde, y prospere
 Por muchos y muy felices años, con aumento de otros Reinos,
 y señorios, como sus menores. Y humildes vasallos de se
 Amos; losco, quin sedemalo demill y
 Quinientos y nouenta y seis.
 S. C. R. M.

Besan los Reales pies y manos a V. Magestad, sus humildes Vasallos
 Libro +

Historia general del libro del origen y descendencia de los
 yncas señores de este occidental Reino occidental
 del Piru donde se ponen las conquistas que
 hizieron de diferentes prouincias y naciones
 y guerras civiles asta la entrada de los
 españoles con su modo de gouernar
 condicion y trato y la descripcion de
 las mas principales ciudades y villas
 destas amplissimas prouincias

FIG. 3. Letter of recommendation (15 May 1596) calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1, and the title in Murúa's hand for the expanded, post-1598 Galvin manuscript, on the recto of a folio originally in the Galvin Murúa (for verso, see fig. 5). From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 307v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

account that progresses in chronological sequence. For the Getty manuscript, Murúa also greatly expanded his account and commentary on the Spanish conquest and colonial times, including a modest description of Mercedarian missionary activity.

The successive transformations of the main title of Murúa's work confirm that its author conceived it in an ever more grand and comprehensive manner. The title extant in the Galvin manuscript (see fig. 1) is expanded, on a folio from the Galvin version later recycled in the Getty manuscript, to *Ystoria general e libro del origen y descendencia de los yncas señores deste reyno obscidental del Piru* (General history and book on the origin and lineage of the Inca lords of this western kingdom of Peru) (fig. 3) and finally becomes, in the Getty version, nothing less than *Historia general del Piru* (General history of Peru) (see p. 96, fig. 1).

With both extant Murúa manuscripts finally accessible, in original or facsimile, they may now be juxtaposed for their differences, such as those just mentioned, but also and more importantly for continuities. We can now determine whether there are procedures of composition and emendation that they share and inquire into how and when the making of one reveals significant aspects of the construction of the other. Our aim in this essay is to understand such processes and to establish a framework for interpreting the material and conceptual evolution of Murúa's history of Peru that is based on the documents themselves. To this end, we will examine the codicological evidence available in the Galvin and Getty manuscripts and also consider the role in Murúa's work of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the indigenous Andean artist and author of *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno* (1615; The first new chronicle and good government).

The obvious point of departure for such an investigation is the path-breaking analysis of the relation between the Galvin and Getty manuscripts carried out in 1979 by the distinguished Andeanist John Howland Rowe. Since 1958 or earlier, he had at his disposition at least some parts of a photographic copy of the Getty manuscript,¹⁹ and he had the occasion, twenty years later, to make two crucial discoveries. First, he ascertained that four of the folios pasted into the Getty manuscript, each with a full-page, hand-colored drawing (one by an unidentified artist, three subsequently attributed to Guaman Poma), once belonged to the Galvin manuscript. Second, he realized that in his edition of the Getty manuscript, Ballesteros had misrepresented the Galvin manuscript (then known only through the Loyola copy) as "an early copy" of the Getty manuscript or "one based on Murúa's preliminary notes."²⁰ On the contrary, Rowe argued, the original on which the Loyola copy was based was a complete and coherent earlier version of the *Historia general* and was illustrated by at least two different artists.²¹

Now, some twenty-five years later, the recently published facsimile of the Galvin manuscript makes it possible to reassess a number of earlier hypotheses on four major fronts: the relationship between the Galvin and Getty manuscripts of Murúa's work; the extent of Guaman Poma's contribution to Murúa's work; the relationship between the Galvin version and Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*; and, in general terms, the relationship between Murúa and Guaman Poma. All these issues have long been the object of unverified commonplaces because scholars could not test them against the manuscripts themselves. With the Galvin and Getty manuscripts to hand, it is possible to conduct an inquiry based on evidence rather than speculation. In undertaking this study, we are aware of the importance of taking into account each manuscript's physical characteristics as well as its contents both in pictures and in prose. There is an implicit danger in considering one dimension of these manuscripts to the exclusion of the others, for none alone can tell the whole story. The first instance of this integrated approach follows, in our consideration of folio 307 of the Getty Murúa (see figs. 3, 5), a folio that is at the center of all considerations of the relation between the Galvin and Getty manuscripts.

1. Authenticity of the Letter by the Native Lords and the Date of the Galvin Manuscript

As already noted, four folios were moved from the Galvin to the Getty manuscript so that the drawing on the verso of each Galvin folio could serve as an illustration in its new setting. The prose text on the recto of each Galvin folio, having no relation to the drawing or the narrative of the Getty manuscript, was canceled with a few pen strokes. It had been Murúa's intention that these folios be pasted onto blank pages in the Getty manuscript to serve as illustrations to chapters 38 (folio 79), 41 (folio 84), and 43 (folio 89) of book 1 and to the title page of book 3 (folio 307). Eventually, however,

they were inserted as separate folios, tipped to an adjacent folio at the gutter, such that they followed the existing blank verso rather than being pasted down on it. In consequence of this technical error, whereby versos intended to remain versos became rectos, and rectos that should have been obscured became visible versos, the latter had to be pasted over with additional blank folios. In 1979, the antiquarian H. P. Kraus, probably acting on Rowe's advice, had the pasted-over blank folios soaked off while the manuscript was in his possession. Rowe readily identified the texts thus revealed as belonging to the Galvin manuscript.

The obscured recto of one of these folios, Getty folio 307v, contains two short texts inscribed by different hands (see fig. 3). The text at the top is a copy of a letter commending Murúa's history; the other is the title quoted above. Today, one can easily identify the hands, respectively, as Galvin Scribe 1 and Murúa, the latter's hand being evidenced in both the Galvin and the Getty manuscripts.²² The letter of recommendation, addressed to Philip II of Spain (reigned 1556–98), contains a declaration made by the native lords (*curaca*) of Cuzco in May 1596, in which they praise Murúa for his account of Inca history and governance and "otras muchas curiosidades" (many other curious things). They also laud his fine prose style and urge the swift publication of his work, which had been submitted to them five years earlier.²³

The submission of Murúa's work to the native lords of Cuzco in 1591, as indicated by this letter, fits with the date of composition inscribed on the title page of the Galvin manuscript, that is, 1590. We believe that the letter refers not to the Galvin manuscript, which was produced in 1596 or later, despite the date on its current title page, but to its model, the lost Cuzco manuscript, completed in and dated 1590. The scribe who prepared the title page of the fair copy of the Cuzco version did not update the year of production to 1596 but rather repeated the date 1590 from the model.²⁴

Although the practice of native Andean lords ratifying Inca histories written by Spanish authors was not unknown at the time,²⁵ the authenticity of this letter of recommendation originally inscribed in the Galvin has been questioned.²⁶ It has been suggested that the letter is an apocryphal endorsement created by Guaman Poma at Murúa's behest.²⁷ It has also been claimed, on the one hand, that the manuscript it refers to is the Galvin manuscript itself and, on the other hand, that this particular folio has nothing to do with either the Galvin or the Getty manuscript.²⁸ Such speculations pave the way to further theories unsupported by documentation that involve the attribution of dubious intentions to both Guaman Poma and Murúa. But the letter supports a much more mundane interpretation of manuscript making. If we confine the discussion to the elements most relevant in the present context, the issues raised by the letter may be summarized in three theses, which we will take up here, one by one:

1. Folio 307 of the Getty manuscript was never part of the Galvin manuscript.
2. The letter on folio 307 refers to the Galvin manuscript.
3. The letter is apocryphal, invented by Guaman Poma.

Thesis 1. In support of the view that Getty folio 307 came from the Galvin Murúa, we adduce the following.

First, the Galvin was initially structured such that prose texts were inscribed only on the rectos, while the versos were left blank, so that later they could be adorned with illustrations. Furthermore, its rectos and versos were framed differently—that is, the frames on the rectos do not have miter joints, those on the versos do.²⁹ If folio 307 is flipped to its original orientation in the Galvin manuscript, then the recto contains prose in an unmitered frame and the verso a coat of arms in a mitered frame. In other words, it corresponds in terms of framing and content not only to the three other folios transferred from the Galvin to the Getty but also to the extant original folios of the Galvin manuscript through folio 67.

Second, the letter was calligraphed, as Rowe inferred in 1979, by the same scribe who had fair-copied the prose text on the three other Getty folios that he identified as originating from the original of the Loyola copy, that is, the Galvin manuscript (Getty folios 79v [chapter text], 84v [book title], 89v [chapter text]). Today the hand that inscribed the letter of recommendation can be conclusively identified by comparison with the 115 extant pages inscribed by the main Galvin scribe.

These formal aspects of Getty folio 307 show that it originated from the same source as the other three illustrations added to the Getty manuscript. In other words, folios 79, 84, 89, and 307 all came from the Galvin manuscript.

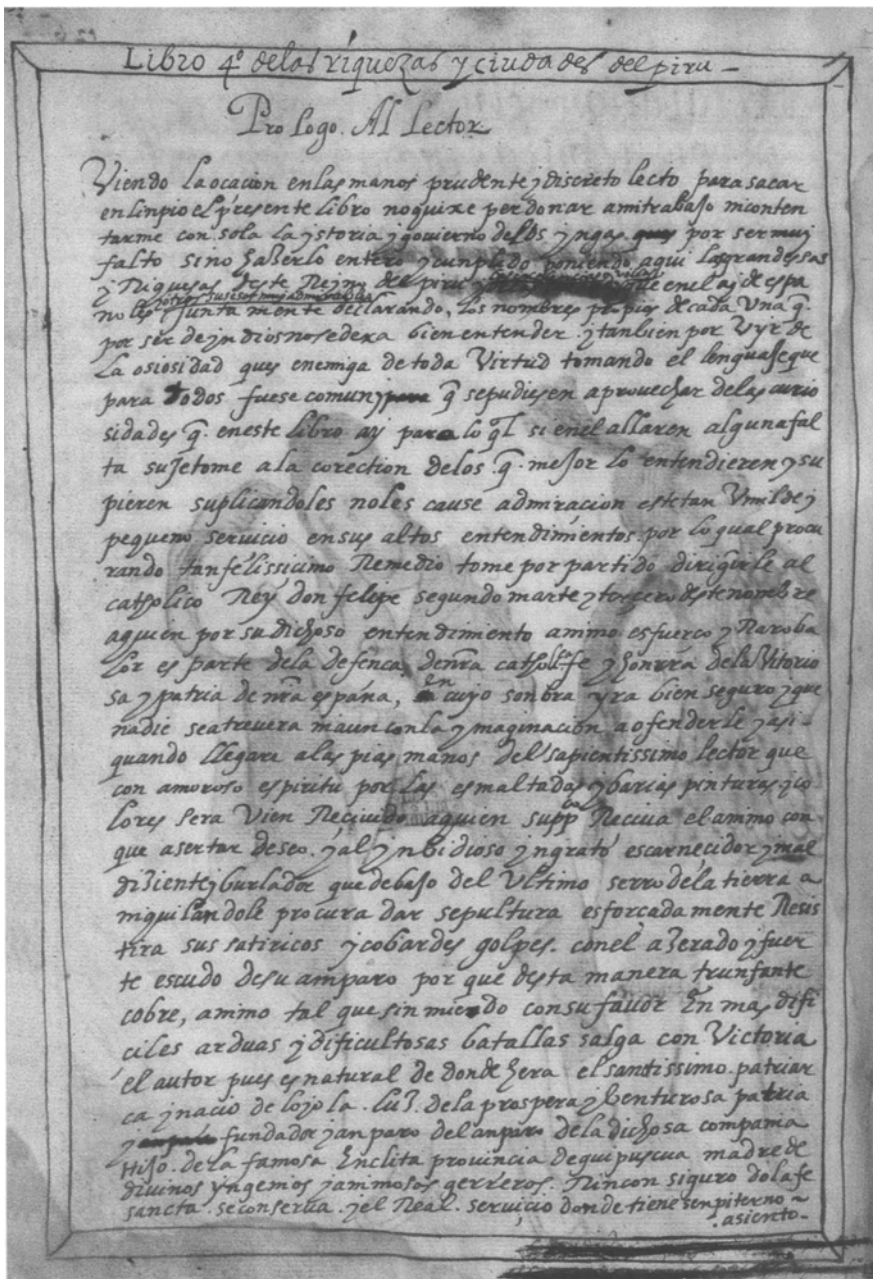


Fig. 4. Prologue to book 4, written in Murúa's hand after 1598. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 126v. Private collection

Thesis 2. Against the idea that the letter, be it authentic or apocryphal, refers to the Galvin manuscript, we adduce the following.

First, Murúa states in the Galvin manuscript, in his autograph prologue to book 4, written during the rule of Philip III (reigned 1598–1621), that he has included in this fair copy of his work a discussion of the wealth and cities of Peru (fig. 4);³⁰ hence, the Galvin version in four books differs from an earlier version in three books. Since the subject matter of the first three books of the Galvin manuscript can be summarized as Inca history (books 1 and 2) and Inca governance (book 3), the earlier version corresponds to the letter's description of the content of Murúa's work, which makes no reference to an account of the wealth and cities of Peru.³¹ Therefore, the Galvin Murúa cannot be the manuscript submitted to the native lords of Cuzco in 1591 nor can it be the object of their letter of recommendation dated 1596.

Second, the current title page of the Galvin manuscript, which is a copy of the lost original, does not mention book 4, but the title inscribed by Murúa below Galvin Scribe 1's copy of the letter of recommendation of 1596 does: "y la descripción de las mas principales ciudades y villas destas amplísimas provincias" (and the description of the most important cities and towns of these very vast provinces).³² The calligraphy, date, and content of Getty folio 307 combine to show not only that the folio once belonged to the Galvin manuscript but also that the title page currently in



FIG. 5. Coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru, drawn by Guaman Poma and annotated by Guaman Poma and Murúa, on the verso of a folio originally in the Galvin Murúa (for recto, see fig. 3). From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83. MP. 159), fol. 307r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

the Galvin manuscript reflects an earlier and shorter version of Murúa's work, that is, the Cuzco manuscript.

These pieces of evidence point to a manuscript that differs from the Galvin and contained no book on Peru's cities and towns. Whether authentic or apocryphal, the letter of recommendation refers to the Galvin's predecessor, not to the Galvin manuscript itself.

Thesis 3. That Guaman Poma drafted the letter of recommendation is pure speculation and difficult to prove, no matter whether it is posited as a response to a request by the native lords of Cuzco, an innocent gesture, or a conscious forgery carried out in concert with Murúa. However, one can show that the very idea of it being a "draft," rather than simply a copy of an original document, rests on fallacious assumptions.

First, the drawing of the coat of arms of Peru that is situated on the recto of Getty folio 307 (fig. 5) is attributed (correctly) to Guaman Poma, who also annotated the drawing (and, in the process, assigned the governorship of one of the four parts of the Inca empire to one of his forebears). It is then argued by extension or association (incorrectly) that the text on the other side of the folio likewise originated from Guaman Poma. However, the letter was calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1, not Guaman Poma, and the book title on the folio is in Murúa's hand.³³ It can be objected that Galvin Scribe 1 could easily have made a fair copy of a text by Guaman Poma along with Murúa's drafts. But this scenario is unlikely, given that throughout the Galvin manuscript, the activities of Galvin Scribe 1 always preceded those of Guaman Poma.³⁴

Second, because Guaman Poma prefaced his *Nueva coronica* with an apocryphal letter of recommendation that bears significant textual similarities to the letter of recommendation on Getty folio 307v, it is argued that Guaman Poma also forged the letter of recommendation for Murúa's history.³⁵ However, the textual parallels can be explained just as well, if not better, by assuming that Guaman Poma modeled the apocryphal letter in the *Nueva coronica* on the letter of recommendation in Murúa's work, which he read while drawing the coat of arms on its verso, at the time when Getty folio 307 was situated in the Galvin manuscript. This sequence of events is in keeping with the sequence of production described below in section 3: Galvin Scribe 1 first (fair copy of the letter), Guaman Poma later (drawing of the coat of arms).

Thus, there is no codicological evidence in the Galvin manuscript that favors the thesis that the letter of recommendation is a copy of a draft of a letter authored by Guaman Poma rather than being, as implied by the heading written by Galvin Scribe 1 above the framing on Getty folio 307, a copy of an authentic document issued by the native lords of Cuzco on 15 May 1596.³⁶

Lack of access to the original Galvin manuscript has fostered a number of erroneous interpretations of Getty folio 307. This has prevented it from being read in a straightforward manner and integrated, at its face value, into current scholarship on Murúa and Guaman Poma. The Galvin facsimile published in 2004 has felicitously supplied the evidence needed to set things right.

2. The Cuzco Version

At one point, the Cuzco version—the model for the fair copy now known as the Galvin manuscript—must have been not just Murúa's latest draft but a neat and clean copy that could be formally presented to the native lords of Cuzco for assessment and, hopefully, approval. As a presentation copy, it seems to have consisted of a now lost prologue,³⁷ three parts more or less identical to the calligraphed text of books 1 through 3 of the Galvin manuscript, the *ficción*, and a table of contents. It probably did not include illustrations.³⁸

In the prologue to book 4, while describing the effort he has invested in expanding his book, Murúa mentions only the addition of book 4. Hence, it seems fair to infer that he did not substantially rework books 1 through 3. If this assumption is correct, the Cuzco version can virtually be lifted out of the Galvin manuscript to the extent that books 1 through 3 are extant. Just as the prologue to the work is lost, so are five chapters in book 1, one in book 2, and three in book 3. As will be detailed in section 3, the Galvin manuscript at some stage underwent dramatic changes: forty-six folios were detached, and then twenty-two of them reinserted, by being pasted onto blank replacement folios.³⁹ This reconstruction of the Galvin Murúa affected all of book 1, parts of books 2 and 3, and a few folios in book 4. Still, all in all, the Galvin is so well preserved that it allows for a number of further inferences concerning the Cuzco version.

The Galvin facsimile has made evident for the first time that many chapters of the Galvin manuscript consist of two textual levels: the prose texts calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1 and the prose texts later added by Murúa in his own hand. The numerous changes of hand were not registered in the Loyola copy, and hence were unknown until Ossio's rediscovery of the Galvin manuscript. It follows that to get as accurate an impression as possible of the Cuzco version, one must put aside not only the final book and the illustrations of the Galvin manuscript but also the textual additions in Murúa's hand. That is, by focusing on the remaining chapters of books 1 through 3 as they were calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1, before Murúa's interpolations, we can see the Cuzco manuscript almost as clearly as if it were still extant.

To envision the Cuzco manuscript, we must likewise disregard the few references in Galvin Scribe 1's hand in books 1 through 3 to either book 4 or illustrations. Although in the prologue to book 4 Murúa does not mention having updated or otherwise corrected the Cuzco manuscript, it is certain that he did so before submitting it to be fair copied. Thus, he inserted in chapter 24 of book 1 a reference to chapter 11 (on the city of Arequipa) of book 4, and he added to chapter 13 of book 2 a reference to chapter 9 (on the city of Huamanga [Ayacucho]) of book 4 before the first two books were fair copied by Galvin Scribe 1. The only two references to *pinturas* (pictures or paintings) in Galvin Scribe 1's hand in books 1 through 3 name, in each case, images that unfortunately are lost.⁴⁰ We conjecture that these references were likewise last-minute additions to the Cuzco manuscript before it was fair copied and that they referred to illustrations that Murúa had commissioned from the unidentified artist whom we call Galvin Artist 1.⁴¹

Did the Cuzco version, like the Galvin manuscript, conclude with the *ficción* and a table of contents? Although Galvin Scribe 1 left three blank pages between the end of book 4 (on folio 142r) and the beginning of the *ficción* (on folio 144r),⁴² thus separating them quite markedly, the *tabla* (table of contents) in the Galvin integrates the *ficción* into book 4, as its final, unnumbered chapter:

§ capitulo Diez y seis de la villa imperial de Potossi y sus rriquezas [Chapter 16, on the imperial city of Potosí and its riches]. fo. 142

§ ficción y un famosso subçesso de un pastor llamado Acoytapra con la hermosa Chuquillanto ñusta hija del sol, con que se da fin a este libro de la famosa ystoria de los yngas Reyes y señores que fueron deste rreyno del piru. año de 1590 [The tale and noteworthy event of a shepherd named Acoitapra with the beautiful Chuquillanto, princess, daughter of the sun, with which this book on the famous history of the former Inca kings and lords of this realm of Peru is concluded. In the year 1590]. fo. 144⁴³

Can this treatment of the *ficción* in the Galvin manuscript's table of contents be taken as evidence that the *ficción* was similarly integrated in the table of contents of the Cuzco manuscript, as an unnumbered chapter at the end of book 3? It is impossible to know. On the one hand, the six-page *ficción* is not mentioned in the letter of recommendation from the native lords of Cuzco, so maybe it was not in the Cuzco manuscript; on the other, Murúa did not mention its addition in his prologue to the Galvin's book 4, so maybe it was already present. In the latter line of thought, Galvin Scribe 1 reacted to Murúa's insertion of book 4 into his model, the Cuzco manuscript, by leaving an entirely blank folio at either end of book 4 (folios 126 and 143, respectively).

When Galvin Scribe 1 completed his fair copy, every verso was blank and each chapter in books 1 through 4 was presented as exactly one recto of prose text, even though the actual length of the 132 chapters (of which 123 are extant) varied by as much as 50 percent, judging by the range of approximately twenty-five to approximately forty-five lines of typeset text in Ossio's transcription of the Galvin manuscript.⁴⁴ The one exception to this rule is the final chapter of book 3, which fills both the recto and the verso of folio 125 of the Galvin manuscript and consists of about seventy-five lines of typeset text in Ossio's transcription. It is an open question whether Murúa adjusted the length of the chapters in the Cuzco version to produce the Galvin's strict protocol of alternating calligraphed and blank pages or whether this protocol was already observed in the Cuzco version, where the narrative proper (books 1–3) could have been harmoniously completed by a chapter of double length that spilled over onto the last verso.

Finally, we note that "año de 1590" (the year 1590) at the very end of the table of contents in the Galvin manuscript conforms to the date inscribed on its current title page. Although book 4 of the

Galvin manuscript dates to 1596 or later, Murúa did not change its year of completion. In contrast, the title page of the Getty version carries the date 1613. Either Murúa considered the Galvin manuscript, when it was completed in the late 1590s, a work that was effectively ten years old or, having included the recommendation by the native lords that referred back to the version they saw in 1590 or 1591, he felt compelled to repeat on the title page of the Galvin manuscript what he had inscribed on the Cuzco version: “a[cabó]se por el mes de mayo del año de 1590” (completed around the month of May in the year 1590).⁴⁵

3. The Galvin Version: Construction, Fragmentation, Reconstruction

The Galvin manuscript is a complex artifact, for two principal reasons. First, in addition to being a fair copy of the expanded Cuzco version, it contains a great number of partly interrelated textual additions in every chapter. Second, at some point, it was physically dismantled and reconstructed. During this process, in many (but far from all) cases, the prose text on the recto of a detached original folio was copied onto one side of a new “replacement” folio and the original was pasted, verso side up, onto the new folio’s other side.⁴⁶ The combination of these two phenomena has contributed to a series of misunderstandings about the nature of the Galvin manuscript since its initial rediscovery in 1879. In this respect, the views expressed by Ossio in his introduction to the Galvin facsimile are no exception: they represent the culmination of a series of speculative theories concerning the Galvin manuscript to which previous editors of Murúa’s work, particularly Bayle and Ballesteros, had substantially contributed.⁴⁷

The Galvin facsimile, however, makes possible a documented and detailed analysis of the internal history of the Galvin manuscript and the rational mechanics of its fragmentation and reconstruction. The high quality of the digital photography used to produce the Galvin facsimile shows that the 112 remaining original folios carry one watermark, while the 35 replacement folios carry another.⁴⁸ Furthermore, since the detached folios occur in symmetrical pairs, that is, as bifolia, one can reconstruct the manuscript, including the four Galvin folios now in the Getty Murúa, as it was before it was dismantled.

Indeed, we can take one step further back in time and distinguish a number of major phases in the initial production of the Galvin manuscript and determine their relative sequence. Here we describe these phases, metaphorically, as six successive “layers”:

1. Quires prepared.
2. Text fair-copied by Galvin Scribe 1 on the rectos.
3. Portraits of kings and queens and some other illustrations executed by Galvin Artist 1 on versos.
4. Textual additions made by Murúa, generally on versos.
5. Illustrations executed by Galvin Artist 2 (Guaman Poma) on remaining blank areas.
6. Final textual additions made by Murúa, often inscribed on Guaman Poma’s drawings.

These layers were identified by the systematic observation of the placement and layout of different types of textual and pictorial elements in the manuscript, and we have taken into account the textual and pictorial cross-references that relate these elements to one another.

Layer 1. The Galvin manuscript originally consisted of 79 bifolia (158 folios or 316 pages). The bifolia were sewn together in seven quires varying in size from nine to fourteen bifolia. The watermark on these bifolia consists of a Latin cross within a shield that tapers to a point at the bottom, above the letters AM.⁴⁹

Layer 2. A single scribe fair-copied the *Historia del origen* in four parts (dubbed *libros*, or books, when the manuscript was reconstructed), including preliminaries such as the letter from the native lords of Cuzco and a prologue and closing elements such as the *ficción*, the table of contents, and the ultimate, single-page *memoria* (account) regarding the weaving of a *chumpi* (sash). Excepting the last chapter of book 3, the *ficción*, the table of contents, and the *memoria*—that is, up to folio 125, Galvin Scribe 1 worked only on the rectos. Thus, every other page was intentionally left blank so that the versos could accommodate illustrations. This is suggested by two facts. The first is that Galvin Scribe 1 not only

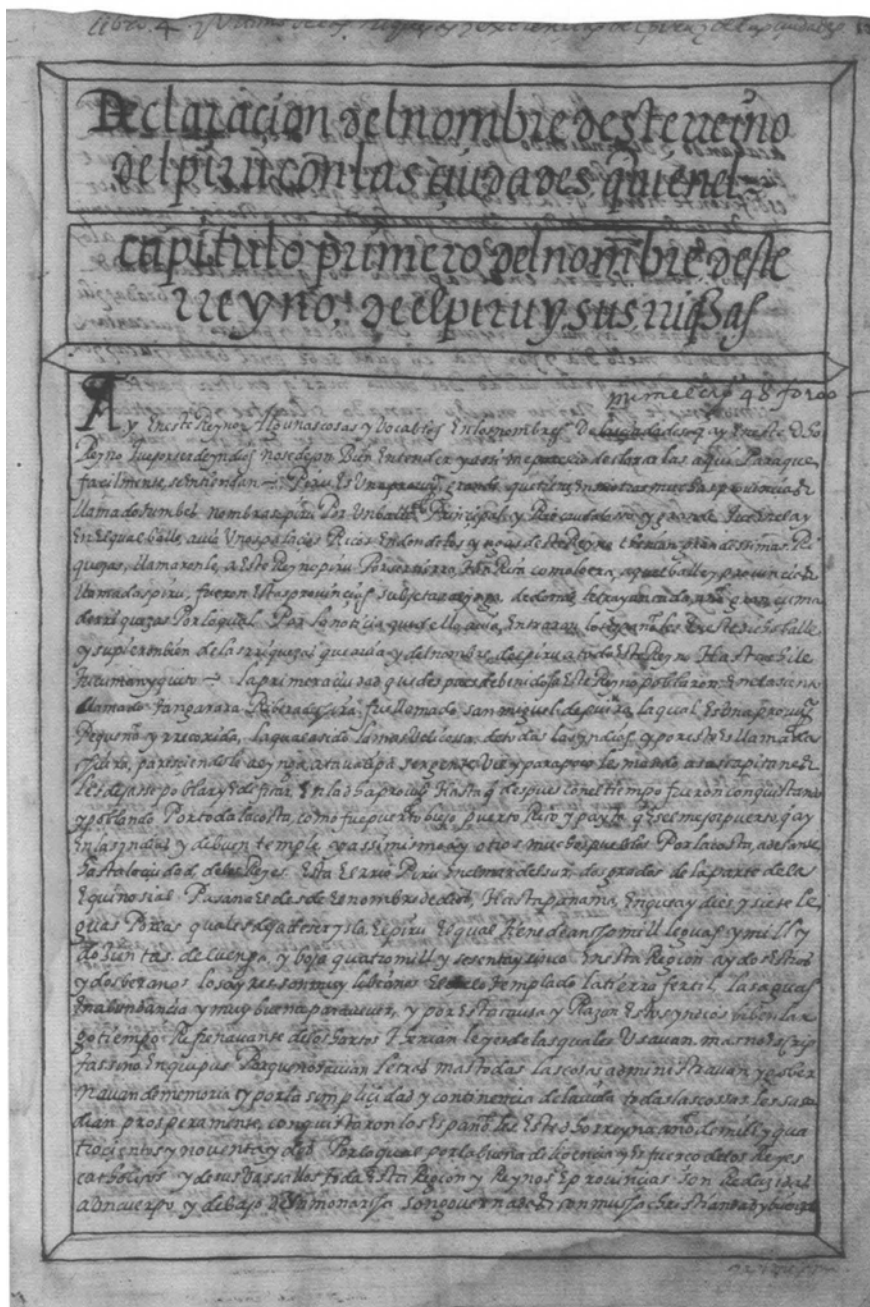


FIG. 6. Title to book 4 and title and text of chapter 1 of book 4. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 127r. Private collection

left folio 145v blank for an illustration within the sequence of the six text pages of the *ficción* (folios 144r–145r, 145bis, 146r) but also introduced it by a reference on folio 145r to “la figura lo muestra” (the figure displays it). The second is the appearance, mentioned above, of two references to *pinturas* in the text calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1. From this evidence, we conclude that before setting his scribe to work, Murúa envisioned drawings on some or all of the blank versos of the manuscript.

The expansion of the Cuzco version occasioned by the introduction of book 4 seems to have provoked the only irregularities that occur in the layout: between books 3 and 4, book 4 and the *ficción*, and the *ficción* and the table of contents, the scribe left a blank recto and verso (folios 126, 143, 147). They were later filled with textual additions and drawings, but in the case of folio 126, at this earlier phase of production of the Galvin manuscript the intention may have been to devote that blank folio to a separate title page for book 4 (on the recto) and a frontispiece for its first chapter (on the verso), as had been done for the three previous books. By error, however, following Murúa’s draft rather than the protocol of the clean copy, Galvin Scribe 1 inscribed both the title of book 4 and the title and text of the book’s first chapter on the following recto, folio 127r (fig. 6). As a consequence, when, in 1598 or later, Murúa decided to add a prologue to book 4, there was room for it in the original quire structure, but it had to precede (rather than, ideally, follow) the title of book 4.⁵⁰

Although at this stage, the text of each chapter was confined to a single page, the chapters are very unequal in length. The scribe accommodated the varying number of words within pages of equal size by carefully measuring the text to be copied before ruling the page with leadpoint and then adapting the number of lines and the size of his lettering for each chapter to the length of the title plus the text. Indeed, the Galvin facsimile occasionally makes it possible to identify the horizontal ruling that guided the inscription of text on the rectos (see, for example, folios 26r, 29r).

On text pages, an ink frame was added after the prose was inscribed, and these heavy lines later served to guide the drawing of frames on the versos. The structure of the framing around chapter titles varies across the manuscript. In book 1, it consists of a single separator (folios 24r–34r; see Getty folio 79v); within books 2 and 3, title and text are separated first by two lines (folios 36r–69r; see Getty folio 89v) (see fig. 17), then four lines (folio 70r–109r) (see fig. 8), then three lines (folio 110r–122r) (see fig. 9), and finally two lines with mitering, a configuration carried through all of book 4 (folios 123r–142r) (see fig. 6). Since both the chapter titles and the number of lines occupied by each framing protocol varied, the framing was set out during the ruling of a text page. Galvin Scribe 1 clearly was allowed or took the initiative to experiment with the visual integration of title and text.⁵¹ In contrast, the two scribes of the Getty manuscript did not experiment at all. Both employ the same (simple) framing system, even if they execute it slightly differently.

Layer 3. Galvin Artist 1 executed drawings on some of the versos left blank by the scribe. Including the two lost *pinturas* (a coat of arms of the Inca kings “al principio de este libro” [at the beginning of the book], and the frontispiece to chapter 1 of book 2, both referenced in texts copied by Galvin Scribe 1), the following thirty drawings, of which twenty-three are extant, can be assigned to Galvin Artist 1:

Coat of arms of the Inca kings (lost).

Folio 1v: Andean landscape.

Folio 2v: Coat of arms of the Mercedarian Order.

Folios 9v–20v: Twelve portraits of Inca kings (three are lost).

Folio 21v: “Todos los príncipes yngas deste reyno” (All the Inca princes of this kingdom).

Folios 22v–33v: Twelve portraits of Inca queens (two are lost, one is now Getty folio 79r).

Folio 35v: Captain Pachacuti (lost).

Folio 141v: Symbolic representation of the city and silver mine of Potosí.

The coats of arms on the portraits of the queens were not drawn by Galvin Artist 1 but added later, as will be argued below.

Layer 4. In addition to placing the prologue to book 4 on a verso probably destined for a frontispiece to chapter 1 of book 4, Murúa made textual addenda throughout the fair-copied and partially illustrated manuscript. On approximately one-third of the remaining blank versos, he made long additions, including substantial quotations from published sources. With few exceptions, such additions can be dated only in relation to another layer of the manuscript. Additions on previously blank versos all expand the text of the chapter on the preceding recto. In some cases, such an addition filled the upper half or upper three-quarters of a page, leaving Guaman Poma—whose activities commence with layer 5—little space in which to draw a picture (see fig. 9). In other cases, Murúa’s addendum filled the entire page, thus preventing Guaman Poma from creating any illustration whatsoever (see fig. 18). It seems worth noting that Murúa’s textual additions include one reference to a drawing by Galvin Artist 1 (on folio 142v, he alludes to folio 141v and the symbolic representation of Potosí) but no reference to any drawing by Guaman Poma. This also confirms that Guaman Poma’s work followed Murúa’s introduction of textual additions to the chapters calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1.

In book 2, Murúa’s additions concern the militant actions of the *inca*’s heirs Manco Inca and Tupac Amaru. In book 3, most of the additions concern Inca governmental and, to a lesser degree, religious institutions. No fewer than five of Murúa’s sixteen addenda in this book have been identified as excerpts from the second edition, dated 1595, of Fray Jerónimo Román y Zamora’s *Republicas del mundo* (Republics of the world). More precisely, they are excerpts from *De las republicas de las Indias Occidentales* (On the republics of the Americas), a section (in three books) in the third volume of Román’s work.⁵² In contrast, in book 4, Murúa’s additions often seem to introduce into the exposition observations based on his own knowledge and experience.⁵³ During this time, as new topics were



FIG. 7. Frontispiece to chapter 22 of book 1: The coya Ipahuaco, drawn by an unidentified artist; and the coat of arms of the seventh inca, Yahuar Huacac, drawn by Guaman Poma. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 28v. Private collection

introduced through his additions to the versos of the manuscript, Murúa updated the chapter titles on the rectos throughout the manuscript, but he did not update the table of contents.

From the moment he started using the blank versos as a repository for supplementary material, Murúa had given up the idea of publishing the Galvin manuscript. From layer 4 on, the Galvin was reduced to a notebook of materials for possible use in the next version of each individual chapter of his history of Peru. This was not very practical, however, since every chapter had only one vacant page.

Murúa clearly intervened again after Guaman Poma's involvement (layer 5), or partly concurrently with it, and many of his textual additions cannot be assigned unequivocally to either layer 4 or layer 6. For example, although the new title for his work that Murúa wrote on the Galvin recto that is now Getty folio 307v seems to have been jammed below the letter from the native lords because the coat of arms by Guaman Poma was occupying the verso, Murúa could equally well have written it before Guaman Poma undertook his work, inasmuch as an updated book title would be expected to appear on a recto. In contrast, the placement of the coats of arms of the Inca kings in the queens' portraits (fig. 7; see also p. 88, fig. 5) is most likely due to Murúa having already filled the remaining space in the kings' portraits with Quechua poems (see p. 153, fig. 5).

Layer 5. Murúa invited or hired Guaman Poma to fill the remaining blank spaces of the Galvin manuscript with drawings. The assignment consisted of making as many frontispieces (full, half, or quarter pages) as possible for the chapters of books 2 through 4 (figs. 8, 9) and, where relevant, filling any other blank page with an illustration, as in the case of the *ficción*.

Guaman Poma's oeuvre in the Galvin manuscript, including the folios that migrated to the Getty manuscript, as well as the coats of arms he added to portraits by Galvin Artist 1, consists of the following 102 drawings, of which 99 are extant:

Preliminary matter: one frontispiece (coat of arms of Peru, currently Getty folio 307r).

Book 1: twelve coats of arms on Galvin Artist 1's portraits of Inca queens (three are lost, one is now Getty folio 79r).

Book 2: eleven chapter frontispieces, one illustration (Galvin folio 51v).

Book 3: sixty chapter frontispieces (two are now Getty folios 84r, 89r), two illustrations (Galvin folios 126r, 143r).



Fig. 8. Chapter opening for chapter 30 of book 3, with a full-page frontispiece by Guaman Poma. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fols. 81v–82r. Private collection

Fig. 9. Chapter opening for chapter 67 of book 3, with a half-page frontispiece by Guaman Poma drawn in the space that was available after Murúa's textual additions to chapter 66. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fols. 118v–119r. Private collection

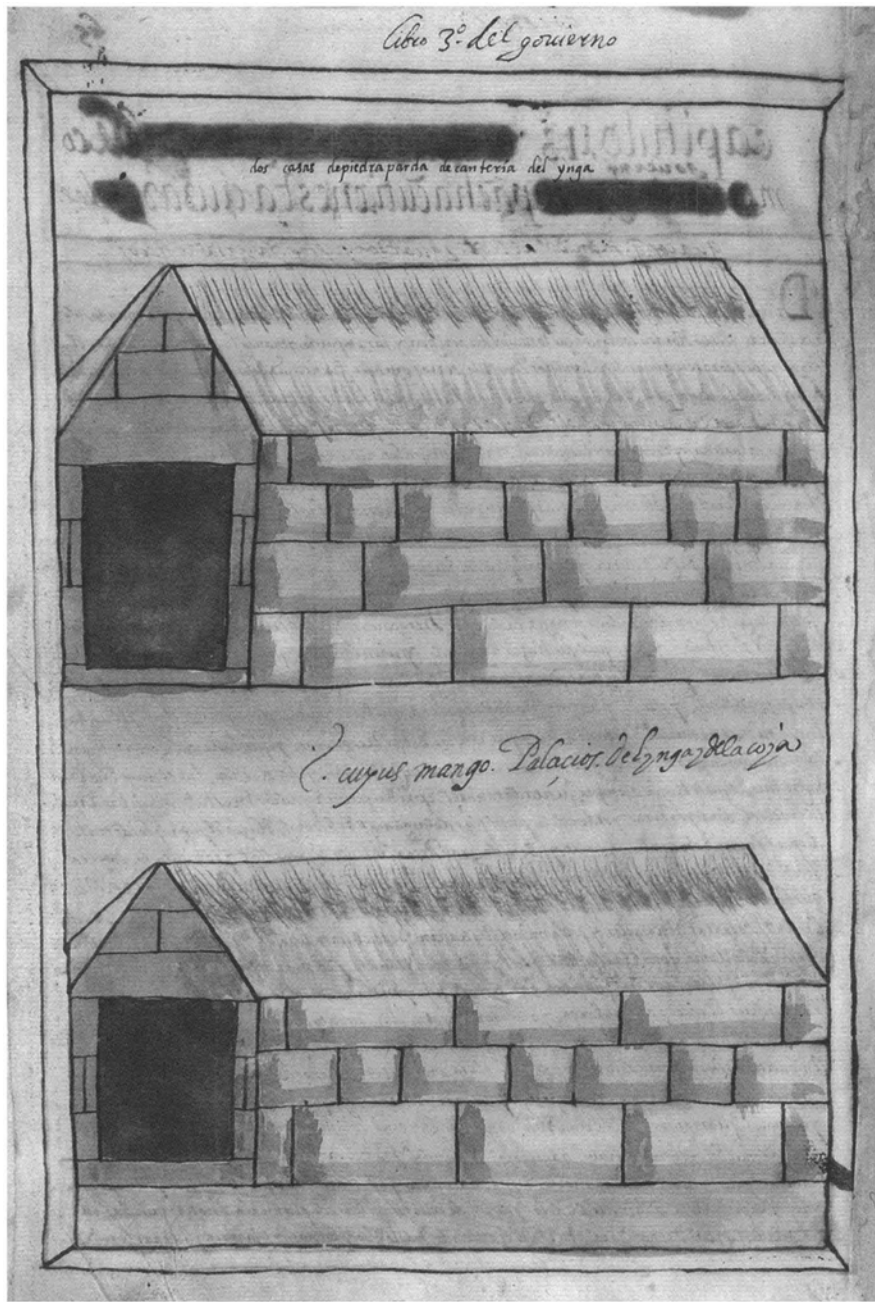


FIG. 10. Frontispiece by Guaman Poma for chapter 14 of book 3, with annotations by Guaman Poma (top) and Murúa (center). From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 65v. Private collection

Book 4: ten chapter frontispieces.

Ficción: one frontispiece (now Galvin folio 3v), four illustrations (folios 145v, 146v, 147r, 147v).

In books 2 through 4, a maximum of five chapter frontispieces are lost, and some or all of these were probably by Guaman Poma, although Galvin Artist 1 did execute some chapter frontispieces—for example, folios 35v (lost) and 141v (extant).

Most of Guaman Poma's drawings contain captions or explanations inscribed in his well-attested handwriting (fig. 10; see also fig. 9).⁵⁴ The longest is the one beneath the coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru on Getty folio 307r (see fig. 5).

Guaman Poma's images relate to passages inscribed by Galvin Scribe 1 as well as to additions in Murúa's hand. For example, Diego Méndez's assassination of Manco Inca (folio 47v) is mentioned not in the text for chapter 13 of book 3 calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 1 but in Murúa's lengthy addition to it. Likewise, the frontispiece to chapter 1 of book 3 (folio 52v; now Getty folio 84r, where it functions as a portrait of the Inca king Huascar) (see fig. 15) illustrates not the main text of that chapter but rather a passage in Murúa's addition. Clearly, Guaman Poma had free rein to illustrate whatever in the text suited his fancy. Upon the completion of Guaman Poma's intervention, practically no blank space remained in the Galvin manuscript.

Layer 6. In this final stage, Murúa passed over the drawings of Guaman Poma, as he had done (or did now) with those of Galvin Artist 1, adding his own captions (see, for example, fig. 10) or Spanish equivalents to Guaman Poma's Quechua captions. Furthermore, as the margins of the pages were still available and a few of Guaman Poma's drawings featured a clear Andean sky that Murúa could write in, he made a handful of short additions to the prose text.⁵⁵ Just as he did not encroach on the drawings by Galvin Artist 1 with such textual elaborations, Murúa did not write over the iconographic elements of Guaman Poma's drawings.⁵⁶ The content of such additional passages (which related to text on rectos), however, bore no relation to the drawings (on versos) to which they were added. While Guaman Poma constantly referred to Murúa's texts, and Murúa annotated Guaman Poma's drawings briefly, Murúa did not refer to Guaman Poma's drawings in his own later textual additions. The Galvin manuscript offers no evidence of close consultation between author and illustrator.

This survey of the phases of production of the Galvin manuscript allows us to extract not only the sequence of events detailed above but also, to a limited degree, the time span for Guaman Poma's involvement in the Galvin manuscript's illustration program and a few other relative datings. Moreover, understanding the creation of the Galvin manuscript allows us to make better sense of the process of its subsequent fragmentation and reconstruction.

References to documented historical events in Murúa's additions set upper and lower temporal limits for both Guaman Poma's and Murúa's activities in the Galvin manuscript. The lower limit is set by the letter from the native lords of Cuzco that was fair-copied by Galvin Scribe 1. If, as we have argued, it was authentic and refers to the Cuzco manuscript, it follows that the activities of Murúa and Guaman Poma on the Galvin manuscript were not initiated earlier than 15 May 1596, when the Cuzco manuscript was still in circulation. The upper limit differs, of course, for artist and author. As for Guaman Poma, it is clear that he had been active in illustrating the Galvin manuscript's book 2 at the latest in early 1599. We know this from folio 37v, where in the upper portion of a drawing by Guaman Poma, Murúa—carefully writing around Inca Urcon's head and the spear he holds—identified as the governor of Chile Martín García de Loyola, who died 24 December 1598. Similarly, because Murúa's prose description on folio 137v of the volcanic eruption that had occurred in Arequipa in February 1600 prevented Guaman Poma from drawing a frontispiece for the following chapter, we know that Guaman Poma was illustrating book 4 not earlier than 1600.

As for the upper limit for Murúa, his addition on folio 106r includes his account of having punished three Andean idolaters while serving in the province of Aymaraes. This seems to be the latest event in the Galvin manuscript that can be dated with some certainty: the identification by Guaman Poma in the *Nueva coronica* of the parish's municipal officer as Alonso de Medina has made it possible to ascertain that the events in question occurred between 1604 and 1606.⁵⁷ Murúa's recollection of those events indicates that he continued working on the Galvin manuscript after 1606.

It was therefore after that date, and probably much later, in view of the recycling of its folios in the Getty Murúa, that the Galvin manuscript was dismantled. It is possible that this took place subsequent to the failure of the illustration program for the Getty manuscript, as we suggest below.

During the Galvin's reconstruction, its 158 folios (in seven quires) were reduced to 150 folios (in eight quires) plus one loose folio, by detaching forty-six of the original folios and adding thirty-nine new folios.⁵⁸ Five of the reconstructed quires came to be structured like their predecessors, while quire 3 became shorter by one bifolium, and quire 1 was reconstructed as two smaller quires.⁵⁹ Twenty-two of the replacement folios are double-layered (a feature reproduced in the Galvin facsimile), consisting of a detached original folio pasted to a replacement folio; if the four original folios that were transferred to the Getty Murúa are added to this count, twenty-six of the Galvin's forty-six detached folios are extant today.

Before being pasted to one side of a replacement folio, the text on the detached folio that would become obscured by the operation was copied onto the other side of the replacement folio, normally its recto.⁶⁰ These one-page copies were calligraphed by Galvin Scribe 2 (fig. 11), a hand not attested in the Galvin manuscript before this phase. In a few instances, such as folios 14r (fig. 12) and 23r, which are the first and last folios of the second of the two smaller quires that replaced the original first quire, Murúa himself copied the soon-to-be-obscured text, leaving the intermediary text on folios 15r to 22r to Galvin Scribe 2. In one case, Murúa added a new chapter, the *capítulo prohemial* (prefatory chapter) (folio 8r) on the Mercedarian Order's missionary work in Peru, a topic that was expanded in the Getty version.

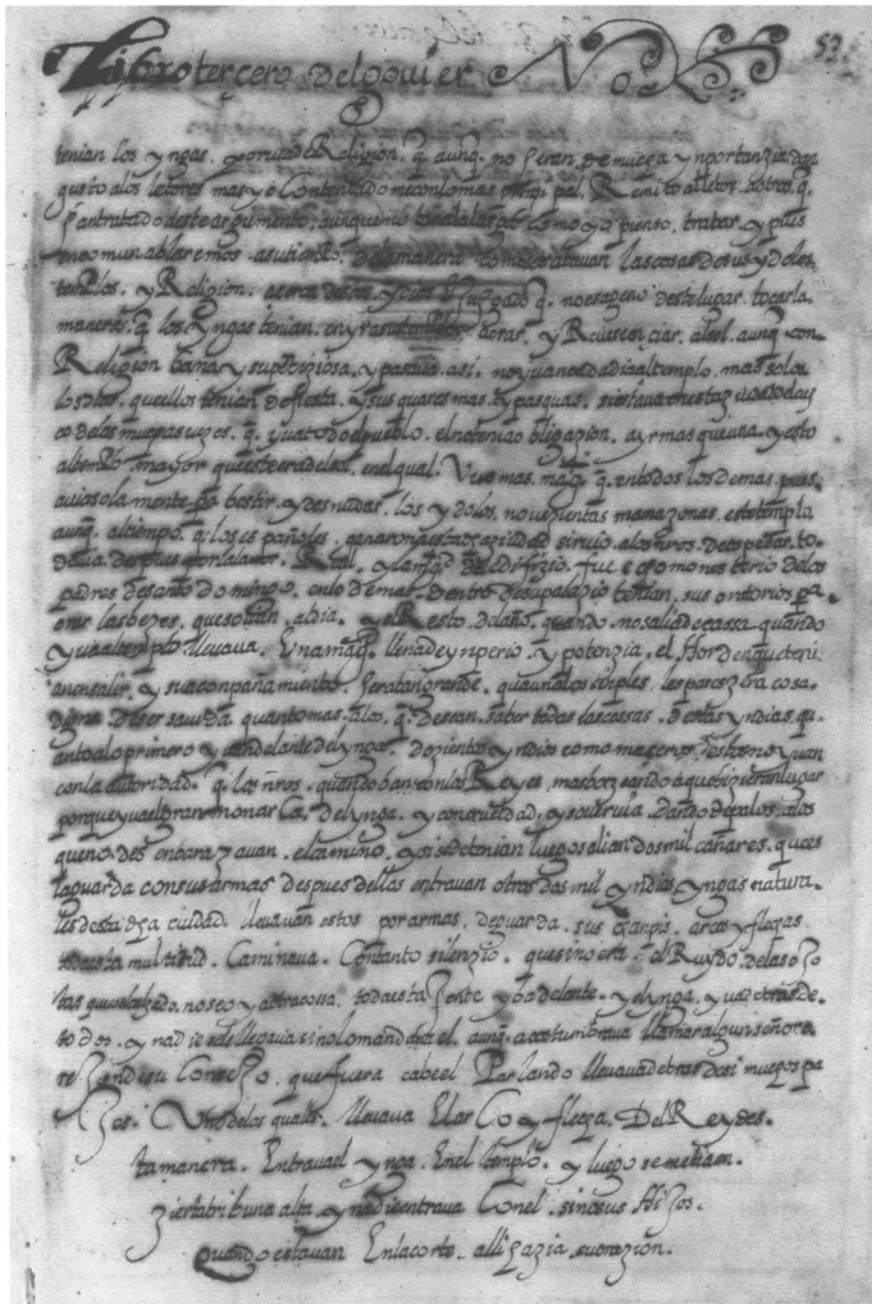


FIG. 11. Replacement folio: Copy by Galvin Scribe 2 of Murúa's addition to chapter 1 of book 3. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 53r. Private collection

Originally there were no running heads in the Galvin manuscript.⁶¹ They were introduced after Murúa changed the structuring principle from unnumbered and undesignated parts to numbered books (*libros*), probably in conjunction with the reconstruction of the manuscript after its interrupted dismantling. The variations in the wording of the running heads suggest that they were not added all at once.

With the construction, fragmentation, and reconstruction of the Galvin manuscript well in mind, we can now proceed to consider the production of its sequels: version X and the Getty manuscript.

4. From the Galvin (through X) to the Getty Murúa

We do not know when Murúa decided to fundamentally restructure and rewrite his history of Inca Peru. As argued above, the thorough reshaping of the Galvin version must have taken place in a manuscript that is lost, which we call X, because the basic text of the Getty manuscript is not in Murúa's hand but a fair copy executed by two scribes, each of whom calligraphed approximately half of the manuscript.⁶² This intermediate X which the scribes had before them was not necessarily a single,

manuscript or manuscripts. Originally, X may have been closely related to the Galvin version, but in its final form, before being fair-copied by the two Getty scribes, it must have been nearly as different from the Galvin version as the Getty Murúa is today. Although the evolution from the Galvin to the Getty may have entailed the preparation of more than one intermediate manuscript, we are not hypothesizing more than one missing link, given that there is no material or textual evidence available to support the existence of multiple intermediate versions.

The restructuring of the four parts or books of the Galvin manuscript into the three books of the Getty Murúa was a complex enterprise. The results of this process are summarized in the following paragraphs, with appendix 1 providing a more comprehensive guide. There we correlate the Galvin's chapters to those of the Getty manuscript, in order to reveal their varying degrees of correspondence.⁶⁴

Murúa's major innovations in the Getty manuscript, as evidenced by its differences from the Galvin, are numerous and significant. The Galvin manuscript's books 1 and 2, consisting of forty-three chapters, were reorganized into the Getty's book 1, consisting of ninety-three chapters. Murúa wove together the contents of the Galvin manuscript's book 1 (Inca kings and queens) and book 2 (Inca captains, that is, sons and brothers of the reigning kings) to create a single chronological exposition that goes from the dynastic founder, Manco Capac, through the demise of the last Inca prince, Tupac Amaru. Murúa's other principal innovation in the Getty was to greatly expand his account of Inca history. He further elaborated his earlier accounts of Huayna Capac's reign (Galvin book 1, chapter 13; Getty book 1, chapters 28–37, 39), of the civil wars between Huascar and Atahualpa (Galvin book 2, chapter 11; Getty book 1, chapters 46–58, 60, 62–63), of the capture and execution of Atahualpa by the Spaniards (Galvin book 2, chapter 10; Getty book 1, chapters 59, 63), and of the early period of rule by the Spanish conquistadores, including events at Vilcabamba and the capture and execution of Tupac Amaru (Galvin book 2, chapters 10, 12–16; Getty book 1, chapters 64–85).

After the conclusion of this extended sequence of historical events, Murúa presents a block of eight chapters (Getty book 1, chapters 86–93) which he describes, on folio 214r, as consisting of "las relaciones tocantes a estos yndios, y sucesos que los antiguos quentan de algunos de que ellos hazen memoria" (the accounts relating to these Indians, and events about which the old people talk and keep in their memory). These chapters of memorable historical events and legends incorporate material from the Galvin manuscript's chapters 1 through 9 of book 2, as well as the *ficción* of Acoitapra and Chuquillanto. In the Galvin Murúa, this love story appeared after, and set apart from, the sequence of narratives recounting Inca history. In the Getty Murúa, the *ficción* is no longer an isolated chapter. Instead, it concludes the series of chapters, reused from the Galvin manuscript, recounting the memorable exploits of kings' sons who did not succeed their fathers as rulers. Murúa introduces these chapters by remarking that "aun el día de oy" (to this very day), the indigenous people keep alive the memory of these worthy deeds, which they recount and celebrate with no less pleasure and contentment than when remembering the deeds of their kings.⁶⁵ Thus, this cluster of chapters that ends the Getty manuscript's book 1 complements, without being part of it, a unified chronological narration of Inca political history that spans the creation, apogee, and fall of the Inca empire, the Spanish conquest, and the forty-year neo-*inca* reign at Vilcabamba.

The Galvin manuscript's book 3 and the Getty's book 2 are devoted to the institutions, rites, and customs of Inca society. The material in the Galvin Murúa has been reused in the Getty version but consolidated into forty chapters that sum up to a much longer exposition than the Galvin's seventy-three chapters on these topics.

The Galvin manuscript's book 4 and the Getty's book 3 have as their topic the sites of urban civilization and mineral wealth in the Peruvian viceroyalty, including both ancient and colonial-era foundations. The Galvin's sixteen chapters are expanded in the Getty manuscript to thirty-one. The later version includes nine new chapters at the beginning of the exposition. It starts with new general geographic information about Peru, adds the topic of Peru's contemporary political and spiritual governance, and highlights the activities of the Mercedarian Order in South America (Getty book 3, chapters 2–9, plus a late-added unnumbered chapter, on folios 329 and 330, between chapters 8 and 9).⁶⁶ Then the Getty Murúa passes to a survey of cities like the one elaborated in the Galvin manuscript. The catalog of cities is basically the same in the two manuscripts, although in the Getty version, the accounts of Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes) and Cuzco each gain two additional chapters and Arequipa and Potosí gain one. The description of Potosí is expanded by treating the silver mine and the urban settlement in separate chapters. The additional chapters on Cuzco purportedly contained

accounts of the celebrations held in the ancient Inca capital in 1606 to commemorate the birth of the Spanish crown prince, the future Philip IV, in 1605. These folios, however, have been cut out of the Getty manuscript. The reference to these chapters in the table of contents (see folio 387v), the gap in the chapter numbering in the body of the manuscript, and the stubs of folios 313 through 321 (ancient foliation; between modern folios 337 and 338) testify to the fact that they once existed.⁶⁷

In summary, each of the three books of the Getty Murúa includes important changes and new orientations. The material on Inca governance, which had been a focal point of Murúa's interest from the beginning, is presented in a less diffuse manner in the Getty manuscript. It is condensed into fewer but longer chapters and arranged into two approximately equal parts that cover sociopolitical and religious topics, respectively. At the same time, books 1 and 3 represent a new dynamism in Murúa's writing. The list-based approach of the Galvin manuscript is broken down and transformed into an integrated narrative in book 1 of the Getty manuscript,⁶⁸ and book 3 incorporates entirely new subject matter on Spanish governance and Mercedarian history. Essentially, the Getty manuscript's book 3 continues to be, like the Galvin's book 4, an exposition on cities, that is, an expansion of a list, chapter by chapter. It is, however, also a unit that, by setting forth various aspects of Spanish colonial governance, tends toward becoming a fully developed counterpart to book 2's exposition of Inca rule.

5. The Getty Manuscript: Quires, Watermarks, Foliations, and Migrating Folios

The quire structure of the Getty manuscript, insofar as it can be deduced from its present state, is mapped in appendix 2.⁶⁹ Due to the removal, addition, and migration of various folios and to binding activities, most recently in 1961, the historical evolution of the manuscript's first four quires (as well as its final quire) cannot be reconstructed in every detail. In contrast, the original structure of the twenty-four central quires, and the changes undergone by them, can readily be reconstructed. Thus, it is clear that quires 5 through 18 and quires 22 through 28 were created and inscribed as regular quires of sixteen folios (eight bifolia), while quires 19 through 21 were created as regular quires of eight folios (four bifolia). The distribution of watermarks—one per bifolium, as is usual in folio-size manuscripts—confirms the regularity of these quires, as do the modern sewings and modern guards around the quires.⁷⁰

Quires 1 through 4 have been much reworked by both Murúa and binders. In its current state, quire 1 comprises seven bifolia, that is, a blank original folio (folio 1), a title page tipped to an original stub (folio 2), seven original stubs, three original folios with copies of letters of recommendation (folios 3–5), and two original stubs. The two next quires are cobbled together from mostly loose folios. Quire 2 now comprises seven singletons—two original folios with copies of letters of recommendation (folios 6, 7), four documents produced in Madrid after Murúa returned from Peru (folios 8–11), and a blank (folio 12)—all tipped to one another or the modern guard. Quire 3 consists, in practical terms, of a singleton with a drawing of the coat of arms of the Inca kings (folio 13) kept in place by being tipped to a system of guards and stubs, and a central bifolium with texts that Murúa added, as we will see, after he returned to Spain (folios 14, 15).

In all but a few cases in the first three quires, no remains of writing can be seen on a stub, which makes it difficult to distinguish ancient or modern reinforcing paper strips from stubs of original folios. It is possible, therefore, that the current quires 1 through 3 represent what was originally one regular quire of sixteen folios (eight bifolia). If so, this quire was disrupted as Murúa reworked the front matter of his manuscript, cutting away, replacing, and moving folios around, and as the quire was expanded with the addition of licensing documents and fresh prologues. Because the paper used for additional folios 14 through 17 is identical to that used for one of the licensing documents signed in Madrid,⁷¹ the reworking of quires 1 through 4 can be assigned to the period after the author's return to Spain. Bifolia lend themselves to be fastened together by being sewn along the central fold, so when the Getty manuscript was rebound, the pseudo-bifolium formed by tipping folio 9 to folio 10, and the added bifolium hosting folios 14 and 15 became, respectively, the main structuring elements of quires 2 and 3, while the original folios, which had mostly become singletons as Murúa reworked the preliminary matter of his book, were annexed—from a codicological point of view—to his late additions.



FIG. 13. Watermarks found in the Getty Murúa: *top row*, GM (folio 137, 46 × 25 mm), AA (folio 19bis, 43 × 20 mm), AM (folio 89, ca. 40 × 26 mm); *bottom row*, N (folio 11, 103 × 26 mm), PG (folio 17, 38 × 26 mm), UM (folio 9, 45 × 23 mm)

The original bifolia of the Getty manuscript all carry on one of their halves a watermark consisting of a Latin cross on a shield that tapers to a point at the bottom, with the letter *A* on top and the letters *GM* below (fig. 13).⁷² Watermarks, as well as the character of the sheets themselves, distinguish the original paper stock from added folios. The manuscript currently contains twenty-one such secondary folios, nearly all of which demonstrably originate from other paper stocks.⁷³ In round figures, two hundred bifolia, or four hundred folios, were originally prepared for the production of the Getty manuscript.⁷⁴ Of these four hundred folios, 378 remain, and 21 have been added, giving the current count of 399 folios. The modern foliation (in pencil) of the manuscript runs from 1 through 397, but should have run only through 394, because it omitted four numbers (202, 243, 244, 392), and assigned the number 313 twice. This foliation was applied between 1961, when the manuscript was last rebound, and 1979, when the five blanks (designated as folios 19bis, 78bis, 84bis, 89bis, and 307bis; $394 - 5 = 399$) were separated from the folios that they were pasted over.

Crucial for the understanding of the Getty manuscript is the ancient foliation, which was executed in ink. It no longer appears over long stretches because the upper edge of the manuscript has been severely trimmed,⁷⁵ but sufficiently many numbers remain for the ancient foliation to be coordinated with the modern. As is common in early Spanish books, the ancient foliation of the Getty

manuscript begins after the front matter and does not include the final table of contents. It numbered the folios 1 through 367, with the first identifiable number being the leg of a mutilated 4 on folio 18 (modern foliation).⁷⁶ Depending on the original status of stub 2 of quire 4, the ancient foliation must have started on the folio of this or the previous stub (see appendix 2) and continued through modern folio 383, which concluded the body of the work and was followed by the unfoliated table of contents. Like the modern foliation, the ancient foliation was not flawless. It assigned the number 231 twice and thus fell one short of the correct number of folios, which would have been 368.

The ancient foliation was introduced before the addition of an extra chapter in quire 4, the migration of two folios of quire 4, the insertion in books 1 and 3 of four folios that originally belonged to the Galvin manuscript,⁷⁷ and the addition of an extra chapter in book 3. We will discuss all these changes, below, in order. Here, we will discuss only how such additions were integrated into the ancient foliation scheme by what we call the secondary ancient foliation. The technique is simple but unusual. As we will see, it is improbable that it was implemented by Murúa himself, but it provides the basis for our analysis of the complex evolution of quire 4 in section 8.

Simply put, folios inserted after the ancient foliation was inscribed were numbered sequentially, continuing from the last preceding folio. Thus, in book 3, the two folios inserted after ancient folio 305 were numbered 306 and 307, even though the two following folios already bore those numbers. The sequence thus became 305, <306>, <307>, 306, 307, 308 (modern folios 328–33). The same expedient was used in quire 4, where ancient folios 3 and 5 had been excised and placed before and after a previously added folio containing an extra, unnumbered chapter (modern folios 19–21). This group of folios was fixed in its correct location, within the ancient foliation, after ancient folio 6 (modern folio 22), numbering the three folios in continuation of folio 6—that is, 6, <7>, <8>, <9>, 7, 8, 9, 10. The modern binder, however, misplaced this group of three folios, such that they now appear in both the codex and the facsimile between ancient folios 4 and 6, rather than between ancient folios 6 and 7. All in all, in the Getty manuscript, nine such secondary ancient foliations are found preceding identical primary ancient foliations.⁷⁸

We will now survey, in sequence, the additions and excisions of folios in the Getty manuscript, leaving the most complicated aspects of quire 4 for later (see section 8). Folio references are to the modern foliation, unless otherwise specified.

The initial quire (or quires) would have been reserved for front matter, the pages of which would not have been included in the ancient foliation scheme, since front matter in Spanish printed books was typically either left unfoliated or foliated with Roman numerals. What remains of the initial quire (or quires) is now distributed over the first three quires of the Getty manuscript. In quire 1, there are a blank (folio 1), a title page and Murúa's copy of two laudatory poems (folio 2), and copies, also in Murúa's hand, of seven letters recommending his manuscript (folios 3–5). The front matter includes eleven such letters, which were all issued in South America (Ilabaya, La Paz, La Plata [Sucre, Bolivia], Potosí, Córdoba de Tucumán [Córdoba, Argentina], Buenos Aires) between 25 August 1611 and 17 December 1614. The first two recommendations in quire 1 date to 1614 (nos. 10, 11), with the following five dating to 1611 and 1612 (nos. 1, 3, 5, 2, 6). Quire 2 opens with the remaining letters of recommendation (nos. 4, 7, 8, 9), which are dated 1612 and 1613 (folios 6, 7). All eleven letters were fair-copied by Murúa from original documents that are no longer extant. Next are four documents (folios 8–11), all issued in Madrid in 1615 and 1616. They carry different watermarks from the rest of the manuscript (see fig. 13). Unlike nearly all of the other pages in the Getty manuscript, these pages are not framed. In addition, no ancient foliation or catchword links them to this particular location, which suggests that these documents were tucked into the manuscript after its formal evaluation by ecclesiastical and court officials was complete.⁷⁹ Their present placement, following the letters of recommendation, may not have become fixed until the manuscript was rebound in 1961.⁸⁰

The remaining front matter is distributed as follows: a framed page with no text (folio 12) closes quire 2, and quire 3 comprises a hand-colored coat of arms of the Inca kings (folio 13, with the GM watermark, and hence belonging to Murúa's original paper stock), a prologue addressed to crown prince Philip (later Philip IV) (folio 14), and a prologue to the reader (folio 15). Both prologues are written in Murúa's cursive hand but on a bifolium with the PG watermark.

Quire 4, as we have said, starts with four stubs. The first of these has on its recto a previously unnoticed fragment of a colored drawing. On the recto of the fourth stub there is an ink mark that matches a flourish on the verso of folio 19, proving that this folio was cut away from its position as ancient folio 3, flipped, and moved within the manuscript. As ancient folio 3, it was the start of the

text proper: its recto contained the title of book 1 and the title and text of chapter 1, all calligraphed by Getty Scribe 1. As modern folio 19, the painted composite image of the myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac's ascent to power appears on its recto, while the verso carries the prose text (chapter 1 of book 1). After ancient folio 3 was removed, Murúa's manuscript would have started with chapter 2 (folio 18), unless a new chapter 1 was inserted. This occurred in the form of an added bifolium—again with the PG watermark—containing on folio 16 an exact copy in Murúa's cursive hand of the pasted-over text on folio 19v.

The pages of the two late bifolia of quires 3 and 4 (folios 14–17) are unframed and the rectos written in Murúa's cursive hand. These additions were present when the manuscript was submitted to Mercedarian and royal court authorities in Madrid, because they are rubricated by the king's notary, as are all the folios of the Getty manuscript, except the four later approbations, the succeeding blank, and the folio with the coat of arms of the Inca kings (folios 8–13).⁸¹ We note that these folios have an exceptional numbering by bifolium, "1" on folio 14r and "2" on folio 16r, which orders the sequence of the two lately added prologues and the copy of the obscured chapter 1.

Leaving aside the further changes that affected quire 4 in modern times, and progressing through the manuscript, we find three illustrated folios in quires 7 and 8 that were added after the introduction of the ancient foliation but integrated into it in the manner described above (folios 79 <63>, 84 <67>, 89 <71>). Each of these folios was detached from the Galvin manuscript and at some point had a blank pasted over the text that appeared on one side to obscure Galvin texts that were not intended for the Getty manuscript. The images on these folios completed, in some sense, the series of paired portraits of the twelve Inca kings and their queens, thus partially remedying the incomplete state in which the artist of the Getty manuscript had left the projected illustration program concerning the Inca dynasty.

Quire 8 also has a single blank that was added (folio 94). It has no ancient foliation, and its insertion, between chapters 44 and 45 of book 1, before the manuscript was bound,⁸² apparently was due to the fact that chapter 45 was the only one in the manuscript not preceded by at least one blank page.

Quire 23 includes the last detached Galvin folio, which was added to the Getty manuscript so that its colored drawing of a coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru could serve as frontispiece to the third book (folio 307 <283>). Here, too, instead of the Galvin folio being pasted, text side down, onto the blank verso of folio 306 (as Murúa probably intended), it was flipped and tipped to surrounding folios, and a blank folio was later added, pasted onto it and obscuring the side containing both the letter of recommendation from the native lords for the Cuzco version of Murúa's history and a new title for his expanded work.

Finally, in quire 24, a bifolium containing a second unnumbered chapter (folios 329, 330) was added between chapters 8 and 9 of book 3. Written in Murúa's cursive hand on paper with the PG watermark (which also appears on folios 8, 14–17), and hence while he was in Spain, the new text deals with the deeds of the Mercedarian Order in Peru. Its two folios were integrated into the ancient foliation, using the method employed for other late insertions—for example, folio <283> (modern folio 307).

In quires 1 through 3, only four original folios appear to have remained in their original position, while four other original folios have been cut away and reinserted. Ten stubs are found in quire 1, and in quire 3, the four stubs (if they are stubs) function as guards for the reinserted folio 13. In quire 4, the folios belonging to two of its five stubs were reinserted elsewhere in the quire (folios 19, 21). These excisions and reinsertions were probably carried out by Murúa himself, as he reworked the front matter and prepared his manuscript for submission to the authorities. The excisions carried out toward the end of the Getty manuscript are of a different nature. In book 3, a censor removed a number of inscribed folios, leaving behind a total of ten stubs in quires 23 and 25. These stubs were not included in the modern foliation scheme and thus are cited here as ancient folios 295 and 313 through 321.⁸³

Quire 29 consists of five blank, unframed singletons which are currently secured by modern guards. These blanks may be the remains either of a small quire of eight folios, torn apart by wear and tear, or of partial bifolia that Murúa did not use for replacing excised front matter, like folios 2, 12, and 13, which are singletons made of paper from Murúa's original stock.⁸⁴

6. The Getty Manuscript: Scribes and Frames

The bulk of the Getty manuscript was calligraphed by two scribes, with some material inscribed by Murúa himself. Getty Scribe 1 copied from chapter 1 of book 1 (folio 19r) to near the end of the book, that is, through the sixth line of the second page of chapter 82 of book 1 (folio 191v). Getty Scribe 2 took over on line seven on that page and continued nearly to the end of the last chapter of the work, that is, through the first two pages of chapter 31 of book 3 (folio 382r). Neither of the Getty's scribal hands is found in the Galvin manuscript—not surprising given that as many as twenty years may have elapsed between the fair copying of these versions. The last three pages of chapter 31 (folios 382v–383v) were inscribed in one of the neater variants of Murúa's cursive hand, which is well attested in the Galvin manuscript. The eight pages of the table of contents (folios 384r–387r) were likewise inscribed by Murúa, but here he calligraphed the text much more carefully. As mentioned above, Murúa also fair-copied some of the text in quires 1 through 4 (folios 2r–7r, 14r–16v) and the unnumbered chapter in quire 24 (folios 329–30). The fair copy made by the two scribes was proofread and corrected by Murúa. Besides ordinary corrections of orthography, Murúa occasionally filled in small lacunae left by the scribes due to their inability to decipher the model being copied.⁸⁵

The calligraphed pages of the fair-copied manuscript are framed. This feature clearly distinguishes the originally planned and executed portion of the manuscript from the later additions made to it. The two scribes and Murúa each followed his own inclinations in framing text pages.

GETTY SCRIBE 1

1. Drew outer vertical lines. (No top framing extant.)
2. Inscribed text.
3. Drew inner vertical lines, interrupting them where text lines were too long.
4. Drew bottom horizontal lines, adjusting position when text runs long (see folios 149r, 196r).

GETTY SCRIBE 2

1. Drew both sets of vertical lines. (No top framing extant.)
2. Inscribed text, very often overrunning the inner vertical line at the right, occasionally overrunning both inner and outer lines.
3. Drew bottom horizontal lines, adjusting position when text runs long (see folios 221r, 225v, 270v).

MURÚA

1. Drew complete frame (see the empty frames of folios 7v, 12, 13v, 388, 389).
2. Inscribed text, occasionally jamming or abbreviating it so as not to overrun the right-hand framing.

The flourishes with which Getty Scribe 1 often decorates the final line of a chapter are much more elaborate than those of Getty Scribe 2, but on occasion, Getty Scribe 1 forgets to draw tiny horizontal lines across the letters of chapter titles (see chapters 3 and 35–39 of book 1). To produce a homogeneous and attractive fair copy of eight hundred pages was no mean task, and it is no wonder that it was not carried to an end without compromises. As we will see in the next sections, there were more to come.

7. The Getty Manuscript: Artists and Illustrations

As was the case with the Galvin manuscript, in which the main scribe left a blank page between the end of one chapter and the beginning of the next, the Getty scribes must have been instructed to leave a blank page before every chapter. In the Galvin, because each chapter fills no more than one page, the blank separating chapters is invariably a verso, but no such rule applies in the Getty. The textual additions Murúa made in the Galvin manuscript, augmented by further expansions in X, meant that the Getty's chapters came to vary greatly in length. One of the longest is found in book 3, where chapter 22, on the city of Arequipa, occupies more than ten pages. In two cases, the scribe by error set off a whole blank folio instead of a single blank page (folios 21, 121). He left the recto blank, turned the page, set off the verso for a frontispiece facing the next recto, and started the next chapter on that recto.⁸⁶ In

one single case, as mentioned above in section 5, Getty Scribe 1 left no blank page at all, an error that was repaired by inserting a blank folio (folio 94) that was eventually included in the bound quire.

As the Getty manuscript appears today, the overall impression is that the blanks serve as chapter separators. In contrast to the Galvin, in the Getty such pages were never used for expanding or amending the text. However, chapter frontispieces were drawn on only 34—or about 20 percent—of the 164 chapter separators. In the Galvin manuscript, after Galvin Artist 1 had completed or interrupted his assignment, Murúa used a number of the remaining blank pages to insert textual additions, so that when Guaman Poma undertook his part of the illustration program, many chapter frontispieces could not be executed for lack of space. Similarly, in the Getty manuscript one can observe that Murúa's initial illustration plans were not carried to their planned conclusion.⁸⁷ In both manuscripts, Murúa sought to save whatever he could of his initial plans by applying alternative solutions.

Of the thirty-four illustrations original to the Getty Murúa, four differ in character from the rest: the title page (folio 2r), the coat of arms of the Inca kings (folio 13r),⁸⁸ the composite drawing of the myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac (folio 19r), and the investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac (folio 21r). The remaining thirty can be classified summarily as “ruler portraits,” even though some of them include one or more nonrulers. As for the Galvin manuscript, Murúa hired an artist who could provide portraits of Inca kings and queens, along the lines, one must assume, of the famous suite of paintings commissioned by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572 and now lost.⁸⁹ But Murúa's illustration project for the Getty manuscript broke down. Sixty chapters of book 1, from chapter 33 on, and all of books 2 and 3 do not have original illustrations, and even the limited series of twenty-four portraits of the twelve Inca kings and their twelve queens was not completed.

The Galvin manuscript devoted one chapter, and thus one page of text and one ruler portrait, to each king and each queen. In contrast, in the Getty manuscript, where Murúa restructured and expanded his historical narrative and elaborated events in increasing detail as he drew closer to his own time, multiple chapters were devoted to each of the last Inca kings. In book 1, the history of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui stretches over four chapters (chapters 19–22), that of Tupac Inca Yupanqui over three (chapters 24–26), and that of Huayna Capac over eleven (chapters 28–37, 39). For whatever reason, the project to illustrate the Getty Murúa was discontinued after the fifth of the eleven chapters on Huayna Capac, so that six do not have frontispieces portraying him or persons or events related to his rule. Likewise, Huayna Capac's queen, Rahua Ocllo (chapter 38); his son and successor, Huascar (chapters 40–42); and Huascar's queen, Chuquillanto (chapter 43) are not portrayed at all. If the whole series of ruler portraits was to be completed in an uninterrupted sequence of illustrated chapters, we would need, at a minimum, eleven additional frontispieces, for chapters 33 through 43.

The interruption of the illustration project explains two subsequent and related phenomena. First, three folios removed from the Galvin manuscript were inserted into the Getty to serve as a minimal compensation for the missing portraits of Rahua Ocllo, Huascar, and Chuquillanto—thus completing the sequence of Inca rulers. Second, the discontinued series of chapter frontispieces was reduced to its strict dynastic minimum, that is, to the canonical twelve kings and twelve queens. This was done by writing “No se a de pintar” (Not to be used, not to be painted) or just “No” at the top of nine chapter frontispieces, those for chapters 20 through 22 on Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (folios 40v, 42v, 44v), chapters 25 and 26 on Tupac Inca Yupanqui (folios 49v, 51v), and chapters 29 through 32 on Huayna Capac (folios 57v, 60r, 62r, 64r). The hand is that of the Mercedarian Order's reader, Alonso Remón, judging from folio 8 and elsewhere in the Getty manuscript.⁹⁰

The resulting gallery of Inca kings and queens was incomplete, hybrid, and faulty. It came to include, in addition to the work of the artist responsible for the ruler portraits original to the Getty manuscript, the work of two other artists. The portrait of Rahua Ocllo is by Galvin Artist 1 (which includes a small drawing by Guaman Poma of her husband's coat of arms), while the two “portraits” of Huascar and Chuquillanto that migrated from the Galvin were drawn by Guaman Poma.

The image of Rahua Ocllo is recycled and inserted into the Getty Murúa as folio 79r, where it serves the same purpose as it had in the Galvin manuscript. The two drawings by Guaman Poma are singularly misplaced in the series of ruler portraits, however. They constitute an unsatisfactory solution to the problem of bringing the illustration program to formal completion. In the Galvin manuscript, the two drawings in question had not appeared in book 1, among the illustrations for the series of biographies of Inca rulers, and they did not represent the twelfth Inca king and his queen.⁹¹ Instead, they had appeared in book 3, on Inca governance, where they had served as frontispieces to chapters dealing with the decorous and solemn way in which the Inca king and his queen, respectively,

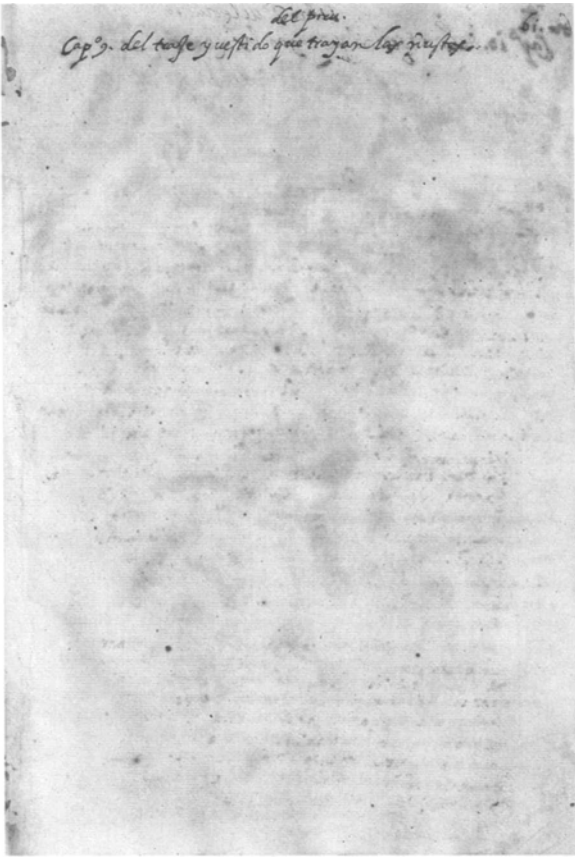


FIG. 14. Replacement folio: Copy by Murúa of the heading for chapter 9 of book 2. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, recto of fol. 61/62. Private collection

let themselves be seen publicly in formal procession. The drawings were generic depictions of Inca royalty on the way to the temple or another state occasion.

Concerning the drawing of the queen in procession (Galvin folio 61v; now Getty folio 89r), the corresponding chapter (chapter 10 of book 3) is now lost. Its title is known only from the Galvin manuscript's table of contents and from the replacement folio headed "De la magestad que trayan las coyas" (On the majestic manner in which the Inca queens presented themselves).⁹² In the Galvin manuscript, this placeholder for chapter 10 follows one for chapter 9, the title of which is likewise known only from the table of contents and the replacement folio: "Del traje y uestido que trayan las ñustas" (On the clothing and dress worn by the Inca princesses) (fig. 14). However, the text of chapter 9, with this very title, is found on the verso of the Galvin-in-Getty folio under consideration.

In the case of Huascar (fig. 15), the chapter in the Galvin manuscript illustrated by this frontispiece is extant, which renders moot the argument that the folio could not derive from the Galvin manuscript because there is no space for it there.⁹³ The drawing was located, as is customary in the Galvin, on the verso of a folio (folio 52), which carried on its recto the title page for book 3 (fig. 16) as well as additions to the last chapter of book 2 in Murúa's hand. Later, this folio and the one following, which contained the text of chapter 1 of book 3, were detached. When the Galvin was reconstructed, replacement folios were inserted to substitute for the two detached original folios. The Huascar folio had migrated to the Getty, but the other detached folio—which carried on its recto the text of chapter 1 as fair copied by Galvin Scribe 1 (fig. 17) and on its verso a full-page addition to chapter 1 in Murúa's hand—was available. Exceptionally, because this detached folio has no illustration and there was much available space on the replacement folios, it was not glued, recto side up, to its own (that is, the second) replacement folio in the Galvin manuscript. Instead, it was pasted to the verso of the first replacement folio.⁹⁴ Therefore, Murúa's full-page addition to chapter 1, which under normal circumstances would have been copied on the verso of its replacement folio, is found on the recto of the second replacement folio (see fig. 11), while the verso of the second replacement folio is blank except for a few lines spilling over from the recto. Once this minor irregularity in the reconstruction process of the Galvin manuscript is accounted for, the Huascar folio of the Getty Murúa fits perfectly into the Galvin Murúa as an original folio.⁹⁵ There its recto was the title page of book 3 while its verso was the frontispiece of book 3's first chapter, which dealt not with the life and deeds of the twelfth *inca* in particular but with the royal demeanor and customs of the Inca kings in general.



FIG. 15. Inca king in procession, by Guaman Poma, on a folio originally in the Galvin Murúa (fol. 52v), inserted in the Getty Murúa as a portrait of Huascar, the twelfth inca. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 84r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

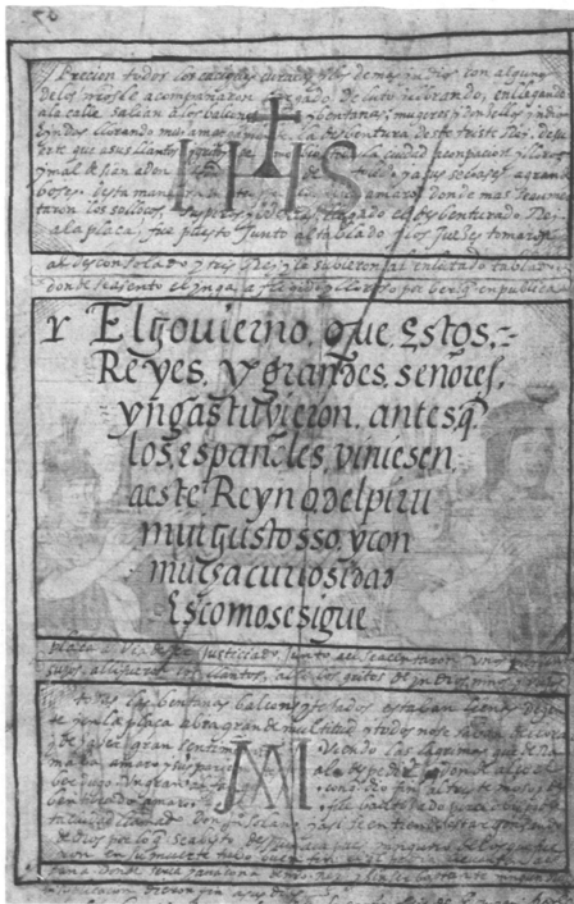


FIG. 16. Title page of book 3 of the Galvin Murúa, on a folio originally in the Galvin Murúa (fol. 52r). From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 84v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

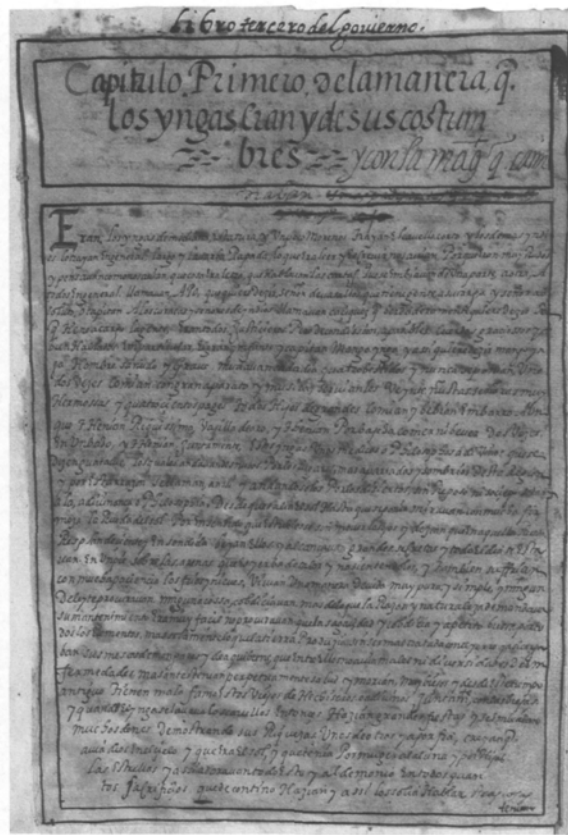


FIG. 17. Replacement folio, with the pasted-down original folio (folio 53r) containing the text of chapter 1 of book 3. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 52v. Private collection

From the Galvin manuscript, one can understand a number of the techniques that Murúa used when rearranging his manuscripts. For example, when a detached folio was to be reinserted into the Galvin, the drawing on the verso was pasted, drawing side up, onto the verso of an inserted blank replacement folio, after the text on the recto of the detached folio had been copied onto the recto of the replacement folio. Similarly, Murúa clearly intended to paste each of the illustrations detached from the Galvin manuscript to the blank page preceding the relevant chapter in the Getty Murúa. Indeed, to forestall confusion, Murúa noted exactly where in the Getty manuscript the drawing from the Galvin manuscript should be inserted.

The portrait of Rahua Ocllo spoke for itself. It bore her name, and hence it could be inserted without error into the Getty manuscript at the appropriate site. Should it be dislodged, it could easily be put back correctly. Murúa's intention was that it should be a chapter frontispiece, appearing on a verso, facing the relevant chapter, as came to happen with the other inserted "portraits." In this case, however, the blank page preceding chapter 38 of book 1 was a recto (folio 77r), facing the last page of the preceding chapter, and the portrait of the not yet introduced Rahua Ocllo would be taken as illustrating chapter 37. Since there was no space available to install a frontispiece facing chapter 38, Murúa decided to insert the queen's portrait on the blank *after* the text for chapter 38. It was to be glued onto the verso of folio 78, although here it would have faced neither of the two pages of chapter 38, and could be taken as a frontispiece for chapter 39. Therefore, with a view to a sequential reading of his manuscript, on folio 78r, beneath the last line of text in chapter 38, Murúa added the sentence, "Su retrato al vivo es el que se vee en la figura siguiente" (Her lifelike portrait is the one that can be seen in the following illustration).

The other three detached folios posed more serious problems. How could Murúa indicate what they were to represent in the Getty? He solved the problem in two ways. First, he scrawled the meaning he intended them to have in the new setting of the Getty at the top of each drawing, identifying them as Huascar Inca; Chuquillanto, wife of Huascar Inca; and the coat of arms of the kingdom of

Peru. Second, he annotated the three blank pages in the Getty manuscript to which he intended to have the detached folios pasted. These captions identified the drawings according to what they had represented in the Galvin Murúa: “Mo[do] de caminar los reyes ingas” (Manner in which the Inca kings went forth) (folio 83v), “Modo de caminar las coyas y reynas, mugeres de los ingas” (Manner in which the *coya* and queens, wives of the *inca*, went forth) (folio 88v), and “Armas del reyno del Piru” (Arms of the kingdom of Peru) (folio 306v).

The two “modo de caminar” captions do not relate to anything in the text of the Getty manuscript, so Murúa’s intention must have been that the recto of each of the four detached folios, that is, the side with the now decontextualized text, should be pasted directly onto the blank page in the Getty, which would have obscured the caption on the blank and created a perfect frontispiece structure, that is, an opening of the manuscript with the picture on the left, the prose text on the right. Clearly, something went wrong. In all four cases, the detached folio was instead inserted as a new folio, with the illustration appearing as its recto, so that a blank eventually had to be pasted over the canceled text on its verso. As a result, the images do not face the chapters they were meant to face, the confusing “modo de caminar” captions are not obscured, and the subsequent chapters face blanks, rather than illustrations. The final undesirable consequence was that in two instances, the Galvin texts were canceled with strokes that blotted onto the initial page of the next chapter in the Getty manuscript. Thus, after blanks were pasted over the canceled texts, the traces of ink transferred to folios 85r and 90r came to look very much like cancellations of these chapters.

In sum, it is clear that Murúa was not responsible for the secondary ancient foliation of the migrated Galvin folios, numbered as separate folios, not as pasted-on versos. We suggest that they were tipped in and foliated while the manuscript was in the midst of being examined and approved by officials in Madrid. Perhaps a bureaucrat’s hand made hasty work of securing the loose drawings while the king’s notary rubricated the manuscript, after which the author was no longer free to modify his text. This approach to the Getty manuscript in its later phases is corroborated by the fact that Murúa left unresolved other small problems created by his tardy insertion of two unnumbered chapters, problems that were left to be addressed and resolved by the prospective printer.

8. The Getty Manuscript: The Metamorphoses of Quire 4

The first part of the Getty manuscript’s quire 4 is highly irregular and has been the object of much manipulation. In brief, it is introduced by four stubs, folio 20 is an added singleton, the folios detached from stubs 4 and 5 have been moved in the quire (folios 19, 21), and folios 16 and 17 are an added bifolium. Additionally, a group of folios has been moved twice and is currently bound in an erroneous sequence.

Four folios of the first half of quire 4 have remained unaffected by all the reshufflings (folios 18, 22–24). The first two contain only prose texts—chapters 2 and 3 of book 1, respectively. In contrast, two excised and moved folios contain drawings, folio 19 on one side only and folio 21 on both sides, with the text on the one side of folio 19 first being canceled and then obscured by a pasted-on blank (folio 19bis); the contents of the first three folios, before chapter 1, are unknown, as those folios are now represented by stubs, unless (possibly) recycled as one or two of the singletons of quires 1 through 3. The fact that both folios 19 and 21 were redefined as strictly iconographic units or elements provides the key to the logic of their first migration within quire 4.

The added folio 20 containing the unnumbered chapter has some unique features.⁹⁶ It was calligraphed on a sheet of Murúa’s initial paper stock by Getty Scribe 2, who took over from Getty Scribe 1 on folio 191v. Moreover, it was clearly conceived as a direct continuation of another chapter, as it opens by referring explicitly to the end of chapter 3: “Introducido pues el gran Mango Capac en el señorío” (After Manco Capac had installed himself in power).

The problem that we encounter in quire 4 is as follows: In the first part of book 1, drawings were executed on the blank chapter separators through chapter 32 (folio 64r). Murúa had in many cases added, up to and including chapter 18 (folio 38r), notes that make explicit the relationship between a particular chapter and its drawing. This practice was necessitated by the fact that the drawing related to a chapter was sometimes found not in front of its chapter but after it, that is, in front of the subsequent chapter. Insofar as folios 19 through 21 are concerned, the relationship between the unnumbered chapter on folio 20 and the images on folio 21 was made explicit by a note on the chapter’s verso: “La coronación de Cinchiroca y la effigie y rostro al natural de Mango Capac se verá en las dos figuras

siguientes y las armas primeras que puso y de que usó siendo el primero de los ingas” (The investiture of Sinchi Roca and the form and lifelike face of Manco Capac will be seen in the following two illustrations, along with the first coat of arms, which he [Manco Capac] devised and used, being the first of the Inca kings). This reference matches the two illustrations on folio 21, and it shows that the current sequence of folios 20 and 21 accords with Murúa’s intention. In contrast, the notation on folio 22v is not currently followed by the appropriate folio: “La salida de los hermanos de la cueba y la inbención de Manco Capac de hacerse adorar con la traza de las planchas de plata se verá en la figura siguiente” (The brothers’ departure from the cave and Manco Capac’s invention of the device of [wearing] sheets of silver [so as] to have himself adored [as the son of the sun] is shown in the following illustration). This note obviously refers to folio 19r, not to folio 23r, which is the portrait of Mama Huaco, Manco Capac’s sister and queen.

How is this to be explained? On the one hand, Murúa expanded the narrative of Manco Capac (folio 20); on the other, he (later) restructured the sequence of the drawings of Getty Artist 1 that illustrated it (folios 19, 21). The identifying notes and the ancient foliation, though fragmentary, make it possible to reconstruct both the original version and the reelaborated version. The current sequence of folios in quire 4 turns out to be a hybrid of these two versions, and it therefore offers contradictions.

The first version, before the addition of the unnumbered chapter, and before the migration of folios 19 and 21, consisted of the following:

Modern foliation	Ancient foliation	Side	Content	Scribe
19	[3]	recto	Text: Title of book 1 and chapter 1: The pre-Inca Andes	Getty Scribe 1
		verso	Drawing: Myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac	
18	4 (foliation partly visible)	recto	Text: Chapter 2: The origin of the Inca; myths of Manco Capac	Getty Scribe 1
		verso	Text: Chapter 2 (end)	Getty Scribe 1
21	[5]	recto	Drawing: Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac	
		verso	Drawing: Portrait of Manco Capac	
22	6 (foliation visible)	recto	Text: Chapter 3: Manco Capac, the first <i>inca</i>	Getty Scribe 1
		verso	Text: Chapter 3 (end)	Getty Scribe 1

At this stage, illustrations and text appear in an order that is basically self-evident and in keeping with the following chapters.

The second version consists of the addition of the unnumbered chapter and the migration of folios 19 and 21. It resulted in the following sequence of folios:

Modern foliation	Ancient foliation	Side	Content	Scribe
18	4 (foliation partly visible)	recto	Text: Chapter 2: The origin of the Inca; myths of Manco Capac	Getty Scribe 1
		verso	Text: Chapter 2 (end)	Getty Scribe 1
22	6 (foliation visible)	recto	Text: Chapter 3: Manco Capac, the first <i>inca</i>	Getty Scribe 1
		verso	Text: Chapter 3 (end)	Getty Scribe 1
19	[3]	recto	Drawing: Myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac (formerly the verso)	
		verso	Text: Title of book 1 and chapter 1: The pre-Inca Andes (formerly the recto)	Getty Scribe 1
20	None (added folio)	recto	Text: Unnumbered chapter: Manco Capac, the lawgiver	Getty Scribe 2
		verso	Text: Unnumbered chapter (end)	Getty Scribe 2
21	[5]	recto	Drawing: Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac	
		verso	Drawing: Portrait of Manco Capac	

Folios 19 and 21 have here been excised and joined with folio 20, one before, and one after. Folio 19 has been flipped, so that the drawing of the myths of Manco Capac, originally on a verso, facing chapter 2, is now a recto and faces the end of chapter 3, which in fact contains the myths of the Ayar brothers and sisters and of Manco Capac’s seizure of power by representing himself as the son of the sun. And

the illustration on folio 21r—Sinchi Roca’s investiture by his father Manco Capac—corresponds to the unnumbered chapter’s presentation of Manco Capac as lawgiver and founder of the Inca dynasty.

The migration of two excised folios, one of which contained the first chapter of the book, necessitated a number of repair operations, as shown in the following table:

Modern foliation	Ancient foliation	Secondary ancient foliation	Side	Content	Scribe
16	None		recto	Text: Title of book 1 and chapter 1: The pre-Inca Andes	Murúa
			verso	Text: Chapter 1 (end)	Murúa
17	None		recto	Blank	
			verso	Blank	
18	4 (foliation visible)		recto	Text: Chapter 2: The origin of the Inca; myths of Manco Capac	Getty Scribe 1
			verso	Text: Chapter 2 (end)	Getty Scribe 1
22	6 (foliation visible)		recto	Text: Chapter 3: Manco Capac, the first <i>inca</i>	Getty Scribe 1
			verso	Text: Chapter 3 (end)	Getty Scribe 1
19	[3]	7	recto	Drawing: Myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac (originally the verso)	
			verso	Text: Title of book 1 and chapter 1: The pre-Inca Andes (originally the recto)	Getty Scribe 1
19bis			recto	Blank (pasted over preceding folio)	
			verso	Blank	
20	None	8	recto	Text: Unnumbered chapter: Manco Capac, the lawgiver	Getty Scribe 2
			verso	Text: Unnumbered chapter (end)	Getty Scribe 2
21	[5]	9	recto	Drawing: Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac	
			verso	Drawing: Portrait of Manco Capac	

Most important, one would say, was to reestablish a chapter 1. To this end, Murúa inserted a bifolium (folios 16, 17), and copied onto it the text of chapter 1 that previously had been calligraphed by Getty Scribe 1 on folio 19v, which was at that time ancient folio 3r. When that was done, the text on folio 19v was useless and disturbing. It was crossed out and eventually obscured by a pasted blank folio (now soaked off).

Next, Murúa must have found it necessary to make explicit the new relations he had established between drawings and texts. Hence, he added a note on folio 22v linking chapter 3 to the following drawing (Myths of the Ayar brothers and of Manco Capac), and preventing that drawing from being considered as a frontispiece to the next chapter, the unnumbered one. This new chapter introduced Manco Capac as not only a ruthless adventurer but also a wise lawgiver and the founder of the Inca dynasty, and Murúa likewise added a note at the end of the text, explicitly linking it to the following illustrations (Investiture of Sinchi Roca, portrait of Manco Capac).

Eventually, the three loose folios were tipped to one another and fastened in their new setting, and the secondary ancient foliation was applied. In the ancient foliation, ancient folios 3 and 5 (modern folios 19, 21) had been placed after ancient folio 6 (modern folio 22), with an unfoliated and unnumbered chapter (modern folio 20) between ancient folios 3 and 5. (Ancient folio 3, now flipped, was presumably foliated on the verso, but the number has not survived.) We have shown previously how extra folios were incorporated into the ancient foliation scheme. The three folios inserted between ancient folios 6 and 7 were accordingly refoliated, in continuation of ancient folio 6, with secondary ancient foliations of <7>, <8>, and <9>.

It is remarkable that Murúa did not fix the numbering problem of the unnumbered chapter itself, either by converting the separate chapter into a continuation of chapter 3 or indicating explicitly that his intention was that the printer should number it as chapter 4 and raise by one the numbers of the following ninety chapters. This also happened with the unnumbered chapter in book 3.

Why were folios 19 and 21 cut away and moved? Like folio 20, which contains the additional and unnumbered chapter of book 1, folios 19 and 21 pertain to the presentation of Manco Capac, founder of the Inca dynasty. But in contrast to folio 20, which is in the hand of Getty Scribe 2 and hence was composed and inscribed while Murúa was still in Peru, and which we imagine was originally just loosely tucked into the manuscript at its obviously correct place between chapter 3 and

chapter 4, the migration of folios 19 and 21 occurred, as we have claimed, after Murúa returned to Spain, because a derived phenomenon, the copy of chapter 1 on folios 16 and 17, appears on the same type of paper (PG watermark) as that used by Remón on folio 8. As argued by Adorno in her essay in this volume, this means that moving folios 19 and 21 was part of the ultimate editing of Murúa's history of Peru. This is confirmed by the secondary ancient foliation applied to folios 19 through 21, which we have seen used in connection with the erroneous fastening of the four Galvin folios, contrary to what must have been Murúa's intention and therefore done neither by him nor under his direct supervision.

The migration of folios 19 and 21 can be described as a process by which drawings that were meant to be frontispieces became recapitulating illustrations. The drawing on folio 19r depicts the emergence of the eight siblings from the cave at Pacaritambo (the four brothers' heads are visible at the left); the subsequent conference of the brothers, with Manco Capac, holding the staff of authority as the eldest brother, standing nearly knee-deep in water because of heavy rain and flooding; the exile of the impetuous brother Ayarauca (who wears a pink tunic) back to Pacaritambo; consultation of Ayarauca after his transformation into the stone mount Huanacauri, a *huaca* (sacred site); and, finally, the adoration of Manco Capac, who stands atop Huanacauri wearing a silver breastplate and a diadem.⁹⁷ These myths are told by Murúa in chapters 2 and 3, although the drawing originally was made as a frontispiece only to chapter 2. By moving folio 19 so that the drawing faces the end of chapter 3, all the elements of the drawing are known by the time the reader reaches it.

In a similar fashion, the recto of folio 21 (which, uniquely in the Getty, has drawings on both sides) depicts the investiture of Sinchi Roca by his father, which is a key event in Murúa's account of Manco Capac's biography. Instead of being displayed long before the event is mentioned, the investiture of Sinchi Roca (folio 21r) was moved so that it faced the verso on which the event is described (folio 20v). As for the annexed ruler-portrait of Manco Capac (folio 21v), it had not at the outset preceded his biography, as one would have expected, but it now completed it, and it came to face the portrait of his sister and queen, Mama Huaco (folio 23r).

In the case of the Galvin manuscript, the artist was given free rein, and there seems not to have been close contact between artist and author (see section 3). In the Getty, the artist's assignment may also have been stated in very general terms, and Murúa may not have realized that for the frontispieces of the first chapters some coordinated planning was required if he was not to be disappointed by the artist's choices.

The restructured version of Murúa's account of Manco Capac is not what confronts us in the Getty manuscript, however. Compared to the neat sequence of chapters and drawings described above, the first half of quire 4 gives the impression of being a chaotic assemblage of fragments from a variety of sources.⁹⁸ However, a simple transposition of folios 19 through 21, taken as a unit, reestablishes the correct sequence of folios as envisioned by Murúa. Folios 19 through 21, which are bound today between ancient folio 4 (modern folio 18, containing chapter 2) and ancient folio 6 (modern folio 22, containing chapter 3), need to be moved only one folio forward, that is, beyond folio 6 (modern folio 22), and order is reestablished.

It is probable that folios 19 through 21 were tipped to one another and formed a unit in the sequence they still have today but that this unit was not itself securely fastened to the remaining structure of quire 4. The unit became loose, allowing for error during subsequent binding if the question arose as to whether the unit, being devoid of any chapter numbering, was in its correct location. The unusual technique of interpolation of extra numbers into the foliation sequence, resulting in two adjacent rows of the numbers 7-8-9, could well (although it was correct) be misunderstood as an indication that quire 4 was in need of being reorganized. The sequence 7-8-9-6-7-8-9 (the current binding arrangement: modern folios 19-25) could well be understood to be as correct as 6-7-8-9-7-8-9 (Murúa's rearrangement: modern folios 22, 19-21, 23-25). That is, Murúa's order could be ascertained only by reading the text itself and realizing that the unnumbered chapter was a continuation of chapter 3 and that it should follow ancient folio 6.

One remarkable piece of codicological evidence might have contributed to the modern placement of folios 19 through 21, as a unit, before ancient folio 6 rather than after it, as Murúa had done. In its current erroneous position, folio 21 has returned to its own stub, that is, folio 21 was originally the detached ancient folio 5, as evidenced by the distinctive zigzag edge of the excised folio and its

stub. A binder may have seen this and been prompted to insert the group of four folios (folios 19, 19bis, 20, 21) permanently in its present location.

The misplacement of folios 19 through 21, and the subsequent modern misbinding, have contributed to the impression that Murúa left his work in a much less complete state than he actually did, and it would be a pity if this impression were perpetuated. Ballesteros, who was the first and, to date, the only editor of the Getty version of Murúa's history, could not overlook the explicit link between folio 22v (chapter 3) and folio 19r (Adoration of Manco Capac and myths of the Ayar brothers), and in his two editions, he moved folio 19 (with folio 19bis) back to the place where Murúa had put it, that is, after folio 22 (ancient folio 6). So the image of the adoration of Manco Capac in Ballesteros's editions does follow chapter 3. However, having access only to photostats of the manuscript (he saw the original only briefly), Ballesteros could not infer that folios 19 through 21 formed a stable codicological element in their own right, and he therefore did not also move the two last folios of this unit (folios 20, 21) to the locations ultimately assigned to them by Murúa or Remón, that is, before folio 23. In Ballesteros's editions, therefore, the sequence of the two chapters on Manco Capac is still reversed, that is, the unnumbered chapter (folio 20), which was meant to follow chapter 3, stands out of context, between chapter 2 and chapter 3. Insofar as quire 4 is concerned, the Getty manuscript as it is bound is a hybrid of Murúa's two versions of his Manco Capac saga, and Ballesteros's editions offer a variant of this hybrid version.

9. The Getty Manuscript and the Reconstruction of the Galvin Murúa

No physical trace of the Cuzco version of Murúa's work or of X exists. Like so many other authors, Murúa seems to have discarded earlier versions of his work once they had become outdated. If this is true, why has the Galvin manuscript survived? As mentioned, in 1946, in the introduction to his edition of the Galvin Murúa (which he knew only in the Loyola copy), Bayle declared that it was a self-contradictory manuscript. In our view, the Galvin manuscript, when taken by itself, is indeed perplexing, but when seen in conjunction with the Getty Murúa (unavailable to Bayle in any form), its survival makes considerable sense.

Murúa's reconstruction of the Galvin manuscript was a demanding task, which involved inserting replacement folios, copying more than a score of text pages, pasting illustrations onto new folios, and so on. Hence the question of why it has survived can be reformulated as why was it reconstructed. Murúa must have reconstructed the Galvin because he needed it in its original form. We suggest that Murúa attempted to recycle the Galvin's drawings within his new manuscript but soon gave up that idea and instead reconstructed the Galvin in order to save its still-valuable elements, the illustrations. In spite of the work invested in reassembling the body of the text as completely as possible, Murúa's interest in the Galvin did not reside primarily in its prose exposition, since it was largely superseded. However, if Murúa's main concern was the reuse of the drawings of Galvin Artist 1 and Guaman Poma, why did he not cut them all out and assign them to folios in the Getty, or at least preserve them in a more practical way than within the outdated Galvin manuscript?

The answer to the question as to why the Galvin was reconstructed and is extant lies in the manuscript's very structure: the alternating pictorial and textual pages. As had been planned, and in many cases eventually happened, almost any spread in the Galvin manuscript would consist of a drawing on the left and a related prose text, or chapter, on the right.⁹⁹ Consequently, the textual recto and the pictorial verso of a single folio bore no relation to each other, pertaining, as they did, to different chapters. When a folio was detached from the Galvin manuscript, both the detached drawing and the previous drawing lost contact with their respective prose texts. Thus, if the Galvin's drawings were all physically removed and then reassigned piecemeal, the crucial information identifying the drawing would be lost.

This line of thought is supported by a consideration of the four folios that actually migrated to the Getty manuscript. It could be more than a coincidence that the removal of these four folios had little or no effect on the ability to identify other drawings in the Galvin manuscript through their accompanying texts. The reverse of the Getty's portrait of Huascar contains the title page of the Galvin's book 3 but nothing that would be helpful in identifying a previous drawing (see figs. 15, 16). The reverse of the Getty's portrait of Chuquillanto (folio 89) is filled with chapter 9 of book 3 of the Galvin manuscript, but a frontispiece for that chapter had never been created, because Murúa had

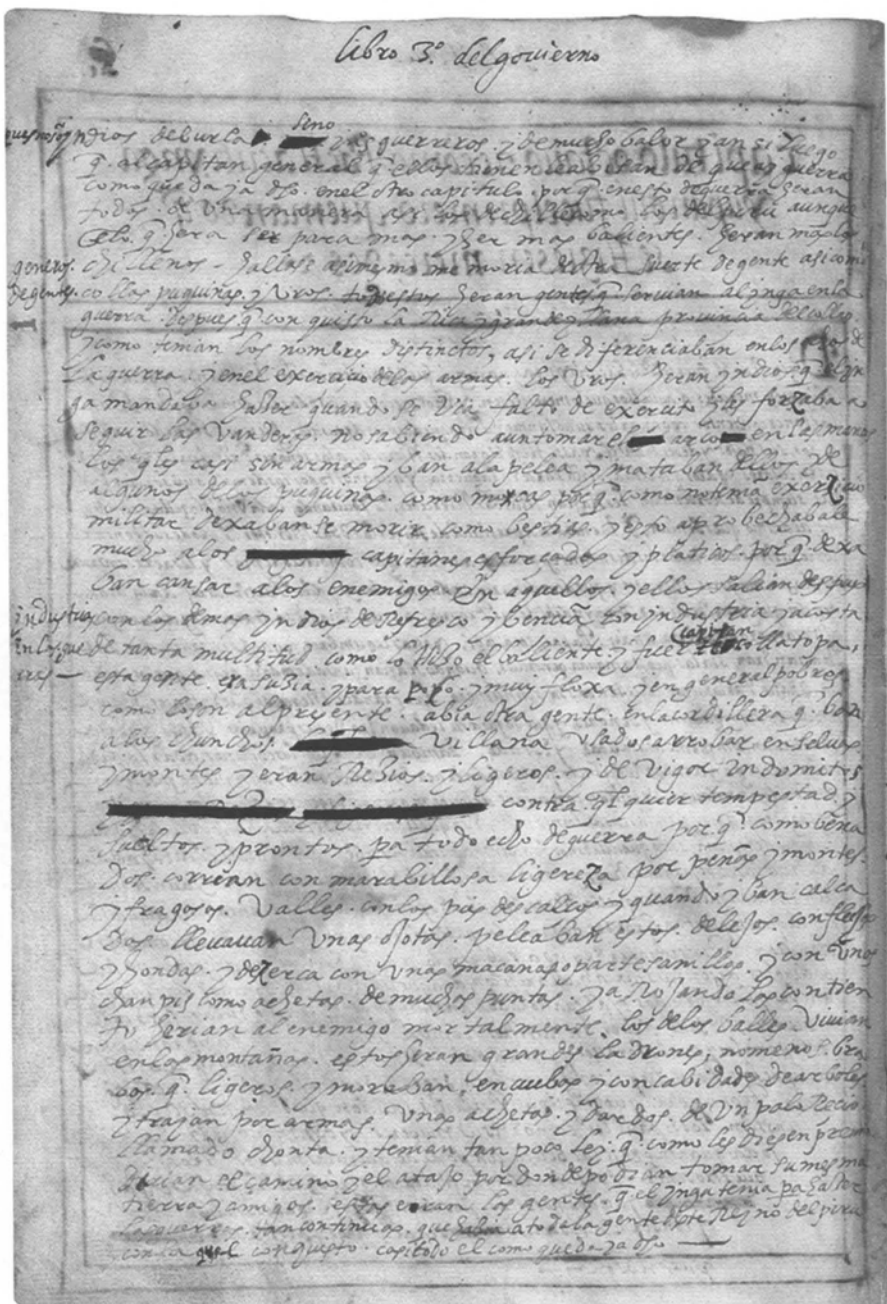


FIG. 18. Additions by Murúa to chapter 8 of book 3 that prevented Guaman Poma from drawing a frontispiece for chapter 9. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 60v. Private collection

filled the page where it could have been situated with additional text pertaining to chapter 8 of book 3 (fig. 18). The Getty's coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru (folio 307r) has on its reverse the letter of recommendation from the native lords of Cuzco and an updated version of the title of Murúa's work. Thus, the only chapter text removed from the Galvin manuscript along with an illustration that migrated to the Getty manuscript appeared on the reverse of the portrait of Rahua Ocllo, the eleventh Inca queen (folio 79). This chapter, however, was devoted to the tenth Inca queen, Mama Ocllo, of which a portrait and a biography already existed in the Getty manuscript.

Though the phases and mechanics of Murúa's work can thus be elucidated, questions remain: Why was the Galvin manuscript's "real" portrait of Huascar (folio 20v) not recycled in the Getty? What happened to the other half of the bifolium containing both the portrait of Rahua Ocllo (Galvin folio 32v; Getty folio 79r) and the "real" portrait of her successor Chuquillanto, the lost folio 33 of the Galvin?¹⁰⁰

Although Murúa had written captions on many of Guaman Poma's drawings, indicating the topic illustrated or the image's main actors, these captions related directly to textual passages. Since he had given his artists at least some autonomy (see, for example, Guaman Poma's reference to his forebears in the coat of arms of Peru on Getty folio 307r), Murúa himself would have needed to

consult the text in the Galvin to understand correctly the drawings made by his two artists. Faced with the difficulty of achieving a complete integration of the Galvin's drawings into the Getty, Murúa decided that the drawings could just as well stay in the Galvin, where they could independently provide visual information for the prospective artist fashioning the printed illustrations, but only if the drawings were explained, that is, only if the related prose texts of the Galvin were available to identify them. In this line of thought, the Galvin manuscript was reconstructed not for its own sake but for the sake of the Getty: it could serve as an album of drawings that could provide graphic information useful in preparing illustrations of the pictorial subjects for a printed version of the (now officially approved) *Historia general*. The Galvin's elaborate illustration program provided sufficient reason to restore and preserve the Galvin manuscript, in spite of losses, as intact as possible.

If it is granted that Murúa carried both manuscripts on his return to Spain, there were occasions, while he was seeking endorsements of his history of Inca Peru,¹⁰¹ when it would be useful for Murúa to have more than one version of his work at hand. When Murúa showed his work to ecclesiastical and civil officials in South America, seeking their approval for it, his credentials and his credibility rested on whatever he could place before them. The Galvin manuscript allowed the Mercedarian to present not just a single manuscript but a body of work realized over decades. The restored Galvin manuscript provided strong evidence of such an effort. Even more than providing models for the royal portraits (the desire to preserve them would not have justified the laborious recopying of abandoned texts onto replacement folios), restoring the partially dismantled Galvin manuscript gave Murúa an additional witness to his scholarly vocation.

10. Murúa's Workroom

Metaphorically speaking, the Galvin and Getty manuscripts were produced in one atelier: Murúa's own workroom. It is no wonder, then, that we can use the Galvin to explain the Getty, and the Getty to understand the Galvin, as we have done. In the process, as our understanding of the empirical evidence expands and is consolidated, many tantalizing questions find new and, we believe, more convincing answers than those previously offered.

It has become commonplace to explain Murúa's extensive knowledge of Peruvian realia by referring to Guaman Poma as his "informant" or "collaborator," if not coauthor or ghostwriter, and by postulating the existence of an indigenous, family-run atelier working for Murúa under Guaman Poma's supervision. The rediscovered original of the Galvin manuscript has been offered as a confirmation of this theory, according to which the Galvin is a work inspired by and heavily indebted to Guaman Poma. However, this theory, fostered by Bayle and Ballesteros on slim evidence, has been challenged by John Howland Rowe, Ramiro Condarco Morales, and John V. Murra, in their studies of the commonalities between Murúa's history and Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, beginning, as pointed out by Murra, in 1958, when Rowe published his study of the similarities between Murúa's and Guaman Poma's works with regard to the age-grades of Andean society.¹⁰²

In 1967, Condarco Morales surveyed the texts by Murúa and Guaman Poma and demonstrated their striking similarities.¹⁰³ He suggested that Guaman Poma followed Murúa's works. He did not discuss the differences between (Ballesteros's edition of) the Getty and (Bayle's edition of the Loyola copy of) the Galvin but looked more closely at the works as a whole, with rather more emphasis on the Galvin. In contrast to Ballesteros (and later Ossio), Condarco Morales did not utilize the pictorial evidence in any of the three works. The proofs he gave were, first, an overview of the partial similarity between the topics and sequential arrangement of the chapters of the works and, second, a textual comparison by which he demonstrated that Guaman Poma followed the order of the passages he copied (or remembered) from Murúa as Murúa had originally laid them out. Condarco Morales showed that even though Guaman Poma added new materials or skipped some of Murúa's entries, the Andean chronicler followed the Mercedarian's basic plan. In addition, Condarco Morales, and later Murra, was struck by the two authors' common, unusual treatment of the *aclla*: they were unique in listing six kinds of these "women kept in Inca administrative centers who performed primarily weaving duties for the state."¹⁰⁴

The publication of the Galvin facsimile, which shows that Guaman Poma's involvement in the making of the Galvin manuscript was late and limited, allows us to focus our attention on the textual evidence in combination with the pictorial and to explain Murúa through Murúa. Although the Galvin and Getty manuscripts were separated by time and content, they are partly symbiotic.¹⁰⁵

Murúa was not always alone in his workroom. He hired helpers. Two successive scribes prepared the Galvin manuscript, one making it and another helping to repair it later on, and two scribes, also working successively, produced the Getty manuscript. Two artists, one of them Guaman Poma, drew and painted the images in the Galvin manuscript, while at least one other artist,¹⁰⁶ it seems, illustrated the Getty Murúa, with four of the Galvin's drawings, three of them by Guaman Poma, imported into it later. Among these artists, Guaman Poma's work stands out for his skill in creating expressive and dynamic images and for his distinctive use of line. The available evidence shows that Guaman Poma became involved in the making of the Galvin only as an illustrator, and only very late, shortly before 1600. The lack of coordination between Murúa and Guaman Poma, evidenced by the independence of the successive "layers" of the elaboration of the Galvin manuscript, disproves any close contact between them in the late 1580s or early 1590s. Thus, the Galvin manuscript became the point of departure for two independent developments, or works, one executed by Guaman Poma, the other by Murúa (see fig. 2).

From Guaman Poma's own words, we know that when he became an author, after 1600,¹⁰⁷ he was highly critical of a work by Murúa that he had recently illustrated. Guaman Poma was prompted to write his own account against what he understood to be Murúa's limited perspective, which he had encountered in the Galvin manuscript. Guaman Poma extended Andean history back in time to the era predating the Inca, and he also elaborated a long and highly critical survey of colonial society such as no other chronicler of his time produced. Guaman Poma's artistic repertoire, which was displayed in his own work in the creation of nearly four hundred drawings, drew upon the formative experience he had gained while working for Murúa, but it also developed in new directions to reveal a strong polemical and satirical bent that was directed against the abuses perpetrated under colonial rule.

During this time, Murúa further developed his own work, transforming it from a history of the Inca alone into a history of Peru that included the eras of early Spanish as well as Inca rule, encompassing them both in a single, continuous narrative. As Murúa prepared the definitive version of his work, he elaborated previously discussed topics and added new ones, consolidated the material of short chapters into longer ones, and provided the transitions that guided the reader from one topic to another, thus rounding the exposition in the Getty Murúa into an amenable whole.

Although the evidence suggests that they worked independently after 1600, the efforts of Murúa and Guaman Poma can never be separated, and their talents, individually and together, produced three distinctive testimonies to the interaction between missionary author and indigenous artist-cum-author in early colonial Peru. Murúa's Galvin manuscript bears witness to the role that Guaman Poma played in a late stage of its development, and the Getty manuscript reveals not only Murúa's vigorous elaboration and expansion of his own materials but also the Andean artist's absence. Finally, the two Murúa manuscripts, including Guaman Poma's intervention, speak eloquently to each other, and it is only the study of the Galvin that has made possible a complex understanding of the Getty, that is, of the making of Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*.

Notes

1. This essay draws on our several years (since 2001) of joint investigation, carried out in Los Angeles and Copenhagen, of the manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa and the autograph manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and our interest in understanding the relationships among them. We develop here findings published in Adorno and Boserup, *New Studies*; Boserup, "Quelques observations"; Adorno, "Estudiosos y censores"; Adorno, "La censura"; and especially Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma." This last is also posted, along with its Spanish translation, on the Guaman Poma Web site hosted by Denmark's Det Kongelige Bibliotek at <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/docs/index.htm>. Renewed examination of the Getty Murúa in 2007 has allowed us to refine our opinions on issues involving binding, paleography, watermarks, foliation systems, and the role played by the chronicler of the Mercedarian Order in Madrid, Fray Alonso Remón, during the last phases of the early history of the Getty manuscript.

2. Both manuscripts of Murúa's work are *original*—that is, elaborated by or under the supervision of the author—but only

partly *autograph*. The manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno* (1615), to which we also make reference, is, throughout, both *original* and *autograph*.

3. Previous denominations of the Galvin manuscript include "the Poyanne manuscript" (or P), "the exiled manuscript," and "the Irish manuscript." The Getty manuscript has previously been known as "the Wellington manuscript" and "the Salamanca manuscript" (or S).

4. Venegas, *Noticia*, part 1, chap. 5, p. 69. Venegas's work was published in Madrid in 1757. We thank Juan M. Ossio for this observation, presented in his article "Polemizando." Venegas described Murúa's manuscript as being an "Original con muchos dibuxos de los Emperadores Incas, y otras antiguedades del Perú" (Original with many drawings of the Inca emperors, and other antiquities of Peru) and noted that it had been "alabado de" (praised by) the seventeenth-century Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio.

5. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 129–36, examine these editions, prepared and published by Manuel González

de la Rosa (1911), Horacio H. Urteaga (1922–25), Francisco A. Loayza and Raúl Porras Barrenechea (1946), and Constantino Bayle (1946).

6. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 16.

7. Murúa, *Códice Murúa*, which comprises the facsimile plus a volume that includes an introduction to (pp. 7–72) and a transcription of (pp. 73–258) the Galvin Murúa by Ossio; this volume is cited herein as Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*.

8. The transcription was produced by Ossio using digital photographs of the Galvin manuscript compared with a scan of the Bayle edition; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 7, 62–63. For an appraisal of the transcription, see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 110 n. 6.

9. We have recently demonstrated that Muñoz did not make a copy of the Getty manuscript, as asserted by Jiménez de la Espada in 1879 and afterward repeated, without substantiation, by all subsequent scholars to the present day; see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 116–20.

10. For the history of the Getty manuscript from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 113–21.

11. Bayle, “Introducción,” 36–37.

12. In Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 239 (appendix 4), we show that only 16 of the total number of 152 inscribed folios of the Galvin manuscript have been lost (note that the prose text contained on one of them, primary folio 42, was recopied and is extant in the Galvin manuscript). In other words, 90 percent of the Galvin Murúa has been preserved to this day.

13. See Adorno, this volume, 98–100.

14. See Adorno, this volume, 95, 97, 98. The original documents concerning the permission to print are sewn into the Getty Murúa’s present binding as folios 8–11. Long misunderstood to be the manuscript’s copyist, and occasionally misidentified as “Gaspar Núñez de León,” this court official had the distinction of participating in the licensing in September 1616 of Miguel de Cervantes’s last published work, *Los trabajos de Persiles, y Sigismunda, historia setentrional* (Madrid: por Iuan de la Cuesta, 1617).

15. On the difficulties in finding financial support for the publication of the manuscript, see Adorno, this volume, 118–21.

16. In section 1 of this essay and in Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 175–78, we explain why we postulate the existence of such a manuscript.

17. On the basis of a copy of the Loyola copy that he received from Manuel González de la Rosa, Sir Clements Markham translated and published the Acoitapra tale under the title “Fiction or Story of a Famous Shepherd Named Acoya-Napa, and the Beautiful and Discreet Princess, Chuqui-Llantu, Daughter of the Sun” in “Appendix E: Inca Folklore” of Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, 408–14.

18. The letter of approbation by the native lords of Cuzco refers to these traditional practices as “curiosidades” (curious things); see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 307v; and fig. 3 of this essay.

19. J. Rowe, “Age-Grades,” 511; and J. Rowe, “Martín de Murúa’s Manuscripts,” 4.

20. J. Rowe, “Martín de Murúa’s Manuscripts,” 2.

21. J. Rowe, “Martín de Murúa’s Manuscripts,” 4.

22. John Rowe distinguished two hands (in addition to Guaman Poma’s, which he did not identify) in the Galvin manuscript: a “less cursive” hand (letter of recommendation and main text), and a “more cursive” hand (title on Getty folio 307v and textual additions on drawings, particularly Getty folio 84v = Galvin folio 52r); see J. Rowe, “Martín de Murúa’s Manuscripts,” 3–4. See Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 162–65, for a summary of hands in the Galvin and Getty manuscripts.

23. This letter of recommendation for Murúa’s work is transcribed in Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 19 n. 3; it anticipates the same practice in the Getty manuscript, although the latter’s numerous recommending documents were penned by ecclesiastical authorities and civil officials in Ilabaya, La Paz, La Plata, Potosí, Córdoba de Tucumán, and Buenos Aires, prior to official Mercedarian and royal approvals in Madrid. See appendix 2 of this essay; and Adorno, this volume, 116–18.

24. The current title page of the Galvin manuscript is a copy, in Murúa’s hand, on a replacement folio, of the original title page, which is no longer extant. On the Galvin’s replacement folios, see section 3 of this essay.

25. For example, some twenty-five years earlier, on 29 February 1572, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa’s history of the Inca was approved by the authorities of the *ayllu* (extended family groups) of the descendants of the *inca*. A pictorial version of Sarmiento’s history and, later, a text-only version were authenticated by descent group members in two separate public ceremonies. See Julien, “History,” 61; and Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Segunda parte*, 130–34.

26. The supposition that the native lords’ letter was apocryphal has been the centerpiece of a scenario in which Guaman Poma acted as the head of a family-run artisanal workshop where Murúa had drafts of his work copied and illustrated and Guaman Poma acted as his informant and collaborator; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 18–19, 40, 49, 52, 54, 60. Against these speculations, see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 212–14.

27. See Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 18–19: “Una carta que . . . debió derivarse de la mano de Guaman Poma o de otro indígena que fue cercano al cronista indio. . . . En realidad se trata de un borrador de carta modelada de acuerdo a otra que aparece en la *Nueva Corónica*” (A letter that . . . must have been written by Guaman Poma or by another Andean close to the Indian chronicler. . . . In fact, it is a rough draft of a letter modeled like another letter that appears in the *Nueva corónica*).

28. Ossio considers that “De los [folios] remanentes, aquel que tiene la carta fechada en 1596 es el único que no guarda mayor correspondencia ni con el contenido del manuscrito Galvin ni el Wellington” (Of the remaining [folios], the one that has the letter dated 1596 is the only one that has no significant relation to the content of either the Galvin or the Getty manuscript); elsewhere, Ossio states that the chronicle recommended in the letter was the Galvin manuscript; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 21, 40.

29. For the successive framing systems in the Galvin manuscript, see section 3 of this essay; and Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 182–83.

30. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 126v:

Viendo la ocaçion en las manos . . . para sacar en linpio el presente libro, no quixे perdonar a mi trabajo ni contentarme con solo la ystoria y gouierno de los yngas, por ser muy fulto, sino hazerlo entero y cumplido poniendo aqui las grandessas y Riquessas deste Reyno del pirú y las exelencias de las ciudad[es] y villas que en él ay de españoles y otros susesos muy admirables, juntamente declarando los nombres propios de cada una, que por ser de yndios no se dexa bien entender.

(Having at hand the occasion . . . to fair copy the present book, I did not want to spare any labor or content myself with only the history and governance of the Inca, thus coming up short, but rather [I endeavored] to make it complete and well rounded, here setting forth the grandeur and riches of this kingdom of Peru and the excellence of its Spanish cities and towns and other admirable things, while at the same time declaring the proper names of each one, which, on account of being Indian names, are not easily understood.)

31. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 307v: “una ystoria de nuestros antepassados los rreyes yngas deste reino de el Pirú, y de su gouierno, con otras muchas curiosidades por relacion que de ello tomo de los viejos antiguos deste dicho reyno y de nosotros” (a history of our ancestors, the Inca kings of this kingdom of Peru, and of their governance, with many other curious things related by the ancient people of this kingdom and by ourselves).

32. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 307v:

Ystoria general e libro del origen y descendencia de los yncas señores deste Reyno obscidental del Pirú

donde se ponen las conquistas que hicieron de diferentes prouinçias y naçiones y guerras çiuiles asta la entrada de los españoles, con su modo de gouernar, condiçion y trato, y la descripçion de las mas prinçipales çiudades y villas destas amplissimas prouinçias.

(The general history and book on the origin and lineage of the Inca lords of this western kingdom of Peru, in which will be set forth the [accounts of their] conquests of different provinces and peoples and the civil wars that were carried out until the arrival of the Spanish, along with the Incas' mode of governance, their qualities, and their conduct, and the description of the most important cities and towns of these very vast provinces.)

33. Guaman Poma's hand is well known. All four parts of the Galvin manuscript, that is, the rectos of the primary text on the original folios plus both sides of the folios carrying the *ficción*, *tabla* (table of contents), and *memoria*, are calligraphed by a single scribe identified as Galvin Scribe 1; see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 162–65.

34. See section 3 of this essay for detailed discussion of the sequence of activities.

35. For this apocryphal letter, see Guaman Poma, *Nueva coronica* (1615), 7.

36. The signatures of these native lords are not included in Galvin Scribe 1's copy, but ample space was left where they could be filled in. This space was eventually used by Murúa for inscribing the new title of his expanded work; see note 32.

37. The lost prologue mentioned Inca recordkeeping with quipus, as evidenced by a reference to it made in a textual addition, written in Murúa's hand, in the Galvin manuscript (book 3, chapter 25, folio 77v). Murúa's addition reproduces verbatim a passage in Fray Jerónimo Román y Zamora's *Republicas del mundo*; see Pärssinen, "Otras fuentes," 48–49. Pärssinen has not observed that the reference following the mention of the quipus is Murúa's own addition to the quoted text: "como queda dicho en el prólogo" (as is said in the prologue); see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 190. Murúa's remark reveals the existence of a prologue that is no longer extant in the reconstructed Galvin manuscript.

38. There is no mention of illustrations in the native lords' letter of recommendation of the Cuzco manuscript; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 307v; and fig. 3 of this essay.

39. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 236–38 (appendix 2). The *ficción* was a logical conclusion to book 3 of the work, since it was an illustration, so to speak, of Inca oral traditions and a fitting complement and conclusion to book 3's accounts of Inca customs, beliefs, and practices.

40. The calligraphed text of the first three books of the Galvin manuscript includes two references to *pinturas*. One, found on folio 28r, in chapter 21 of book 1, refers to a coat of arms of the Inca kings as being on the title page or nearby: "al prinçipio de este libro" (at the beginning of this book). The other reference is found on folio 36r, in chapter 1 of book 2: "una persona vestida de colorado, como pareçe en esta pintura" (a person dressed in red, as appears in this picture). See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 186–87.

41. "Galvin Artist 1" is a placeholder rather than an identification. It refers to the approximately twenty illustrations in the Galvin manuscript that cannot be positively identified as the work of Guaman Poma's hand, as known from the large sample of some five hundred compositions (399 drawings in the *Nueva coronica*, approximately 100 in the Galvin manuscript) of his extant drawings. The illustrations we have assigned to Galvin Artist 1 share many stylistic and iconographic peculiarities but may, in principle, be the work of one or more artists—but not of Guaman Poma.

42. The original folio 143 seems to have been reinstalled on replacement folio 3 during the reconstruction of the Galvin manuscript. Its full-page drawing by Guaman Poma, representing an adoring *acella*, could have served as the frontispiece to the *ficción*; the original folio actually reinstalled on replacement folio 143r was originally folio 155.

43. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 150r.

44. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 73–258.

45. See fig. 1 of this essay. The full sentence appears in the Loyola copy, with the reading "acabado" (and thus in Bayle's edition [p. v]); Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 23, 73, has the reading, respectively, "Hechoso por el mes de mayo de 1590" and "acabose por el mes de mayo del año de 1590."

46. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 236–38 (appendix 2), for a description of the structure of the Galvin manuscript before and after fragmentation and subsequent partial reconstruction.

47. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 142–44, for a discussion of Ossio's hypotheses and their dependency on the speculations of Bayle and particularly Ballesteros, who had no access to the Galvin manuscript itself.

48. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 151 (table 2), which shows the correlation between primary folios and replacement folios and their respective watermarks.

49. Folio 89 of the Getty Murúa bears this watermark; see fig. 13 of this essay; and Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 150–51 (table 2).

50. The Galvin manuscript's folio 126 remained blank until Guaman Poma created a drawing on its recto. The drawing is unfinished (and the page unframed), presumably because Guaman Poma realized that the drawing would not be seen in connection with chapter 72 of book 3, as he had intended. On this exceptional occurrence, see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 197–98.

51. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 247 (pl. 1).

52. The edition of the *Republicas del mundo* dated 1595 consists of three parts, divided into three volumes; *De las republicas de las Indias Occidentales* is found in part 3 and consists of three books. Murúa took material from the first two of the latter's three books; see Román, *Republicas del mundo*, vol. 3, fols. 125r–191v. See Pärssinen, "Otras fuentes"; and Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 190, for a summary of these quotations.

53. We are indebted to our colleague John Charles at Tulane University for this observation.

54. As mentioned in note 2, the manuscript of Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* is autograph. Guaman Poma's numerous captions in the Galvin manuscript are surveyed in Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 241–43 (appendix 6). In the Getty manuscript, Guaman Poma's hand is found on the inserted folios 89r (Chuquillanto; originally Galvin folio 62v) and 307r (coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru; originally verso of a Galvin front-matter folio).

55. The Galvin manuscript contains annotations, in Murúa's hand, that suggest changes later executed in the Getty manuscript. Thus, Rowe has mentioned that the marginal instruction on Getty folio 79v (formerly Galvin folio 32r), "esta descripçion de los Templos a su lugar" (this description of the temples [should be moved] to its appropriate place), was actually implemented in the Getty manuscript. See J. Rowe, "Martín de Murúa's Manuscripts," 3; and J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria," 756.

56. On Galvin folios 37v and 51v, for example, Murúa carefully wrote around the heads and hats of the pictorial subjects created by Guaman Poma.

57. This was shown by Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 18, 50, 191 n. 175.

58. For a detailed analysis of this evolution, see the section on the elements and structure of the Galvin manuscript in Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 144–74.

59. This could happen because all the folios of the first quire had been detached, so that there were no restrictions as to how the replacement bifolia, on which the detached folios of quire 1 were to be pasted, could be articulated. In its present state, as represented by the facsimile published in 2004, the Galvin manuscript consists of 145 folios: two of the four blank folios at the end of the manuscript are lost.

60. Exceptional cases are identified and discussed in Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 200–2.

61. This is supported by the fact that the four Galvin folios inserted in the Getty manuscript have no running heads.

62. Using his most calligraphic handwriting, Murúa himself copied both the last three pages of the final chapter and the eight pages of the table of contents (folios 382v–387r).

63. See Adorno, this volume, 105–13.

64. For analyses of the evolution of the Galvin into the Getty manuscript with regard to the works' contents, see appendix 1 of this essay; and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 29–32.

65. For Murúa's introduction to this topic, see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), folio 203v:

me a paresido no ser fuera de la historia, ni ajeno de mi principal yntento, hazer mençion y recuerdo de algunos hijos de los yngas, los quales aunque no les sucedieron en los estados, por auer otros maiores en edad que se les preferían, fueron valerosos y . . . , de los quales los yndios aun el día de oy hazen memoria, contando y refiriendo algunas cosas dignas de sauerse y que ellos entre sí las selebran, con no menor gusto y contento que los de sus Reyes.

(It has seemed to me to be neither irrelevant to this history nor far removed from my principal intention to make mention and give an account of some of the sons of the Inca kings who, although they were not successors to the kingship because of there being other, older brothers who were given preference, were valiant and . . . whom the Indians memorialize to this very day, telling and remarking about matters worthy of being known, and that they commemorate among themselves with no less pleasure and contentment than [when recalling] their kings.)

66. See Adorno, this volume, 101–5.

67. See appendix 2 to this essay; and Adorno, this volume, 113.

68. Focusing on two iconographic aspects of the Inca queens' portraits created by Galvin Artist 1 (crowns and coats of arms), Thomas B. F. Cummins suggests, in his essay in this volume, an explanation that differs from the codicological one we give here for Murúa's abandonment in the Getty manuscript of the Galvin manuscript's separate series of Inca kings, queens, and captains.

69. The J. Paul Getty's information sheet states that the Getty Murúa is so tightly bound that its quire structure cannot be ascertained. Our appendix 2 is based on five separate autoptic examinations of the Getty manuscript that we made between January 2002 and January 2007. It expands and corrects our preliminary survey, published in 2004, in Boserup, "Quelques observations," 92 (table 1).

70. Modern binding operations, however, produced one wrong sewing (quire 15) and the incorrect application of guards around quires (quires 6 through 9).

71. The singleton folio 8 and the conjoint folios 14/15, 16/17, and 329/330 all have the same watermark, characterized by the initials *PG* (see fig. 13), which is unattested elsewhere in the Getty manuscript.

72. This watermark is similar to Briquet, *Les filigranes*, nos. 5688 (Perpignan, 1596), 5690 (Milan, 1600), 5691 (dated 1564), 5692 (Milan, 1600); and to Heawood, *Watermarks*, no. 975 (Madrid 1609). The three watermarks in the manuscript of Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* and the watermark of the Getty Murúa's original bifolia all have in common the Latin cross on a shield but the accompanying letters differ. One watermark in Guaman Poma's work has the letters *GM* below, like the Getty manuscript, but the letter *D* surmounts the shield, rather than an *A*; see Adorno and Boserup, *New Studies*, 133, fig. 3.

73. Among the twenty-one added folios, the paper type of folios 9, 10, and 94 is indeterminable, as they are singletons without a watermark. We conjecture that folios 79bis, 89bis, and 307bis, which are all singletons without a watermark, have the same origin as folios 19bis and 84bis, the two other pasted-on blank folios. The latter bear a watermark consisting of a Latin cross with decorative ends on a shield (cf. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, no. 957 [Valencia, 1618]) with the letters *AA* below and a crown above. A watermark consisting of a Latin cross on a shield with

the letters *PG* below is found on folios 8, 14, 17, and 329. Folio 11 has an elaborate mark consisting of three stacked circles enclosing various letters and motifs, with a Latin cross with decorative ends above and the letter *N* below. The watermark of the original paper used in the Galvin Murúa, Latin cross on a shield with initials *AM*, is in the Getty attested only on folio 89. For a survey of the watermarks in the Getty Murúa, see appendix 2.

74. Four hundred is an approximation, counting quires 1 through 3 as corresponding originally to one regular quire of 16: 16 folios [current quires 1–3] · 352 folios [quires 4–18, 22–28] – 24 folios [quires 19–21] – 8 folios [quire 29, currently 5 folios] 400 folios.

75. In his editions of Murúa's work of 1962–64 and 1986, Ballesteros does not refer to the modern foliation; he transcribed the manuscript on the basis of photostats made in the early 1950s and hence only quoted the ancient foliation.

76. In 1782, Juan Bautista Muñoz saw the Getty manuscript and described it briefly as "un tomo en folio de 367 páginas" (a folio volume of 367 pages), that is, he registered the ancient foliation but confused pages and folios. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 119.

77. In spite of Rowe's clear demonstration (confirmed by von Euw) that only four of the five illustrated folios separated from their obscuring pasted-on blanks at Kraus's direction were imported into the Getty manuscript, both Ossio and Cummins have taken all five as being extraneous to the Getty manuscript; see J. Rowe, "Martín de Murúa's Manuscripts," 3–4; von Euw, "XIII 16 Martín de Murúa," 310; Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 20–21; and Cummins, "La fábula," 25. Examination of the manuscript itself reveals that folio 19 has only been moved *within* the manuscript: it was once folio 3 (ancient foliation) but was cut out, flipped, and now appears as folio 19.

78. Secondary ancient folios 7 (folio 19), 8 (folio 20), 9 (folio 21), 63 (folio 79), 67 (folio 84), 71 (folio 89), 283 (folio 307), 306 (folio 329), and 307 (folio 330).

79. See Adorno, this volume, 98.

80. These four approbations (folios 8–11) culminate in the king's license to print, thus following the sequence typically found in contemporary printed Spanish books, including the front matter in Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles, y Sigismunda* (1617), which was approved by the same court officials in September 1616, a few months after Murúa's manuscript passed successfully through the court's chambers. The current sequence of the Getty's four original documents, as well as that of the recommendation letters fair-copied by Murúa, does not reflect their chronological order; this may be due to the work of the modern binder.

81. See Adorno, this volume, 98.

82. The insertion was made after the addition of the ancient foliation, but since it has no secondary ancient foliation and the manuscript was still unbound when it was inserted (there is a stub between folios 88 and 89), it predates the insertion of Galvin folios into the already bound manuscript as well as the restructuring of quire 4.

83. These excisions are discussed in Adorno, this volume, 113.

84. Folios 2 and 13 carry the *GM* watermark.

85. These instances of filled lacunae are cataloged in Adorno, this volume, 102.

86. In the case of folio 21, both sides were later adorned with a drawing (recto: Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac; verso: Manco Capac).

87. The illustration program of the Getty Murúa is discussed in Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 207–9, based on evidence tabulated there in appendix 7 (pp. 244–45). Ossio makes an important reference to a drawing that Murúa had planned to include but is not found in the Getty manuscript; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 31. Murúa here describes a mestiza woman who after a thirteen-month pregnancy "parió un monstruo de la misma suerte que ba aquí pintado" (gave birth to a monster of the same type that is painted here). See Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 306r; and Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 2:139.

88. This coat of arms of the Inca kings ("Las armas reales de los yngas reyes," Getty folio 13r), whose quadrants are occupied by the royal insignias of the *inca* and described in detail in the

Galvin manuscript on folio 28r, is not to be confused with the coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru (“Las armas del reyno del Pirú,” now Getty folio 307r). The four fields of Getty folio 307r represent the four territorial and symbolic divisions of the Inca empire as devised by Guaman Poma and later used by him on the title page and pages 167, 169, 171, and 173 of his *Nueva coronica* to represent the same four divisions, as well as his own personal coat of arms.

89. Jiménez de la Espada, “Carta,” xxvii–xxviii; see also Dorta, “Las pinturas”; Gisbert, *Iconografía* (1980), 117–18; Cummins, “Representation,” 189–91; and Julien, “History” 62–65.

90. See Adorno, this volume, 103–5.

91. For an explanation of why Murúa did not migrate the Galvin portraits of Huascar (Galvin folio 20v) and Chuquillanto (the Galvin folio is lost), see section 9 of this essay.

92. To be exact, this is the verso of folio “61/62,” since only one new folio replaced the original folios 61 and 62 in the Galvin manuscript.

93. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 21: “Aquel de Huáscar Inca cargado en una litera es cierto que no encaja directamente con ninguno de los capítulos del manuscrito que se reproduce en este facsímile” (Certainly that [drawing] of Huascar being carried in a litter does not fit directly with any of the chapters of the manuscript reproduced in this [the Galvin] facsimile). Because Ossio has conceived the Galvin manuscript as being a draft into which folios of “otros borradores” (other drafts) (which he also calls “manuscritos previos o paralelos” [prior or parallel manuscripts]) were inserted, he assigns the twenty-two pasted-on folios in the Galvin version, as well as the four folios (actually, Ossio posits five, including Getty folio 19) inserted into the Getty manuscript from the Galvin version, not to the Galvin but to those “other” drafts, suggesting that the latter four folios were inserted into the Getty manuscript in cases where there was no space available for them in the Galvin; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 17, 20–22.

94. The recto of this replacement folio (folio 52r) eventually came to contain the title page of book 3. If the original was not available (it migrated to the Getty), the text of the title page could be copied from the Galvin’s table of contents.

95. See Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 170 n. 108, for the demonstration of how Murúa’s textual addition on Galvin folio 51v (still in the Galvin) continues on folio 52r (now Getty folio 84v).

96. With regard to this unnumbered chapter, Julien, *Reading Inca History*, 169, describes as a literary phenomenon within Inca historiography an occurrence (the lack of numbering) that is instead codicological: the chapter is unnumbered because Murúa added it after Getty Scribe 1 had calligraphed nearly half of the book, and he did not want to take up the task of renumbering the following ninety chapters as a result of this insertion. It can also be excluded that the unnumbered chapter in book 3, which deals with the deeds of the Mercedarian Order in Peru, has any relation to a postulated “genre” in Inca historiography consisting in rows of unnumbered sections.

97. Cummins, “La fábula,” 25, has also pointed out that various narrative moments are condensed in this single composition.

98. Scholars have repeatedly assumed, incorrectly, that folio 19 and its drawing derive from a manuscript other than the Getty Murúa, such as the Galvin Murúa or some other unspecified source; see note 77.

99. This principle is invariable for the ruler portraits of book 1. We have seen that Guaman Poma, as illustrator of the Galvin Murúa, sometimes chose to illustrate passages that are written

not on the following recto (facing his drawing) but on that facing folio’s verso. A case in point is that of the image—discussed in section 3 (p. 22) of this essay—that was recycled in the Getty manuscript as the portrait of Huascar (Galvin folio 52v; now Getty folio 84r). Guaman Poma seems to have worked on illustrating the Galvin manuscript quite independently of Murúa’s supervision, and Murúa may not always have found his choice of subject self-evident, given Murúa’s many explanatory annotations on Guaman Poma’s drawings.

100. Was the choice of Guaman Poma’s two “modo de caminar” drawings, instead of Galvin Artist 1’s “real” portraits of Huascar (Galvin folio 20v) and Chuquillanto (Galvin 33v, now lost), due to Murúa’s dissatisfaction with Guaman Poma’s placement, alongside the Inca queens, of the Inca kings’ coats of arms, which did not match the placement followed by the Getty artist? In favor of this explanation, one can adduce that, out of a total of three reinserted “real” portraits of *coya* (two in the Galvin, one in the Getty), in one instance the left half of the folio (with the king’s coat of arms) has been cut away and the portrait has been recentered on the replacement folio. This is found in the presentation of the second *coya*, Sinchi Roca’s queen Chimpo, on Galvin folio 23v. In the other two instances of reinserted *coya* portraits, that of the first *coya*, Mama Huaco, Manco Capac’s queen, on Galvin folio 22v, and the portrait of the eleventh *coya*, Rahua Ocllo, that migrated to folio 79 of the Getty Murúa, the coats of arms drawn by Guaman Poma may have been more closely integrated into the composition (they are close to the attendants of Mama Huaco and Rahua Ocllo’s right arm), so that coats of arms could not be cut away as neatly as in the case of Chimpo. Additionally, in the case of Getty folio 79, its insertion, as argued in section 7, was probably neither executed by Murúa himself nor carried out under his supervision. If the “real” Galvin portrait of Huascar, with a Quechua poem and its Spanish translation, had been imported into the Getty, it would have contrasted significantly with the portraits of the previous eleven Inca kings. This, too, may have contributed to Murúa’s decision to recycle a completely different “pair,” that is, the “modo de caminar” drawings, as portraits of Huascar and Chuquillanto.

101. See Adorno, this volume, 116–18.

102. Murra, “Guaman Poma’s Sources”; and J. Rowe, “Age-Grades.” With access to both of Murúa’s manuscripts (the Galvin, albeit only in Bayle’s edition of 1946, and at least part of a photographic copy of the Getty [per Rowe, “Age-Grades,” 511]), Rowe began to examine the similarity between the two authors’ works. With all three at his disposal (Guaman Poma’s in the facsimile edition published in Paris in 1936), Rowe was the first to speculate on the relationship among them; see J. Rowe, “Age-Grades,” 514: “The subject is an important and difficult one which has never been studied in detail.”

103. Condarco Morales, *Protohistoria andina*, 302–5.

104. Condarco Morales, *Protohistoria andina*, 303; and Murra, “Guaman Poma’s Sources,” 64. The definition of *aclla* is taken from Murra.

105. The discussion of structural and literary parallels between the works of Murúa and Guaman Poma in Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 29–55, is based on the assumption that Guaman Poma worked on his *Nueva coronica* before and concurrently with Murúa’s work from the mid-1580s to beyond 1600.

106. See the essays in this volume by Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman and by Cummins.

107. See Adorno, “Genesis,” 75–84; Adorno, “Witness,” 46–49; and Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 220–25.

Appendix 1. Overview of the Transformation of Murúa's History from the Galvin Manuscript to the Getty Manuscript

In this survey of the contents of Murúa's two manuscripts, the Galvin's content is keyed to the Getty's content, such that only the latter is displayed sequentially.

Galvin Manuscript				Getty Manuscript		
<i>Historia del orijen, y jenealogia real de los reyes ingas del Piru. De sus hechos, costumbres, trajes, y manera de gouerno. Compuesta por el padre fray Martin de Morúa del orden de n[uest]ra s[eñ]ora de la merced, de redemp[ci]on de captiuos, conuental del conuento de la gran ciudad del Cuzco cabeza del reyno, y prouincias del Piru</i>				<i>Historia general del Piru. Origen i deçendencia de los yncas. Donde se trata, assi de las guerras çiviles suyas, como de la entrada de los españoles, descripción de las ciudades y lugares del, con otras cosas notables, compuesto por el p[adr]e fr[ay] Martin de Murua elector gen[era]l del orden de n[uest]ra s[eñ]ora de las m[er]cedes r[ed]emp[ci]on de captiuos, com[en]dad[or] y cura de Huata</i>		
Book and Chapter		Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
Galvin, Book 1, Book 2, after Book 4				→	Getty, Book 1	
Capítulo prohemial		De cómo los religiosos del orden de nuestra señora sancta Maria de la merced de redempcion de captiuos fueron en la conquista deste reyno del Pirú, de gran fructo y prouecho		A su alteza de el príncipe de España, nuestro señor don Philippo 4º, y a su alteza [blank] princesa de España y señora nuestra		
Book 1 <i>Libro primero del orijen y prinzipio de los reyes yngas del gran reyno del Pirú</i>		Book 2 <i>Libro segundo de los príncipes y capitanes del gran reyno de el Pirú</i>	After Book 4	Book 1 <i>Libro del origen y descendencia de los ingas, senores deste reino del Pirú donde se ponen las conquistas que hicieron de diferentes prouincias y naciones y guerras ciuiles hasta la entrada de los espanoles con su modo de gouernar, condiçion y trato y la description de las mas prinçipales ciudades y villas destas amplissimas prouincias (Source: fol. 19v)</i>	Origin and lineage of the Inca, lords of Peru, their conquests and civil wars to the time of the Spanish, their mode of governance and descriptions of cities and towns	
Chaps. 1–15	Chaps. 16–27	Chaps. 1–16	Ficción	Chaps. 1–93		
1:1				1:1	De cómo antiguamente no ubo en este reino rey ni señor unibersal hasta los yngas (Source: fol. 19v)	Pre-Inca governance in the Andes
1:2				1:2	Del prinçipio y origen de los ingas y de donde salieron	Origin of the Inca
1:3				1:3	Cómo Manco Capac armó cauallero a su hijo Çinçhiroca y entró por fuerça en el Cuzco y se senoreó del	Manco Capac founds the dynasty and seizes power in Cuzco
				unnumbered	Del primer rey e ynga Mango Capac, padre y genitor de quien proçede y se deriuu todos los demás, y de sus marauillosos hechos	Further deeds of Manco Capac
	1:16			1:4	De la coya Mama Huaco, muger de Manco Capac, y de su gouierno	Mama Huaco, wife of Manco Capac

			Mango Capac, y del gouierno que tenia en su casa y familia				
1:4			[De el gran inga Sinchiroca, segundo rey, y señor]		1:5	De la vida de Cinchiroca primero señor ynga	Sinchi Roca, 2nd <i>inca</i>
	1:17		De la coia reina y señora Chimpo, muger del gran Sinchi Roca, 2a reyna		1:6	De la vida de Chympo coya, muger de Cinchiroca ynga	Chimpo, wife of Sinchi Roca
1:5			[De el fuerte Lloque Yupangui. Tercero rey, y señor]		1:7	Del tercer ynga Lloque Yupanqui	Lloque Yupanqui, 3rd <i>inca</i>
	1:18		De la discreta coia, Mama Cura, muger del valeroso Lloque Yupangui, y de su discrecion, 3a reyna		1:8	De la coya Mama Cura y por otro nombre Anaçhuarque, muger de Lloque Yupanqui Inga	Mama Cura (or Anachuarque), wife of Lloque Yupanqui
1:6			[De Mayta Capac quarto rey, y señor]		1:9	De Maita Capac, 4. ynga y rey	Mayta Capac, 4th <i>inca</i>
	1:19		De la ymfanta Chimpu Urma, muger del ualeroso Maita Capac, y por otro nombre, Mama Yacchi, 4. reyna		1:10	De la coya Chimpo Urma, muger del valeroso Maita Capac, por otro nombre Mama Yacche	Chimpo Urma (or Mama Yacche), wife of Mayta Capac
1:7			Del famoso Capac Yupangui quinto rey e ynga		1:11	Del quinto ynga llamado Capac Yupanqui	Capac Yupanqui, 5th <i>inca</i>
	1:20		De la ñusta y coia Chimpu Ocllo y por otro nombre Mama Cava, muger del famoso Capac Yupangui. 5. reyna		1:12	De la coya Chimpo Ocllo y por otro nombre Mama Cahua, muger de Capac Yupanqui ynga	Chimpo Ocllo (or Mama Cahua), wife of Capac Yupanqui
1:8			De cómo el fuerte Ynga Roca fue el que diuidió las dos parcialidades de Anan Cuzco, y Orin Cuzco. 6. rey e ynga		1:13	De Ynga Roca sexto señor que diuidió las dos parcialidades de Anan Cuzco y Urin Cuzco	Inca Roca, 6th <i>inca</i> , divides Cuzco into upper and lower moieties
	1:21		De la coia Cusi Chimpu y por otro nombre, Mama Micai, muger del fuerte Ynga Roca, 6. reyna		1:14	De la coya Cusi Chimpo, por otro nombre Mama Micay	Cusi Chimpo (or Mama Micay), wife of Inca Roca
1:9			De los hechos del gran Yauar Guacac 7º rey y señor		1:15	De Yahuar Huacac, ynga y rey septimo	Yahuar Huacac, 7th <i>inca</i>
	1:22		De la hermosa ynfanta Ipa Uaco, e por otro nombre Ma[ma] Chiquia, muger del gran laguar Uacac. 7. reyna		1:16	De Ypa Huaco coya, por otro nombre Mama Chiquia, muger de Yahuar Huacac	Ipahuaco (or Mama Chiquia), wife of Yahuar Huacac

Galvin Manuscript				Getty Manuscript		
Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks		Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
1:10				1:17	De los hechos de Vira Cocha, ynga octauo	Deeds of Viracocha Inca, 8th <i>inca</i>
	1:23			1:18	De Mama Yunto C[o]ya , muger de Vira Cocha ynga	Mama Yunto, wife of Viracocha Inca
1:11				1:19	Del valeroso Ynga Yupanqui, por otro nombre Pachacuti ynga 9.	Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, 9th <i>inca</i>
				1:20	De cómo Ynga Yupanqui y ilustró la casa del sol y de otras cosas memorables y conquistas suyas	Deeds and conquests of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui
				1:21	Cómo Ynga Yupanqui mandó matar a su hermano Capac Yupanqui y embió a su hijo Tupa Inga Yupanqui a conquistar nueuas tierras	Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui removes his brother Capac Yupanqui and sends his son Tupac Inca Yupanqui to conquer new territories
				1:22	De cómo Tupa Ynga Yupanqui voluió al Cuzco y su padre Ynga Yupanqui le renunció el señorío	Tupac Inca Yupanqui returns to Cuzco and seizes power
	1:24			1:23	De Mama Anahuarque coya, muger de Ynga Yupanqui	Mama Anahuarque, wife of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui
1:12				1:24	De Tupa Inga Yupanqui, 10. inga y rey	Tupac Inca Yupanqui, 10th <i>inca</i>
				1:25	Cómo Tupa Ynga Yupanqui descubrió muchas minas y fue conquistando hasta Chile y dió leyes a sus reinos	Deeds and conquests of Tupac Inca Yupanqui
				1:26	Cómo Tupa Inga Yupanqui ordenó todo su reino y de la traición que yntentó contra él su hermano Toca Capac y de su muerte	Further deeds of Tupac Inca Yupanqui and death of his seditious brother Toca Capac
	1:25			1:27	De Mama Ocllo, coya 10, muger de Tupa Ynga Yupanqui	Mama Ocllo, wife of Tupac Inca Yupanqui
1:13				1:28	Cómo fue alçado por ynga Huayna Capac hijo de Tupa Inga Yupanqui	Huayna Capac, 11th <i>inca</i> , son of Tupac Inca Yupanqui

					1:29	De cómo Hualpaya gouernador se quiso alçar con el reyno y matar a Huayna Capac y fue muerto, y del cassamiento de Huayna Capac	Conspiracy by governor Hualpaya; his death; Huayna Capac's marriage
					1:30	Del llanto que hizo Huayna Capac por su padre y madre y visita de muchas prouincias personalmente	Deeds of Huayna Capac
					1:31	Cómo Huayna Capac juntó su ejército y salió del Cuzco y llegó a Tomebamba y de los edificios que allí hizo	Further deeds of Huayna Capac
					1:32	Cómo Huayna Capac embió a la conquista de Pasto parte de su ejército y fue desbaratado y al fin él sugetó y conquistó a Pasto	Huayna Capac conquers Pasto
					1:33	Como Huaina Capac conquistó las prouincias de los Caranguis y del peligro en que se vidó	Huayna Capac conquers the Carangui provinces
					1:34	Del motín que se leuantó en Tomebamba por Mihi y otros capitanes de los orejones y cómo lo sosegó Huaina Capac	Huayna Capac suppresses rebellion by Mihi and other captains
					1:35	Cómo combatiendo la fortaleza de Carangui murió Auqui Toma hermano de Huaina Capac y despues la tomó el mismo por su persona	Death of Auqui Tupac, brother of Huayna Capac, during conquest of Carangui
					1:36	Cómo Huaina Capac prendió a Pinto cacique Cayambi y embió un capitán contra los Chiriguanaes	Huayna Capac attacks the Chiriguanaes
					1:37	Cómo prosiguiendo Huaina Capac en su conquista se vió en gran peligro y de su muerte	Huayna Capac in great danger; his death
	1:26			<i>[De la gran reyna y señora Raba Ocllo]</i>	1:38	De la gran coya Rahua Ocllo, muger de Huaina Capac, y del caso notable sucedido en el pueblo de Yanqui Supa	Rahua Ocllo, wife of Huayna Capac
1:14				Del gran Guascar Ynga y de cómo fue el p[ostr]er rey e ynga 12.	1:39	De lo que ordenó Huayna Capac en su testamento y de cómo alçaron por ynga a Tupa Cusi Hualpa y por otro nombre Huascar Ynga	Huayna Capac's testament; enthronement of Huascar
					1:40	De las crueldades que Huascar Ynga hizo en el Cuzco con sus hermanos y los que venían con el cuerpo de su padre	Cruelties committed by Huascar against his brothers
					1:41	Del solene triumpho con que entró el ejército de Huaina Capac en el Cuzco	Triumphant entry of Huayna Capac's army into Cuzco
					1:42	De cómo Huascar Ynga triumphó en nombre de su padre Huayna Capac y las fiestas que después hizo	Huascar triumphs in his father's name
					1:43	De cómo Huascar Inga se cassó con su hermana Chuqui Huipa y de las grandes fiestas que en el cassamiento se hicieron	Huascar marries his sister Chuquillanto (or Chuquihuyppa); celebrations
					1:44	De la jornada que mandó haçer Huascar Ynga en los Chachapoyas y muerte de su hermano Chuquis Huaman	Expedition against the Chachapoya; death of Chuquis Huaman, Huascar's brother

Galvin Manuscript				Getty Manuscript		
Book and Chapter		Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
				1:45	De la vengança de la muerte de Chuquis Huaman y cómo llegaron a Huascar Ynga mensageros de su hermano Atao Hualpa	Vengeance after death of Chuquis Huaman; his brother Atahuallpa sends messengers
1:15		De los aillos parcialidades y linajes que estos doze reyes y señores yngas tuuieron				
	2:10	De el famoso ynfante e ynga Atualipa y de sus marauillosos hechos y azañas. 10. y de cómo en su tiempo conquistaron los espanoles este reyno		1:46	Cómo empeçaron las diferencias entre Huascar Ynga y su hermano Atao Hualpa	Causes of discord between Huascar and Atahuallpa
	2:11	De las grandes guerras que ubo entre el ualerosso Guascar Ynga y los capitanes del fuerte Atualipa		1:47	Cómo Atao Hualpa sabiendo que su hermano le embiaua a prender se preparó para la deffensa	Atahuallpa prepares to defend his interests
				1:48	De las dos batallas que ubo entre la gente de Huascar Ynga y Atao Hualpa	Battles between Huascar and Atahuallpa
				1:49	Cómo, savida por Huascar la diuission que su hermano hauía hecho del reyno, embió contra él a Huanca Auqui y de las batallas que se dieron	Huanca Auqui sent by Huascar against Atahuallpa
				1:50	De cómo Huanca Auqui hauiendo perdido otra batalla se retiró a Cusipampa y hizo la conquista de los Pacamoros	Huanca Auqui retreats to Cusipampa; his conquest of the Pacamoros
				1:51	De la embaxada que imbió Huascar Ynga a Huanca Auqui, y de las batallas que tubo con la gente de Atao Hualpa y al fin se retiró	Huascar wages war against Atahuallpa
				1:52	De cómo Quisquis venció a los Chachapoyas y a Huanca Auqui en otras dos batallas	Quisquis conquers the Chachapoya
				1:53	De cómo Huascar Ynga hauiendo hecho grandes sacrificios, salió en persona a la defensa de sus estados y venció a Quisquis en una batalla	Huascar defeats Quisquis
				1:54	Cómo otro día pelearon Quisquis y Chalco Chima con Huascar Ynga y le vencieron y prendieron	Quisquis and Chalcochima defeat and capture Huascar
				1:55	Cómo Huanca Auqui y los demás orejones dieron la obediencia a la figura de Atao Hualpa	Huanca Auqui submits to Atahuallpa
				1:56	Cómo Quisquis mandó sacar a Huascar Ynga en público, y de lo que con él pasó y las crueldades que empezó a hazer	Quisquis publicly humiliates Huascar
				1:57	Cómo Quisquis mandó matar em presencia de Huascar Ynga gran	Quisquis executes

						número de sus mugeres y quemar el cuerpo de Tupa Ynga Yupanqui	Huascar's wives and offspring and affronts mummified corpse of Tupac Inca Yupanqui	
						1:58	Cómo, sabida la bictoria por Atao Hualpa, se venía al Cuzco y se topó en Caxamarca con el marques don Francisco Pizarro	Atahualpa takes the road to Cuzco as victor and meets Pizarro at Cajamarca
						1:59	De cómo el marqués don Francisco Pizarro se vio en el campo con Atao Hualpa y lo prendió	Pizarro captures Atahualpa
						1:60	Cómo el marqués don Francisco Pizarro despachó al Cuzco y Pachacamac y Atao Hualpa mandó matar a su hermano Huascar Ynga	Atahualpa orders death of Huascar
	1:27			De la hermosa Chuquillanto ultima reina y señora, muger de Guascar. 12. reyna		1:61	De la coya Chuqui Huipa, muger de Huascar Ynga	Chuquillanto (or Chuquihuypa), wife of Huascar
						1:62	Cómo Atao Hualpa se puso luto por su hermano Huascar y prendieron a Chalco Chima	Capture of Chalcochima by Pizarro's captain
						1:63	Cómo el marqués Pizarro careó a Chalco Chima y Atao Hualpa, y mandó matar a Atao Hualpa	Pizarro executes Atahualpa
		2:12		Del balerosso Mango Ynga hermano de los dos fuertes capitanes Guascar y Atualipa y de cómo entregó la uorla a los españoles		1:64	Que el marqués Pizarro fue al Cuzco y allí nombró por ynga a Manco Ynga	Pizarro puts Manco Inca on the throne
		2:13		De los famosos ymfantes y capitanes, hijos de Guaina Capac, uno de los reies deste reyno	Full-page textual addition (fol. 48v)			
		2:14		De el cruel Rumi Naui y de la gran maldad y traicion que usó con el tierno ymfante y noble capitán Yllescas, y cómo le mató				
						1:65	Que el marqués Pizarro y Manco Ynga dieron batalla a Quisquis y le vencieron y se apoderaron del Cuzco	Pizarro defeats Quisquis and takes over Cuzco
						1:66	Que Manco Ynga salió del Cuzco y se rebeló y embió a ponerle cerco con sus capitanes	Manco Inca rebels and lays siege to Cuzco
						1:67	Cómo los yndios de la fortaleza mataron a Joan Pizarro, y al fin los espanoles la ganaron	Juan Pizarro killed; Spaniards take Inca fortress
						1:68	Cómo Manco Ynga embió a cercar a la ciudad de los reyes a Quiço Yupanqui y lo que les sucedió	Manco Inca orders siege of Lima; attempt fails
						1:69	Que sabida por Manco Ynga la muerte de Quiço Yupanqui, embió mensajeros al marqués el qual fue al Cuzco	Manco Inca sends messengers to Pizarro and goes to Cuzco

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Book and Chapter		Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
				1:70	Que don Diego de Almagro, boluiendo de Chile, trató de reducir a Manco Inga, y lo que le sucedió	Almagro executed by Pizarro
				1:71	Cómo se alçaron todas las prouincias de arriba y eligieron por señor a Quinti Raura, y salió contra ellos Hernando Pizarro	Provinces under Quintirraura rebel and are quelled by Hernando Pizarro
				1:72	Cómo Manco Inga mató muchos españoles que lo yban a prender, y Diego Méndez y otros entraron donde estaba de paz	Manco Inca resists Spanish; Diego Méndez joins him
				1:73	Cómo Diego Méndez y los demás y los demás españoles mataron a traición a Manco Inga	Diego Méndez betrays and kills Manco Inca
	2:15	Del famoso capitán y príncipe Saire Topa ymfante	Full-page textual addition (songs) (fol. 50v)	1:74	De cómo Çaire Topa baxó a la ciudad de los reyes y dió la obediencia a su magestad, y de su muerte	Saire Tupac pledges obedience to Spanish; dies a year later by poisoning
	2:16	Del noble ymfante y capitán Amaro y de cómo los españoles le degollaron	Half-page textual addition (fol. 51v)	1:75	Cómo, gouernando Cusi Tito Yupanqui, entraron en Vilcabamba dos religiosos del orden de San Augustin, y lo que les sucedió, y de la muerte del inga	Arrival of Augustinian friars at Vilcabamba; death of Titu Cusi Yupanqui
				1:76	Cómo los capitanes de Cusi Tito Yupanqui inga prendieron al padre fray Diego y le mataron muy cruelmente	Capture and execution of Fray Diego Ortiz by Titu Cusi Yupanqui's captains
				1:77	De las crueldades que hicieron los indios con el cuerpo muerto del bendito fray Diego Ortiz	Cruelties perpetrated on Fray Diego Ortiz's corpse
				1:78	Cómo el visorrey don Francisco de Toledo embió mensajeros a Cusi Tito Yupanqui y se los mataron	Toledo's messengers to Titu Cusi Yupanqui are killed
				1:79	Cómo el virrey don Francisco de Toledo embió por general contra Topa Amaro a Martín Hurtado de Arbieta y le dió batalla	Toledo sends Arbieta to capture Tupac Amaru
				1:80	Que se descubrió camino por donde salió el campo al valle de Puquiura y de otras cossas que les sucedieron	Arbieta leaves highlands and arrives safely at valley of Puquiura
				1:81	Cómo mediante los avisos de Puma Inga se tomó el fuerte de Huayna Pucara a fuerça de brazos	Capture of the fortress Huayna Pucara by Arbieta
				1:82	Que el general Martín Hurtado de Arbieta entró en Vilcabamba y embió detrás de Quispitito y lo prendieron	Arbieta enters Vilcabamba; captures Titu Cusi's son Quispe Titu
				1:83	De que el general despachó al capitán Martín García de Loyola el qual prendió a Tupa Amaro Ynga	García de Loyola captures Tupac Amaru

					1:84	De cómo el gouernador Arbieto embió a sacar el cuerpo del padre frai Diego Ortis, a donde los yndios lo auían enterrado	Arbieto retrieves uncorrupted body of Fray Diego Ortiz
					1:85	Cómo el gouernador Arbieto embió a Topa Amaro y a los demás presos al Cuzco, y el virrey mandó justiciár a Topa Amaro	Tupac Amaru is taken to Cuzco and executed
		2:1		Del gran Pachacuti, primer ynfante y capitán y de sus famosos hechos [Captain 1]	1:86	De Pachacuti, hijo de Manco Capac, y de una fábula que dél se cuenta	Legend of Captain Pachacuti, Manco Capac's son, saving Cuzco from destruction
		2:2		Del gran ymfante y capitán Cusi Guanán Chiri y de sus grandes hechos [Captain 2]			
		2:3		Del gran ymfante y capitán Ynga Urcon y de la piedra cansada, y de su muerte [Captain 3]	1:87	De Ynga Urcum, hijo de Biracocha Ynga, y de la piedra que llaman en el Cuzco cansada	Legend from Captain Inca Urcon's time about the stone that spoke and wept blood
		2:4		Del fuerte capitán Apo Camac y de sus grandes hazañas y de cómo trajo a los indios de Chile a la obediencia de el ynga su señor [Captain 4]			
		2:5		De los dos capitanes Apo Mayta y Vilca Quiri y de sus grandes hechos [Captain 5]			
		2:6		Del famoso Maitac capitán y de sus famosos hechos [Captain 6]			
		2:7		Del balerosso ynfante y ualiente capitán Tupa Amaro y de sus grandes hechos [Captain 7]	1:88	De Tupa Amaro, hijo de Pachacuti Ynga Yupanqui, y de un suceso estraño	Legend of an apostolic-style visit and the fire that destroyed Cacha
					1:89	Donde se dirá el casamiento del prínsipe y capitán Topa Amaro, con un admirable suceso que le acaeció con la ñusta Cusi Chimbo, su muger	Legend of how Captain Tupac Amaru won the love of Cusi Chimpo
		2:8		[Del famoso y esforçado capitán Capac Guaritito (Captain 8)]	1:90	De quién fue Capac Huaritito y Ausi Topa	Brothers of Tupac Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac
		2:9		Del gran ynfante y capitán Ausi Topa, hijo del famoso Topa Ynga Yupanqui [Captain 9]			

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Book and Chapter		Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
		<i>Ficción</i>	Ficción y suceso de un famoso pastor llamado el gran Acoytapra con la hermosa y discreta Chuquillanto, ñusta, hija del sol [: crossed-out addition]	1:91	En que se pone una ficción y suceso de un pastor Acoytapra con Chuquillanto hija de el sol	Legendary love story of the shepherd and the virgin of the sun
		<i>Ficción</i>		1:92	Del fin desdichado que tubieron los amores de Acoitapra y Chuquillanto	Legendary turning of the lovers into stone
				1:93	De un admirable suceso que los yndios quentan de Saire Tupa Ynga y de su muger y hermana doña Maria Cusi Huarcai, padres de doña Beatris Clara Coya	How Sayri Tupac Inca won and married Cusi Huarcay

Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
Galvin, Book 3			→	Getty, Book 2	
Book 3			Book 2		Inca governance and Andean ritual life
<i>El gouierno que estos reyes y grandes señores yngas tuvieron antes que los españoles viniesen a este reyno del Pirú, mui gustosso y con mucha curiosidad es cómo se sigue (Source: Galvin folio Getty fol. 84v)</i>			<i>Libro segundo, del gouierno que los yngas tubieron en este reino y ritos y çeremonias que guardaban</i>		
Chaps. 1–73			Chaps. 1–40	Prologue	
3:1	De la manera que los yngas eran y de sus costumbres + y con la magestad que caminaban [: crossed-out illegible addition]	Full-page textual addition (fol. 53r)	2:1	De la disposición de los yngas y de sus costumbres	Qualities and customs of the Inca
3:2	De las riquezas y gran magestad de los yngas reyes y señores deste reino + y cómo se trataba su real persona	Full-page textual addition (fol. 54v)			
3:3	De la manera que salían fuera los yngas, y de la gran mag[esta]d con que andauan + y de su real palacio y seru[ici]os (?) quellos llamaban Cuyos Manco	Full-page textual addition (fol. 55v)			
3:14	De unas casas famosas que el fuerte Guaina Capac hizo + y de cómo yban los yngas a las casas de las ñustas que estaba[n] recojidas	Quarter-page textual addition (fol. 66v)	2:2	Del palacio real del ynga, llamado Cuius Manco, y de sus vestidos e ynsignias (new material, barely referenced in Galvin 3:14)	Cuyus Manco, Inca royal palace
(3:3)	(See above)		2:3	De los vestidos e armas de los yngas	Inca attire and arms
3:4	De el acompañamiento que el ynga lleuaua de los quatro orejones + y la escuela y estudio que abía + de que dará mucho gusto al letor	Full-page textual addition (fol. 56v)	2:4	Del gouierno que tenían los yngas, y costunbre de los yndios	Inca councilors and inspectors
3:18	Del gouierno que abía de los orejones y señores y virreyes auquies del ynga + suyujoc apo				
3:5	Del gouierno y mucha orden que el ynga tenía con su gente + y de su tesoro	Full-page textual addition (fol. 57v)			

3:21	De los agrauios que haçian los del consejo del ynga + o virreies + y cómo el ynga los castigaba y la manera de v[i]uir de algunos yndios deste reyno + de dos reyes collas	Full-page textual addition (fol. 73v)	2:5	De la manera que el ynga castigaua los agrauios de sus virreyes	Punishment of crimes committed by the elites
3:20	Del castigo que abía para los ladrones parleros y vagabundos		2:6	Del horden que tenía el ynga en el castigo de los delinquentes, ladrones y bagamundos	Punishment of crimes committed by commoners
3:8	De cómo Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui fue el primero que mandó que se hiziesen merçedes + y de los chilenos y collas y puquinas y uros	Full-page textual addition (fol. 60v)			
3:9	Del traje y uestido que trayan las ñustas, coias y señoras (Source: Galvin folio 61 + Getty fol. 89v)				
3:10	[De la magestad que trayan las coias]				
3:11	Del traje de los yngas y de la manera de uiuir que tenían				
3:12	De la diuisión de las quatro prouinçias Chíncha suyo, Colla suyo, Conde suyo, y Andes suyo		2:7	De la diuisión que el ynga hizo de este reino en quatro partes, y de los yndios mitimas y depósitos que tenía (new topic; barely referenced in Galvin, 3:67)	Administrative division of Inca empire; warehouse depositories; <i>mitmaqkuna</i> sent to colonize new lands
3:22	De cómo tenía el ynga cuenta con los pobres y de las guardas de depósitos				
3:67	De cómo pagauan los yndios tributo y los ofiçiales que al ynga dauan	Three-quarter-page textual addition (fol. 119v)			
3:13	De un gran suseso que acontessio a Pachacuti ynga en esta çiudad (Source: Galvin fols. 149r, 65r) + De cómo gouernó Pachacuti en esta çiudad + las guacas que mandó adorar y guardar fiestas y azer sacrificios				
3:15	De cómo el ynga conquistó el Collao y de los edifiçios que hizo + en Tiagoanaco + y de Copacabana y de los grandes milagros de aquella santa ymagen de nuestra señora	Full-page textual addition (fol. 67v)			
3:16	[De la orden que el ynga tenía en sustentar sus guerras]				
3:17	De los famosos hechos de los yndios Cañares y de sus privilegios				
3:19	De los delitos que conozian los quatro orejones señores del consejo de su rey y señor el ynga				
3:23	Del horden que el ynga tenía para castigar a los delinquentes y de las carçeles que auía				
3:24	De los chasques o correos que el ynga thenía para que supiese lo que pasaua en todo el Pirú		2:8	De los chasquis que el ynga tenía y del orden con que los puso	Inca messenger system (<i>chasquikuna</i>)
3:26	De los mitaios y panpacamaios de los tambos reales que el ynga thenía		2:9	De los tambos que tenía el ynga y las puentes de crisneja	Way stations on highways; suspension bridges
3:27	De las puentes que auía de crisnejas, sin las que auía que llamauan del ynga				
3:28	Del horden que auía en lo de los mojones y jurisdición de prouincia		2:10	Del horden que abía en los distritos de las prouincias y en los caminos	Order maintained in districts, on highways
3:29	Del horden que tenían puesto por todos los caminos				
3:25	De los contadores que el ynga tenía llamauan, entre ellos, quipucamayos	Full-page textual addition (fol. 77v)	2:11	De los contadores que abía, llamados quipucamayos	Record keepers and accountants
(3:4)	(See above)		2:12	De la escuela que tenía el ynga en el Cuzco	Schooling for elites

Galvin Manuscript			Getty Manuscript		
Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
			2:13	Del gouierno que los yngas tenían y horden con sus vasallos (summary chapter)	Administration under the Inca
			2:14	Cómo sucedían los yngas en este reino (new topic)	Rules of Inca succession
3:7	De cómo estos yngas eran themidos, estimados y obedesçidos - del seruicio de la coya	three-quarter-page textual addition (fol. 59v)	2:15	De las coias y del modo que el ynga tenía en su casamiento con ella	<i>Inca-coya</i> marriage ceremonies
3:30	Del orden que los yngas tenían en sus casamientos				
3:31	De las vodas que tenían costumbre de hazer despues de casados el ynga y la coya				
3:32	Del orden que tenían los curacas y gente comun en casamyentos		2:16	Del orden que tenían los demás yndios en sus casamientos y bodas	Marriage practices of officials and of commoners
3:33	De la hedad que avían de tener para ser çasados y el traje que antiguamente solían traer				
3:34	De cómo escogían los yndios a quien les pareçia para sus mugeres				
3:35	[<i>Del parlamento que les hacian despues de la junta</i>]				
3:36	De la primera casa de recogimiento que tenía el ynga de ñustas recogidas		2:17	De las casas de recojimiento que tenía el ynga	Three orders of women in the <i>inca's</i> service
3:37	De la segunda casa de yndias de recoximiento				
3:38	De la terçera cassa que auía de otras ñustas recojidas que eran hijas de señores y grandes				
3:39	De la quarta cassa de recogimiento de yndias que tenía el ynga		2:18	De las demás casas de recojidas que tenía el ynga en su reino	Three more orders of women and girls in imperial service
3:40	De la quinta casa que el ynga tenía de recoximiento				
3:41	De la sesta casa de yndias de recogimiento que tenía el ynga				
3:42	Del horden que el inga tenía en sacar todas estas yndias destas seis cassas				
3:43	De las casas que auía de yndias de recogimiento dedicadas al sol	Addition on fol. 143r, previously fol. 155	2:19	De otra casa que abía de yndias dedicadas al sol	Virgins in service to the Sun
3:44	Del modo y manera que hacía el ynga sacrificio al sol - y cómo Capac Yupangui fue el que hizo el templo en Quisuar Cancha a Pachayachachic	Half-page textual addition (fol. 96v)			
3:45	De cómo el ynga dio sus guacas al modo desta çiudad de el Cuzco y orden dellas, a todo el reino				
3:51	De las guacas e ydolos y errores de los yndios				
3:52	Del modo de sacrificar de los yndios Collas y Puquinas				
3:63	Del orden que el ynga thenía para sauer la gente que auía en todo este reino		2:20	Del horden que guardó el ynga en sauer la jente que tenía en su reino	Inca census; Inca age-grade system
3:64	De las diez calles que auía de yndios y el orden que thenían en sauer los que eran: barones				
3:65	De otras diez calles que auía de yndias por el mismo orden: mugeres				

3:66	De cómo todos estos yndios fueron repartidos en siete estados - es cap[itulo] muy curioso	Half-page textual addition (fol. 118v)	2:21	Cómo el ynga diuidió toda esta jente en siete estados	Seven estates of Inca society; vocations and trades
(3:67)	(See above)				
3:68	De cómo el ynga mandaua que le hiziesen sementeras y que sembrasen mays coca y agi				
3:69	De cómo despues de auer dado al ynga los yndios ofiçiales de todo género de obras y sembrar las chacaras dauan lo necessario para la guerra				
3:73	De las hordenanças que tubieron todos los yngas en el gouierno deste reyno	Chapter continues on verso	2:22	De las ordenansas que los yngas dieron a sus basallos	Laws of the Inca
3:6	De el susçesso que auía entre los príncipes e ingas sobre el reyno y de sus guerras - dicho ay mucho que ber	Full-page textual addition (fol. 58v)	2:23	Del modo que el ynga guardaua en la guerra	Conduct of war by the Inca
3:61	De los mandamientos que guardauan los yndios y sus confesiones y penitencias		2:24	De las confeçiones que estos yndios usaban	Confession and penitence
3:62	De los entierros y obsequias y de los medicos, hambí camayos, destos yndios		2:25	De los ritos que guardauan estos yndios con los difuntos	Funerary rituals, including those for the inca
			2:26	De los médicos que tenían los yndios y las curas que hacían	Healing and curing practices
3:53	De los sacrificios de los yndios y de las cosas que sacrificauan - tocanse cosas buenas		2:27	De las cosas que sacrificauan los yndios	Sacrificial practices
3:54	De otros muchos generos [de] sacrificios de estos yndios				
3:49	Del sacrificio y ofrenda que los yndios hacían		2:28	De las demás cosas que adoraban los yndios	Objects of veneration and reverence
3:46	Del modo de proseçiones e ayunos que hazian al sacrificio		2:29	Del cuidado que tenían los yndios en que se aumentasen las huacas, y los ayunos que hacían y sacrificios jenerales	Inca's sacrifices, fasts, and rewards to vassals
3:47	De la quenta que los yngas tenían en que se aumentasen las guacas				
3:48	De cómo los indios mochauan al sol y al ynga				
3:50	De las ydolatrias que los yndios hacían		2:30	De otros ritos y ceremonias que usaban los yndios	Other objects of veneration
3:60	De los pontífices y ministros de los sacrificios - tocanse buenas cosas para saber	Full-page textual addition (fol. 112v)	2:31	De los ministros que tenían en los sacrificios y el modo de hazellos	Administrators of sacrifices
3:55	De los hechiseros y hechiseras y de los guacanguis que usauan		2:32	De los hechizeros y hechizeras que usaban los yndios	Types of shamans
3:56	De los hechisos que estos yndios usauan para matar				
3:59	De los sortilegos y adiuinos que auía		2:33	De los sortilegos y adiuinos que abía entre los yndios	Types of divination
3:57	De los agüeros y abuçiones que suelen tener estos yndios		2:34	De los agujeros y abuçiones que guardauan estos yndios	Omens and superstitions
3:58	De las supersticiones y agüeros que tenían los yndios quando oradauan las orejas		2:35	De otras supesticiones y abusos que tenían los yndios	Additional superstitions and omens
(3:50)	(See above)		2:36	De la huacas que adoraban los yndios	Summary of objects of veneration
			2:37	Del modo que se podría tener para ebitar las hechizerías que oy usan los yndios	How to avoid or suppress traditional ritual practices
3:70	Del orden que auía del año y fiestas que guardaban	Full-page textual addition (fol. 122v)			

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Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Codicological Remarks	Book and Chapter	Chapter Title	Topic
3:71	De los nombres de los seis meses del año y lo que acostumbrauan hazer en cada un mes		2:38	Del horden que tubieron los yndios en el año	Calendar of feasts, December–July
3:72	De los nombres de los otros seis meses y de las fiestas que acostumbrauan los yndios en todo el año				
(3:72)	(See above)		2:39	De las demás fiestas ordinarias de los yndios	Calendar of feasts, August–November
			2:40	De algunas cosas notables y de admiración deste reino	Notable and wondrous occurrences
Galvin, Book 4			→	Getty, Book 3	
	Prólogo al lector				
Book 4			Book 3		
<i>Declaración del nombre deste reino del Pirú con las çiudades que ai en él</i>			<i>Libro terçero, donde se trata en jeneral y particular deste reino del Perú y las çiudades prinsipales y villas del</i>		Kingdom of Peru and its principal cities and towns
Chaps. 1–16			Chaps. 1–31		
4:1	Del nombre deste reyno de el Pirú y sus riquezas	Full-page textual addition (fol. 127v)	3:1	Del nombre deste reino del Perú y del orijen de los naturales dél	On the name of Peru and origin of its inhabitants
			3:2	Da la disposición del reino del Perú	Topography, climate, seasons, flora, and fauna of Peru
			3:3	De la disposicion del la sierra y Andes	Mountains and highlands
(4:1)	(See above)		3:4	De las riquezas del reyno del Perú	Wealth of Peru
			3:5	Del gobierno que oy tiene el reino del Pirú	Current governance of Peru
			3:6	Que prosigue el gouierno de justicia que oy tiene el Perú	Current administration of justice in Peru
			3:7	De cómo los primeros relijiosos que pasaron a la conquista deste reyno occidental del Perú fueron los de la sagrada relijió de nuestra señora de las merçedes, redemción de captiuos, y del fruto que en él hizieron con su doctrina y p[re]dicación	Arrival of Mercedarian Order and their accomplishments in evangelization
			3:8	De cómo los relijiosos de la horden del ávito de nuestra señora de las mercedes fueron después de auer conquistado y predicado el santo evangelio en este reino del Perú, a las prouinçias y gouernaciones de Santa Cruz, Tucumán, Paraguai y reino de Chile	Expansion of Mercedarian Order's mission southward
			unnumbered	De otros religiosos de nuestra señora de la merced, que han hecho particular fruto en aquellos reynos, particularmente los dos varones santos y mártires fray Joan de Salazar y fray Christóual de Aluarrán	Martyred Mercedarian friars Juan de Salazar and Cristóbal de Alvarrán
			3:9	Del gouierno espiritual que ay en el reino del Perú	Spiritual governance
4:2	Del nombre desta gran çiudad del Cuzco caue[ç]a deste reyno e prouinçias del Pirú y de sus muchas grandezas · y antiguamente se llamaba Acamama	Full-page textual addition (fol. 128v)	3:10	De la gran çiudad del Cuzco y su descripción	Great city of Cuzco and its description

			3:11	[De las fiestas que se hizieron en la ciudad del Cuzcu al nacimiento del príncipe don Phelippe, año de mill y seysientos y seys ...] (Source: fol. 387v)	Celebrations for birth of Prince Philip (no text)
			3:12	[Que prosigue las fiestas que hizieron en la ciudad del Cuzcu] (Source: fol. 387v)	Continuation of the above (no text)
4:3	De la famosa y muy noble ciudad de Lima y porque se dize Los Reyes	Full-page textual addition (fol. 129v)	3:13	De la ciudad de Los Reyes y su descripción	Lima, city of kings
			3:14	Que prosigue las cosas notables de la ciudad de Los Reyes	Notable features of Lima
			3:15	Del Callao y puerto de la ciudad de Los Reyes	On Callao and the port of Lima
4:4	Del asiento y valle de Guanuco y porque tiene este nombre + y della ciudad de León	Half-page textual addition (fol. 130v)	3:16	De la ciudad de León de Huanuco	City of León de Huánuco
4:5	Del nombre de la ciudad de Quito y porque tiene este nombre	Half-page textual addition (fol. 131v)	3:17	De la gran ciudad de San Francisco de Quito y de su nombre	City of San Francisco de Quito and its name
			3:18	De otras ciudades y villas deste reyno hasta la ciudad de Trujillo	Other cities, including Trujillo
4:6	Del nombre de el ualle y pueblo [corrected to: villa] de españoles, llamado Yca		3:19	De la villa de Cañete y de Yca	Towns of Cañete and Ica
4:7	Del nombre del pueblo y villa de Cañete				
4:10	Del nombre de la villa y ualle de Camaná	Half-page textual addition (fol. 136v)	3:20	De los valles de la Nasca y la villa de Camaná	Valleys of Nasca and town of Camaná
4:11	Del nombre de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Arequipa	Full-page textual addition (fol. 137v)	3:21	De la muy noble y leal ciudad de Arequipa	Noble and loyal city of Arequipa
			3:22	De la miserable ruina que vino a la ciudad de Arequipa	How Arequipa was ruined
4:12	De la ciudad [corrected to: uilla] y del nombre del puerto de Arica	Full-page textual addition (fol. 138v)	3:23	De la villa de San Marcos de Arica	Town of San Marcos de Arica
4:8	Del pueblo de Guancabelica y del asiento de Choclococha + y villa de Oropesa	Full-page textual addition (fol. 134v)	3:24	De la villa rica de Oropesa y la ciudad de Castro Virreina	Rich town of Oropesa and city of Castrovirreina
4:9	Del nombre de la ciudad y pueblo de Guamanga y porque tiene este nombre + y de San Juan de la Frontera	Half-page textual addition (fol. 135v)	3:25	De la ciudad de Sant Juan de la Frontera de Guamanga	City of San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga
4:13	De la ciudad de La Paz y porque se llama Chuquiapo	Full-page textual addition (fol. 139v)	3:26	De la ciudad de nuestra señora de La Paz y su discrepsión y nombre antiguo de Chuquiapo	City of La Paz and its ancient name, Chuquiayabo
			3:27	De la villa rica de Hururo y de su descubrimiento	Rich town of Oruro
4:14	Del nombre de el pueblo de Cochabamba	Full-page textual addition (fol. 140v)	3:28	De la villa de Oropesa y Canata en el valle de Cochapampa	Oropesa and Canata in valley of Cochabamba
4:15	Del nombre de la ciudad de La Plata y por otro nombre Chuquisaca		3:29	De la ciudad de San Miguel de la Plata, prouincia de los Charcas y nuevo reyno de Toledo	City of San Miguel de la Plata, in Charcas
4:16	De la uilla ymperial de Potosí y de sus riquezas	Full-page textual addition (fol. 142v)	3:30	Del rico y famado cerro de Potossí y de sus grandesas	Famous <i>cerro</i> of Potosí and its greatness
			3:31	De la villa ymperial de Santiago de Potossí	Imperial town of Santiago de Potosí

Appendix 2. Codicological Survey of the Getty Murúa

This codicological survey takes into account the historical development and current status of the Getty Murúa manuscript. The column “Other codicological remarks” describes these changes. The shading indicates that the folio was either added to, excised from, or moved within the manuscript’s original, essentially regular quire structure. In the “Stubs and added folios” column, “Inserted” indicates a folio of GM paper stock that has been relocated from some other place in the original quire structure, while “Added” indicates a folio clearly never part of the original quire structure. In the “Watermarks” column, a dash indicates the unmarked half of a bifolium; for images of the six watermark types, see fig. 13. On folios 26 and 28, the drawings obscure the watermarks so that the identification cannot be confirmed. Note that the marginalia of the facsimile use a different system of notation to present the quire structure recorded here. The authors are grateful for the assistance of Nancy Turner.

Quires and sewings	Modern post-1961 foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
Q1, 5 fols.	1		1a	–	No frame	Not foliated			Blank	Blank		1
		Stub 1	2a	[]				Verso pasted to fol. 2r				
	2	Inserted	Singleton	GM	Frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to stub 1v	Drawing 1: Title page	Poems	Murúa	2
		Stub 2	3a	[]								
		Stub 3	4a	[]								
		Stub 4	5a	[]								
		Stub 5	6a	[]								
		Stub 6	7a	[]								
		Stub 7	7b	[]								
		Stub 8	6b	[]								
	3		5b	GM	Frame	Not foliated			Recommendation 10 (Córdoba de Tucumán, 28 Sept. 1614)	Recommendation 11 (Buenos Aires, 17 Dec. 1614)	Murúa (neat copy)	3
	4		4b	–	Frame	Not foliated			Recommendation 1 (Ilabaya, 25 Aug. 1611)	Recommendation 3 (La Paz, 8 Sept. 1611)	Murúa (neat copy)	4
	5		3b	–	Frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to stub 9r	Recommendation 5 (La Plata, 10 May 1612) + Recommendation 2 (La Paz, 6 Sept. 1611)	Recommendation 6 (La Plata, 14 May 1612)	Murúa (neat copy)	5
		Stub 9	2b	[]				Recto pasted to fol. 5v; verso and stub 10r pasted together				
		Stub 10	1b	[]				Recto and stub 9v pasted together				
Q2, 7 fols.	6	Inserted	Singleton	–	Frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to quire guard	Recommendation 4 (La Plata, 8 Feb. 1612) + Recommendation 7 (Potosí, 3 Mar. 1613)	Recommendation 8 (Potosí, 4 Mar. 1613)	Murúa (neat copy)	6
	7	Inserted	Singleton	GM	Frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to guard fastening fol. 7v to fol. 8r	Recommendation 9 (Potosí, 4 Mar. 1613)	Blank	Murúa (neat copy)	7
	8	Added	Singleton	PG	No frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to guard fastening fol. 7v to fol. 8r	Approbation 1 (Madrid, 22 Oct. 1615)	Blank	Original document	8
	9	Added	Singleton	UM	No frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to protruding part of fol. 10v	Approbation 3 (Madrid, 4 Apr. 1616)	Blank	Original document	9
	10	Added	Singleton	No watermark	No frame	Not foliated		Protruding part of verso pasted to fol. 9v	Approbation 2 (Madrid, 22 Oct. 1615)	Blank	Original document	10
	11	Added	Singleton	N	No frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to fol. 12r	Approbation 4 (Madrid, 26 May 1616)	Blank	Original document	11
	12	Inserted	Singleton	–	Frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to fol. 11v; verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Blank		12

Q3, 3 fols.		Stub 1 or guard	1a or guard					Verso tipped to fol. 13r	Part of ink frame of drawing 2	Traces of ink frame		
	13	Inserted	Singleton	GM	Frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to stub 1v; verso tipped to stub 2r	Drawing 2: Royal coat of arms of the Inca kings		Blank	13
		Stub 2 or guard	2a or guard					Recto tipped to fol. 13v				
	14	Added	Bifolium, left half	PG	No frame	Not foliated		Numbered "1" on recto; conjoint with fol. 15	<i>A su Alteza</i>	Blank	Murúa (cursive hand)	14
	15	Added	Bifolium, right half	–	No frame	Not foliated		Conjoint with fol. 14	<i>Al Lector</i>	Blank	Murúa (cursive hand)	15
		Stub 4 or guard	2b or guard					Verso and stub 5r pasted together		Spot of green/blue pigment sandwiched between pasted stubs		
		Stub 5 or guard	1b or guard					Recto and stub 4v pasted together	Spot of green/blue pigment sandwiched between pasted stubs	Traces of ink frame		
Q4, 18 fols.		Stub 1	1a	[]				Recto tipped to quire guard	Trace of black pigment (from an illustration) and of ink frame	Traces of ink frame		
		Stub 2	Status unclear	[]				No conjoint folio or stub identified	Ink smear and ink flourish			
		Stub 3	2a	[]								
		Stub 4	3a (see fol. 19)	[]		[3]		Original location of fol. 19. Verso pasted to fol. 16r	Ink flourish (corresponds to left edge of fol. 19v)			
	16	Added	Bifolium, left half	–	No frame	Not foliated		Numbered "2" on recto; conjoint with fol. 17; recto tipped to stub 4v	Copy of title of book 1; copy of chapter 1:1	Chapter 1:1 (end)	Murúa (cursive hand)	16
	17	Added	Bifolium, right half	PG	No frame	Not foliated		Conjoint with fol. 16	Blank	Blank		17
	18		4a	–		4 (leg visible)			Chapter 1:2	Chapter 1:2 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	18
	19	Inserted	[3a → Singleton]	GM	Frame	(Excised [3])	7	Detached from stub 4; flipped; previously inserted with fols. 19bis, 20, and 21 between fols. 22 and 23. Recto tipped to guard around fols. 19–20; verso tipped to recto of fol. 19bis, which once covered it entirely	(Originally verso) Drawing 3: Adoration of Manco Capac and myths of the Ayar brothers	(Originally recto) Title of book 1; chapter 1:1	Getty Scribe 1	20
	[19bis]	Added	Singleton	AA	No frame			Recto formerly pasted over text side of fol. 19; soaked off in 1978. Recto tipped to 19v; verso tipped to fol. 20r	Blank	Blank		21
	20	Added	Singleton	No watermark; GM-type paper	Frame		8	Previously inserted with fols. 19, 19bis, and 21 between fols. 22 and 23. Recto tipped to verso of fol. 19bis; verso tipped to guard around fols. 19–20, which is tipped to fol. 21r	Unnumbered chapter (a sequel to 1:3)	Unnumbered chapter (end)	Getty Scribe 2	22
	21	Inserted	[5a → Singleton]	–	Frame	(Excised [5])	9	Detached from stub 5; previously inserted with fols. 19, 19bis, and 21 between fols. 22 and 23. Recto tipped to guard around fols. 19–20; verso tipped to stub 5r	Drawing 4: Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac	Drawing 5: Manco Capac		23

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
		Stub 5	5a (see fol. 21)	[]		[5]		Original location of fol. 21 (see ink traces and distinctive excision). Recto pasted to fol. 21v	Traces of ink frame (corresponds to frame on fol. 21r)			
	22		6a	GM	Frame	6			Chapter 1:3	Chapter 1:3 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	19
	[19–21]						[7–9]	[Former location of grouped fols. 19, 19bis, 20, and 21; now erroneously bound between fols. 18 and 22]				(20–23)
	23		7a	–	Frame	7			Drawing 6: Mama Huaco	Chapter 1:4		24
	24		8a	–	Frame	8			Chapter 1:4 (end)	Drawing 7: Sinchi Roca	Getty Scribe 1	25
	25		8b	GM	Frame	9			Chapter 1:5	Drawing 8: Chimpo	Getty Scribe 1	26
	26		7b	[GM]	Frame	10			Chapter 1:6	Drawing 9: Lloque Yupanqui	Getty Scribe 1	27
	27		6b	–	Frame	11			Chapter 1:7	Drawing 10: Mama Cura	Getty Scribe 1	28
	28		5b	[GM]	Frame	12			Chapter 1:8	Drawing 11: Mayta Capac	Getty Scribe 1	29
	29		4b	GM	Frame	13			Chapter 1:9	Drawing 12: Chimpo Urma	Getty Scribe 1	30
	30		3b	–	Frame	14			Chapter 1:10	Drawing 13: Capac Yupanqui	Getty Scribe 1	31
	31		2b	GM	Frame	15			Chapter 1:11	Drawing 14: Chimpo Ocllo	Getty Scribe 1	32
	32		1b	–	Frame	16		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:12	Drawing 15: Inca Roca	Getty Scribe 1	33
Q5, 16 fols.	33		1a	–	Frame	17		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:13	Drawing 16: Cusi Chimpo	Getty Scribe 1	34
	34		2a	–	Frame	18			Chapter 1:14	Drawing 17: Yahuar Huacac	Getty Scribe 1	35
	35		3a	–	Frame	19			Chapter 1:15	Drawing 18: Ipahuaco	Getty Scribe 1	36
	36		4a	GM	Frame	20			Chapter 1:16	Drawing 19: Viracocha Inca	Getty Scribe 1	37
	37		5a	GM	Frame	21			Chapter 1:17	Drawing 20: Mama Yunto	Getty Scribe 1	38
	38		6a	–	Frame	22			Chapter 1:18	Drawing 21: Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui	Getty Scribe 1	39
	39		7a	–	Frame	23			Chapter 1:19	Chapter 1:19 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	40
	40		8a	GM	Frame	24			Chapter 1:19 (cont.)	Drawing 22: (Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui)	Getty Scribe 1	41
	41		8b	–	Frame	25			Chapter 1:20	Chapter 1:20 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	42
	42		7b	GM	Frame	26			Chapter 1:20 (end)	Drawing 23: (Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui)	Getty Scribe 1	43
	43		6b	GM	Frame	27			Chapter 1:21	Chapter 1:21 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	44
	44		5b	–	Frame	28			Chapter 1:21 (end)	Drawing 24: (Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui)	Getty Scribe 1	45
	45		4b	–	Frame	29			Chapter 1:22	Chapter 1:22 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	46
	46		3b	GM	Frame	30			Chapter 1:22 (end)	Drawing 25: Mama Ana Huarque	Getty Scribe 1	47
	47		2b	GM	Frame	31			Chapter 1:23	Drawing 26: Tupac Inca Yupanqui	Getty Scribe 1	48
	48		1b	GM	Frame	32		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:24	Chapter 1:24 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	49

Q6, 16 fols. (17, due to binding error)	49		1a	GM	Frame	33		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:24 (end)	Drawing 27: (Tupac Inca Yupanqui)	Getty Scribe 1	50
	50		2a	-	Frame	34			Chapter 1:25	Chapter 1:25 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	51
	51		3a	GM	Frame	35			Chapter 1:25 (end)	Drawing 28: (Tupac Inca Yupanqui)	Getty Scribe 1	52
	52		4a	-	Frame	36			Chapter 1:26	Chapter 1:26 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	53
	53		5a	-	Frame	37			Chapter 1:26 (cont.)	Chapter 1:26 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	54
	54		6a	-	Frame	38			Chapter 1:26 (end)	Drawing 29: Mama Ocllo	Getty Scribe 1	55
	55		7a	GM	Frame	39			Chapter 1:27	Chapter 1:27 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	56
	56		8a	GM	Frame	40			Drawing 30: Huayna Capac	Chapter 1:28	Getty Scribe 1	57
	57		8b	-	Frame	41			Chapter 1:28 (end)	Drawing 31: (Huayna Capac)	Getty Scribe 1	58
	58		7b	-	Frame	42			Chapter 1:29	Chapter 1:29 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	59
	59		6b	GM	Frame	43			Chapter 1:29 (cont.)	Chapter 1:29 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	60
	60		5b	GM	Frame	44			Drawing 32: (Huayna Capac)	Chapter 1:30	Getty Scribe 1	61
	61		4b	GM	Frame	45			Chapter 1:30 (cont.)	Chapter 1:30 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	62
	62		3b	-	Frame	46			Drawing 33: (Huayna Capac)	Chapter 1:31	Getty Scribe 1	63
	63		2b	GM	Frame	47			Chapter 1:31 (cont.)	Chapter 1:31 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	64
	64		1b	-	Frame	48			Drawing 34: (Huayna Capac)	Chapter 1:32	Getty Scribe 1	65
Q7, 18 fols. (17, due to binding error)	65		1a → Singleton	GM	Frame	49		Now mistakenly bound in quire 6; verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:32 (cont.)	Chapter 1:32 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	66
	66		2a	-	Frame	50		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:32 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	67
	67		3a	-	Frame	51			Chapter 1:33	Chapter 1:33 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	68
	68		4a	-	Frame	52			Chapter 1:33 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	69
	69		5a	-	Frame	53			Chapter 1:34	Chapter 1:34 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	70
	70		6a	-	Frame	54			Chapter 1:34 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	71
	71		7a	-	Frame	55			Chapter 1:35	Chapter 1:35 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	72
	72		8a	-	Frame	56			Chapter 1:35 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	73
	73		8b	GM	Frame	57			Chapter 1:36	Chapter 1:36 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	74
	74		7b	GM	Frame	58			Chapter 1:36 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	75
	75		6b	GM	Frame	59			Chapter 1:37	Chapter 1:37 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	76
	76		5b	GM	Frame	60			Chapter 1:37 (cont.)	Chapter 1:37 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	77
	77		4b	GM	Frame	61			Blank	Chapter 1:38	Getty Scribe 1	78
	78		3b	GM	Frame	62			Chapter 1:38 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	79
	79	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AM-type paper			63	Formerly Galvin fol. 32, migrated and flipped. Verso tipped to recto of fol. 78bis, which once covered it entirely	Drawing 35: Rahua Ocllo (formerly Galvin fol. 32v)	Text (chapter 25 of part 1 of Galvin MS; formerly Galvin fol. 32r)	Galvin Scribe 1	80
	[79bis]	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AA-type paper				Recto formerly pasted over fol. 79v, hiding the Galvin text; soaked off 1978. Verso tipped to fol. 80r	Blank	Blank		81

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
	80		2b	GM	Frame	63			Chapter 1:39	Chapter 1:39 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	82
	81		1b → Singleton	–	Frame	64		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:39 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	83
Q8, 21 fols. (20, due to binding error)	82		1a → Singleton	–	Frame	65		Recto tipped to quire guard; verso tipped to fol. 83r	Chapter 1:40	Chapter 1:40 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	84
	83		2a	–	Frame	66			Chapter 1:40 (end)	Reference to drawing 36	Getty Scribe 1	85
	84	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AM-type paper			67	Formerly Galvin fol. 52, migrated and flipped. Verso tipped to recto of fol. 84bis, which once covered it entirely	Drawing 36: Huascar (formerly Galvin fol. 52v)	Text (title page of part 3 of Galvin MS; formerly Galvin fol. 52r)	Galvin Scribe 1 and Murúa	86
	[84bis]	Added	Singleton	AA				Recto formerly pasted over fol. 84v, hiding the Galvin text; soaked off 1978. Verso tipped to fol. 85r	Blank	Blank		87
	85		3a	GM	Frame	67			Chapter 1:41	Chapter 1:41 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	88
	86		4a	GM	Frame	68			Chapter 1:41 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	89
	87		5a	GM	Frame	69			Chapter 1:42	Chapter 1:42 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	90
	88		6a	–	Frame	70		Verso tipped to stub 1r	Chapter 1:42 (end)	Reference to drawing 37	Getty Scribe 1	91
		Added	Bifolium, left half → Stub 1	[]				Conjoint with fol. 94. Recto pasted to fol. 88v; verso tipped to fol. 89r				
	89	Added	Singleton	AM			71	Formerly Galvin fol. 61, migrated and flipped. Recto tipped to stub 1v, which is pasted down to fol. 88v; verso tipped to recto of fol. 89bis, which once covered it entirely	Drawing 37: Chuquillanto (formerly Galvin fol. 61v)	Text (chapter 9 of part 3 of Galvin MS) (formerly Galvin fol. 61r)	Galvin Scribe 1 and Murúa	92
	[89bis]	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AA-type paper				Recto formerly pasted over fol. 89v, hiding Galvin text; soaked off 1978. Recto tipped to fol. 89v; verso tipped to fol. 90r	Blank	Blank		93
	90		7a	GM	Frame	71			Chapter 1:43	Chapter 1:43 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	94
	91		8a	–	Frame	72			Chapter 1:43 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	95
	92		8b	GM	Frame	73			Chapter 1:44	Chapter 1:44 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	96
	93		7b	–	Frame	74			Chapter 1:44 (cont.)	Chapter 1:44 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	97
	94	Added	Bifolium, right half	No watermark; GM-type paper				Conjoint with stub 1; inserted into quire before binding and ancient foliation	Blank (chapter separator)	Blank		98
	95		6b	GM	Frame	75			Chapter 1:45	Chapter 1:45 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	99
	96		5b	–	Frame	76			Chapter 1:45 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	100
	97		4b	–	Frame	77			Chapter 1:46	Chapter 1:46 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	101

	98		3b	-	Frame	78			Chapter 1:46 (cont.)	Chapter 1:46 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	102
	99		2b	GM	Frame	79		Verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 1:47	Getty Scribe 1	103
	100		1b Singleton	GM	Frame	80		Now mistakenly bound in quire 9; recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:47 (cont.)	Chapter 1:47 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	104
Q9, 16 fols. (17, due to binding error)	101		1a Singleton	GM	Frame	81		Verso tipped to fol. 102r	Blank	Chapter 1:48	Getty Scribe 1	105
	102		2a	GM	Frame	82		Recto tipped to fol. 101v	Chapter 1:48 (cont.)	Chapter 1:48 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	106
	103		3a	-	Frame	83			Blank	Chapter 1:49	Getty Scribe 1	107
	104		4a	GM	Frame	84			Chapter 1:49 (cont.)	Chapter 1:49 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	108
	105		5a	-	Frame	85			Blank	Chapter 1:50	Getty Scribe 1	109
	106		6a	-	Frame	86			Chapter 1:50 (cont.)	Chapter 1:50 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	110
	107		7a	-	Frame	87			Chapter 1:50 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	111
	108		8a	-	Frame	88			Chapter 1:51	Chapter 1:51 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	112
	109		8b	GM	Frame	89			Chapter 1:51 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	113
	110		7b	GM	Frame	90			Chapter 1:52	Chapter 1:52 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	114
	111		6b	GM	Frame	91			Chapter 1:52 (cont.)	Chapter 1:52 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	115
	112		5b	GM	Frame	92			Blank	Chapter 1:53	Getty Scribe 1	116
	113		4b	-	Frame	93			Chapter 1:53 (cont.)	Chapter 1:53 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	117
	114		3b	GM	Frame	94			Chapter 1:53 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	118
	115		2b	-	Frame	95			Chapter 1:54	Chapter 1:54 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	119
	116		1b Singleton	-	Frame	96		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:54 (cont.)	Chapter 1:54 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	120
Q10, 16 fols.	117		1a	GM	Frame	97		Recto tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 1:55	Getty Scribe 1	121
	118		2a	GM	Frame	98			Chapter 1:55 (cont.)	Chapter 1:55 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	122
	119		3a	GM	Frame	99			Blank	Chapter 1:56	Getty Scribe 1	123
	120		4a	GM	Frame	100			Chapter 1:56 (cont.)	Chapter 1:56 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	124
	121		5a	-	Frame	101			Blank	Blank		125
	122		6a	-	Frame	102			Chapter 1:57	Chapter 1:57 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	126
	123		7a	-	Frame	103			Chapter 1:57 (cont.)	Chapter 1:57 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	127
	124		8a	GM	Frame	104			Blank	Chapter 1:58	Getty Scribe 1	128
	125		8b	-	Frame	105			Chapter 1:58 (cont.)	Chapter 1:58 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	129
	126		7b	GM	Frame	106			Blank	Chapter 1:59	Getty Scribe 1	130
	127		6b	GM	Frame	107			Chapter 1:59 (cont.)	Chapter 1:59 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	131
	128		5b	GM	Frame	108			Blank	Chapter 1:60	Getty Scribe 1	132
	129		4b	-	Frame	109			Chapter 1:60 (cont.)	Chapter 1:60 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	133
	130		3b	-	Frame	110			Chapter 1:60 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	134
	131		2b	-	Frame	111			Chapter 1:61	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	135
	132		1b	-	Frame	112		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:62	Chapter 1:62 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	136
Q11, 16 fols.	133		1a	GM	Frame	113		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:62 (cont.)	Chapter 1:62 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	137

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
	134		2a	GM	Frame	114			Blank	Chapter 1:63	Getty Scribe 1	138
	135		3a	-	Frame	115			Chapter 1:63 (cont.)	Chapter 1:63 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	139
	136		4a	GM	Frame	116			Chapter 1:63 (cont.)	Chapter 1:63 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	140
	137		5a	GM	Frame	117			Chapter 1:63 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	141
	138		6a	-	Frame	118			Chapter 1:64	Chapter 1:64 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	142
	139		7a	GM	Frame	119			Chapter 1:64 (cont.)	Chapter 1:64 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	143
	140		8a	GM	Frame	120			Blank	Chapter 1:65	Getty Scribe 1	144
	141		8b	-	Frame	121			Chapter 1:65 (cont.)	Chapter 1:65 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	145
	142		7b	-	Frame	122			Chapter 1:65 (cont.)	Chapter 1:65 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	146
	143		6b	GM	Frame	123			Blank	Chapter 1:66	Getty Scribe 1	147
	144		5b	-	Frame	124			Chapter 1:66 (cont.)	Chapter 1:66 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	148
	145		4b	-	Frame	125			Chapter 1:66 (cont.)	Chapter 1:66 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	149
	146		3b	GM	Frame	126			Blank	Chapter 1:67	Getty Scribe 1	150
	147		2b	-	Frame	127			Chapter 1:67 (cont.)	Chapter 1:67 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	151
	148		1b	-	Frame	128		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:67 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	152
Q12, 16 fols.	149		1a	-	Frame	129		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:68	Chapter 1:68 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	153
	150		2a	-	Frame	130			Chapter 1:68 (cont.)	Chapter 1:68 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	154
	151		3a	-	Frame	131			Chapter 1:68 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	155
	152		4a	-	Frame	132			Chapter 1:69	Chapter 1:69 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	156
	153		5a	GM	Frame	133			Chapter 1:69 (cont.)	Chapter 1:69 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	157
	154		6a	GM	Frame	134			Chapter 1:69 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	158
	155		7a	GM	Frame	135			Chapter 1:70	Chapter 1:70 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	159
	156		8a	GM	Frame	136			Chapter 1:70 (cont.)	Chapter 1:70 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	160
	157		8b	-	Frame	137			Chapter 1:70 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	161
	158		7b	-	Frame	138			Chapter 1:71	Chapter 1:71 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	162
	159		6b	-	Frame	139			Chapter 1:71 (cont.)	Chapter 1:71 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	163
	160		5b	-	Frame	140			Chapter 1:71 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	164
	161		4b	GM	Frame	141			Chapter 1:72	Chapter 1:72 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	165
	162		3b	GM	Frame	142			Chapter 1:72 (cont.)	Chapter 1:72 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	166
	163		2b	GM	Frame	143			Chapter 1:72 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	167
	164		1b	GM	Frame	144		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:73	Chapter 1:73 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	168
Q13, 16 fols.	165		1a	-	Frame	145		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:73 (cont.)	Chapter 1:73 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	169
	166		2a	GM	Frame	146			Chapter 1:73 (cont.)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	170
	167		3a	-	Frame	147			Chapter 1:74	Chapter 1:74 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	171
	168		4a	-	Frame	148			Chapter 1:74 (cont.)	Chapter 1:74 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	172
	169		5a	GM	Frame	149			Chapter 1:74 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	173
	170		6a	GM	Frame	150			Chapter 1:75	Chapter 1:75 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	174
	171		7a	GM	Frame	151			Chapter 1:75 (cont.)	Chapter 1:75 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	175

	172		8a	GM	Frame	152			Chapter 1:75 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	176
	173		8b	-	Frame	153			Chapter 1:76	Chapter 1:76 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	177
	174		7b	-	Frame	154			Chapter 1:76 (cont.)	Chapter 1:76 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	178
	175		6b	-	Frame	155			Chapter 1:76 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	179
	176		5b	-	Frame	156			Chapter 1:77	Chapter 1:77 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	180
	177		4b	GM	Frame	157			Chapter 1:77 (cont.)	Chapter 1:77 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	181
	178		3b	GM	Frame	158			Chapter 1:77 (cont.)	Chapter 1:77 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	182
	179		2b	-	Frame	159			Chapter 1:77 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	183
	180		1b	GM	Frame	160		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:78	Chapter 1:78 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	184
Q14, 16 fols.	181		1a	GM	Frame	161		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:78 (cont.)	Chapter 1:78 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	185
	182		2a	-	Frame	162			Chapter 1:78 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	186
	183		3a	GM	Frame	163			Chapter 1:79 (cont.)	Chapter 1:79 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	187
	184		4a	GM	Frame	164			Chapter 1:79 (cont.)	Chapter 1:79 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	188
	185		5a	GM	Frame	165			Blank	Chapter 1:80	Getty Scribe 1	189
	186		6a	GM	Frame	166			Chapter 1:80 (cont.)	Chapter 1:80 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	190
	187		7a	-	Frame	167			Chapter 1:80 (cont.)	Chapter 1:80 (end)	Getty Scribe 1	191
	188		8a	-	Frame	168			Blank	Chapter 1:81	Getty Scribe 1	192
	189		8b	GM	Frame	169			Chapter 1:81 (cont.)	Chapter 1:81 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1	193
	190		7b	GM	Frame	170			Chapter 1:81 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 1	194
	191		6b	-	Frame	171			Chapter 1:82	Chapter 1:82 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 1 / Getty Scribe 2	195
	192		5b	-	Frame	172			Chapter 1:82 (cont.)	Chapter 1:82 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	196
	193		4b	-	Frame	173			Chapter 1:82 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	197
	194		3b	-	Frame	174			Chapter 1:83	Chapter 1:83 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	198
	195		2b	GM	Frame	175			Chapter 1:83 (cont.)	Chapter 1:83 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	199
	196		1b	-	Frame	176		Verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 1:84	Getty Scribe 2	200
Q15, 16 fols.	197		1a	GM	Frame	177		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:84 (cont.)	Chapter 1:84 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	201
	198		2a	-	Frame	178			Blank	Chapter 1:85	Getty Scribe 2	202
	199		3a	-	Frame	179			Chapter 1:85 (cont.)	Chapter 1:85 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	203
	200		4a	GM	Frame	180			Chapter 1:85 (cont.)	Chapter 1:85 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	204
	201		5a	-	Frame	181			Chapter 1:85 (cont.)	Chapter 1:85 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	205
	203 [sic]		6a	GM	Frame	182		Modern foliation: no. 202 omitted	Blank	Chapter 1:86	Getty Scribe 2	206
	204		7a	GM	Frame	183			Chapter 1:86 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	207
	205		8a	GM	Frame	184			Chapter 1:87	Chapter 1:87 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	208
	206		8b	-	Frame	185		Due to a modern binding error, the quire is sewn between fols. 206 and 207, rather than fols. 205 and 206	Chapter 1:87 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	209
	207		7b	-	Frame	186			Chapter 1:88	Chapter 1:88 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	210
	208		6b	-	Frame	187			Chapter 1:88 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	211

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
	209		5b	GM	Frame	188			Chapter 1:89	Chapter 1:89 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	212
	210		4b	-	Frame	189			Chapter 1:89 (cont.)	Chapter 1:89 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	213
	211		3b	GM	Frame	190			Chapter 1:89 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	214
	212		2b	GM	Frame	191			Chapter 1:90	Chapter 1:90 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	215
	213		1b	-	Frame	192		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:90 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	216
Q16, 16 fols.	214		1a	-	Frame	193		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 1:91	Chapter 1:91 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	217
	215		2a	GM	Frame	194			Chapter 1:91 (cont.)	Chapter 1:91 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	218
	216		3a	-	Frame	195			Chapter 1:91 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	219
	217		4a	GM	Frame	196			Chapter 1:92	Chapter 1:92 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	220
	218		5a	-	Frame	197			Chapter 1:92 (cont.)	Chapter 1:92 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	221
	219		6a	GM	Frame	198			Blank	Chapter 1:93	Getty Scribe 2	222
	220		7a	GM	Frame	199			Chapter 1:93 (cont.)	Chapter 1:93 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	223
	221		8a	GM	Frame	200			Chapter 1:93 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	224
	222		8b	-	Frame	201			Book 2: Prologo	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	225
	223		7b	-	Frame	202			Chapter 2:1	Chapter 2:1 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	226
	224		6b	-	Frame	203			Blank	Chapter 2:2	Getty Scribe 2	227
	225		5b	GM	Frame	204			Chapter 2:2 (cont.)	Chapter 2:2 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	228
	226		4b	-	Frame	205			Blank	Chapter 2:3	Getty Scribe 2	229
	227		3b	GM	Frame	206			Chapter 2:3 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	230
	228		2b	-	Frame	207			Chapter 2:4	Chapter 2:4 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	231
	229		1b	GM	Frame	208		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:4 (cont.)	Chapter 2:4 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	232
Q17, 16 fols.	230		1a	GM	Frame	209		Recto tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 2:5	Getty Scribe 2	233
	231		2a	-	Frame	210			Chapter 2:5 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	234
	232		3a	GM	Frame	211			Chapter 2:6	Chapter 2:6 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	235
	233		4a	-	Frame	212			Chapter 2:6 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	236
	234		5a	GM	Frame	213			Chapter 2:7	Chapter 2:7 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	237
	235		6a	GM	Frame	214			Chapter 2:7 (cont.)	Chapter 2:7 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	238
	236		7a	-	Frame	215			Blank	Chapter 2:8	Getty Scribe 2	239
	237		8a	GM	Frame	216			Chapter 2:8 (cont.)	Chapter 2:8 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	240
	238		8b	-	Frame	217			Blank	Chapter 2:9	Getty Scribe 2	241
	239		7b	GM	Frame	218			Chapter 2:9 (cont.)	Chapter 2:9 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	242
	240		6b	-	Frame	219			Chapter 2:9 (cont.)	Chapter 2:9 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	243
	241		5b	-	Frame	220			Blank	Chapter 2:10	Getty Scribe 2	244
	242		4b	GM	Frame	221			Chapter 2:10 (cont.)	Chapter 2:10 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	245
	245 [sic]		3b	-	Frame	222		Modern foliation: nos. 243 and 244 omitted	Blank	Chapter 2:11	Getty Scribe 2	246
	246		2b	GM	Frame	223			Chapter 2:11 (cont.)	Chapter 2:11 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	247
	247		1b	-	Frame	224		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:11 (cont.)	Chapter 2:11 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	248

Q18, 16 fols.	248	1a	–	Frame	225		Recto tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 2:12	Getty Scribe 2	249
	249	2a	GM	Frame	226			Chapter 2:12 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	250
	250	3a	GM	Frame	227			Chapter 2:13	Chapter 2:13 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	251
	251	4a	–	Frame	228			Blank	Chapter 2:14	Getty Scribe 2	252
	252	5a	GM	Frame	229			Chapter 2:14 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	253
	253	6a	–	Frame	230			Blank	Chapter 2:15	Getty Scribe 2	254
	254	7a	GM	Frame	231			Chapter 2:15 (cont.)	Chapter 2:15 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	255
	255	8a	GM	Frame	231 [sic]		Ancient foliation: no. 231 repeated	Chapter 2:15 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	256
	256	8b	–	Frame	232			Chapter 2:16	Chapter 2:16 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	257
	257	7b	–	Frame	233			Chapter 2:16 (cont.)	Chapter 2:16 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	258
	258	6b	GM	Frame	234			Blank	Chapter 2:17	Getty Scribe 2	259
	259	5b	–	Frame	235			Chapter 2:17	Chapter 2:17 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	260
	260	4b	GM	Frame	236			Blank	Chapter 2:18	Getty Scribe 2	261
	261	3b	–	Frame	237			Chapter 2:18 (cont.)	Chapter 2:18 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	262
262	2b	–	Frame	238			Blank	Chapter 2:19	Getty Scribe 2	263	
263	1b	GM	Frame	239			Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:19 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	264
Q19, 8 fols.	264	1a	–	Frame	240		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:20	Chapter 2:20 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	265
	265	2a	–	Frame	241			Chapter 2:20 (cont.)	Chapter 2:20 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	266
	266	3a	–	Frame	242			Chapter 2:20 (cont.)	Chapter 2:20 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	267
	267	4a	–	Frame	243		Guard on inside of 4a	Blank	Chapter 2:21	Getty Scribe 2	268
	268	4b	GM	Frame	244		Guard on inside of 4b	Chapter 2:21 (cont.)	Chapter 2:21 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	269
	269	3b	GM	Frame	245			Chapter 2:21 (cont.)	Chapter 2:21 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	270
	270	2b	GM	Frame	246			Blank	Chapter 2:22	Getty Scribe 2	271
	271	1b	GM	Frame	247		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:22 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	272
Q20, 8 fols.	272	1a	–	Frame	248		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:23	Chapter 2:23 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	273
	273	2a	–	Frame	249			Chapter 2:23 (cont.)	Chapter 2:23 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	274
	274	3a	–	Frame	250			Blank	Chapter 2:24	Getty Scribe 2	275
	275	4a	–	Frame	251		Guard on inside of 4a	Chapter 2:24 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	276
	276	4b	GM	Frame	252		Guard on inside of 4b	Chapter 2:25	Chapter 2:25 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	277
	277	3b	GM	Frame	253			Blank	Chapter 2:26	Getty Scribe 2	278
	278	2b	GM	Frame	254			Chapter 2:26 (cont.)	Chapter 2:26 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	279
	279	1b	GM	Frame	255		Verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 2:27	Getty Scribe 2	280
Q21, 8 fols.	280	1a	–	Frame	256		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:27 (cont.)	Chapter 2:27 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	281
	281	2a	–	Frame	257			Chapter 2:27 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	282
	282	3a	GM	Frame	258			Chapter 2:28	Chapter 2:28 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	283
	283	4a	–	Frame	259			Blank	Chapter 2:29	Getty Scribe 2	284
	284	4b	GM	Frame	260			Chapter 2:29 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	285
	285	3b	–	Frame	261			Chapter 2:30	Chapter 2:30 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	286

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
	286		2b	GM	Frame	262			Blank	Chapter 2:31	Getty Scribe 2	287
	287		1b	GM	Frame	263		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:31 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	288
Q22, 16 fols.	288		1a	–	Frame	264		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:32	Chapter 2:32 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	289
	289		2a	GM	Frame	265			Chapter 2:32 (cont.)	Chapter 2:32 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	290
	290		3a	GM	Frame	266			Blank	Chapter 2:33	Getty Scribe 2	291
	291		4a	GM	Frame	267			Chapter 2:33 (cont.)	Chapter 2:33 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	292
	292		5a	–	Frame	268			Blank	Chapter 2:34	Getty Scribe 2	293
	293		6a	GM	Frame	269			Chapter 2:34 (cont.)	Chapter 2:34 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	294
	294		7a	–	Frame	270			Chapter 2:34 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	295
	295		8a	–	Frame	271			Chapter 2:35	Chapter 2:35 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	296
	296		8b	GM	Frame	272			Chapter 2:35 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	297
	297		7b	GM	Frame	273			Chapter 2:36	Chapter 2:36 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	298
	298		6b	–	Frame	274			Chapter 2:36 (cont.)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	299
	299		5b	GM	Frame	275			Chapter 2:37	Chapter 2:37 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	300
	300		4b	–	Frame	276			Chapter 2:37 (cont.)	Chapter 2:37 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	301
	301		3b	–	Frame	277			Blank	Chapter 2:38	Getty Scribe 2	302
	302		2b	–	Frame	278			Chapter 2:38 (cont.)	Chapter 2:38 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	303
	303		1b	GM	Frame	279		Verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Chapter 2:39	Getty Scribe 2	304
Q23, 17 fols.	304		1a	GM	Frame	280		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 2:39 (cont.)	Chapter 2:39 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	305
	305		2a	GM	Frame	281			Blank	Chapter 2:40	Getty Scribe 2	306
	306		3a	GM	Frame	282			Chapter 2:40 (end)	Reference to drawing 38	Getty Scribe 2	307
	307	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AM-type paper			283	Formerly in front matter of Galvin MS, migrated and flipped. Verso tipped to recto of fol. 307bis, which once covered it entirely	Drawing 38: Coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru (formerly verso in Galvin MS front matter)	Letter of recommendation by the <i>curacas</i> of Cuzco and a new book title (formerly verso in Galvin MS front matter)	Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Galvin Scribe 1, and Murúa	308
	[307bis]	Added	Singleton	No watermark; AA-type paper				Recto formerly pasted over fol. 307v, hiding the Galvin text; soaked off 1978. Recto tipped to fol. 307v; verso tipped to fol. 308r	Blank	Blank		309
	308		4a	GM	Frame	283		Recto tipped to verso of fol. 307bis	Title of book 3; chapter 3:1	Chapter 3:1	Getty Scribe 2	310
	309		5a	GM	Frame	284			Chapter 3:1 (cont.)	Chapter 3:1 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	311
	310		6a	–	Frame	285			Blank	Chapter 3:2	Getty Scribe 2	312
	311		7a	–	Frame	286			Chapter 3:2 (cont.)	Chapter 3:2 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	313
	312		8a	GM	Frame	287			Chapter 3:2 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	314
	313		8b	–	Frame	288			Chapter 3:3	Chapter 3:3 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	315
	314[a]		7b	GM	Frame	289			Chapter 3:3 (cont.)	Chapter 3:3 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	316

	314[b]		6b	GM	Frame	290		Modern foliation: no. 314 repeated	Chapter 3:3 (cont.)	Chapter 3:3 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	317
	315		5b	–	Frame	291			Blank	Chapter 3:4	Getty Scribe 2	318
	316		4b	–	Frame	292			Chapter 3:4 (cont.)	Chapter 3:4 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	319
	317		3b	–	Frame	293			Chapter 3:4 (cont.)	Chapter 3:4 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	320
	318		2b	–	Frame	294			Chapter 3:4 (end)	Title of chapter 3:5	Recto: Getty Scribe 2. Verso: Censor	321
		Stub 1	1b	[]		[295]		Folio removed by censor. Verso tipped to guard	Traces of ink frame	Traces of ink frame		
Q24, 18 fols.	319		1a	–	Frame	296		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:5 (cont.)	Chapter 3:5 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	322
	320		2a	–	Frame	297		Recto tipped to guard across spine	Chapter 3:5 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	323
	321		3a	–	Frame	298		Recto tipped to guard across spine	Chapter 3:6	Chapter 3:6 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	324
	322		4a	–	Frame	299			Chapter 3:6 (cont.)	Chapter 3:6 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	325
	323		5a	GM	Frame	300			Blank	Chapter 3:7	Getty Scribe 2	326
	324		6a	–	Frame	301			Chapter 3:7 (cont.)	Chapter 3:7 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	327
	325		7a	–	Frame	302			Chapter 3:7 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	328
	326		8a	GM	Frame	303			Chapter 3:8	Chapter 3:8 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	329
---	327		8b	–	Frame	304			Chapter 3:8 (cont.)	Chapter 3:8 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	330
	328		7b	GM	Frame	305		Verso tipped to fol. 329r	Chapter 3:8 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	331
	329	Added	Bifolium, left half	PG	No frame		306	Recto tipped to fol. 328v	Unnumbered chapter	Unnumbered chapter (cont.)	Murúa (cursive hand)	332
	330	Added	Bifolium, right half	–	No frame		307	Verso tipped to fol. 331r	Unnumbered chapter (end)	Blank	Murúa (cursive hand)	333
	331		6b	GM	Frame	306		Recto tipped to fol. 330v	Chapter 3:9	Chapter 3:9 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	334
	332		5b	–	Frame	307			Chapter 3:9 (cont.)	Chapter 3:9 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	335
	333		4b	GM	Frame	308			Chapter 3:9 (cont.)	Chapter 3:9 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	336
	334		3b	GM	Frame	309		Verso tipped to guard across spine	Blank	Chapter 3:10	Getty Scribe 2	337
	335		2b	GM	Frame	310		Verso tipped to guard across spine	Chapter 3:10 (cont.)	Chapter 3:10 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	338
	336		1b	GM	Frame	311		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:10 (cont.)	Chapter 3:10 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	339
Q25, 7 fols.	337		1a	–	Frame	312		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:10 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	340
		Stub 1	2a	[]		[313]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 2	3a	[]		[314]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 3	4a	[]		[315]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 4	5a	[]		[316]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 5	6a	[]		[317]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 6	7a	[]		[318]		Folio removed by censor				

Quires and sewings	Modern foliation (pencil)	Stubs and added folios	Bifolia and singletons	Watermarks (initials)	Page layout	Ancient foliation (ink)	Secondary ancient foliation	Other codicological remarks	Contents of recto	Contents of verso	Textual hand	Corrected modern foliation
		Stub 7	8a	[]		[319]		Folio removed by censor				
		Stub 8	8b	[]		[320]		Folio removed by censor	Traces of ink	Traces of ink		
		Stub 9	7b	[]		[321]		Folio removed by censor	Traces of ink			
	338		6b	GM	Frame	322			Chapter 3:13	Chapter 3:13 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	341
	339		5b	–	Frame	323			Chapter 3:13 (cont.)	Chapter 3:13 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	342
	340		4b	GM	Frame	324			Chapter 3:13 (cont.)	Chapter 3:13 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	343
	341		3b	–	Frame	325			Blank	Chapter 3:14	Getty Scribe 2	344
	342		2b	–	Frame	326			Chapter 3:14 (cont.)	Chapter 3:14 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	345
	343		1b	GM	Frame	327		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:14 (cont.)	Chapter 3:14 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	346
Q26, 16 fols.	344		1a	–	Frame	328		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:14 (cont.)	Chapter 3:14 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	347
	345		2a	GM	Frame	329			Blank	Chapter 3:15	Getty Scribe 2	348
	346		3a	–	Frame	330			Chapter 3:15 (cont.)	Chapter 3:15 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	349
	347		4a	GM	Frame	331			Blank	Chapter 3:16	Getty Scribe 2	350
	348		5a	–	Frame	332			Chapter 3:16 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	351
	349		6a	–	Frame	333			Chapter 3:17	Chapter 3:17 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	352
	350		7a	GM	Frame	334			Chapter 3:17 (cont.)	Chapter 3:17 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	353
	351		8a	–	Frame	335			Blank	Chapter 3:18	Getty Scribe 2	354
	352		8b	GM	Frame	336			Chapter 3:18 (cont.)	Chapter 3:18 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	355
	353		7b	–	Frame	337			Chapter 3:18 (cont.)	Chapter 3:18 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	356
	354		6b	GM	Frame	338			Blank	Chapter 3:19	Getty Scribe 2	357
	355		5b	GM	Frame	339			Chapter 3:19 (cont.)	Chapter 3:19 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	358
	356		4b	–	Frame	340			Chapter 3:19 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	359
	357		3b	GM	Frame	341			Chapter 3:20	Chapter 3:20 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	360
	358		2b	–	Frame	342			Blank	Chapter 3:21	Getty Scribe 2	361
	359		1b	GM	Frame	343		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:21 (cont.)	Chapter 3:21 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	362
Q27, 16 fols.	360		1a	–	Frame	344		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:21 (cont.)	Chapter 3:21 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	363
	361		2a	GM	Frame	345			Blank	Chapter 3:22	Getty Scribe 2	364
	362		3a	–	Frame	346			Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	365
	363		4a	GM	Frame	347			Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	366
	364		5a	–	Frame	348			Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	367
	365		6a	–	Frame	349			Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Chapter 3:22 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	368
	366		7a	–	Frame	350			Chapter 3:22 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	369
	367		8a	–	Frame	351			Chapter 3:23	Chapter 3:23 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	370
	368		8b	GM	Frame	352			Blank	Chapter 3:24	Getty Scribe 2	371
	369		7b	GM	Frame	353			Chapter 3:24 (cont.)	Chapter 3:24 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	372

	370		6b	GM	Frame	354			Chapter 3:24 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	373
	371		5b	GM	Frame	355			Chapter 3:25	Chapter 3:25 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	374
	372		4b	-	Frame	356			Chapter 3:25 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	375
	373		3b	GM	Frame	357			Chapter 3:26	Chapter 3:26 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	376
	374		2b	-	Frame	358			Blank	Chapter 3:27	Getty Scribe 2	377
	375		1b	GM	Frame	359		Verso tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:27 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	378
Q28, 16 fols.	376		1a	GM	Frame	360		Recto tipped to quire guard	Chapter 3:28	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	379
	377		2a	-	Frame	361		Recto tipped to guard across spine	Chapter 3:29	Chapter 3:29 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	380
	378		3a	-	Frame	362			Chapter 3:29 (end)	Blank	Getty Scribe 2	381
	379		4a	GM	Frame	363			Chapter 3:30	Chapter 3:30 (cont.)	Getty Scribe 2	382
	380		5a	-	Frame	364			Chapter 3:30 (cont.)	Chapter 3:30 (end)	Getty Scribe 2	383
	381		6a	GM	Frame	365			Blank	Chapter 3:31	Getty Scribe 2	384
	382		7a	-	Frame	366			Chapter 3:31 (cont.)	Chapter 3:31 (cont.)	Verso: Murúa	385
	383		8a	-	Frame	367			Chapter 3:31 (cont.)	Chapter 3:31 (end)	Murúa	386
	384		8b	GM	Frame	Not foliated			Table of contents	Table of contents (cont.)	Murúa	387
	385		7b	GM	Frame	Not foliated			Table of contents (cont.)	Table of contents (cont.)	Murúa	388
	386		6b	-	Frame	Not foliated			Table of contents (cont.)	Table of contents (cont.)	Murúa	389
	387		5b	GM	Frame	Not foliated			Table of contents (cont.)	Table of contents (end)	Murúa	390
	388		4b	-	Frame	Not foliated			Blank	Blank		391
	389		3b	GM	Frame	Not foliated			Blank	Blank		392
	390		2b	GM	No frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to guard across spine	Blank	Blank		393
	391		1b	-	No frame	Not foliated		Verso tipped to quire guard	Blank	Blank		394
Q29, 5 fols.	393 [sic]		1a (or singleton)	-	No frame	Not foliated		Modern foliation: no. 392 omitted; reinforced by guards across spine on both recto and verso, such that status of folio is unclear	Blank	Blank		395
	394		2a (or singleton)	GM	No frame	Not foliated		Reinforced by guard across spine on recto, such that status of folio is unclear	Blank	Blank		396
	395		2b (or singleton)	-	No frame	Not foliated		Reinforced by guard across spine on verso, such that status of folio is unclear	Blank	Blank		397
	396		1b (or singleton)	GM	No frame	Not foliated		Reinforced by guards across spine on both recto and verso, such that status of folio is unclear	Blank	Blank		398
	397		Singleton	-	No frame	Not foliated		Recto tipped to guard on fol. 396v; verso tipped to modern flyleaf	Blank	Blank		399

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Murúa's Two Manuscripts: A Comparison

1. Martín de Murúa and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

It is rare among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chroniclers for a European author to have left behind for posterity the definitive manuscript he wished to be printed as well as a comprehensive draft for that final version. It is without parallel that another writer, this one of indigenous ancestry, should concurrently set about chronicling the same events and that the two men should enjoy a close relationship at least up to the point of presenting for publication their similar and similarly significant works.

The first of these two was the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, who was the author of two manuscripts, both with hand-colored illustrations, both rediscovered only recently.¹ The one that has been established as the final version—now known as the Getty manuscript—bears the title *Historia general del Piru. Origen i deçendencia de los yncas. Donde se trata, assi de las guerras çiviles suyas, como de la entrada de los españoles, descripción de las çiudades y lugares del, con otras cosas notables* (General history of Peru: Origin and lineage of the Incas: Which deals with their civil wars as well as the arrival of the Spaniards, the description of the cities and places there, along with other notable subjects). Although pages appear to have been excised from the beginning of the manuscript, the title page identifies the place and date of its completion as “En la Plata por N. Año de 1613” (In La Plata [Sucre, Bolivia] in the year 1613).²

The other version—now known as the Galvin manuscript—is titled *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru. De sus hechos, costumbres, trajes, y manera de gouierno* (History of the origin and royal genealogy of the Inca kings of Peru, of their deeds, customs, clothing, and manner of governing). It is dated 1590 on the title page, but, in light of numerous later additions, this date should be extended by more than a decade. Indeed, apart from attesting to the existence of various stages in the manuscript's composition, the additions show that this version is to be regarded as a draft for the later manuscript, despite evidence that it was once intended for publication. Among the latest of these addenda is one describing the eruption of volcanoes near the city of Arequipa in 1600; another, which alludes to the Aymaraes province of central Peru, may correspond to the years between 1604 and 1606 when Murúa served as *comendador* (prelate) of his order in that province. Those years were also the period of his discord with the indigenous Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.³

The date on the title page should also be extended backward in time. It is reasonable to suppose that Murúa began composing his history of Peru considerably earlier than 1590, because the information it contains, which presupposes a familiarity with the Quechua and Aymara languages, must have taken some time to acquire. Furthermore, although some scholars believe that the nineteen drawings that are pasted on top of other folios in the Galvin manuscript are contemporary with the other drawings that appear throughout the manuscript,⁴ I do not reject the possibility that the texts hidden on the reverse of some of these pasted-on drawings might show that they belonged to a previous stage of composition.⁵

The Galvin manuscript has a total of twenty-two instances of folios pasted to other folios distributed through the different parts of the chronicle, while the later version has—or used to have—five.⁶ In both manuscripts, most of these additions are located in the sections dealing with the history of the Inca and relate to portraits of supposed Inca kings and their principal wives, or *coya*. In the case of the

Getty manuscript, the texts hidden beneath the drawings were revealed when the five superimposed pages were separated in 1979, at the behest of the bookdealer H. P. Kraus, who at the time possessed the manuscript. His daring was amply rewarded by the discovery on folio 307v (see p. 10, fig. 3) of a draft or copy of a letter that bears the date 15 May 1596 and was apparently signed by several Cuzco *curaca*, or native lords, who thereby recommended the publication of “una ystoria de nuestros antepasados, los rreyes yngas deste reino de el Piru” (a history of our ancestors, the Inca kings of this kingdom of Peru) written by Murúa.⁷ Might not such notable information be concealed on the versos of at least some of the twenty-two pasted-down pages in the Galvin version?

As so many parallels exist between the work of Murúa and that of Guaman Poma, it would not be surprising to find that the two authors began their historical investigations simultaneously. Although we know very little about their lives, we do have consistent evidence that their works were already being prepared during the last decade of the sixteenth century. In the case of the Mercedarian, that information is conveyed by the Galvin manuscript and in the letter uncovered in the Getty manuscript. In the case of Guaman Poma, we have *Y no ay remedio* (ca. 1600; And there is no remedy),⁸ a copy of a description of land-title litigation between the Andean chronicler and various Spaniards and indigenous Andeans from Chachapoyas regarding lands in the valley of Chupas, near modern Ayacucho, in south central Peru. The dispute spanned the years 1590 and 1600. In addition to offering details about Guaman Poma’s properties that are repeated nearly word for word in the *Nueva coronica*,⁹ *Y no ay remedio* contains three drawings (folios 49r, 51r, 52v–53r) that, even if copies, reproduce with great fidelity the style the Andean writer employed when illustrating people and cities in other manuscripts.

This evidence shows that Guaman Poma was not exaggerating when in 1613, soon to finish the final version of *Nueva coronica*, he stated that his labor had lasted twenty or thirty years.¹⁰ For the larger figure to be true, he must have begun around 1583, by which time he had accumulated substantial knowledge of the Andean world of his day. We know, for example, that in the 1560s and 1570s, he acted as an interpreter for the Spanish priest Cristóbal de Albornoz (fig. 1) in his campaigns to eradicate the messianic apostasy from Christian doctrine known as Taqui Onqoy.

It may be that it was during these years that Murúa also began to familiarize himself with the reality that would spill into his manuscripts. Unfortunately, we lack documentation that would allow us to establish with certainty when he arrived in Peru, although it was probably in 1577 or shortly thereafter.¹¹ In any case, it would not be extreme to believe that it was a number of years before he produced the Galvin manuscript, for it contains many passages that demonstrate that in 1590, he possessed a high degree of proficiency in the Quechua language.

Consequently, all the scanty extant evidence suggests that both chroniclers began to compile data for their respective manuscripts during the 1580s and that at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century they maintained a friendly collaboration. Why their friendship dissolved is unknown, but we gain the impression from the criticisms expressed by the Andean writer that he came to feel badly treated or disappointed by Murúa.

Guaman Poma mentions Murúa in his *Nueva coronica* in five places, and every reference is written in an insulting tone.¹² Four of the references have as background the province of Aymaraes, specifically the town of Yanaca and the indigenous parishes Pochuanca, Pacica, and Pichigua, which, according to Guaman Poma, were part of the *encomienda* (royal grant) of “Cristán de Ciloa [Silva].” As was his custom, Guaman Poma wrote the priest’s name in each of these references as “Morua.” The offices attributed to him are *comendador* of Yanaca and priest of the three parishes. The accusations the Andean author directed against Murúa present him as a powerful man whom local authorities distrusted and as an abusive employer who drove away native Andeans who did not meet their tributary obligations. His most egregious abuses resulted from his weakness for native weavings. Murúa’s appetite for fine textiles was apparently so great that Guaman Poma depicts him beating an Andean woman at her loom (fig. 2). This illustration is accompanied, on the facing page, by specific accusations.

el qual destruyyó grandemente a los yndios con el mal y daño y trauajos de ajuntar las solteras, hilar, texer y hazer *cunbi* [tejido fino] y de *auasca* [corriente], pauellón y sobrecama, *uascas* [soga] y frezadas y costales y de tiñir lana, amasejos de chicha y penas que le pone a los yndios de los pueblos y a los forasteros y al común de los yndios, yndias solteras, muchachos y muchachas. Leuantádole testimonio, le rrobaua y decía que al perlado le seruía con ello y que no le abía de quitar de la doctrina y que auía de matar de asotes.

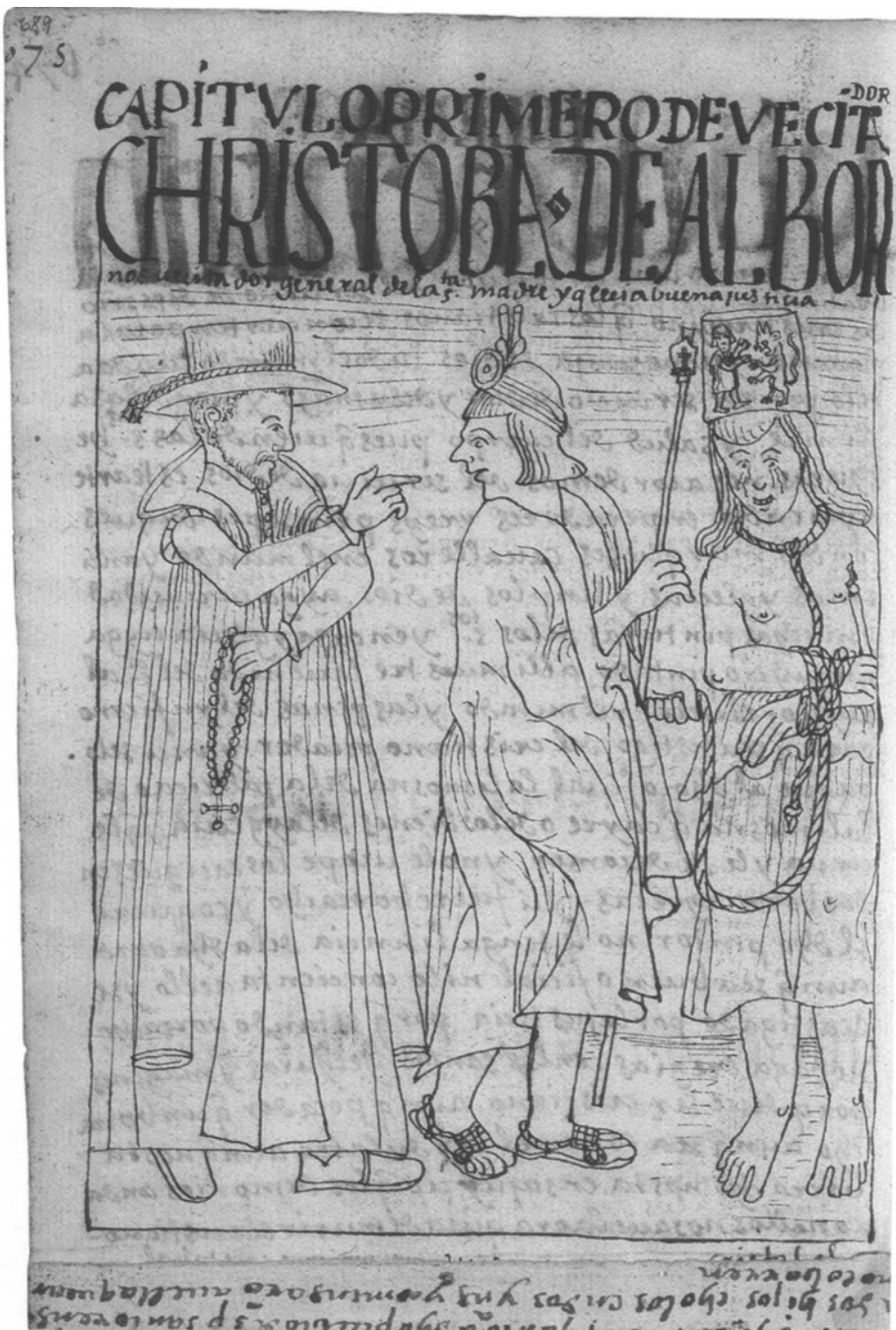


FIG. 1. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Peruvian, d. after 1616). The church inspector Cristóbal de Albornoz, with the help of an Andean assistant, administers punishment during a Catholic campaign to extirpate idolatry. From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno*, 1615, GKS 2232 4°, p. 689. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

Y ancí de tanto trauajo y castigo, se ausentaron los yndios y se despoblaron los pueblos. Y ancí deuía los yndios al encomendero dies mil pesos de rrezago de la taza. Y este dicho frayle era juez de comición del corregidor. Quitaua mugeres casadas y a las hijas y ermanas de los yndios.

(he greatly mistreated the Indians with his evil and harm, and his gathering unwed women to spin, to weave, and to make *cumbi* [fine cloth] and *auasca* [ordinary cloth], draperies and bed coverings, *huasca* [rope] and blankets and sacks, and to dye wool, and brew maize [*chicha*], and he imposes sorrows upon the Indians of the towns and the countryside, unwed Indians, boys and girls. He made accusations that they robbed him and told the prelate that they had to serve and that he would not lose his parish and that he had to kill with beatings. And thus with so much labor and abuse the Indians slipped away and depopulated the towns, and thus the Indians owed the *encomendero* [overlord] ten thousand pesos. And this said friar was the judge of the *corregidor*'s [royal administrator's] commission. He took the married women and the daughters and sisters of the Indians.)¹³



FIG. 2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Peruvian, d. after 1616). The Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa abuses his parishioners and takes justice into his own hands. From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno*, 1615, GKS 2232 4°, p. 661. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

So persistent was Murúa in these propensities, and such was his power in his parish, that in a sermon given in Quechua, the Andean chronicler quotes him as saying, in the translation supplied by Jorge Urioste,

Hijos, ¡óiganme bien no más! Ya he expulsado a ese aymara, lo he colgado, lo he quemado, pero por lo que se refiere a ustedes, se me han ido a quejar al encomendero y al corregidor porque hago tejer ropa y tejidos finos y porque hago hilar a las solteras en mi propia casa. ¿Me dijiste que me depondrías? ¿Quién es el obispo, quién es el rey? No le harán nada al representante de Dios. Haré que los quemem a todos ustedes, diciendo que son amancebadas o hechiceros. ¡Conózcanme bien! ¡Yo voy a morir aquí! Saldré solamente después de matar al kuraka. ¡Te haré confesar con el azotillo, indio aymara y pleitista!

(My children. Hear me well. I have already expelled that Aymara, I have hanged him, I have burned him, but in regard to those of you here, you have gone to complain to the *encomendero* and to the *corregidor* because I have fine clothing and cloth woven and because I have the unwed women spin in my own home. You tell me that you would have me removed? Who is the bishop? Who is the king? They will do nothing to the representative of God. I shall have all of you burned, saying that you are illegitimately cohabiting or that you are sorcerers. Understand me well! I am going to die here! I shall leave only after killing the *curaca* [local chief]. With the scourge I shall make you confess, O trouble-making Aymara!)¹⁴

It is difficult to know whether Murúa truly wielded so much power that no one in the province of Aymaraes could touch him, but we can be sure that he had an excessive fondness for textiles and that he was attracted to the native women. He makes numerous references in his two manuscripts to the former, delighting in the description of the beauty of Andean textiles, as when he writes that he could hold an Inca tunic he obtained on the Capachica Peninsula of Lago Titicaca “en un puño” (in a fist),¹⁵ or records the pattern of a *cumbi* sash the *coya* were wearing (fig. 3).¹⁶ As for his attraction to indigenous women, several paragraphs in the Galvin manuscript point to his being a sensual priest who took pleasure in imagining *aclla* (virgins of the sun) walking naked, revealing the heavy thighs and calves that were the standard of beauty in those latitudes.¹⁷

There is no doubt that Murúa was engaged by aesthetics, and especially by the products of skilled Andean women, as well as by curiosities, anecdotes, and literary motifs. In the Galvin manuscript, we need only read the opening of chapter 1 of book 3, in which he describes the customs and institutions of the *inca*. There he carefully recounts the physical characteristics of the *inca* and their prerogatives, among which he highlights being served by twenty beautiful *ñusta* (princesses) and four hundred *pajes* (page boys), changing their clothing four times a day and never wearing a garment twice, and dining off clay vessels, though they also had gold ones. Murúa is also amazed by the intellectual abilities and stoicism of the *guaracuc*, whom he describes as physicians or divining philosophers who

andaban desnudos por los lugares más apartados y sombríos desta región y por esta razón se llaman así. Y andando solos por los desiertos, sin reposo ni sosiego se daban a la adivinanza o filosofía. Desde que salía el sol hasta que se ponía miraban con mucha firmeza la rueda del sol por encendido que estuviese, sin mover los ojos, y decían que en aquella rueda resplandeciente y encendida veían ellos y alcanzaban grandes secretos, y todo el día se estaban en un pie sobre las arenas que hierven de calor, y no sienten dolor. Y también sufrían con mucha paciencia los fríos y nieves. Vivían una manera de vida muy pura y simple, y ningún deleite procuraban, ninguna cosa codiciaban más de lo que la razón y naturaleza demandaba. Su mantenimiento era muy fácil, no procuraban que la sagacidad y codicia y apetito busca por todos los elementos, mas solamente lo que la tierra producía sin ser maltratada con el hierro.

(walk naked through the farthest and most desolate reaches of this region, and it is for this reason they are so named. And walking alone through the deserts, without rest or comfort, they devote themselves to divination or philosophy. From the time the sun rises until it sets, they stare at the wheel of the sun, however brilliant it might be, without looking away, and they say that in that resplendent and fiery circle they see, and are made privy to, great secrets, and all through the day they stand upon burning sands, and they feel no

MEMORIA de un famoso e sumo delipir de un bi. Que solian tener las coyas en las
grandes fiestas q llamauan cam. Heu. y entoz quatro y los duplicados los aso
son los de hemoa quatro en un sac y quatro en otro

Yllaua 1 - *Virgines efigies*
x. a. 3. e. 3. a. 3. c. 3. v. x. c. x. a. 4. c. 3. a. —

Yllaua 2 - *Grasiam am. alge*
7. a. 4. c. 3. a. 2. c. 2. c. 3. v. 3. c. 3. v. 6. c. 3. a. 2. e. —

Yllaua 3 - *Gal. exple*
6. a. 3. e. 3. a. 4. e. 4. v. 3. c. 3. v. 9. c. 6. a. 3. e. 3. a. 4. e. —

Yllaua 4 -
4. a. 3. e. 3. a. 6. c. 6. v. 3. c. 3. v. 4. c. 4. a. 3. e. 3. a. 6. e. —

Yllaua 5 -
2. a. 3. e. 3. a. 8. e. 8. v. 3. c. 3. v. 2. c. 2. a. 3. e. 3. a. 8. e. —

Yllaua 6 -
3. e. 3. a. x. e. x. v. 3. c. 3. v. 3. c. 3. a. x. e. —

Yllaua 7 -
4. a. 3. e. 9. a. 9. c. 3. 6. 3. c. 3. a. 3. e. x. a. —

Yllaua 8 -
2. e. 3. a. 3. e. 8. a. 8. e. 3. v. 3. c. 2. v. 3. e. 3. a. 3. e. 2. a. —

Yllaua 9 -
a. 9. 3. a. 3. e. 6. a. 6. c. 3. v. 6. c. 4. v. 4. e. 3. a. 3. e. 6. a. —

Yllaua 10 -
6. e. 3. a. 3. e. 4. a. 4. c. 3. v. 3. c. 6. v. 6. e. 3. a. 3. e. 4. a. —

Yllaua 11 -
3. e. 3. a. 3. e. 4. a. 2. c. 3. v. 3. c. 8. v. 8. e. 3. a. 3. e. 2. a. —

Yllaua 12 -
x. 9. 3. a. 3. e. 3. v. 3. c. x. v. x. e. 3. a. 3. e. —

Lunes	quien soy	Pimicani
Martes	de donde soy	may mantan Samurú
Miércoles	Por donde soy	may tam Samurú
Jueves	donde estoy	may Pimicani
Viernes	a donde soy	may manmirú
Sábado	q lleuo	y matamapani
Domingos	quietud.	cassica ruylla

Fig. 3. Diagram for weaving a chumpi of a coya. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 150v. Private collection



FIG. 4. Quechua-language word square. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, recto of fol. 145bis. Private collection

pain. And they also suffer cold and snow with great patience. They live a very pure and simple life and seek no pleasure; they covet nothing other than what reason and nature demands. They need very little to live, desiring not what knowledge or greed or appetite creates from all the elements but only what the earth produces without being mistreated by the plow.)¹⁸

Murúa's aesthetic sense, his sensuality, his receptivity to the anecdotal, the imaginative, the ingenious, in addition to inclining him toward the pictorial, gave him as well an interest in means of communication and literary expression. The Galvin manuscript thus incorporates both drawings and Quechua poems, and it even contains an Inca romantic legend that tells of the forbidden love between a shepherd named Acoitapra and an *aclla* named Chuquillanto. Such was Murúa's fascination with things Quechua, and his bent toward the ludic, that he invents for his account of this legend an acrostic made of a few Quechua words that, when converted into phonetic writing, could be read from left to right or from top to bottom, as well as the reverse (fig. 4).

Given Murúa's inclinations, it is not difficult to imagine that when he met Guaman Poma, he must have been captivated by the Andean chronicler's linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge. By

that time, Guaman Poma must have been rather well known among the Spanish clergy. We have seen that during the late 1560s, he served Albornoz as an interpreter in the priest's campaign against idolatries, and he must have performed that service ably, for other documents present the Andean chronicler as an interpreter for the Audencia of Lima and as fulfilling the same assignment for the *comendador* and presbyter Gabriel Solano de Figueroa, who acted as a judge for the Spanish king during the last decade of the sixteenth century and in the first years of the next century.¹⁹

Being a competent interpreter must have made Guaman Poma welcome in church circles, which would have occasioned opportunities to travel and to reside in major cities. There are numerous indications that he visited Cuzco, and it is probable that he made Murúa's acquaintance while there and that their collaboration was born from that encounter. As Guaman Poma was a descendant of *quipucamayoc*, the Inca specialists in reading the knotted cords known as quipu, which apparently was a specialty of certain family groups, it is not unthinkable that he added to the cooperation he offered Murúa the assistance of others among his relatives. In this way, he would have become, in addition to Murúa's informant, his illustrator and perhaps the amanuensis²⁰ of many pages of the Galvin manuscript. That the manuscript itself was a collaborative enterprise is clear, for neither in the many drawings, which connote an indigenous style, nor even in the handwriting of the pages is there the uniformity of a single hand.

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 employer?²¹ The scarcity of facts concerning the lives of both chroniclers makes it difficult to offer a definitive answer; however, the falling-out coincides with the moment when Murúa apparently began writing his final version, the *Historia general del Piru*, and the *Historia del origen* became a draft.

2. Foliation of the Manuscripts

Murúa enumerates 145 folios in the Galvin manuscript. That total is noted on the title page of book 1, and when we count the extant folios we find that his calculation is accurate. However, the last folio in the manuscript is numbered 150. There are two sources for the disparity. On the one hand, there are four unnumbered folios. The first three leaves are not numbered at all nor is the leaf interposed between folios 145 and 146. On the other hand, there are nine missing folios. Two numbers that appear in the foliation are placed on the verso rather than, as usual, on the recto of the folio, where they follow sequentially from the number on the recto. This happens on the verso of folio 42, which is numbered 43, and on the verso of folio 61, which is numbered 62, and the chapters that should have appeared on folios 43, 61, and 62 are left unwritten (see p. 33, fig. 14). This means that two folios are lacking. In addition to these two missing folios, after the initial three unnumbered folios, the opening chapter of book 1 begins with folio 8, which means that seven folios are missing from the beginning of the manuscript. Consequently, from the number 150 that appears on the last folio we should subtract nine missing leaves but add four unnumbered leaves, which brings us to Murúa's total of 145 folios.

That the manuscript begins with a folio numbered 8 suggests that seven originals were removed and replaced with the three extant leaves that bear no foliation.²² The first unnumbered folio has on the recto a very simple manuscript title page (see p. 8, fig. 1) and on the verso a pasted-down drawing representing a kind of Andean Garden of Eden inhabited by lamoids, felines, and an Inca with a slingshot. The recto of the second unnumbered folio is blank, and a Mercedarian coat of arms has been glued to the verso. On the recto of the third unnumbered folio is the title page for book 1 of the *Historia del origen*; pasted to the verso is a drawing of a kneeling woman who bears a likeness to other depictions in the Galvin manuscript of women described as *aclla*. None of these three initial drawings is accompanied by any identifying text.

The last of these images, the *aclla*, is placed facing the "Capitulo prohemial" (Preface), which is devoted to the presence of the Mercedarian Order in Peru. In truth, the Mercedarian escutcheon would be a more fitting chapter frontispiece than the *aclla*, as Adorno and Boserup suggest in a recent study.²³ But Murúa apparently preferred that the Mercedarian coat of arms appear earlier, thus according priority and prominence to the author's own religious order. Nonetheless, the presence of the *aclla* in its place is a mystery, for the image has no connection to any of the texts in book 1.²⁴

On the verso of folio 8 is chapter 1 of book 1, titled "Del nombre de los reyes del Piru" (On the names of the kings of Peru). The content of this chapter and of chapters 2, 3, and 7 (there is no text

for chapters 4, 5, and 6) is largely taken, almost word for word, from chapter 9 of Luis Jerónimo de Oré's *Simbolo catholico indiano* (1598; Indian Catholic symbol), although all four chapters include information that also appears in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, Polo de Ondegardo's polemic against Inca ceremonies and rites, and even in Cristóbal Vaca de Castro's account of what *quipucamayoc* told him in 1542 about the customs of the Inca. The similarities between the Galvin Murúa and Polo de Ondegardo's text are so strong that both omit all discussion of Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, and Mayta Capac. The three folios that, judging from the chapter titles on the rectos of folios 11, 12, and 13, were to be dedicated to those three *inca* are blank in the Galvin manuscript. Moreover, of the three, only Sinchi Roca is depicted (folio 10r). A portrait of Capac Yupanqui, to whom Murúa accords a brief account copied from Oré, is likewise lacking, but between folios 9v and 20v, we do find portraits of the nine other *inca*.

These lacunae result in various anomalies in the layout of the manuscript in book 1. The recurrent pattern throughout the Galvin manuscript is for texts to appear on rectos and drawings on the versos, so that any given spread has the illustration for a chapter on the left and the text for the corresponding chapter on the right (see, for example, p. 21, figs. 8, 9). There is no image for the text of chapter 2, on the origins of the Inca, however. Instead, the text for chapter 1 appears on folio 8v and the text for chapter 2 on folio 9r. The following spread consists of the portrait of Manco Capac on the verso and the drawing of Sinchi Roca on folio 10r, placing the two portraits face to face. The next verso contains the text of chapter 3, which describes Manco Capac, and the facing recto has the title but no text for chapter 4, which should have been about Sinchi Roca (folio 11r). The verso of this folio is blank, but in an attempt to regularize the layout of the manuscript, even in the absence of drawings, Murúa placed the titles of the next two chapters, which were still to be written, on the rectos of the folios. Chapter 7, which discusses Capac Yupanqui, appears on folio 14r.

This normalized layout is maintained throughout the remaining twenty chapters of book 1 (on *inca* and *coya*) and for the first seven chapters of book 2 (on Inca princes and captains), up to folio 42. As already noted, the verso of this folio is numbered 43. It should contain chapter 8, on the captain Capac Guaritito, but it is blank, save for the chapter title. Chapter 9, which relates the exploits of the captain Ausitopa, appears on folio 44r, and, beginning with its verso, the distribution of the drawings and texts is again regular, save for the absence of a drawing on folio 48v, up to folio 52r, which serves as the title page for book 3 and has, on the verso, the beginning of the first chapter of that book. According to Adorno and Boserup, the odd configuration of this folio was necessitated by the transfer of the original folio 52—which had the title page to book 3 on its recto and a drawing representing an *inca* on a litter on its verso—to chapter 41 of book 1 of the Getty manuscript (folio 84).²⁵

Beginning with folio 54, the placement of the texts of the chapters is regular, save for folios 62 (the verso of folio 61) and 126, but that of the drawings becomes somewhat irregular, with eighteen of the remaining versos lacking an illustration.²⁶ This pattern continues until we reach folio 143 and the account of the romance of Chuquillanto and Acoitapra, which somewhat resembles a modern *historieta* (comic book). The legend is accompanied by several illustrations, and it seems to enjoy a certain autonomy from the rest of the manuscript. Facing the final image related to the romance is the beginning of the table of contents, which runs from folio 147r to folio 150r. The final verso of the manuscript carries a weaving diagram as well as a list of the days of the week, given first in Spanish, then as a playful Castilian equivalent, and in Quechua (see fig. 3).

The *Historia general* currently has 399 folios, more than twice the number of folios now contained in the Galvin manuscript, which at some point was transformed into a draft for the Getty Murúa. In the table of contents in the Getty manuscript, the last chapter is listed as beginning on folio 365, but as that chapter runs onto the next two folios and the table of contents itself occupies five folios, the total number of folios in the manuscript submitted to the Spanish authorities in Madrid for approval was 372, excluding the front matter and the nine blank folios following the table of contents. At least nine folios (chapters 11 and 12 of book 3) were removed by the royal authorities, and at some point the opening quire or quires of the manuscript were considerably rearranged and various other folios were either excised or pasted in, resulting in the current configuration of the Getty Murúa.²⁷

The Getty manuscript reorganizes the information contained in the Galvin manuscript. In the later version, there are three books, rather than four books, and the most substantial of these is no longer the third, which in the Galvin manuscript treated the institutions and customs of the Inca, but the first, which in the Getty manuscript narrates the history of the rulers of that civilization. Of the

four books that composed the earlier version, that devoted to Inca princes and captains is reduced in the later version to five chapters placed at the end of the first book. As a result, book 2 of the Getty Murúa treats the themes corresponding to book 3 of the Galvin manuscript, and book 3 of the Getty manuscript contains the material found in book 4 of the Galvin Murúa, that is, the description of different cities in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

3. From Andean Historical Accounts to Western Historiography

Murúa's new configuration of his history of Peru responds, as I have argued in my introduction to the Galvin Murúa,²⁸ to a desire to conform more closely to the conventions of European historiography at the turn of the century and to leave behind the Andean models that had guided his previous version, particularly in his presentation of the succession of the Inca monarchs. By adding to contemporary oral accounts, which must have seemed spare and confused to him, the priest sought to improve his account, giving it a new format and filling it out with information gathered from reputable chroniclers, most of them clergy, whose works, like his, had not yet been published.

In the Galvin manuscript, Murúa copies, often word for word or nearly so, texts by a number of sixteenth-century chroniclers, including Oré, Polo de Ondegardo, Diego Fernández de Palentino, and Francisco López de Gómara. Likewise, Murúa's text often corresponds to portions of Guaman Poma's work.²⁹ Of these, Murúa's most frequently utilized source is Polo de Ondegardo's text, traces of which can be found in nearly all the chapters having to do with Andean religion. Passages from works by all these authors, save for Oré, are to be found in the Getty manuscript. Added to them are passages that are hypothesized to come from another author whose writings are decidedly similar in content to the chronicles of Miguel Cabello Balboa, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, and Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, who were contemporaries of Murúa, and Bernabé Cobo, who came later.

In an article about a report describing the situation of descendants of the *inca* in the colony, John Howland Rowe states,

La memoria es interesante en primer lugar como muestra de las tradiciones guardadas por uno de los ayllus reales. En segundo lugar, la comparación de su texto con la información sobre las conquistas de Thupa 'Inka transmitida por Sarmiento, Cabello y Murúa ha permitido aclarar las relaciones entre estas tres fuentes. Parece que Cabello y Murúa tuviesen una fuente común que no fue la relación de Sarmiento y que podemos identificar más bien con la historia perdida de Cristóbal de Molina.

(The report is interesting, first of all as a record of the traditions preserved by one of the royal *ayllu* [extended family group]. Second, the comparison of this text with information concerning the conquests of Tupac Inca Yupanqui as related by Sarmiento, Cabello Balboa, and Murúa has allowed us to clarify the relations among these three sources. It seems that Cabello Balboa and Murúa had a common source other than Sarmiento's account, one we can identify better with the lost history of Cristóbal de Molina.)³⁰

Having compared the three texts mentioned by Rowe, I find that I concur with him. What interests me most, however, is that in that case, both Cabello Balboa and Murúa have extensively plagiarized. I base this allegation on the fact that many of the Mercedarian's chapters coincide with material in Cabello Balboa's work. In fact, there are so many affinities that at one point, I decided that Murúa's source was Cabello Balboa, but I have moved past this idea, because in this instance Murúa's plagiarism is not word for word, as it is when he borrows materials from sources that I have been able to identify beyond question. It is true that, as Annalyda Álvarez-Calderón has observed, there are many similarities between the Getty Murúa and Sarmiento's *Historia de los incas* (1572; History of the Inca),³¹ but with the help of José Cárdenas Cabello, I have identified an even more extensive debt to Cabello Balboa's *Miscelánea antártica* (1586; Antarctic miscellany). Álvarez-Calderón notes that seventeen of the ninety-three chapters of book 1 of the Getty manuscript resemble seventeen chapters in Sarmiento, but we have found that forty-four chapters of book 1 of the Getty manuscript resemble twenty-three chapters in the third part of Cabello Balboa's text.³²

Only in the case of the *coya*, some of the *inca* (including Sinchi Roca, Inca Roca, Yahuar Huacac, and Viracocha Inca), a few of the events relating to Huayna Capac narrated in chapters 42 and 43, and what follows chapter 64, on Francisco Pizarro's travels to Cuzco, is Murúa's material not taken from Cabello Balboa. In other words, nearly half of the chapters in book 1 coincide with the content in Cabello Balboa's *Miscelánea antártica*. As far as I am aware, no sources have been identified for chapters 63 through 85 of book 1. The remainder, including chapters 86 to 93, which are on various Inca captains and the myth of Acoitapra and Chuquillanto, repeats in great measure material already narrated in the Galvin manuscript.³³

After he finished writing the *Historia del origen*, Murúa clearly had doubts about its presentation of material and its accessibility to the general public. Hence, the chapter on the first *coya*, Mama Huaco in book 1 of the Getty manuscript, opens with this comment:

Aun que de hordinario quando se trata de los señores yngas de este Reyno se mudan algunas cossas y sucesos de las Coyas Reynas, sus mugeres, todavía por particulariçar más y dar mayor claridad a esta historia he querido hazer de cada Coya y Reyna su cap[ítul]o junto al de su marido, porque haziendo después particular tratado dellas, causaría en los letores confusión, que es lo que más procuro huir, y lo que puedo certificar con verdad me cuesta y a costado más trabajo y sudor, porque como los yndios mezclan y confunden vnas cossas con otras y unos sucesos con otros, es fuerça que los que los oyen y tratan y quieren sacar dellos alguna cosa a luz, sea con grandíssima dificultad.

(Even though ordinarily in writing about the Inca rulers of this kingdom, some things and events having to do with the *coya* queens, their wives, are related, here I have chosen, in order to present more particulars and lend greater clarity to this history, to give each *coya* and queen her own chapter following that of her husband, because giving a separate account of them later would confuse readers, which is what I most wish to avoid and something which, I can say in all truth, costs, and has cost, me great labor and hard work, because, as the Indians mix and confuse one thing with another, and one event with others, those who hear and deal with them and wish to derive from them some clarity, achieve that only with the greatest difficulty.)³⁴

Now that Murúa wants to create a history that is more in line with Western historiographic conventions, he no longer sees it as appropriate to present the *coya* as a series of individuals independent of their husbands, as happens in the Galvin manuscript and in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*; he even dismisses the separate but equal approach as too confusing for his readers. Murúa himself was often uncertain about how to present these same Inca rulers in the Galvin manuscript, so much so that he left the chapters blank that deal with three of the *inca* (Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Capac) and three of the *coya* (Mama Yunto, Mama Ocllo, Rahua Ocllo) and relied on Oré's account for information about Manco Capac and Capac Yupanqui and on chapter 5 of Fernández's *Historia del Perú* (1571; *History of Peru*) for Tupac Inca Yupanqui.³⁵

Although many chronicles on Peru had long sections about the individual *inca*, none of them, with the exception of Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, granted the individual *coya* much narrative space. Lacking a source to copy, Murúa was left with the choice either to leave out the *coya* or to transmit whatever he could gather from what the Andeans told him. The tangible result is, in fact, rather spare and stereotyped, like the drawings that illustrate the *coya* in both of Murúa's manuscripts. Since this situation was not much ameliorated during the period when the Getty manuscript was being prepared, Murúa largely fell back on repeating what he had already written about the *coya* in his earlier version.

In relation to the Inca princes and captains, Murúa was likewise faced with a dearth of reliable information and sources as he revised his narrative. Influenced by the new historiographic model he was adopting and by his desire to cut back on the number of illustrations, he withdrew the autonomy he had conceded them in the Galvin manuscript, in which an entire book was devoted to princes and captains. In the Getty manuscript, they are accorded only five chapters, which appear at the end of book 1.

In addition to having the most text of the three books, book 1 of the Getty Murúa contains thirty-five of the manuscript's thirty-eight illustrations, evidencing an attempt to place the images with the persons and events they describe. This means that, unlike the Galvin manuscript, which includes representations of *inca*, *coya*, captains, officials, customs, and buildings in the Inca empire,



FIG. 5. The *coya* Chimpo Ocllo with the coat of arms of the fifth *inca*, Capac Yupanqui. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 26v. Private collection

as well as cities of colonial Peru, the illustrations in this later version are much more limited in range. Most are portraits of individual *inca* or *coya*. There are as well a handful of scenes in book 1 that feature the deeds of some of the later *inca*, and three coats of arms appear elsewhere in the manuscript (folios 2r, 13r, 307r). Except for the four tipped-in images (folios 79r, 84r, 89r, 307r) that were transferred either from a draft of Murúa's history that predated the Galvin version or from the *Historia del origen* itself, the Getty manuscript's drawings are not only more uniform in execution but also more Western in style than the illustrations in the Galvin manuscript.

In the later manuscript, the royal portraits show the *inca* and *coya* standing inside, in an interior with tiled floors. They no longer appear outside, standing on a plot of grass or an earthen mound, as in all the royal portraits in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* as well as in the Galvin manuscript save for that of Mama Ocllo (folio 22v). The colors of their clothing, with very few exceptions, no longer correspond to the colors in the Galvin manuscript, which correlate to those Guaman Poma described for the personages portrayed. That is also true of the poses the subjects assume, particularly the *inca*. The escutcheons shown with the *coya* in the earlier portraits are allotted to the *inca* in the Getty manuscript (figs. 5, 6), as if, as Thomas B. F. Cummins has suggested, the author wished to shift emphasis from the maternal to the paternal line of Inca royal succession.



FIG. 6. Capac Yupanqui, the fifth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 30v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Book 1 can be considered the most significant of the three books that compose the Getty manuscript, not only because of its length but also because it is partly illustrated. Book 2 of the Getty Murúa corresponds to the Galvin manuscript's book 3, which was the earlier version's most important section. The later version is slightly longer, but the material is ordered into fewer chapters and there are no illustrations, although blanks for the images have been left before each chapter. This book now comprises forty chapters on eighty-two folios, whereas the earlier version consists of seventy-three chapters on seventy-three folios and included sixty drawings that, in truth, had as much to say as the text. In terms of content, this book corresponds almost exactly to that of book 3 of the earlier version, although Murúa has substantially rearranged some parts. Such reordering was inevitable, given that in the Galvin manuscript, the Mercedarian had added a great deal of new material that clearly was not fully coordinated with the context in which it appeared. However, if we examine the succession of chapters in each work, they treat the same themes in nearly the same sequence.

As I have noted elsewhere,³⁶ the chapters in Murúa's two manuscripts can be grouped into themes that are very similar to each other and to the description of Inca culture in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, although their order of appearance varies. Except for an additional theme in the Getty manuscript, the themes are the same, as the following listing shows.

GALVIN MANUSCRIPT	GETTY MANUSCRIPT	NUEVA CORONICA
1. Property and customs of the <i>inca</i> (chapters 1–14)	1. Property and customs of the Inca (chapters 1–4)	1. Laws
2. Government	2. Government	2. Overview [equivalent of Murúa's roads and taxes]
a. Justice (chapters 18–21, 23)	a. Justice (chapters 5, 6)	3. Calendar
b. Public administrators (chapters 24–29)	b. Public administrators and spatial organization (chapters 7–14)	4. Religion
3. Matrimony and chosen virgins (chapters 30–43)	3. Matrimony and chosen virgins (chapters 15–19)	5. Chosen virgins
4. Religion (chapters 44–62)	4. Roads and taxes (chapters 20, 21)	6. Justice
5. Roads and taxes (chapters 64, 69)	5. Laws and war (chapters 22, 23)	7. Festivals
6. Festivals and calendars (chapters 70–72)	6. Religion (chapters 24–37)	8. Property and customs of the Inca
7. Laws (chapter 73)	7. Calendars (chapters 38, 39)	9. Public administrators
	8. Notable things (chapter 40)	

In my introduction to the Galvin manuscript, I posited that Murúa's ordering was a reflection of his hopes for his manuscript. In contrast to Guaman Poma, who gave to his chronicle an argumentative tone biased by his messianic ideology, the Mercedarian focused his narrative on the historical and anecdotal biased, perhaps, by his desire for personal prestige. But it must be said that starting with a description of the royal court and the buildings that housed it and ending with the calendar—the arc generally described in Murúa's two manuscripts—had precedents in the works of Fernández and Bartolomé de Las Casas. Nonetheless, I believe that Murúa's reformulation of the ordering from the Galvin to the Getty manuscript, so that the tribute tax system and the laws appeared after the description of marriage, must have been to achieve more consistency through a grouping of secular themes. It also allowed him to conclude book 2 with religion and the calendar, both of which were indispensable topics for the evangelization that motivated the Mercedarians, thus creating a nice transition to the third book, which begins with the labors of the Mercedarian Order in Peru. But only after our Mercedarian author, always receptive to curiosities, brings book 2 to a close not with a legend such as the love of Chuquillanto and Acoitapra but with accounts of anomalous and amazing events of recent occurrence that feature monsters and even floating islands and trees. All in all, however, it must be said if the Getty manuscript gained a great deal in consistency through Murúa's reordering of the material from book 3 of his earlier manuscript, without the drawings and numerous details that apparently were suppressed for fear of censorship, it suffered a great loss in the area of ethnography.

Like the Galvin manuscript, the later version devotes its final book to a description of the kingdom of Peru and is largely occupied with the discussion of various cities. Nevertheless, to the sixteen

chapters that the earlier manuscript dedicated to this theme, the Getty manuscript added at the beginning of the book nine more chapters, in which Murúa describes the origins of the inhabitants of Peru, the colonial administrative system, and the evangelization of Peru and the role played in that endeavor by the Mercedarians. The material on the cities is also expanded, so that the book contains a total of thirty-one chapters. However, chapters 11 and 12, which detailed the festivals celebrated in 1606 in honor of the birth of the future Spanish king, Philip IV, were, lamentably, excised, possibly by censors. This left a total of twenty-nine chapters that describe the same cities, with the addition of Oruro (now in Bolivia) and Trujillo, a little more thoroughly than but in the same order as the previous manuscript.

The material Murúa added to book 3 of the Getty manuscript was so substantial that the sixteen folios and eleven drawings he dedicated to the subject in the Galvin manuscript were increased by sixty-eight folios, making a total of eighty-four (of which, as noted above, thirteen have been excised). Of these, only the folio that opens book 3 has an illustration, namely, a pasted-on drawing executed, as I have always maintained, by Guaman Poma, not only because of its resemblance to other drawings he made but also because the text written on the folio in Guaman Poma's hand mentions the artist's ancestor, the *capac apo* (powerful lord) Guaman Chaua (see p. 14, fig. 5). Titled "Las armas del reyno del Piru" (Coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru), the drawing functions as a kind of lead-in to the following text, chapter 1 of book 3, an interesting disquisition on the existence of a general name for the territory that once was dominated by the Inca and now was a dominion of the Spanish Crown. Looking for a symbol that represented the unity of the Peruvian viceroyalty, Murúa procured this image from Guaman Poma, making it the first coat of arms of a colonial Peru, a new realm still structured, of course, in a four-part (*tawantinsuyu*) scheme with deep Andean roots.

The treatment of Peru's cities in the Getty manuscript is nearly the same as in the Galvin manuscript. Where Murúa was a little more familiar than before with a city, he allowed himself to give a fuller account than before. There are more folios for Cuzco, Lima, and Arequipa. Trujillo, which was not included in the previous version, now receives a few lines. The same is true of Oruro. The sequence is kept the same, except that Oropeza (Cochabamba, Bolivia) and Castrovirreyna appear after Arica (now in Chile). What is most to be lamented in book 3 of the Getty Murúa is the absence of illustrations, a loss that is somewhat offset by the additional text.

Comparing the *Historia general* with the work of Guaman Poma, book 3 would be Murúa's *Buen gobierno*, although the Mercedarian does not proffer as many critical judgments or recommendations for improving public administration and the duties of officials as the Andean author did. Indeed, Murúa's sole recommendation for change is made earlier, in chapter 37 of book 2. There he dared present, as he did not in the Galvin manuscript, his proposal for "ebitar las hechizerías que oy usan los yndios" (avoiding the sorcery the Indians employ today).³⁷ As he himself states, his plan derives from the second (1567–68) and third (1582–83) provincial councils of Peru and consists of creating special houses for the sorcerers in towns where *corregidores* live for the purpose of reeducating and separating the Andeans from their fellows.

The problem of sorcery aside, in Murúa's opinion, everything in the Viceroyalty of Peru was progressing very well, as evidenced by his conclusion to chapter 10 of book 3:

si en el tiempo que sus yngas y reies los rijieron y gouernaron, fueron substentados en paz, tranquilidad y justiciã, y viuieron con seguridad y quietud, el día de oy, que, debajo de mando y monarchía de los cathólicos reyes de España, más guardados, defendidos y amparados están....Y así es su estado de los yndios del Perú más felize y dichoso que el antiguo, puestos en carrera de salbaçión de sus almas, y viuendo devajo de leyes sanctas y justas, y gouernados por Padres amantíssimos, que ansí se pueden dezir los Reyes y Prelados que tienen.

(if during the time the *inca* and kings reigned and governed them, they were maintained in peace and tranquility and justice and they lived with safety and quiet, today, under the command and monarchy of the Catholic kings of Spain, they are guarded, defended, and sheltered more than ever.... And this, then, is the state of the Indians of Peru, happier and more blessed than in former times, set on the road to the salvation of their souls, and living under holy and just laws, and governed by most loving fathers, for so may be called their kings and prelates.)³⁸

From our vantage point, nearly four hundred years later, we can see in this passage the trajectory of Murúa's historiography of Peru. He has listened to Andean informants and heard that they look back on the Inca period as a time of tranquility and justice. He even believes in their account of an Inca idyll enough to record it—but not as an end in itself. Instead, he finds a place for it in a European narrative of history shaped by Christian teleology where it enhances the benefits introduced by the Spanish, particularly in relation to the new political and religious order. In this respect, Murúa departed greatly from Guaman Poma, who blamed the Spaniards for turning the world upside down.

Notes

1. For more details, see my previous publications and presentations on the Murúa manuscripts, especially Ossio, "Una nueva versión"; Ossio, *Los retratos*; Ossio, "El original"; Ossio, "Tras la huella" (1999); Ossio, "Tras la huella" (2001); Ossio, "Guaman Poma y Murúa"; Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*; and my entry "Historia General del Perú" in Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *The Colonial Andes*, 184–86 (cat. no. 36).

2. This date agrees with the date that appears on folio 383v of the Getty Murúa, at the end of the text of the chronicle and before the table of contents (folios 384r–387v). Among the recommendations authorizing the publication of the manuscript are three from La Plata dated 1612, and two dated 1614 that were signed in Buenos Aires and Córdoba de Tucumán (Córdoba, Argentina). Two others dated 1615 and 1616 were signed in Spain.

3. Guaman Poma's mention of Alonso de Medina as being *corregidor*, or royal administrator, of the province of Aymaraes at the time when he and Murúa had their disagreements and a later reference to this same person as "criado del uirrey don Carlos Monterrey, conde" (serving the Viceroy Carlos Monterrey, count) suggest that the Andean's difficulties with the Mercedarian must have taken place between 1604 and 1606; see Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 662, 743; and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 50. This follows from the fact that Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, conde de Monterrey, whom the *corregidor* is presented as serving as a subaltern, governed Peru from 1604 to 1606 and died in his third year as viceroy.

4. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," esp. 161–62.

5. There are twenty-two folios pasted on top of other folios in the Galvin manuscript, nineteen of which contain drawings on the visible side. Though I concur with Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup that many of the hidden texts were copied onto adjacent pages in the Galvin manuscript, I have the impression that some were not. I suggest that the text on the side pasted down onto the following seven folios were not copied: verso of the first unnumbered folio (Edenic Andean landscape); verso of the second unnumbered folio (Mercedarian coat of arms); verso of the third unnumbered folio (*aclla*); folio 52v (text: chapter 1 of book 3); folio 136v (Arequipa during volcanic eruption); folio 137r (text: chapter 11 of book 4); and folio 143r (*aclla* and text). In the fifteen remaining instances, the texts on the pasted-down sides apparently have been reproduced; however, when I held these pages up to the light, I have the impression that the calligraphy of the original (hidden) passage is different from that of the copied (visible) version.

To this, I would like to add that Adorno and Boserup's assertion that various pages of the Galvin manuscript were reordered seems very plausible to me, as does their theory that the four drawings in the Getty manuscript representing Rahua Ocllo, Huascar, Chuquillanto, and the coat of arms of Peru are derived from an earlier version of Murúa's manuscript. I myself have posited this possibility in regard to the images of Rahua Ocllo (Getty folio 79r) and Chuquillanto (Getty folio 89r); see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 21; and Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *The Colonial Andes*, 186. Nonetheless, later I doubted this assumption because I noticed that there is no trace of the cuts in the Galvin manuscript; instead, we find blank folios bearing nothing but the chapter title. On the basis of photographs of the Galvin manuscript, and in the absence of the original, which I consulted only once for a brief period, it is very difficult to judge whether

folios have indeed been added to the bound quires. Without a thorough codicological analysis of the Galvin manuscript, for which I admit to lacking the training of Adorno and Boserup, I accept their suggestions but retain doubts about the other pages today in the Getty manuscript (see below, note 6).

6. Blanks were pasted over the versos of five images, all of which were inserted into the original quire structure of the Getty manuscript: folios 19r (adoration of Manco Capac), 79r (Rahua Ocllo), 84r (Huascar), 89r (Chuquillanto), and 307r (coat of arms of Peru). We have the text on the versos, however, thanks to H. P. Kraus's having separated the blanks from the folios they were pasted over. I concur with Adorno and Boserup (and other scholars) regarding the migration of the last four drawings from the Galvin to the Getty manuscript (folios 79r, 84r, 89r, 307r), but what I do not see clearly is where the other five drawing on tipped-in folios (folios 2r, 13r, 19r, 21r, 21v) might have come from. Would they be from another draft? There are, of course, a number of other folios inserted into the Getty manuscript; for details, see the codicology in Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 62–75.

7. As I have pointed out at other times, this letter is found on the back of a leaf bearing a drawing of a coat of arms that in all likelihood was executed by Guaman Poma or by someone very close to him; see Ossio, "Tras la huella" (1999) n.p.; Ossio, "Tras la huella" (2001), 442; Ossio, "Paralelismos," 66–68; and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 19–20. I base this conclusion on the fact that the drawing on folio 307r reproduces the coats of arms that Guaman Poma assigned to the kings of the four parts of the Inca realm and on the presence on the folio of text that, for the only time in Murúa's two manuscripts, makes mention of a person related to the Andean chronicler, namely, Capac Apo Guaman Chaua, who is repeatedly mentioned in the *Nueva coronica* as Guaman Poma's ancestor. For the shields, see Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 167, 169, 171, 173, 1001–2; for Guaman Chaua, see Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 76, 111, 176, 1067, 1108, 1117. For the coat of arms on folio 307r, see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 14.

The presence of this drawing on the recto of the leaf and of a letter on the verso that is extraordinarily similar to one reproduced in the *Nueva coronica* (pp. 5–6) and attributed to Guaman Poma's father is indisputable evidence of the Andean chronicler's connection with the Mercedarian's work. It may also be noted that the beginning of the letter on folio 307v, which is dated 15 May 1596, indirectly establishes that the work that is being recommended is the Galvin manuscript: "El [Murúa] qual abra cinco años que a escrito una ystoria de nuestros antepassados los rreyes yngas deste reino de el Piru y de su gouierno, con otras muchas curiosidades por relacion que de ello como de los viejos antiguos" (He [Murúa] about five years ago wrote a history of our ancestors, the Inca kings of this kingdom of Peru and of their government, with many other curiosities related therein as told by the elders). In other words, the letter alludes to a year somewhere around 1590, which is the date on the title page of the Galvin manuscript. The final bit of extraordinary information provided by this folio is that it suggests a cordial relationship between the Andean and the Mercedarian, which seems concordant with a possible collaboration between them.

8. Guaman Poma's *Y no ay remedio* seems to exist solely in the Expediente Prado Teilo manuscript (ca. 1646). According to the

foliation of the manuscript, which starts at 20 and ends abruptly at 87, the work is incomplete. Folios 49 through 69 relate to Guaman Poma's claims; see Adorno, "Genesis," 86 n. 8.

9. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 918.

10. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 715.

11. Franklin Pease has commented that "Santisteban Ochoa critica algunas informaciones de Barriga, cuestionando su lectura de los nombres, como ocurre en el caso de un Martín de Molina, mencionado en Barriga" (Santisteban Ochoa criticizes some of Barriga's information, questioning his reading of names, as occurs in the case of a Martín de Molina, mentioned in Barriga); see Pease, "Tópicos," 11 n. 6. If in fact Barriga was mistaken in his transcription and instead of "Molina" or "Monila," which appear in Victor M. Barriga's *Los mercedarios*, the name should be read "Murua," that would be very interesting, for this name appears in an account of the Mercedarians who came to the Americas in 1577. There this "Martín de Monila" is mentioned as leaving Madrid, like Pedro Guerra, who was situated in Seville; see Barriga, *Los mercedarios*, 3:290; 4:163. This information is relevant because it appears that Murúa was closely connected with Pedro Guerra. I draw this conclusion from a crossed-out phrase at the top of folio 327v of Murúa's *Historia general*, where with great difficulty I seem to make out the words "Fray Pedro Guerra -canceled: que por averme dado el avito y ser yo su hijo y parte por la aficion que tengo del padre - inserted: de quien - deajo en silencio muchas cosas" (Fray Pedro Guerra -canceled: who placed the [Mercedarian] habit upon me, and being [like] his son, out of the respect and love I have for the padre - inserted: about whom - I leave in silence many things). If their ties were that close, it would not be surprising if they set sail together for the New World. Should that be the case, Murúa would have reached Peru in 1577.

That this was indeed the year of his arrival in Peru is supported by the Andean scholar Luis E. Valcárcel in his biography of Miguel Cabello Balboa that appears in the modern edition of Cabello Balboa's *Miscelánea antártica* (1586), although Valcárcel does not give the source for the information; see Valcárcel, "Vida," xxix. It is probable that this date came from the Peruvian scholar Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, who is quoted by Ramiro Condarco Morales to support a similar affirmation; see Condarco Morales, *Protohistoria andina*, 277.

12. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 521, 625, 661, 662, 920, 1090.

13. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 662.

14. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (2004), 625.

15. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 73v - Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 155.

16. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 150v - Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 257-58.

17. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 53.

18. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 52v - Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 127-28.

19. See appendix 1 in Porras Barrenchea, *El cronista*, 94, 95; and Pereyra Chávez, "Un documento." In addition, the Archivo Departamental de Junín in Huancayo houses a document discovered by Javier Solier Ochoa that the historian Carlos Hurtado Ames photocopied and made available to me.

20. As I have mentioned on other occasions, I deduce the presence of an indigenous amanuensis in part from the fact that throughout the Galvin manuscript the Mercedarian's name is not written as he himself was accustomed to do—that is, not "Murua" but "Morua." The latter spelling appears in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* (see above, note 12, for instances) and in the letter of recommendation by the *curaca* of Cuzco on folio 307v of the Getty Murúa.

21. See note 3 for an explanation of my dating of the quarrel between Murúa and Guaman Poma. However, it is possible that Murúa remained in the area for a longer time, because Guillermo Lohmann Villena cites a document in the Archivo de la Nación in Lima that says that on 15 February 1610, while Murúa was *comendador* of Yanaca, he sent objects of value to the convent located in Escoriaza, Guipúzcoa, Spain; see Lohmann Villena, *Plata del Perú*, 141.

22. It is possible that one of the removed folios contained a coat of arms, for when discussing Cusi Chimpco in chapter 21 of book 1 of the Galvin manuscript, Murúa describes a coat of arms that supposedly hung above the entrance to the *inca*'s palace in Cuzco as "pintadas al principio de este libro" (illustrated at the beginning of this book), but in fact it does not now appear there; see Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 28r. A shield matching the description in the Galvin manuscript appears on folio 13r of the Getty manuscript, under the heading "Las armas reales de los yngas reyes" (Royal coats of arms of the Inca kings), before the dedication to Philip IV. This match raises the possibility that folio 13 may have once belonged to the front matter of the Galvin Murúa, although the watermark on folio 13 indicates otherwise; see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 144 n. 78. If this were the case, it is entirely possible, as Thomas Cummins has suggested to me, that the escutcheon titled "Los armas del reyno del Piru" (Coat of arms of the kingdom of Peru) and often attributed to Guaman Poma might also correspond to one of the folios removed from the front matter of the Galvin manuscript and transferred to the beginning of book 3 of the later version (folio 307r).

For a hypothetical reconstruction of the original quire 1 of the Galvin manuscript, see Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 179.

23. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 157, 180, 203-4.

24. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 157, argue that this *aclla* originally appeared on folio 143v, where the illustration functioned as the chapter frontispiece to the story of Chuquilantio and Acoitapra, which begins on folio 144r.

25. Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 167-68.

26. The versos of the following folios in the last two books of the Galvin Murúa have no drawings:

BOOK 3

- 55, facing chapter 4, on the four *orejones* (chiefs) who accompanied the *inca*
- 56, facing chapter 5, on the government and treasures of the *inca*
- 58, facing chapter 7, on how the *inca* were feared and esteemed
- 60, facing title for chapter 9 (blank)
- 61 (title for chapter 10), facing chapter 11, on the dress of the *inca*
- 67, facing title for chapter 16 (blank)
- 68, facing chapter 17, on the history and privileges of the Cañares tribe
- 73, facing chapter 22, on how the *inca* tallied the poor
- 77, facing chapter 26, on employees of the royal *tambo* (inns)
- 87, facing chapter 36, on the sequestering of *ñusta* (princesses)
- 122, facing chapter 71, on the names of the first six months of the year
- 125 (conclusion to book 3), facing a drawing of dancers who, judging by an analogous drawing in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* (p. 328), were from the Contisuyo area

BOOK 4

- 126 (prologue to the reader), facing chapter 1, on the name of the kingdom of "Piru"
- 127, facing chapter 2, on the name and grandeur of the city of Cuzco
- 128, facing chapter 3, on the city of Lima
- 134, facing chapter 9, on the city of Guamanga [Ayacucho]
- 137, facing chapter 12, on the port of Arica
- 142 (conclusion of book 4), facing a drawing of an *aclla* above a description of these women taken from Fernández

27. For additional details, see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 62-75.

28. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 29; see also Mendizabal Losack, "Las dos versiones," 156-57.

29. Pierre Duviols, Martti Pärssinen, John Rowe, and Annalyda Álvarez-Calderón are among the other scholars who have identified these correspondences; see Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 33.

30. J. Rowe, "Probanza," 194. According to Carlos Aranibar, both Raúl Porras and Luis E. Valcárcel had already "señalado el posible entronque de Sarmiento y Cabello con la perdida historia del padre Molina" (suggested a possible relationship of Sarmiento and Cabello Balboa with the lost history of Father Molina); see Aranibar, "Algunos problemas," 123.

31. In her "Friar Martín de Murúa," Álvarez-Calderón lists the following similarities, using Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64) and Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia* (1942):

GETTY MURÚA, BOOK 1	SARMIENTO
Chap. 9, pp. 34–35	Chap. 17, pp. 65–67
Chap. 13, pp. 39–40	Chap. 19, pp. 69–70
Chap. 15, p. 41	Chap. 21, pp. 73–74
Chap. 20, pp. 49–51	Chap. 38, pp. 107–9
Chap. 24, pp. 57–61	Chaps. 49–50, pp. 129–31
Chap. 25, p. 62	Chap. 44, p. 124
Chap. 26, pp. 65–67	Chaps. 51–52, pp. 133–35
Chap. 28, pp. 70–71	Chaps. 55–56, pp. 138–40
Chap. 30, p. 77	Chap. 58, p. 141
Chaps. 31–35, pp. 79–97	Chaps. 60–61, pp. 143–47
Chap. 37, pp. 100–105	Chap. 62, pp. 149–51
Chaps. 56–57, pp. 165–71	Chaps. 66–67, pp. 163–66

32. The correspondences we have identified are as follows:

GETTY MURÚA, BOOK 1	CABELLO BALBOA, BOOK 3
Chap. 2	Chaps. 9, 10
Chap. 3	Chap. 10
Chap. 7	Chap. 12
Chap. 9	Chap. 12
Chap. 11	Chap. 13
Chap. 19	Chaps. 14, 15
Chap. 20	Chaps. 15, 16
Chap. 21	Chap. 16
Chap. 22	Chap. 18
Chap. 24	Chap. 18
Chap. 25	Chap. 17
Chap. 26	Chaps. 18, 19
Chap. 28	Chap. 20
Chap. 29	Chap. 20
Chap. 30	Chap. 21
Chap. 31	Chap. 21
Chap. 32	Chap. 21
Chap. 33	Chap. 21
Chap. 34	Chap. 21

Chap. 35	Chaps. 22, 23
Chap. 36	Chap. 23
Chap. 37	Chap. 23
Chap. 39	Chap. 24
Chap. 40	Chaps. 24, 25
Chap. 43	Chap. 25
Chap. 44	Chap. 25
Chap. 45	Chaps. 25, 26
Chap. 46	Chap. 26
Chap. 47	Chap. 28
Chap. 48	Chap. 28
Chap. 49	Chap. 28
Chap. 50	Chap. 28
Chap. 51	Chap. 29
Chap. 52	Chaps. 29, 30
Chap. 53	Chaps. 30, 31
Chap. 54	Chap. 30
Chap. 55	Chap. 31
Chap. 56	Chap. 31
Chap. 57	Chap. 31
Chap. 58	Chap. 32
Chap. 59	Chap. 32
Chap. 60	Chap. 32
Chap. 62	Chap. 32
Chap. 63	Chap. 33

33. The Galvin manuscript did not discuss the eighth, tenth, and eleventh *coya*, however, so the material on those *coya* in the Getty manuscript is new. John Rowe has pointed out that the Getty Murúa's chapter on the tenth *coya*, Mama Ocllo, is almost wholly lifted from chapter 80 of Francisco López de Gomara's *La conquista de México* (1554); see J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria," 756.

34. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 23v = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:28–29.

35. Pärssinen, "Otras fuentes," 49. In the case of Inca Roca, Pierre Duviols has seen a similarity between Murúa's initial paragraph on that *inca* and part of chapter 3 of Polo de Ondegardo's *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios* (1585); see Polo de Ondegardo, *Errores*, fol. 8 [pp. 267–68]; and Duviols, "Les sources religieuses," 273. For Murúa's accounts of Yahuar Huacac and Viracocha Inca, I have not as yet been able to identify a source. The same is true for Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, although some of Murúa's lines are not unlike what Fernández wrote about that *inca*.

36. Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 35–37.

37. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 299r = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 2:129.

38. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 333v = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 2:185.

Censorship and Approbation in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*

ONE OF THE remarkable features of Fray Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* (1616) is the evidence that its manuscript contains of the final transformations of its prose text. The publication of the Getty Murúa in facsimile makes it impossible to ignore this phenomenon, which consists not only of various additions and substitutions but also of the careful and systematic excision of words and passages carried out by a variety of cancellation techniques throughout the handsomely fair-copied and completed manuscript.¹ Are these emendations the work of the author, in final passes over his manuscript, or of other hands, censoring its contents, or both? The facsimile places before us physical evidence that the work's previous editions did not transmit and that now demands interpretation.²

The Getty Murúa is rare, if not unique, among surviving Spanish colonial manuscripts insofar as its textual modifications offer an opportunity to address a number of related issues. These include the actions taken on the manuscript by authorial and censorial hands (sections 1–4), its endorsement by episcopal and civil authorities in South America and approval by Mercedarian officials and royal authorities in Madrid (section 5), and, ultimately, its failure to achieve publication (section 6). By illuminating this special case, we can better understand the assessments made of the literary and historical production of early- to mid-colonial Spanish America by authorities in the Spanish metropolis of Madrid.

An awareness of authorship and authority informs even the striking, hand-colored title page of the Getty manuscript, which contains elements that serve both literary and bureaucratic ends (fig. 1). It features an ornamental shield that has at its center the eyes and ears of the historian-witness, with the coat of arms of Castile above and that of the Order of Mercy below. The shield is flanked, on the left, by a coat of arms for viceregal Peru and, on the right, by a coat of arms for the Inca kings. This composite image brings together the Old World and the New, the crown and the cross, the Viceroyalty of Peru and the fallen Inca empire—in short, the elements of Spain's transatlantic empire pertinent to a history of Inca Peru as written by a Spanish missionary friar.³

The Latin motto on the shield interprets the meaning of the eyes and the ears into which putti trumpet. Read clockwise, from the upper left, and then down the center, the motto announces, "TESTAMVR QVOD VIDIMVS E.T. *audiuimus*" (We testify to what we have seen and heard).⁴ Repeating this clockwise movement, we read, at the right edge of the page, "Auribus arrectis teneo, ceu plura penetrans/Linceo visu sum prius intuitus" (I perceive with pricked-up ears, just as I have penetrated /And discovered much with [my] lynxlike vision), and, at the left edge, "Auditui si dulce melos non praebeat istud,/Illustra, lector, lumine mentis opus" (If this work does not ring like sweet music in your ears,/You must, O reader, illuminate it with your mind's eye). The reader is thus advised to be prepared to learn from the author, who has used his powers of observation to give faithful and sharp testimony about the things he has seen and heard and to penetrate to the heart of things. The work will reveal what others, not endowed with the author's acute, lynxlike senses, have not observed or comprehended. And if the reader finds the work's contents wanting, he is invited (or dared) to try to best the author, if he can.

The other point of interest on the title page is the swirling rubric that appears at the foot of the page, just above the stricken phrase, "En La Plata por N[uestro] Año de 1613" (In La Plata [Sucre, Bolivia] around our year of 1613). Found on the recto of nearly every folio, the rubric is consistent

HISTORIA GENERAL DEL PIRU. ORIGEN I DEGEN-
 DENCIA. de los Incas. donde se trata, assi de las guerras
 ciuiles Suiyas, como de la Entrada de los españoles
 descripción de las ciudades y lugares de el, con
 otras cosas notables, compuesto por el ~~rey~~ P.
 fr. Martin de Murua elector genl del orden de más
 de las mds. de captiuos, con jura de Huata,

Delatoribloth. et coll.
 m. refuena

Auditui, si dulce melos, non prebeat istuo.
 Illustra, lector, lumine mentis opus,

Auribus, arrechs, tener ceu plura: pertractans -
 Princeps, sum pius intus



EN LA PLATA por N. Año de 1613.

FIG. 1. Title page. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 2r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

throughout the manuscript. Comprising two vertically arranged loops topped by a flourish and grounded by two other loops, its form reminds the modern viewer of a lowercase *g* written in cursive. Its final occurrence is on the verso of the last inscribed folio of the manuscript, where it is accompanied by the signature of Gerónimo Núñez de León (fig. 2), who repeatedly has been misidentified as the manuscript's copyist.⁵ The Getty manuscript, however, explicitly identifies Gerónimo Núñez de León as the *escribano de cámara*, that is, as the royal notary or clerk of the royal chamber whose name and signature also appear on the royal license to print Murúa's chronicle (fig. 3).

The various official Mercedarian and royal approvals of Murúa's manuscript are found in four original, autograph documents that were inserted in the manuscript upon its approbation in Madrid. First is the approval of the chronicler of the Mercedarian Order, Fray Alonso Remón, dated 22 October 1615 (folio 8r), who stated that he found nothing in the work "contra nuestra fe ni las buenas costumbres" (against our faith or good customs) and recommended that the master general of the Mercedarian Order, Fray Francisco de Ribera, authorize the manuscript to be forwarded to the Consejo Real de Castilla (Royal council of Castile). There followed Ribera's formal permission (folio 10r), also dated 22 October 1615. Six months later, on 28 April 1616, the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia, signed his evaluation of the work (folio 9r). He declared that he found nothing objectionable in it and recommended that it be licensed for printing. Completing the quartet is the royal decree (see fig. 3), which is signed "Yo el Rey" (I, the king), countersigned by the royal secretary Pedro de Contreras, and dated 26 May 1616. The royal license states that Núñez de León, who is identified as "nu[est]ro escriuano de cámara" (our court notary), has examined the original manuscript in the royal council's chambers, rubricated it throughout, and signed his name at the end.⁶ Núñez de León's signature appears below the decree, at the end of a brief statement: "Licencia a fray martín de murúa de la Horden de n[uest]ra señora de la merced para que pueda ymprimir un libro yntitulado *Historia General del Reyno y provincias del Pirú y preuilegio por diez años* = [rubric] León" (License granted to Fray Martín de Murúa of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy so that he may print a book entitled *Historia general del reyno y provincias del Pirú* for a period of ten years = [rubric] León). It is worthy of note that Núñez de León was the court notary who, later in 1616, examined and rubricated the manuscript of Miguel de Cervantes's *Los trabajos de Persiles, y Sigismunda, historia setentrional* (The labors of Persiles and Sigismunda, a northern story), which was published posthumously in Madrid in 1617.⁷

Núñez de León's rubric appears on the rectos of the Getty manuscript, such that both the folios carrying painted drawings and those bearing the calligraphed prose texts are "sealed" with this symbol. The only exceptions are the original, autograph documents of Mercedarian and royal approbation (folios 8–11), three blanks (folios 12, 17, 94), and the coat of arms of the Inca kings (folio 13r). Evidence that makes it possible to date the period of the manuscript's rubrication is found at the end of book 3's chapter 5, "Del gobierno que oy tiene el reino del Peru" (On the government that Peru has today). There, on folio 32or, the calligraphed text identifies Juan de Mendoza y Luna, marqués de Montesclaros, as the ruling viceroy. Montesclaros held that office from 21 December 1607 to the end of 1615. There follows a passage about the worthy efforts of the viceroys in supporting the propagation of the Christian faith, serving the Spanish crown, and protecting Andeans from the abuses of the Spanish colonists who live among them. Up to this point, the chapter was calligraphed by Getty Scribe 2.⁸ At the end of the page, however, a different hand has entered the information that "el último que oy gobierna y es virrey" (the latest one, who governs today and is viceroy) is Francisco de Borja y Aragón, príncipe de Esquilache and conde de Mayalde. Borja ruled Peru from 18 December 1615 to 31 December 1621, so the addendum, emphasizing the currency of Borja's rule ("que oy gobierna"), could have been made only in anticipation of his impending installation and the potential publication of Murúa's manuscript early in Borja's tenure.⁹ And because the rubric is found below this addendum, not at the end of the calligraphed chapter, Núñez de León clearly rubricated the manuscript after the end of 1615 but prior to the issuing of the royal license to print on 21 May 1616.

Between the royal approval of a manuscript and its publication, an important step intervened, and this is where the rubrication was crucial. The license to print specified that a single typeset copy of the manuscript, excluding the front matter, along with the rubricated manuscript, was to be brought to court by the author or his representative so that a court-appointed official could compare the two versions and verify that they were identical in content. This proviso was made to guarantee that the printed text did not modify the contents of the rubricated manuscript or introduce any new material. If there was a discrepancy between the two versions, it was the author's responsibility to provide a sworn statement detailing how a court-appointed reader had corrected the typesetting to

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Yo el Rey

Por man. del Rey no se dio

E. de Contreras

Licencia a N. de Murúa de Castilla y de Leon no fue fecho de la dha. licencia de imprimir el
 titulado Historia General del Reyno y provincias del Peru en que auia de puesto mucho estudio y trabajo de un
 Leon Casca

Fig. 3. Royal license to print and notary's statement. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 11r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

match the rubricated manuscript. Only after the court was satisfied on this point and had set the book's official price (*tasa*) could the work's front matter ("principio y primer pliego" [beginning and first quire]) be printed and the book sold.¹⁰

From the 1550s onward, books to be printed in Castile on the subject of the Americas were viewed by Spanish officialdom as potentially politically inflammatory because of their discussion of the Spanish conquest or as potentially dangerous to "la fe... [y] las buenas costumbres" (the faith... [and] good customs)¹¹ because of their descriptions of native Amerindian civilizations and traditional practices. Hence, the monarch, through the Consejo Real de Castilla and the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies), exercised vigilance through directives designed to control and monitor the works that went to press in Castile.¹² In Murúa's case, because he was a Mercedarian, his manuscript had to undergo an additional vetting process. Before it was sent to the court, it had to be approved by his order, which at the time meant passing under the watchful eye of Remón, the Order of Mercy's appointed chronicler. Evidence of both stages of approval are present in Murúa's manuscript. Because it was rubricated but not printed, it remains in its prepublication state, frozen in time and serving as a witness to its own final transformations.¹³

1. Murúa's Modifications to His Calligraphed Manuscript

By 1613, Murúa had invested a great deal of time—some two decades—in composing, restructuring, and expanding his history of Inca Peru.¹⁴ First conceived as an account of Inca origins and descent, Murúa's work grew, in the Galvin and Getty manuscripts, into a general history of Peru that spanned the rise and fall of the Inca empire and Spanish colonial times. In the process, Murúa drew not only on his own experiences in the Viceroyalty of Peru but also on works by other Spanish and Spanish creole authors. Given that he used extensively, although without attribution, the works of previous writers, he may have imagined that his work would be above reproach at the time of its evaluation. Before turning to the modifications that he, and others, made to his calligraphed manuscript, I will review briefly some of the works on which he silently relied.

Much has been written about the many sources that Murúa copied into his own manuscripts, and what we might call the hidden bibliography of his work continues to lengthen.¹⁵ Among the authorities he consulted and copied were Polo de Ondegardo on ritual Andean beliefs and practices, Fray Jerónimo Román y Zamora on the quipu, and Cristóbal de Molina on Inca history. On the Spanish conquest of Peru, Murúa's strident condemnation of the conduct of the Spanish conquistadores emulates the moral conviction and rhetorical tone of the writings of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. In the 1570s, the viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, had written that he would obey the royal order to confiscate Las Casas's works, which were, he asserted, held dear by the friars of the realm and responsible for doing great harm to the kingdom.¹⁶ Murúa's declarations about the sins committed to satisfy the conquerors' greed and about the need for the Spaniards and their heirs to make restitution to their Andean victims (and their heirs) echo with high-decibel intensity the fundamental Lascasian message that transcended the decades following Las Casas's death in 1566.

No overt signs of this textual borrowing are visible in the Getty Murúa itself, however. The manuscript is a fair copy, or "puesta en limpio," as its first (and, to date, only) modern editor, Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, described it.¹⁷ 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 (in the current numbering and arrangement of the manuscript) and, with the exception of folio 20 (a later 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. Murúa himself fair-copied the manuscript's front matter (folios 1–17), except for the original Mercedarian and court documents on folios 8 through 11, and he also calligraphed the final portion of the last chapter as well as the table of contents (folios 382v–387v).

Murúa's work on the Getty manuscript did not end there, however. At some point, he clearly went over the entire text, making dozens of insertions and deletions of a whole word or more in length as well as hundreds of single-letter corrections. In the insertions, his handwriting varies from calligraphic (carefully executed letters, set down one by one) to cursive (linked letters, often less uniform in execution). His script is sometimes tightly rendered and small in scale, while in other instances it is larger, freer, and less regular, but his formation of certain letters is consistent throughout. His signature

capital M, certain other capital letters (*A, D, L, P, R*), and all the lowercase letters are distinctive enough that, under scrutiny, seemingly different texts are revealed to be the work of his single hand.

I have organized the additions and corrections of a whole word or more that Murúa made to his manuscript by the style of his handwriting, which can be coordinated with the content of his emendations. Table 1 lists all these interventions, which I have divided into three general categories, namely, the neat calligraphic hand, found in his copies of finished texts; the cursive hand, used for new texts and insertions; and the careful hand, between calligraphic and cursive in style, employed in making precise editorial emendations. There is as well another category of late additions, written by a different hand, that I take up in section 2.

Murúa made modifications on more than a hundred of the extant 399 folios, and these emendations are distributed throughout the manuscript. The fact that Murúa made changes of a word or more on so many folios reveals the care with which he scrutinized his calligraphed manuscript. The changes that he made cover a wide range of purposes, including correcting simple errors or omissions, identifying pictorial subjects, and adding references and cross-references to guide readers to pertinent materials.

TABLE 1. Murúa's interventions in the calligraphed Getty manuscript

Folios with calligraphed texts	Folios with cursive texts	Folios with carefully entered emendations
2r, 2v, 4r-7r, 382v-387v	3r, 3v, 14r, 15r, 16r, 16v, 19r, 20v-21v, 22v, 24r-38r, 78r, 83v, 88v, 169r, 306v, 329r-330r	14r, 24r, 120r, 136v, 169r, 187v, 221r, 228r, 263r, 264r, 270v, 293v, 296r, 298r, 302r, 309r, 311v, 326v, 331r, 331v, 335r, 342r, 359r, 361v, 373r, 384r-385r, 386v

The first group of Murúa's interventions shows him carefully imitating the work of a scribe. His letters are drawn in calligraphic style, generally unlinked to one another, and set down in lines of great regularity of size and spacing. These folios contain the texts of the front and back matter, most or all of which were probably Murúa's fresh copies of existing texts: the manuscript's title page, the introductory poems "Al autor" (To the author), the first nine of the letters of recommendation for the work that were gathered in the Viceroyalty of Peru, the final folios of the last chapter (book 3, chapter 31), the colophon with the date of the conclusion of the work, and the table of contents. In these interventions, Murúa became his own scribe, preparing fair copies of materials drafted earlier.

A second, larger cluster of Murúa's additions are executed in a more cursive style of handwriting, in which he took less care and there is less regularity in the size of the letters and in the evenness of the lines. In this category, we find the new inscription of existing texts and the addition of texts and clarifications apparently designed to make the work "reader friendly." Among the texts in this hand are the last two letters of recommendation gathered in the viceroyalty, Murúa's dedicatory epistle to the Spanish crown prince (later Philip IV), his prologue to the reader, the recopied chapter 1 of book 1, and the unnumbered chapter in book 3 on Mercedarian missionary activity in Peru. The fact that these texts were not executed as carefully by Murúa as those in the first category suggests that they represent last-minute efforts. The exceptional watermark (PG) found on these folios, corresponding to that of the folio that carries the first of four approbations of the Getty Murúa given in Madrid (the letter by Remón), makes it certain that Murúa inscribed these texts in Spain (see folios 8, 14, 17, 329). The additions in this category also include the inscription of the names of the Inca kings (*inca*) and their queens (*coya*) on the drawings that portray them, together with the notations occasionally appended at the end of a chapter to indicate the location of the chapter's illustration.

In the Galvin manuscript, Murúa created an arrangement such that virtually any spread of the bound manuscript featured a chapter frontispiece on the verso and the corresponding chapter on the facing recto.¹⁸ The Getty manuscript, however, has chapters of varying lengths, such that the illustrations and text are not always paired. To solve this problem, Murúa added notations to calligraphed text that identified the location of the drawings that pertained to them. These annotations are sometimes misunderstood as "instructions to the reader," but the statements are not hortative, either grammatically or rhetorically. They are simply references or cross-references that point to the location of the relevant image.

The annotation at the end of chapter 38 of book 1 provides a case in point. Murúa wanted the portrait of Rahua Ocllo (folio 79r) to illustrate chapter 38, of which she is the subject. The chapter

begins on the verso of folio 77 and ends onto the recto of folio 78, with the following spread comprising a blank verso and the image of Rahua Ocllo on the recto. To associate her portrait with the correct chapter, Murúa added the notation “Su Retrato al viuo es la que se vee en la figura siguiente” (Her lifelike portrait is that which is seen in the following figure) (folio 78r). This reference informs the reader that Rahua Ocllo’s picture is located *after* the chapter, *not* before it, as one might expect, and that her portrait is not a frontispiece for the following chapter, the topic of which is Huayna Capac’s last will and the rise of his successor, Huascar.¹⁹

The third cluster of Murúa’s modifications contains a large number of changes that are small in scope but provide abundant evidence of Murúa’s final passes over the calligraphed manuscript. He eliminates rare scribal omissions, corrects occasional scribal errors, modifies his own earlier entries and interpretations, and replaces passages that have been excised. This is the category of Murúa’s painstaking proofreading and careful insertion of textual additions and corrections. They are transcribed here (in table 2) in order to identify and isolate them from other emendations to the manuscript that were made by another hand (see table 3).

TABLE 2. Murúa’s carefully entered textual emendations in the Getty manuscript

Folio	Section	Content
14r	“A su Alteza”	“dar a su alteza de la Princesa” > “dar a la Princesa” “Princesa de España, esposa de V[uestra] A[lteza] y señora” > “Princesa de España, nuestra señora, esposa de V[uestra] A[lteza]” “christianísima” > “cathólica” “para mucho bien de la christiandad” > “para grandes bienes de la christiandad”
24r	Bk. 1, chap. 4	Insertion: “Cuya figura y Rostro natural es la que ua antecedente al pasado capítulo
120r	Bk. 1, chap. 56	“urin cuscos” > “urin cuzcos”
136v	Bk. 1, chap. 63	Cancellation of dittography: “y se hu[yeron]”
169r	Bk. 1, chap. 74	Insertion: “De un admirable suseso que a este príncipe sayri le susedió, se dirá también en el cap 93”
187v	Bk. 1, chap. 80	Cancellation of dittography: “y la obediencia”
221r	Bk. 1, chap. 93	Insertion: “como queda dicho en el capítulo 74”
228r	Bk. 2, chap. 4	“ocultados” > “ocultos”
263r	Bk. 2, chap. 19	Cancellation of dittography: “ubiese”
264r	Bk. 2, chap. 20	“argumento” > “aumento”
270v	Bk. 2, chap. 22	Insertion: “menstruata” in space left by Getty Scribe 2
293v	Bk. 2, chap. 34	“tomaban la ropa con que cometieron los pecados” > “tomaban la ropa con que cometieron los pecados y la quemaban”
296r	Bk. 2, chap. 35	“agujerear a sus hijos . . . de catorce años las orejas” > “agujerear a sus hijos las orejas . . . de catorce años”
298r	Bk. 2, chap. 36	“y ansi ya” > “y ansi se a d[ic]ho” “de mane que” > “de manera que”
302r	Bk. 2, chap. 38	“Era marzo” > “cor[r]esponde a febrero” Cancellation of dittography: “y en el”
309r	Bk. 3, chap. 1	“de tierra en la qual” > “de tierra firme en la qual”
311v	Bk. 3, chap. 2	“pronunciación gutume” > “pronunciación gutural”
326v	Bk. 3, chap. 8	Cancellation of dittography: “que fue”
331r	Bk. 3, unnumbered chap.	“ciudad de los Reyes donde asiste el virrey” > “ciudad de los Reyes y la ciudad del la Plata” “y tiene” > “el de los Reyes tiene”
331v	Bk. 3, unnumbered chap.	Insertion: “y de los sufragáneos de la Plata se dirá a su tiempo”
335r	Bk. 3, chap. 10	“de manera quello sea” > “de qualquiera manera quello sea”
342r	Bk. 3, chap. 14	“Redemción de Captibos que fue el primero” > “Redemción de Captibos cien religiosos, que fue el primero”
359r	Bk. 3, chap. 21	“estubiera ya eregida en” > “antes sequiera estubiera ya eregida en”
361v	Bk. 3, chap. 22	Insertion: “trenos” in space left by Getty Scribe 2
373r	Bk. 3, chap. 26	Cancellation of dittography: “en gran”
384r	Table of contents	“cap[ítul]o [obscured]” > “cap[ítul]o 17”
384v	Table of contents	“Auqui Tupa, her[man]o” > “Auqui Tuma, her[man]o”
385r	Table of contents	“cap[ítul]o 42 [?]” > “cap[ítul]o 52”
386v	Table of contents	“una ficsión y suçeso” > “un suçeso”

2. Revisions by Another Hand: Fray Alonso Remón, Editor

There is a fourth group of emendations, consisting of brief supplements and annotations; these are the work not of Murúa or his scribes but of another hand (see table 3). The addition that names Borja as the current viceroy of Peru (folio 320r) and the hastily introduced chapter title, “Del gobierno que oy tiene el reino del Peru” (On the government of Peru today), for chapter 5 of book 3 (folio 318v) provide evidence, as shown earlier, of the time when these emendations were entered into the manuscript. The naming of Borja as the current viceroy places that emendation chronologically in the period of the transition from the government of Montesclaros to that of Borja and in confident anticipation of the new viceroy’s installation. The note on Borja would have been incorporated prior to the Mercedarian approvals (Remón and Ribera) of October 1615 and, given the subsequent rubrication of the folio, obviously prior to the royal approbations of late spring 1616.

The hand that inscribes the Borja note also introduces instructions to the publisher on nine of the manuscript’s illustrations, ordering him to refrain from “pintar” (painting, printing), that is, reproducing, those images. Here, the apparent objective was to limit the depictions of Inca rulers to the portraits of the twelve kings and twelve queens of the royal succession—in other words, to remove the additional images that accompany chapters on Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac.²⁰ Elsewhere, this same hand has inserted at the margin of folio 20v a reference to Aristotle’s *Politics* and has identified, mistakenly, the location of a picture by inserting on folio 24r the (now canceled) phrase, “Cuyo rostro al natural es éste” (Whose face is the one pictured here).

A comparison of this hand with that of Remón’s autograph approval of Murúa’s manuscript (folio 8r) reveals that he was the author of these addenda. Scrutiny of the handwriting of all the texts (single words and passages) in this group displays their similarity. They have in common the slightly open *p* and *o*, the unusual *x*, and the cursive *ci* that often looks like an *a*. Additionally, the long, emphatic final stroke of the pen that Remón used to close his approval statement is found in other instances. The line that follows, horizontally, the date in his approbation reappears, vertically, in the scrawled title to chapter 5, in the reference to Aristotle’s *Politics*, and even in the canceled picture locator (folios 8r, 318v, 20v, 24r). Taken together, these features lead to the conclusion that Remón himself was Murúa’s last editor.

Remón may rightly be called an editor of the Getty Murúa 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 (see section 3 and tables 3 and 4). Moreover, in at least two instances we see Remón and Murúa working in sequence if not in concert. Their distinctive hands reveal the case. On folio 24r, where Remón misidentified the location of the relevant illustration, Murúa evidently pointed out his error. Remón then canceled his entry using an undulating line, and Murúa wrote below it the correct site of the image. On folio 221r, Remón removed the first of two similar utterances, separated by a paragraph, that announced the Christian marriage of Huayna Capac’s grandson, Sairi Tupac, and Cusi Huarca: “Y se uinieron a casar y después en as y en paz de la Santa Madre Iglesia como queda ya dicho en su capítulo” (And they came to marry and afterward [lived] in tranquility and in the peace of the Holy Mother Church, as has been stated in the chapter about them).²¹ Noting that this cancellation eliminated his cross-reference to the appropriate chapter, Murúa restored the reference by inserting the phrase “como q[ue]da ya d[ic]ho en el capítulo 74” (as has been stated in chapter 74). (On folio 359r, both Murúa and Remón have entered corrections.)

Table 3 lists cancellations of words and passages that Remón replaced by other words or phrases. (Table 4 lists cancellations where the excised text was not replaced by an alternate word or phrase.)

TABLE 3. Remón’s textual additions and emendations in the Getty manuscript

Folio	Section	Content
8r	Front matter	Autograph recommendation
18r	Bk. 1, chap. 2	Addition: “con” Substitution: “tanta razón ay para creer la una como no la otra” > “no ay razón para creer más la una que la otra”
20v	Bk. 1, unnumbered chap.	Addition: “con las ceremonias e insignias que diré adelante. Aris[tóteles] polit[ica]”

TABLE 3 (continued)

Folio	Section	Content
24r	Bk. 1, chap. 4	Addition (later canceled): "Cuyo rostro al natural es éste"
40v	Bk. 1, chap. 20	Instruction on illustration: "No se a de pintar"
42v	Bk. 1, chap. 21	Instruction on illustration: "No se a de pintar"
44v	Bk. 1, chap. 22	Instruction on illustration: "No"
47r	Bk. 1, chap. 23	Addition: "Aunque los sacrificios eran impios i vanos i no podían hazer ningún buen effeto, pero aquella gente engañada se entretrenía i animaua viendo q[ue] sus Reyes tratauan del remedio i de aplacar a sus ídolos"
49v	Bk. 1, chap. 25	Instruction on illustration: "No"
51v	Bk. 1, chap. 26	Instruction on illustration: "No"
57v	Bk. 1, chap. 29	Instruction on illustration: "No"
60r	Bk. 1, chap. 30	Instruction on illustration: "No"
62r	Bk. 1, chap. 31	Instruction on illustration: "No se a de pintar"
64r	Bk. 1, chap. 32	Instruction on illustration: "No se a de pintar"
77v	Bk. 1, chap. 38	"caritativa" ~ "piadosa" ²²
169r	Bk. 1, chap. 74	"para su validación por auer muchos Doctores theólogos antiguos y modernos que tienen por cierto ser prohibido el tal matrimonio por ley natural. Pero sea lo que fuere, que ellos lo contrajeron de su voluntad sin fuerza ni violencia alguna y" > "Cierto e[s] que no no s[e] dispensó o se hizo con auto[r]idad i comisión [d]el sumo pontífic[e]"
212v	Bk. 1, chap. 90	"que el demonio como tan gran astrólogo por los aspectos de los planetas que amenasauan a estas provincias y biendo ya lo que los españoles, teniendo por guía" > "lo más cierto que los indios muriesen fingiendo que se le profetizó lo que les a acontecido o que el demonio, viendo ya lo que los españoles, teniendo por guía" "lo que está dicho" ~ "lo que está dicho por conjetura verisimil"
289v	Bk. 2, chap. 32	"se aficiona" ~ "se aficionaba"
305v	Bk. 2, chap. 40	"que a no ser tan sierto y berdadero, era ymposible poderle dar crédito" ~ "pero sierto y berdadero"
315v	Bk. 3, chap. 4	"cursado historias" ~ "a sido versadas en historias"
318v	Bk. 3, chap. 5	Addition: "Capítulo 5º, Del gobierno que oy tiene el reino del Peru"
319v	Bk. 3, chap. 5	"que en tres años" ~ "con en tres años" "de las tiranías" ~ "con las tiranías" "las cos de" ~ "las cosas de"
320r	Bk. 3, chap. 5	Addition: "El último que oy gobierna y es virrey es don Francisco de Borja del hábito de Santiago, príncipe de Esquilache y conde de Mayalde y de la cámara de su magestad; que su rrecto entendimiento y exemplar vida prometen la felicidad de su gobierno"
323v	Bk. 3, chap. 7	"cara propia" ~ "causa propia" "que convenga a su derecho no vale por testigo temiéndose de que" "suele dexarse llevar de" "los religiosos" ~ "los religiosos de mi s[agrada] orden"
324v	Bk. 3, chap. 7	"extirparon" ~ "quitaron"
327r	Bk. 3, chap. 8	"el primero, nuestro muy reberendo padre, el maestro" ~ "el primero, el padre maestro"
327v	Bk. 3, chap. 8	"que por auerme dado el Ávito y ser yo su hijo y parte por la afición que tengo del Padre" ~ "de quien" "el qual es nuestro padre" ~ "este padre fue el padre" "que al presente es" ~ "fue"
329v	Bk. 3, unnumbered chap.	"Cartágena" ~ "La Serena" "Francisco" ~ "Pedro" "cuyo nombre no he podido descubrir" ~ "llamado fr[ay] Alonso de Trava" "en aquellas provincias y reyno" ~ "en ellas" "rebentaron" ~ "rebentaron, como ya dixen" "Desto fueron testigos" ~ "Desto fue testigo"
330r	Bk. 3, unnumbered chap.	Insertion: "los indios causados con su visita y predicación"
359r	Bk. 3, chap. 21	"estubiera ya eregida en yglesia cathedral" ~ "fuera ya yglesia cathedral"
362r	Bk. 3, chap. 22	"y ésta no se acurrieron" ~ "y ésta no se lo pidieron"

The distinction between correction and censorship is often a fine one, and in the case of Remón's work on Murúa's manuscript, it was decidedly so. Beyond the discrete, limited corrections and additions he made to the Getty Murúa, Remón undertook a systematic review of the entire manuscript during which he censored dozens of passages and, in a few instances, complete pages, either by canceling text or excising folios. His was what I would call a "friendly censorship," designed not to condemn

Murúa's work but to secure its passage through the appropriate channels to publication.²³ 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.

3. Fray Alonso Remón, Censor

The coordination of paleographic and codicological evidence gives strong support to the hypothesis that Remón was Murúa's final editor and his most important censor. The first clue that the Getty Murúa has been censored, and that Remón's was the hand at work on it, comes from the evidence of the excision of an entire folio and the repairs made to compensate for it. The opening, or spread, of the Getty Murúa at folios 318v and 319r reveals this phenomenon. Here we find on the otherwise blank verso the title, scrawled in Remón's hand, for chapter 5 of book 3, a stub giving evidence of the excision of folio 295 (ancient foliation), and a cancellation on the facing recto that employs the undulating line that Remón used to cancel his erroneous picture locator on folio 24r. Here the undulating line cancels a text that was truncated by the excision of the previous folio. The canceled text concludes Murúa's account of the Incas' means of justifying their rule that offers remarks on their ignorance of their origins.²⁴ The undulating line is the most ubiquitous of all the cancellation techniques employed in the Getty Murúa, and it is used censorially to cancel two main types of text: passages critical of Spanish actions—that is, the conduct of Spanish soldiers during the conquest of Peru and the greed of present-day Spanish settlers and missionaries—and passages describing native Andean practices and beliefs considered worthy of condemnation from the Christian perspective.

In the interest of gaining royal approval for the *Historia general*, Murúa's statements on the conduct of the conquistadores and colonialists were muted or struck throughout. If a negative perspective on the Spanish conquest of Peru was tolerated, if not applauded, by some of Murúa's South American recommenders, the Mercedarians close to the royal court and the king's councils in Madrid did not—could not—concur. Similarly, although some of Murúa's South American endorsements explicitly lauded his manuscript's descriptions of Andean rites and practices, pointing out that this material would be helpful for indoctrinating the natives in the Christian faith (folios 3v, 5r, 6v), such descriptions could well have seemed scandalous, provocative, and unnecessary to a Mercedarian ensconced in Madrid, far from the field of evangelical struggle in Andean America. Five different techniques have been employed:

1. Undulating-line cancellations that, because they simulate cursive-writing pen strokes, make the underlying text difficult but not impossible to read.
2. Straight-line cancellations that run horizontally through lines of text.
3. Cancellations made by short, left-to-right, slightly slanted pen strokes.
4. Cancellations made by long diagonal pen strokes that eliminate large portions of a page.
5. Tightly executed, continuous loop cancellations that make the underlying text impossible to read.

The first three techniques can be seen on folio 136r, where the bleed through from folio 136v makes the fourth visible as well (fig. 4), and the fifth appears on folio 379r (see fig. 5).

The actual number of pages in the Getty manuscript that exhibit canceled material is low. Of the approximately six hundred pages of text extant, only about thirty-seven are affected. Such cancellations run in length from a single word to a paragraph to an entire page. There are as well two instances in which folios were cut from the completed manuscript (The first has been mentioned and the second is discussed in section 3.5 below). Although small in number, the expurgations in the manuscript are significant (and predictable) in scope. Table 4 offers a summary by cancellation style and location. Unlike table 3, which features cancellations where words or phrases were replaced by alternate texts, this table catalogs the excision of words and passages that were not replaced. Folios set in bold (folios 127v, 135v, 136r, 288v, 294r, 327r, 327v) appear in more than one column in table 4.

The distinctiveness and distribution of these styles of cancellation make it possible to sort out distinct passes over the manuscript, most of which were carried out by Remón.²⁵ The tightly looped cancellations will be discussed in section 4.

Oyo la sentencia con buen animo y ad vertido de religiosos de los
 bimes y nestimables y preciosos que gozaria en el cielo y que la saluacion
 de su Alma pendia del sacro bapitismo medio principal para gozar de
 Dios y puerta de los demas Sacramentos con mucha voluntad lo pidio
 y lo recibio quedando por el christiano y señalado con el character de
 xpo y por su obesa lauando con el todas las manchas y culpas de que
 estaba ynficionado y hermosando su alma con la gracia algunos con
 qui stadores decian que lo ymbiasen a España al emperador Don carlos
 mo 5 que era el menor mal pues quedaua con la vida pero no a proue
 cho que el estaba resuelto en quemurise algunos dicen que hizo testa
 mento se alo que fue el amanecio vna mañana dado ganote y con
 su boca en la boca que era como emos dho la insignia y en ona R.
~~Justo eres. Justos son tus juicios y de los males que los hombres con
 su inclinacion y de su mala voluntad hacen tu castigo y finidad
 de bienes pudo ser que este Rey con aquella mano que pagas las ofensas
 que con tu castigo hecho y especial llamado con tu gracia y se castigando
 y lo que ha en tu castigo y se castigando en la yndia
 pueros y hecho tanto por tu castigo con la punta en el
 de que no en tu castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 la castiga con tu castigo de que en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 que y en tu castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 su castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 la castiga de tu castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 Dios castigo el mundo a su castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 Rey ni emperador ni hombre particular porque Dios fue de tres
 o quatro Mitones en oro y Plata sin tu castigo que en la batalla
 de la yndia en los españoles y vieron que tambien fueron castigos
 y estaban obligados a ponerle en castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 quando el fura el mal de cada el mundo por Dios senca que
 castigo a los que no castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo
 que castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo y en tu castigo~~

Tanto vimos y sabemos todos los que en Indias vimos que
 desde el primero asta el ultimo de quantos se hallaron en la yndia

FIG. 4. Cancellations by Fray Alonso Remón. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 136r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

TABLE 4. Folios with cancellations of words and passages in the Getty manuscript

Undulating lines	Straight horizontal lines	Short slanted lines	Long slashing diagonal lines	Tightly looped lines
20v, 23v, 24r, 127v, 136r, 169r, 214v, 288v, 289v, 291r, 316r, 319r, 319v, 320r, 322r, 323v, 324v, 326r, 327r, 327v, 328r, 359r, 383v	36r, 134v, 135r, 135v, 136r, 221r, 288v, 294r, 298r, 305v, 327r, 327v	127v, 135v, 136r, 138r, 187r, 212v, 285v, 294r	136v, 185r	48r, 195r, 325r, 334v, 379r

3.1. UNDULATING-LINE CANCELLATIONS

This category contains the greatest number of textual cancellations. It represents Remón's first pass over the Getty manuscript, which combined both editorial and censorial functions, judging by his expurgations and occasional replacement of words and passages. In one notable example, chapter 8 of book 3 (folios 326r–328r), on Mercedarian evangelization in the jurisdictions of Santa Cruz and Tucumán in what is now Bolivia and Argentina, respectively, as well as in Paraguay and the kingdom of Chile, we find a Mercedarian eye and pen at work throughout the chapter. That it is not Murúa's but Remón's is evidenced by the scope of the scrutiny. For example, an undulating line is employed to cancel a simple dittography caused by the scribe's repetition of "faltauan" (were lacking) (folio 327r).²⁶ It is also used to remove personal references to Murúa and his allegiances. Thus, Murúa's statement of high regard for Fray Pedro Guerra is removed by canceling "que por auerme dado el avito y ser yo su hijo y parte por la aficion que tengo del padre" (who placed the [Mercedarian] habit upon me, and my being his [spiritual] son and follower, out of the respect and love I have for the padre) in favor of "de quien" (about whom) (folio 327v). In the same vein, an entire sentence is canceled on folio 328r: "Pero ya parece que dice alguno que sería echando de ver que soy parte y assí lo pienso dejar para que los que lo han visto [*illegible*] y biben deste cargo" (But it already seems that someone is saying that it could be considered that I am partisan, and thus I intend to leave [this topic] so that those who have seen it [*illegible*] and live under this charge). Remón also deletes a jocular reference to priestly avarice for native treasures, by canceling "padre" (father) from the utterance "mengo, padre, mengo, que quiere decir escondedlo" (*mengo*, father, *mengo*, which means "hide it") (folio 327v).

The chapter in the entire Getty manuscript that has been subjected to the most intense scrutiny and expurgation, as registered by the number of cancellation styles employed, is chapter 63 of book 1, titled "Cómo el Marqués Pizarro careó a Chalco Chima y Atao Hualpa y mandó matar a Atao Hualpa" (How Pizarro confronted [the Inca captain] Chalco Chima and Atahualpa and ordered the death of Atahualpa) (folios 134v–137r). At the heart of this chapter stands the previously mentioned folio 136, which exhibits three cancellation styles on its recto (see fig. 4) and the fourth on its verso. The cancellation made with undulating lines, at the center of the page, is Remón's first deletion, with subsequent passes over the text producing additional deletions above and below the central section. Here is the whole expurgated passage on folio 136r, with the section canceled by undulating lines underscored with wavy lines, under the last line of which a line was drawn nearly across the page of the manuscript to separate it from the rest of the text:

Justo eres, s[en]or, y justos son tus juicios y de los males que los hombres con perversa inclinación y depravada voluntad hacen, tú sacas infinidad de bienes; pudo ser que este Rey con aquella muerte pagase las ofensas que contra ti auía hecho y especial lavado con tu gracia oy se esté gozando y los que lo mataron estén perpetuamente ardiendo en los ynfieros. Pues con un hecho tantas injusticias cometieron: la primera, en prender a quien no tenían razón ni causa de hacer guerra. La segunda, no soltalle; la tercera, constituirse por jueces de quien no lo eran ni podían ser; la quarta, la ynjusticia en el modo de proceder apasionadamente; la quinta, que quando la guerra fuera justa y con derecho cometida y la prission supuesto auer tratado del rescate ofrecídolo y dado todo lo que el t[iem]po le dio lugar de traer y el mayor rescate y más subido que desde que Dios crió el mundo asta el día de oy y se [h]a dado por prissionero ninguno Rey ni emperador ni hombre particular. Porque dizen fue de tres o quatro millones en oro y plata, sin los despojos que en la batalla

do[nde] le prendieron los españoles, ubieron. Que también fueron injustos. Estaban obligados a ponelle en entera libertad como se lo prometieron quando él fuera el más malo de todo el mundo. Pues dize Séneca que asta a los que no tienen fee ni palabra se les a de guardar su puesto que se les da y promete una cossa. Y ansí vemos y sabemos todos los que en Indias vivimos desde el primero asta el último de cuántos se hallaron en la muerte....
 (Just thou art, O lord, and fair are thy judgments, and from the evils that men with perverse inclination and depraved will do, thou bringest forth an infinity of good things; it could be that this king, by his death, paid for the offenses that he had committed against thee, and being cleansed by thy grace today he may be rejoicing and those who murdered him may be perpetually burning in hell. Through one single act, they committed so many injustices: first, by capturing someone with whom they had no reason or cause to wage war; second, by not freeing him; third, by setting themselves up as judges of those individuals of whom they were not [judges] nor could aspire to be so; fourth, by engaging in the tyranny of proceeding passionately, without reason; fifth, by exacting a ransom that would have been outrageous even if the war had been just and the imprisoned ruler rightly taken so that the time came in which to bring forth the largest and highest ransom that had ever been heard of or paid, since God created the earth until the present day, for the imprisonment of any king or emperor or private citizen, because they say that [there were] three or four million in gold and silver, without counting the spoils that they had taken in the battle in which they captured him. And they were also tyrannical. They were obligated to restore him to complete liberty as they had promised, even if he had been the most evil man in the whole world. Seneca says that even to those who do not have faith or the word, one's bond should be kept with them if they have been promised something. And this we see and know, all of us who live in the Indies, from the first to the last of all those who were present at the death....)

Surrounding the passage canceled by undulating lines are further expurgations carried out in the different but closely related styles of short slanted lines and continuous straight lines, which are indicated in the excerpt above by broken and continuous underscoring, respectively. In addition, even after these several cancellations, a light, large X and a few diagonal slashes were placed over the passages, as if to say “All of this must go!”

Just as two-thirds of this page's calligraphed text is deleted, so too are large portions on other pages in this chapter, either by straight horizontal lines (folios 134v, 135v) or by diagonal slashes that run halfway down the page (folio 136v). In all, approximately two of the five and a half pages of this chapter have been canceled. I believe that these cancellations were not done all at once, because if they were, it would have been most natural to use a single cancellation technique. Instead, it seems as if each pass was done at a different point in time and that each represents a different pass over the text.

In chapter 63, Remón used undulating lines to cancel Murúa's list of the injustices Francisco Pizarro committed against Atahualpa. In this same pass over the manuscript—which I identify by his use of undulating lines—Remón canceled passages in many other chapters as well. Some of the expurgations involved native customs, such as marriage practices (Remón deleted Murúa's references to them as violations of natural law) (folios 23v, 169r). In other places, he excised lists of organic materials used for shamanic practices such as killing enemies, repelling the attentions of a member of the opposite sex, engendering the affection of such a person, and performing various types of divination (folios 288v, 289v, 291r). He also suppressed a reference to male genitalia (folio 214v) as well as a comment about the role of fortune in human affairs (folio 127v).

Apart from the description of native ritual practices and the enumeration of materials used to carry them out (“recipes” for their continued practice), colonial governance was the topic most subject to Remón's expurgations in this pass over the text. As noted above, Remón removed altogether the first folio of Murúa's account of the contemporary government of the Viceroyalty of Peru (book 3, chapter 5), and he canceled with undulating lines (folio 319r) the sentences that concluded the discussion that had begun on the excised folio. He also used undulating lines to delete from chapter 5 a comment about the abuses suffered by the Andeans under Spanish rule (folio 319v). Elsewhere in book 3, he struck comments about corruption on the part of Spanish colonial government officials (folios 322r, 323v) as well as a statement about greed among the Spanish missionary clergy (folio 316r). Additionally, he used an undulating line to remove “real” (royal) from the

description of the Mercedarian habit (folio 328r), and to strike the characterization of the eleventh viceroy, Montesclaros, as “meritísimo” (most worthy) (folio 320r).

3.2. STRAIGHT HORIZONTAL LINE CANCELLATIONS

Returning to folio 136r (see fig. 4), horizontal lines of two kinds cancel text about the killing of Atahualpa that had been left intact after Remón’s first pass over the manuscript. Both types of pen stroke—long and continuous versus short and slanted—may be the work of a single moment, with one being a casual variant of the other that occurred as the canceling pen moved across the text. This could easily be the case here, on folio 136r, in which the first line of the expurgation is almost continuous and the next three lines are struck with shorter pen strokes, until reaching the undulating-line deletions, which Remón had done earlier. Following the passage canceled with undulating lines, continuous and shorter line deletions are intermingled.

The bulk of the straight-line cancellations, like the undulating-line suppressions, censor accounts of events pertaining to the capture and execution of Atahualpa and reduce descriptions of native Andean ritual practices in pre-Columbian and colonial times. They are used to eliminate the sharp thrust and long harangues of Murúa’s critique of Pizarro and the Spanish war of conquest in chapter 63 of book 1 (folios 134v–136r). There, in addition to the changes made on folio 136r detailed above, on folio 134v the entire opening paragraph of chapter 63 is struck through, suppressing Murúa’s tirade on greed as the source of all evil. He closes it with the admonition:

¿Qué ley guarda, qué mandamientos no quebranta, qué hermano no mata, qué fee no viola, qué amistad no quiebra, qué verdad no obscurece, qué justicia no deshaçe y deshecha? Desto tenemos buen exemplo en el presente cap[ítul]o en lo que sucedió al marqués don Fran[cis]co Pizarro y los españoles con el desdichado Atao hualpa.

(What law is observed, what commandments not broken, what brother not an assassin, what faith not violated, what friendship not rent asunder, what truth not obscured, what justice not served and remaining undone? Of this we have a good example in the present chapter by what the marquess Don Francisco de Pizarro and the Spaniards did to the unfortunate Atahualpa.)

A reference to Pizarro’s greed for Atahualpa’s ransom likewise is suppressed: “tan presto con su codicia y hambre insaciable demandaba” (so quickly, due to his greed and insatiable hunger, he demanded) becomes simply “tan presto demandaba” (so quickly he demanded) (folio 135r). Nearly half the next page, folio 135v, is canceled, suppressing several statements about Pizarro and Atahualpa. Regarding Pizarro, Remón deletes “como si fuera constituydo por juez de Atao hualpa por el Papa y el emperador Don Carlos” (as if he were appointed judge of Atahualpa by the pope and the emperor Charles [V]). Regarding Atahualpa, he strikes “como si siendo Rey y señor supremo Atao hualpa estubiese obligado a dar quenta dello al marqués ni a ningún s[eñ]or del mundo” (as if, being as he was, supreme lord and king, Atahualpa were obligated to give an account of it [his actions] to the marquess or any other lord of the world). Remón also eliminates from folio 135v a long passage about Atahualpa’s desire to be freed so that he could protect his realm from the Spaniards:

como si el huyrse no fuera a él lícitísimo, pues su prisión no fue en guerra justa, que ni la ubo ni la pudo auer contra él, que en ninguna cossa auía ofendido a los [e]spanoles quando le prendieron. Ni auía impedido la predicación del sancto evangelio a los religiosos, que con el marqués yban ni hecho cosa por donde con justicia y razón se le pudiese mover guerra. Y así, pudiéndose yr de la prisión hiciera muy bien y los que le detenían en ella contra derecho pecaban. Pero como estaban ciegos todos y Philipillo el yntérprete que los guiaba más con el miedo y pasión, todo se interpretaba a su gusto y lo que él quería.

(as if fleeing were not for him [Atahualpa] perfectly legitimate, since his imprisonment was not carried out in a just war, which had not been waged, nor could it be so, against him, because in no single thing had he offended the Spaniards, when they captured him. Nor had he impeded the preaching of the holy gospel by the friars who accompanied the marquess, nor had he done anything whereby war could be waged against him with justice

and reason. And thus it would be right for him to be able to leave his prison and those who illegally held him in detention sinned. But, since they were all blind, and Philipillo, the interpreter, guided them mostly by fear and passion, he interpreted everything according to his desires and in consonance with what he wanted.)

Remón likewise cancels the phrase “ni la sinrazón que le hacían” (nor the wrong they did to him) in the statement “no le aprovechó al desdichado de Atahualpa las razones tan fuertes que alegó ni la verdad ni la sinrazón que le hacían para que lo dejasen de condenar a muerte” (neither the very powerful reasons that Atahualpa put forth, nor the truth, nor the wrong they did to him, were of use to Atahualpa in making them [the Spaniards] cease and desist from condemning him to death) (folio 135v).

With regard to native Andean beliefs and ritual practices, Remón’s expurgations soften the harshness of Murúa’s statements about traditional Andean religion and its survival in colonial times. A combination of continuous and shorter line cancellations occurs on folio 294r, where they are used to strike half a page of text about the persistence of indigenous ritual customs and the Andeans’ failure to observe the new Christian rituals. In chapter 34 of book 2, on Andean “agüeros y abuciones” (omens and superstitions), all but one line of the text on folio 294r is struck:

Y si entendieran que el fuego del amor de Dios y su caridad es solo el que basta a abraçar, limpiar y purificar las almas de las suciedades asquerosas del peccado, no ay duda sino que açertaran. Y si a esto aplicaran como deben, su ánimo y boluntad quedaran más libres y limpios que con quemar sus bestiduras y ponellas en los caminos, labarse en los ríos y fuentes. Pues es sierto que la mejor agua que ellos podían aplicar para labar sus almas era la de la contrisión y lágrimas, que tienen fuerza de sacar todas las manchas, aunque sean muy antiguas del peccado. Pero como gente çiega en todo erraban, y plega a la misericord[i]a de Dios que oy con tanta exortación, reprehención y castigo, no yerren en los mesmos errores y ceguera que antiguamente antes que recibieran el agua del santo bautismo y la p[r]edicación del ebangelio.

(And if they understood that the fire of God’s love and his charity is all that is needed to embrace, cleanse, and purify their souls of the repugnant filthiness of sin, there is no doubt that they would be right. And if to this were added, as it should be, [the force of] their spirit and will, they would be more free and more pure than by burning their garments and placing them on the roadways, washing themselves in rivers and springs. Because it is certain that the best water that they could use to cleanse their souls is that of contrition and tears, which have the power to remove all stains, even though they be very old ones of sin. But like blind people, they erred in everything, and may the mercy of God grant that today with so much exhortation, reprimand, and punishment, they not commit these same errors with the blindness that they formerly had before receiving the water of holy baptism and the preaching of the gospel.)

Elsewhere Remón employs the continuous horizontal line to cancel Murúa’s expressions of personal relationship or high regard. On folio 327v, for example, in the mentions of Fray Pedro López Valero, whom Murúa identifies as the Mercedarian provincial superior of the jurisdiction of Tucumán and Paraguay, Remón changes “el qual es nuestro padre” (the one who is our priest) to “este padre fue” (this priest was). He also removes the phrase “docta y” (learned and) from the description of Fray Pedro Guerra’s preaching, “predicación tan docta y santa” (such learned and holy preaching) (folio 327v). Another instance of suppression and replacement seems to be editorial—a matter of style and emphasis. Remón modified Murúa’s comment about an island that reportedly migrated (floated) to and from the mainland of Quito (Ecuador) from “que a no ser tan sierto y berdadero, era ymposible poderle dar crédito” (if it were not so certain and true, it would be impossible to grant it credence) to “pero sierto y verdadero” (but [it is] certain and true) (folio 305v).

3.3. SHORT SLANTED LINE CANCELLATIONS

As already noted, this group of cancellations was closely related to or even of a piece with Remón’s straight-line cancellations. Short slanted lines were used several times in book 1, not only in suppressing

more of the passage about the Spaniards' treatment of Atahualpa in chapter 63 but also in chapters 59 and 64.

The cancellation in chapter 59 is lengthy and the expurgated exposition features themes that Remón will suppress in chapter 63 as well: greed as the root of all evil, the illegality of the war waged against Atahualpa by Pizarro, the injustice of the plot to execute Atahualpa, and the blind passion of the Spaniards carrying it out. On folio 127v, the canceled conclusion of this long rumination states:

Pero la codicia ynsaciable, como raíz, fuente y origen de todos los males, los tenía ciegos y añublado el entendimiento para que no entendiesen quán contra las reglas de justicia y equidad procedían. No ay que espantar que les pareciesse lícito y justo el llevar rescate a un rey tan contra razón y verdad, injustamente detenido y presso.

(But insatiable greed, as the root, source, and origin of all evils, blinded them and clouded their reason so that they did not comprehend how much against the rules of justice and equity they were proceeding. One not need be surprised that it seemed to them legitimate and just to take a ransom from a king who was so unjustly detained and imprisoned against all reason and truth.)

Remón also suppresses the phrase about the collusion of the justice officials in the plan to illegally execute Atahualpa—"pero como los juezes, intérprete y demás ministros eran partes, si así se puede decir, y estaban ciegos con la passion y codicia" (but since the judges, interpreter, and other ministers were conspirators, if one can say it thus, and they were blind with passion and greed)—with a double line through "eran partes, si así se puede decir" (folio 135v). On folio 136r, Remón used these short pen strokes to delete significant portions of Murúa's condemnation of the war of conquest as unjust. As transcribed and translated above (see pp. 107–8), these expurgations cancel Murúa's harangue about the sinfulness of the Spaniards' actions against Atahualpa and their obligation to set him free, while instead treating him "as if he were the most evil man in the whole world." On folio 138r, short pen strokes strike the phrase "o, por mejor decir, injusticia" (or, better said, the injustice) from the statement "Después de concluida la justicia o, por mejor decir, injusticia de Atao hualpa" (the justice, or rather, the injustice, carried out in Atahualpa's case).

Remón also employs this cancellation technique to suppress Murúa's accounts of indigenous ritual practices. Short slanted pen strokes delete a statement on folio 187r about Andeans returning to traditional religious practices after having shown signs of (Christian) virtue on coming into adulthood:

Y si algunos que an sido pocos en la niñez y mocedad an dado señales de virtud en entrando en hedad, an declinado a las costumbres e ynclinación que heredaron de sus agüelos y mamaron en los pechos de sus madres. Porque en la condición y trato ordinariamente se les asemejan, [canceled: como] este Martín Pando [canceled: que] al cabo de aver idolatrado....

(And if some, which have been few, in their childhood and youth have given signs of virtue, upon entering adulthood they have reverted to the customs and inclinations that they inherited from their ancestors and suckled at the breasts of their mothers. Because in their character and conduct they ordinarily are similar, [canceled: to] this Martín Pando [canceled: who], after having committed idolatry....)

Elsewhere Remón eliminates references to the devil's influence in native adherence to traditional ritual and ceremonial song (folio 212v), and he suppresses Murúa's commentary on the Inca practice of human sacrifice in relation to the Andeans' reaction to their maltreatment in colonial Peru: "que aunque no fuera sino por ebitar este abominable sacrificio, parese que se pueden llebar en paciencia todos los agravios y molestias que de los españoles oy reciben" (although it were for no other reason than to avoid this abominable sacrifice, it seems that they can endure with patience all the abuses and afflictions that they receive today from the Spanish) (folio 285v). Finally, Remón uses the short pen strokes, along with straight horizontal lines, to suppress Murúa's lengthy and sobering statement—which I have transcribed and translated in section 3.2—regarding the natives' perpetuation of their traditional rituals (folio 294r).

In the Getty Murúa, only two pages have been canceled using long diagonal pen strokes. One is an unframed blank that has been rendered unusable by four slashing pen strokes (folio 185r). The other occurs near the conclusion of the laboriously worked-over chapter 63 of book 1. On folio 136r, a straight horizontal line has been drawn through the final line of the first full paragraph on the page, and the calligraphed nineteen lines that precede it have been canceled by about a dozen diagonal lines drawn across the whole paragraph. The expurgated text continued the consideration of the capture, imprisonment, and execution of Atahuallpa that occupies this chapter. Picking up the beginning of this long sentence on folio 136r, canceled by straight horizontal lines, and continuing on folio 136v, where the cancellations are slashing diagonals, Murúa's text reads as follows:

Y así vemos y sabemos todos los que en Indias viuimos que desde el primero asta el último de cuántos se hallaron en la muerte deste desdichado Rey tan injusta, yniqua, todos murieron muertes desdichadas, tristes y aceleradas, sin quedar [e]speranza de su saluación, pues el marqués don Fran[cis]co Pizarro murió en la Ciudad de los Reyes, a puñaladas. Sacando los que le mataron, su cuerpo arrastrando por las calles con grandísima ignominia. Y juntamente vemos los hijos, nietos y descendientes de los que allí se hallaron pobres y desdichados y muchos dellos viles y abatidos con auer ganado sus padres y agüelos el más rico y florido reino de toda la redondez del mundo. Que parece es justo juicio y castigo de Dios que va castigando las maldades, codicia y injusticias de los padres en sus hijos y descendientes.

Repartieron el marqués Pizarro y los españoles el rescate de oro y plata y otras cossas entre sí, como si fuera suyo auido y [gan]jado en buena guerra y con buen título. Y se lo lleuaron y gozaron y expendieron, estando obligados a restituirlo a los herederos de Atao hualpa cuyo era. Y en defecto de no auerlo hecho sus sucesores y los que heredaron y entraron después de sus días en sus bienes y haciendas, les corre la misma obligación de justicia a boluello y restituillo. Pero descuidado se an quitado los unos y los otros que un real bastar[do] y no se a restituido. Pero por eso tiene Dios [u]n ynfierno constituido para castigo de semejantes males y injusticias.

(And thus we see and know, all of us who live in the Indies, from the first to the last of all those who were present at the death, so unjust, so wicked, of this most unfortunate king. All died unfortunate, forlorn, and suddenly, without having any hope of their salvation, as, for example, the marquess Don Francisco Pizarro died in the City of Kings [Lima], from stab wounds. Those who killed him took him out in public, dragging his body through the streets with great ignominy. And altogether we see their sons, grandsons, and descendants of those who there found themselves poor and forlorn, and many of them miserable and battered, despite the fact that their fathers and grandfathers had won the richest and most select kingdom on the face of the earth. And it seems a just judgment and divine punishment that is being carried out, punishing the evils, greed, and injustices of the fathers, [visiting them] upon their sons and descendants.

The marquess Pizarro and the Spaniards divided up among themselves the ransom of gold and silver and other things, as if it had been theirs and earned in a just war with just title. And they carried it all away and enjoyed and spent it, being obligated, instead, to make restitution to the heirs of Atahuallpa to whom it belonged. And in lieu of having done so, their successors and those who have inherited and entered into the possession of this wealth in their own time, are likewise obligated, in the name of justice, to return it, to make restitution. But with one and all ignoring this obligation [untranslated phrase], restitution has not been made. But for that, God has a hell prepared for the punishment of [these and] similar evils and injustices.)

With this cancellation, the survey of Remón's interventions in Murúa's calligraphed manuscript ends where it began, with chapter 63 of book 1. The four cancellation techniques surveyed here all work toward the same set of consistent goals, which are editorial in some cases (cancellation of dittographies, removal of personal references, reinstatement of inadvertently canceled phrases) and censorial (serving political and cultural ends) in a great many others. Expurgation style and textual content

converge as the repeated gestures of Remón's pen and the identifiable objects of his scrutiny follow the protocols of a censorial program aimed at making Murúa's manuscript acceptable to higher authorities. Admirable in its consistency, Remón's friendly censorship included not only the cancellation of prose texts but also, more drastically, the excision of folios.

3.5. EXCISED FOLIOS

A total of ten folios were removed from the body of the calligraphed manuscript without being replaced. Whereas the front matter and early chapters of the Getty manuscript were cut up and rearranged for editorial ends, as Ivan Boserup and I have shown in section 5 of our essay in this volume, in the present instances folios were cut out to serve the purpose of censorship. The first of these excisions eliminated a single folio carrying the beginning of the chapter devoted to the politically sensitive topic of the current state of governance in the Peruvian viceroyalty (chapter 5 of book 3). (It was the evidence of this excision that led me to identify Remón as the censoring agent when I discovered that his hand had inscribed the title for this chapter on the adjacent blank verso of folio 318v.) The second excision eliminates chapters 11 and 12 of the same book.²⁷ According to Murúa's table of contents, their subject was the festivities celebrated in Cuzco in 1606 to commemorate the birth of the future Philip IV. This excision, which removed nine folios, constitutes the most extensive loss suffered by the Getty manuscript. It no doubt contained detailed accounts of the native Andeans' festivities to which Murúa himself probably had been an eyewitness and which, even if at second hand, he would have been eager to record. (We recall here the claims to lynxlike observation of all that he has seen and heard that Murúa makes on the title page of the *Historia general*.)

Though lamentable, Remón's removal of these chapters is not surprising. As we have seen throughout the Getty Murúa, his exercise of censorship was alert to the topic of the persistence of native Andean ritual practice and to negative commentary on Spanish conduct in the Peruvian viceroyalty, past and present. His scrutiny was close and discerning throughout the manuscript, and it produced a full range of emendations that span editorial and censorial actions, from the careful substitution of a single word to the elimination of whole chapters. When he signed his approval of the Getty Murúa on 22 October 1615 and passed it along to the master general of the Mercedarian Order, he must have been confident that Murúa's manuscript was ready to proceed to the royal court for approval.

4. Royal Censorship

The Getty Murúa's successful passage through the royal court's censorship process is registered in the statement of approbation by the royal censor, Pedro de Valencia, and in the license to print, signed "Yo el Rey." Yet the manuscript did not pass through unscathed. There are further expurgations, carried out in a different cancellation style, whose infrequency of occurrence and brevity of length should not be taken as a sign of insignificance. On the contrary, they reveal the interests of the royal court and the perspective not of Mercedarians but of the Castilian monarchy. There are only five cancellations of this type in the Getty manuscript but they span the entire work.

The sparseness of this censorship effort suggests that it was done late, after the manuscript passed to the royal court from the Mercedarian house in Madrid, where Remón had carried out the bulk of the work of expurgation. This act of censorship, which finds few remaining targets, is impressive not only for its precision but also for its comprehensiveness, passing over the entire manuscript, from early in book 1 all the way to the end of book 3.

The pen strokes used for these cancellations are very different from those of the other types of cancellation markings in evidence in the Getty manuscript. The cancellations introduced by Remón in his various passes over the text were all entered rapidly and expeditiously, with bold strokes. Except for some instances of his use of the undulating-line cancellations, Remón made no effort to render the text illegible, only to cancel it and prevent it from moving forward to print. In contrast, these five cramped cancellations have been painstakingly entered with the intent to render the stricken words entirely unreadable (fig. 5). The effort was successful. The texts obscured in these instances are illegible to the naked eye and are rendered partially decipherable only after close scrutiny and study of high-resolution digital scans.

cap^o 3^o del R^o y famoso cerro de Potassi
y de sus grandesas

56.
379

→ Sin Salir ni cada de los límites de la verdad puede afirmar que esta
Villa Imperial de Potassi de quien se trata en este capítulo es la mas Rica
Opulenta y celebre que se conoce en todo el Orbe y yumas. Venras de adules
y mas para a Salido de ella sola que de todas las del mundo. Yuntas
yaun se puede decir que ella en si quese a toda Europa Asia y Africa
Porque de los Residuos de España de Repasen alas demas provincias
y España bien se sabe que la Simbe el cerro de Potassi de donde
quedel. Salen cada año ~~grandes quantidades de oro y plata y de
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→ Refieren algunos que el año de mill y quinientos y quarenta por
mas o menos o el de quarenta y tres segun otros se descubrio el
famoso Mineral en esta manera - Hernando Pizarro hermano del
Marques don Francisco Pizarro que tantos años viuo preso en la
motu de Medina del Campo estava en el adorno de porco siere leguas
de Potassi con muchos Españoles beneficiando aquellas Riqui
simas Minas (quesino ubiexan dado en agua fueran las mas
Prosperas del Reyno) y de alli teniendo necesidad de comida
embio un yanacona suyo que se comprase mais en su que saca
este yndio con otro yanacona de un diego mares que llamaron
el Rico con algunos carneros fueron y tomandoles un año se
junto a este cerro de Potassi dixieron Junco a donde agora sta
P^o Tada - Laparro Via de San Benito por queto de lo que pobla
cion al presente era Senegal y auendo sobrado unos Carneros
que lleuauan el Vno de ellos se fue subiendo el cerro a una
que estava lleno de quinuales arbozillos del Peru en las Cunas
y uno de estos dos yndios fue a recoger los Carneros para fapallo

FIG. 5. Cancellation by the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia, or his office. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 379r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

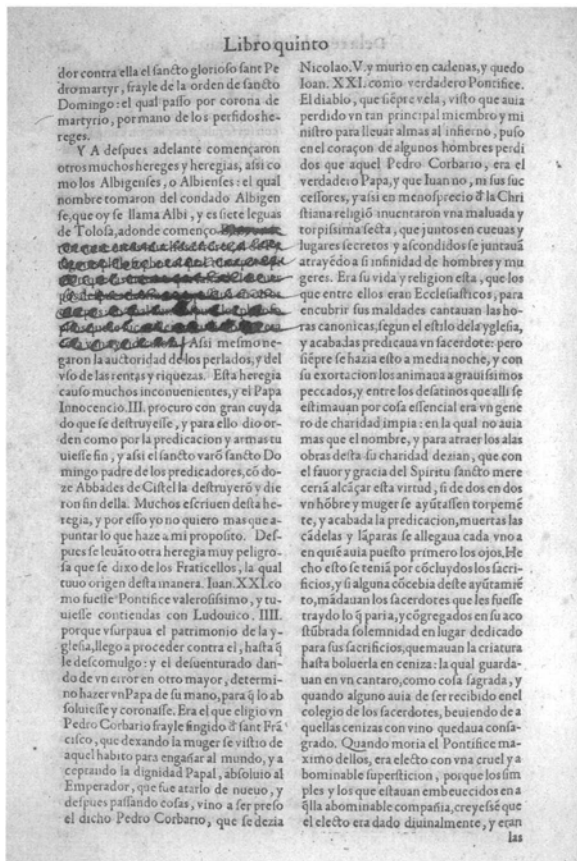


Fig. 6. Expurgation by the Holy Office of the Spanish Inquisition. From Jerónimo Román y Zamora (Hieronymo Román), *Republicas del mundo divididas en XXVII libros* (Medina del Campo, Spain: Francisco del Canto, 1575), vol. 1, fol. 261v. Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library

The practice of obscuring words with tightly curled loops that matched as precisely as possible the size of the offending letters is a cancellation technique for which the Spanish Inquisition was well known. The first, expurgated edition of Román y Zamora's *Republicas del mundo* (1575; Republics of the world) provides many examples of this technique (fig. 6). It was a successful means of obliterating text, whether handwritten or typeset. Yet the Getty Murúa's instances of Inquisition-style expurgation are not likely to have been the undertaking of any Inquisitional authority in Madrid, because there is no Inquisitional censor's statement among the official approvals in the Getty manuscript. Two South American priests with Inquisitional duties—the one a parish priest in a community near La Paz (Bolivia), the other an Inquisition official in Buenos Aires (Argentina) with responsibility for the provinces of Tucumán, Paraguay, and Río de la Plata—did indeed examine the work (folios 4r, 3v). Their statements are admiring endorsements of Murúa's knowledge of native culture, and, in any case, they would not have had the force of official Inquisitional approval, which could be obtained only in Madrid.²⁸ The most plausible source for these few deletions is the office of the king's censor, Pedro de Valencia, and probably Valencia himself. Valencia's autograph approval of Murúa's *Historia general* (folio 9r)—with its tightly controlled vertical script—lends support to this supposition.

The subject of these excised texts are Murúa's comments on the lack of progress of evangelization in the Americas (which represents the crown's papally sanctioned prerogatives and Christian mission), one of his brief commentaries on the capture of Tupac Amaru (whose execution in 1572 ended Inca rule in the Andes), and his characterizations of the Castilian monarchy. The topic of the first such cancellation, which appears in chapter 24 of book 1, is not Tupac Inca Yupanqui, who is the subject of the chapter, but rather the failure to introduce the Christian faith in the Andes: "ymposibilitaba la entrada en estas provincias" (it made impossible the entrance [of the faith] in these provinces) (folio 48r). The second excision is found in chapter 83 of book 1 and refers to an aspect of the negotiations used to convince the last surviving Inca prince, Tupac Amaru, to surrender to Martín García de Loyola (folio 195r). The third, in chapter 7 of book 3, concerns Fray Diego de Martínez's mission to the Chunchos, "indios de guerra" (warlike Indians) (folio 325r). The fourth, consisting of a single word in chapter 10 of book 3, pertains to the privileges granted by the crown to the city of Cuzco (folio 334v). The final such cancellation, in chapter 30 of book 3, interprets the meaning of the new wealth made available to Spain by the silver mines at Potosí (folio 379r) (see fig. 5).

The clue identifying these deletions as those of a royal censor is the cancellation of the first two syllables of “ympereales” (imperial) to turn the word into “reales” (royal) (folio 334v). This seemingly trivial emendation suggests a sensibility attuned to the perspective of the royal court itself. The current monarch, Philip III, and his father, Philip II, did not hold the title of Holy Roman Emperor, as had Philip III’s grandfather, Charles V. (The title had passed in 1558 to Charles’s younger brother Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, after Charles abdicated the throne in 1556 and divided the states over which he was sovereign between Ferdinand I and Philip II.) Making the correction from “imperial” to “royal” in reference to the privileges enjoyed by the city of Cuzco was a small, technical but significant difference. The precision of this emendation, plus the longer excisions that speak of the (lack of) progress of the Catholic faith in the Americas and of the bounty bestowed on the kings of Spain by the wealth of Potosí, leaves little doubt that these acts of censorship were carried out at the court by or under the supervision of Valencia.

The most lengthy of these expurgations gives the full flavor of the royal court’s concerns: “que no parese sino que Dios quiso a los Reyes de España, en pago de la firmeza que tienen en la fe, a dalles en esta vida una señal de las nuebas riquezas que les a de dar en el cielo con el cerro de donde procede la mayor parte de su grandeza” (that it does not seem otherwise but that God wanted to grant to the kings of Spain, in payment for their firmness in the faith, a sign in this life of the new riches that he will grant them in heaven by means of the mountain [of Potosí] from which proceeds the greater part of the monarchs’ grandeur) (folio 379r). Murúa’s attribution of the glory of Spain to the material wealth provided by the silver of Potosí was objectionable enough; compounding it with the notion that this was a sign of God’s promise for spiritual reward beyond the grave was, in the royal censor’s eyes, intolerable. Yet with these few objectionable passages deleted, the Getty Murúa was ready for royal approval.

5. “En La Plata por Nuestro Año de 1613” and Beyond

In the years before Murúa’s *Historia general* was examined, expurgated, and approved in Madrid, its reading and review in South America, as evidenced by the letters of recommendation from the years 1611 to 1614, are also worthy of attention. In his carefully executed (but amateur) calligraphic hand, Murúa entered on the title page of his manuscript the place and year of the *Historia general*’s completion as “La Plata... 1613” (folio 2r), and he repeated the year 1613 at the end of the final chapter (folio 383v). Ballesteros long ago suggested that the letters of recommendation that Murúa gathered in South America, dated from 25 August 1611 to 17 December 1614, corresponded to stops Murúa made on a continent-long journey that commenced in Cuzco and ended at the port of Buenos Aires. He suggested as a corollary to that scenario that Murúa set out from Cuzco in 1611 with his work, that is, the Getty manuscript, nearly complete or in fair copy and brought it to conclusion along the way, in La Plata in 1613.²⁹ Yet Murúa’s time between 1611 and 1614 was not spent as a continuous journey. On the contrary, the available evidence suggests that Murúa was settled near La Plata between the end of 1611 and the middle of 1614.

At the end of book 2 of the Getty manuscript, Murúa mentions his tenure as parish priest (*cura*) and prelate (*comendador*) for the native settlement of Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Huata, located, he notes, just a league from the city of La Plata.³⁰ Of the eleven South American officials who endorsed his work during the period from 8 February 1612 to 4 March 1613, six were located either in La Plata or in Potosí, sixty-odd miles away. Of these six officials, five identified Murúa in their letter of recommendation as the parish priest at Huata.³¹ The five other South American recommenders—one in the village of Ilabaya on 25 August 1611, two in La Paz in early September 1611, one in Córdoba de Tucumán on 28 September 1614, and one in Buenos Aires on 17 December 1614—all refer to Murúa as an “elector general” or “elector del capítulo general,” that is, as a member of the Mercedarian Order in good standing and with full voting rights (elector), but not as parish priest at Huata. Obviously the letters from Ilabaya and La Paz were gathered before his Huata assignment and the letters from Córdoba de Tucumán and Buenos Aires subsequent to it.³²

Prior to 1611, the available documentation locates Murúa at the Mercedarian monastery in Cuzco in 1585 and 1588. In 1595, he is listed as having served as official advocate (*procurador*) for the Mercedarian monastery in Cuzco and as parish priest (*cura doctrinero*) for the village of Curahuasi, near the Apurimac River.³³ In 1599, he was in Arequipa, and in January 1608, in the Aymaraes province in

southern central Peru, where he had been located between 1604 and 1606.³⁴ As already noted, he was in and near La Plata in 1612 and 1613. In March 1613, he made an important trip to Potosí to solicit the recommendation of the Mercedarian provincial superior of the province of Cuzco, which stretched from Cuzco and Huamanga (Ayacucho) into today's Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina, as far as the Río de la Plata. At the time, the provincial was not in Cuzco, as might be expected, but instead residing at (or visiting) the Mercedarian house at Potosí. There is no evidence to contradict the default assumption that Murúa returned from Potosí to La Plata in March 1613 and continued his duties at Huata until mid-1614, when he journeyed to the port at Buenos Aires for the sea voyage to Spain.

La Plata (now Sucre, Bolivia) was an auspicious place for Murúa to work on his history of the Inca. The city had been founded in 1538 or 1539, a decade earlier than La Paz and half a dozen years before the silver deposits at Potosí became known to the Spanish. Although at the beginning of the seventeenth century, La Paz was on its way to becoming the largest city in South America, La Plata had been the site of a Real Audiencia, or royally appointed administrative and judicial governing body, since 1559, and in 1609 the city became the seat of an archdiocese. Its first archbishop, Alonso de Peralta, “del Consejo de su majestad y primer Arçobispo desta ciudad” (of our king's council and first archbishop of this city), apparently ordered the reading and inspection of Murúa's work in 1612, and the archdeacon Francisco Vázquez wrote one of the most enthusiastic letters of recommendation in the Getty Murúa as a result of Peralta's request.³⁵ As the seat of the Real Audiencia, La Plata was the administrative center of the government of Upper Peru (now Bolivia), and, with the establishment of the archdiocese, it began moving toward becoming the religious and cultural capital of the entire Upper Peruvian region.

The Mercedarians were well established in La Plata when Murúa arrived there in late 1611 or early 1612. The order had begun construction of its church in the 1580s, and by 1619, a half-dozen years after Murúa's departure, work was about to commence on the cupolas; the choir would be completed in 1628, and the entire edifice finished in 1630.³⁶ Circa 1612, in short, Murúa would have found La Plata to be an active center of civil and ecclesiastical administration where the Mercedarian Order was clearly in evidence, thanks to the stately presence of the church that stands to this day. Thus, no matter where or when the words “En La Plata... 1613” were calligraphed into the Getty manuscript, I take their import to be related to Murúa's success in securing for his work the endorsement of the episcopal and, especially, Mercedarian authorities of the viceroyalty. On the basis of the letters of recommendation copied onto folios 4 through 7 of the Getty manuscript, I would like to offer here a summary of the sequence of events, or trials, to which Murúa subjected his work.

The first test of Murúa's efforts before church authorities came in La Paz in August and September 1611. Each of the three priests who examined the work there did so under orders of the archbishop of La Paz, Fray Domingo de Valderrama Centeno, and all three explicitly recommended the work's publication (folios 4r, 5r, 4v). Murúa's success with the representatives of the archbishop of La Paz must have encouraged him to present his work to church authorities in La Plata. Several months later, he received three enthusiastic endorsements, one on behalf of the archbishop of La Plata, Alonso de Peralta, in February 1612 (folio 6r), and two in the name of the bishop of La Bararrca, Antonio Calderón, in May 1612 (folios 5r, 5v).

The third and most important trial came in Potosí. Buoyed by his success, Murúa forged on, some ten months later, to Potosí, where the provincial superior of the Mercedarian Order of the province of Cuzco, Fray Pedro de Arce, was in residence.³⁷ I have discovered that Murúa and Arce had coincided in the Mercedarian community of Cuzco in 1595, when Arce was the prelate (*comendador*) of the principal house of the Mercedarian Order of the province of Cuzco and Murúa served as the monastery's official advocate (*procurador*). Arce's endorsement may thus have held personal as well as institutional importance for Murúa.

As the diocesan officials in La Paz and La Plata had done, Arce had two subordinates (both Mercedarian friars holding important posts) examine the manuscript, and their letters of recommendation, plus his own, gave Murúa the formal approval of the Mercedarian province of Cuzco. Fray Luis Carrillo and Fray Baltazar de los Reyes, each identifying himself as a prelate (*comendador*) of a conventual religious community, recommended that Arce authorize Murúa's work for printing on 3 and 4 March 1613, respectively (folios 6r, 6v). Arce then gave his permission, dated 4 March 1613, with the caveat that his approval was contingent upon the ultimate authority of the royal court in Madrid: “por el tenor de las presentes le damos liçençia para que pueda hazer ynprimir el dicho libro, guardando en la ynpresión el orden que su Majested y su Real Consejo tienen dado” (by the

contents of the present [letters by Carrillo and Reyes], we give permission for the said book to be printed, so long as it observes in its printing the regulations that His Majesty and His Royal Council have set forth) (folio 7r). This recommendation by the provincial superior of the Mercedarian province of which Murúa was a member meant that the friar was now in the position to petition the office of the master general of the Mercedarian Order in Madrid, who turned the task of evaluating Murúa's manuscript over to Remón, who, as the order's chronicler, was responsible for supervising Mercedarian publications.

The provincial's authorization represented the culmination of an approval process that was completed over nineteen months, from August 1611 to March 1613, but was surely contemplated for much longer. The process had begun, in fact, in 1596, with the endorsement by the native lords (*curaca*) of Cuzco of an earlier version of Murúa's history.³⁸ Long in the past, that recommendation by the native authorities of Cuzco was the precursor to those that Murúa had now gathered from representatives of two archbishops, a bishop, and, most importantly for Murúa's interests as a Mercedarian author, the Mercedarian provincial of the province of Cuzco. Also extending into the past was Murúa's acquaintance with Arce, who must have been familiar not only with Murúa but also with Murúa's work on the now-lost manuscript that had been endorsed by the native lords of Cuzco in the year after its author and Arce coincided in the Mercedarian community in that city.

The "por N[uestro] Año de 1613" at the foot of Murúa's title page thus represents a landmark that he associated with the completion of his work—not necessarily in the literal sense, but certainly in the metaphorical. It was the year when the promise of life beyond the period of its composition was breathed into it. The success of Murúa's petitions for episcopal and Mercedarian support presented an occasion for him to render divine praise, and in that spirit he inscribed the colophon at the end of the body of his text: "Finita est haec historia ad laudem dei omnipotentis, et S[anctae] V[irginis] M[ariae] de Mercede Red[emptionis] Capt[ivorum] año a nativitate D[omini] 1613" (Hereby this history is brought to an end in honor of God almighty, and of the Holy Virgin Mary of the Ransom of Captives, in the year from the birth of our Lord 1613). Although Murúa may have fair-copied the letters of recommendation he had in hand in 1613 in a later year, after receiving the final South American endorsements in Córdoba de Tucumán and Buenos Aires in 1614 and arriving in Spain, he identified La Plata, in or around 1613, as the site marking the culmination of his labors. It was surely with pride that he identified La Plata as a place of significance to him personally; as we saw above, it was already a site of power and prestige in its own right.

Between 22 October 1615 and 26 May 1616, Murúa's great goal was achieved. His work was approved for publication by the master general of the Mercedarian Order and the king of Spain. The manuscript's passage through the hands of the Mercedarian and royal authorities in Madrid is registered in the original, autograph documents that were inserted in the Getty manuscript and in the rubric that graces the foot of the recto of nearly every folio. These documents and symbols, which were proof of Murúa's triumph, must have been precious to him beyond measure.

6. The Perils of Publication

Why was Murúa's approved manuscript not published? It would be easy to suggest that, despite the royal license to print, Murúa's manuscript history was somehow "suppressed" by contrary interests. Yet such a position overlooks basic facts about book publishing in Spain in the early seventeenth century. It was not a question of suppression, but of inertia, that is, the manuscript's failure to find suitable backing to achieve publication. This, rather than censorship, was the significant factor.

Underwriting the cost of book publication in Murúa's day usually fell to the "mercaderes de libros," that is, the entrepreneurial book merchants who invested in the production of the commodities they sold. They were far more numerous than the private patrons with whom we are familiar from the published works of Cervantes, Luis de Góngora y Argote, and other writers of the Spanish Golden Age. State entities, such as the crown, seldom supported publication through the royal printing house, and on the few occasions on which the royal court did so, its contribution to the growth of book culture was little more than idiosyncratic.³⁹ Because of his many years in South America, Murúa did not have commercial, entrepreneurial, or patronage "contacts" in Spain. Nor, as we will see, did he have the level of enthusiastic backing that he needed from the Mercedarian Order, which was engaged in serving the similar and, in fact, competing interests of two other authors.

Two great Mercedarian-supported publication projects were under way when Murúa submitted his manuscript to Remón, and each competed, in a different way, with the *Historia general del Piru*. The first was the vivid, firsthand account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico written by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a soldier-eyewitness posthumously “promoted” to the rank of captain by the seventeenth-century endorsers of his work. His *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1632; True history of the conquest of New Spain), completed in manuscript in 1568 and sent to Spain in 1575, was in the possession of the Mercedarian Order, donated or loaned by the Castilian statesman and bibliophile Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, who came to possess Murúa’s *Historia general*, possibly in exchange for Díaz’s manuscript.⁴⁰ The Mercedarians were quite interested in having Díaz’s pro-conquest history published, and Remón, possibly with assistance from his Mercedarian colleagues, made extensive additions and interpolations to the manuscript that celebrated (and exaggerated) the deeds of Bartolomé de Olmedo, the Mercedarian friar who had accompanied Hernán Cortés on the expedition to conquer Mexico. The Mercedarian interpolations were such that, on one occasion, Olmedo is inadvertently made to appear at two places simultaneously.⁴¹ Remón and his colleagues also added to the work an entire chapter that described the portents and natural wonders that supposedly presaged the arrival of the Spanish in Mexico and their subsequent triumph.⁴²

Fray Diego Serrano, master general of the Mercedarian Order, lauded Díaz’s work for being an eyewitness account, and therefore credible, and for protecting “con tanto zelo de la reputación de nuestra España (menoscabada en las historias por la envidia extranjera)” (with holy zeal the reputation of our Spain, defamed in the written histories by foreign envy).⁴³ In his dedication of the printed book to Ramírez, Remón remarks that the manuscript he had received from Ramírez is being returned in printed form. Remón also emphasizes that he does so “en honra de los piadosos oficios de mi sagrada religión, y noticias ciertas de los notables hechos y de no pensados acaecimientos que se vieron en las primeras conquistas de Nueva España” (in honor of the pious efforts of my sacred religion, and the true accounts of the remarkable deeds and never before imagined events that occurred in the first conquests of New Spain).⁴⁴ The *Historia verdadera* had received the enthusiastic support of a councilor of the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias, Ramiro Pérez de Guzmán, duque de Medina de las Torres.⁴⁵ It was published by the royal printing house in 1632 in two printings. Its political importance and propagandistic value, to both the Spanish crown and the Mercedarian Order, were beyond question.

If we set Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru* alongside Díaz’s *Historia verdadera*, we find it an altogether different case. Murúa’s account of the Spanish conquest is not triumphant or heroic (even after expurgation), and the manuscript’s accounting of Mercedarian deeds, though interesting, was too brief and general to be compelling. Murúa’s late addition of an unnumbered chapter on Mercedarian martyrs that does not appear in his work’s table of contents was no doubt an effort to bolster his work in that direction.

Here, too, Murúa’s work competed with a Mercedarian project that was in course: Remón’s own *Historia general de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, Redención de Cautivos* (1618, 1633; General history of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, Redemption of Captives), the second part of which was published by the royal printing house in 1633. In the portion of volume 2 devoted to the Americas, commencing in chapter 5 of book 12, Remón complained of how little historians writing about the Americas had facilitated his own task of writing the history of the Mercedarian Order in the Americas. He went on to observe, however, that he found Díaz’s account of the conquest of Mexico particularly edifying in this regard. The *Historia verdadera* provided Remón with ample material, and he proudly cited its in-press version as his source.⁴⁶ Indeed, the old foot soldier’s accounts of missionary evangelizing after the conquest, already generously embellished by Remón and his colleagues, provided material for the eleven chapters of Remón’s *Historia general de la Orden* that were devoted to Olmedo’s deeds.⁴⁷ In this light, we can infer Remón’s disappointment with Murúa’s work, which he had examined (and edited and censored) a decade and a half earlier, in 1615.

More recently, in 1962, Raúl Porras Barrenechea noted, with a certain irony, that Murúa’s *Historia general* “no podría figurar, como la de los otros cronistas religiosos de su siglo, como una Introducción piadosa y ejemplarizadora a la historia de su orden” (could not be counted, like those [chronicles] by other religious chroniclers of his century, as a pious and exemplary introduction to the history of his order).⁴⁸ Remón clearly had been vexed by this problem. When in his *Historia general de la Orden* he opened his discussion of the Mercedarian Order’s work in the Viceroyalty of Peru, Remón remarked that if the authors who treated Fray Miguel de Orenes’s contributions to preaching

the faith to the Andeans had done so with the zeal and faithfulness that Orenes himself demonstrated by his actions, then those who read the writings of those historians would neither judge harshly what they should assess with kindness nor impute blame where praise and gratitude should be bestowed.⁴⁹ Remón went on to name the culprits: Las Casas, Agustín de Zárate, the Italian Girolamo Benzoni, and, the one whom he considered the most blameworthy of all, Francisco López de Gómara. Remón held this opinion because Gómara's two-volume work, first published in 1552 but ordered to be withdrawn from circulation by the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias in 1553, was translated into Italian in 1560 and thus provided the source for Benzoni's highly negative account, published in 1572, of the Spanish conquests in the Americas.⁵⁰

When it came to celebrating the deeds of the Mercedarians or defending the Spanish conquest of Peru, Murúa's work was sadly lacking. He had devoted only three chapters in book 3 to the work of the Mercedarians in the Americas: chapter 7 on the province of Cuzco in its northern jurisdiction, chapter 8 on the province of Cuzco in its southern jurisdiction, and, as noted, chapter 8bis, a late addition calligraphed in his own hand, on the martyrdom of Mercedarian friars in the southern jurisdictions of the Mercedarian province of Cuzco. On the subject of the Spanish conquest of Peru, Murúa's bold, Lascasian-inflected critique and condemnation, even though muted or canceled, did not leave in its stead even the scant suggestion of a desirably edifying account of the conquistadores' actions and their consequences.

Still, Murúa's manuscript had not been approved for printing as a history of either the Spanish conquest of Peru or the Mercedarian Order in the Americas: it was a "general history" of the Inca empire and the Spanish presence in Peru. Murúa counted most on the appeal of the grandeur and nobility of the Inca monarchs and their stately reign, complemented by an appealing survey of the contemporary Viceroyalty of Peru and its riches. But even here there was a problem. On the subject of Inca history, one of the greatest works of nearly all time, and widely heralded in its own, was before the Castilian court: the second part of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's history of the Inca empire and its conquest by the Spanish. Its first part had been published, under the title *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los incas* (Royal commentaries on the origins of the Inca), in Lisbon in 1609, and its second part was en route to being published in Córdoba in 1617.

In fact, and this may be the greatest irony of all concerning the fate of the Getty Murúa, the manuscript for Garcilaso's *Segunda parte* had moved through the royal council's chambers in Madrid two years prior to Murúa's history of Inca Peru, and in 1616 it was before the court again. That is, Garcilaso's manuscript had been approved by the royal censor (the now familiar Pedro de Valencia) on 6 January 1614 and, having been rubricated by the king's notary (the now equally familiar Gerónimo Núñez de León), the royal license to print the *Segunda parte*, signed "Yo, el Rey," was issued on 21 January 1614. Now, in 1616, after Garcilaso's death on 23 April, the manuscript had been typeset, and Garcilaso's printer, typeset proofs in hand, awaited final approval for printing from the royal court in Madrid. On 12 November 1616, the court's officially appointed reader, the licentiate Francisco Murcia de la Llana, declared that the printed book corresponded to its rubricated manuscript, and on 17 November 1616, Núñez de León executed the *tasa*, declaring that the king and his council had seen and licensed the *Segunda parte de los Comentarios reales* for printing and that its fair-market price was set at eighteen reals and sixteen maravedís.⁵¹

A look at the approvals for Garcilaso's manuscript reveals that not all such documents were the same. Insofar as the church and court officials who generated these documents carried influence beyond their bureaucratic functions, the enthusiasm for Garcilaso's work expressed by both its ecclesiastical evaluator and the court censor, especially in comparison to their reactions to Murúa's manuscript, is suggestive. The clerical examiner of Garcilaso's *Segunda parte* was the Jesuit priest (and Garcilaso's friend) Francisco de Castro, who evaluated the manuscript in late 1612 or early 1613 at the behest of the bishop of Córdoba, Fray Diego de Mardones, just as Remón would later evaluate Murúa's manuscript for Ribera. In a rhetorical flight of high praise, Castro approved Garcilaso's work, describing its account as being "muy agradable, por ser de cosas grandes, nuevas, admirables y de grande honra para nuestra nación" (very pleasing, because of treating great, new, wonder-provoking topics and for doing great honor to our nation). And this was just the beginning of Castro's praise.⁵² Remón's statement about Murúa's history of the Inca, in contrast, is terse and cautious. In full, it stated that he considered the history to be "verdadera y el estilo apacible y que será de consideración y importancia su lectura" (true [in content] and the style agreeable, and its reading important and worthy of consideration).⁵³

The statements made by the royal censor likewise offer a contrast, all the more so since the official, in both cases, was one and the same: Pedro de Valencia. Even the matter-of-fact bureaucrat Valencia discriminated between the two works. About Garcilaso's *Segunda parte*, Valencia remarked that the manuscript should be printed for its utility and its capacity to give pleasure, which were due to its examples of prudence, its singularity, and the variety of matters it treated, and furthermore that it was written with clarity, in an agreeable style, and, most of all, with zeal for truth and dispassionate intentions, for its history was elaborated on the basis of eyewitness reports and the diligent reports of others.⁵⁴ Valencia's statement about Murúa's work is positive but more muted. The court censor does not regard it as a masterpiece, as he did Garcilaso's opus. His approval declares that the Mercedarian's text would aid greatly in writing the history of Peru because, due to his diligence, Murúa had discovered and dealt with in his *Historia general* many things about the antiquities, governance, cities and provinces, wealth, and natural wonders of that kingdom.⁵⁵ That is, Valencia thought that Murúa's work would help in *completing* the writing of the history of Peru. The honor of having written that history was bestowed, when the work was printed in 1617, upon Garcilaso.

Despite Garcilaso's previous success as a historian of the Inca empire and the official enthusiasm for its forthcoming second part, the road to publication was complicated, lengthy, and costly.⁵⁶ Indeed, when Garcilaso's *Segunda parte de los Comentarios reales* was published posthumously, it bore the title *Historia general del Perú*, not the title he had given it. This new title is doubly ironic, not only because it contradicted Garcilaso's intentions but also because it was precisely the title that Murúa had devised for his own work, as evidenced in the Getty manuscript of 1613, and it harked all the way back to 1596, when he penned a similar version on one of the initial folios (later excised) of the Galvin manuscript.

All these factors help us understand why support for the publication of Murúa's work was perilously, in fact, fatally limited. It was not a matter of there being official opposition as such to its publication but rather of there being no powerful private, ecclesiastical, or commercial advocacy for it. It was doomed by inertia, not suppression. The Mercedarians already had in mind putting their influence behind Díaz's work, and the learned lay reading public already had in hand Garcilaso's magnificent *Primera parte de los Comentarios reales*, while the second part of his masterpiece was soon to become available.

Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* would have to wait three and a half centuries to be published. Had it been printed, it is likely that the Getty manuscript would have been destroyed, and we would never have learned the history of its making and remaking or the details of its expurgation and censorship. Most poignantly, we would have lost the sense of the human drama of the countless intellectual and personal dilemmas and decisions that Murúa faced along the way. In the years that he spent in La Plata, moving closer to his goal, he had to imagine a world of readers that he did not know: metropolitan Mercedarians, officials at the royal court and its councils in Madrid, and a lay reading public with whom he had had no contact. We, in turn, know little about his life, and the greater portion of what we have come to know about him as an author, we have learned from the creation and emendation of his manuscript books, from the initial gathering of paper into quires all the way through to the final passes over Murúa's last, finished manuscript.

Ideally, the story of Murúa's Getty manuscript would have concluded with the publication of the manuscript, the title of which was recorded in the royal license to print and by Núñez de León as *Historia general del reyno y provincias del Piru*. Its next documented destination was the library of Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado. About the books and manuscript books of Ramírez's library, Remón remarked that they were so great in number and their selection so fine that one could hardly find a volume of note that he did not already have.⁵⁷ Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* became one of those rare, indeed unique, works that Ramírez possessed. The publication of the Getty manuscript in facsimile allows us to imagine Murúa's work much as Don Lorenzo himself would have known it.

Notes

1. I have presented and discussed the evidence of censorship in the Getty Murúa at the symposium "Peru in Black and White and in Color: The Unique Texts and Images in the Colonial Andean Manuscripts of Martín de Murúa and Guaman Poma," Chicago, 19–20 April 2002; the Quinto Congreso Internacional de Edición y Anotación de Textos, Madrid, 2–4 December 2002;

the Instituto Porras Barrenechea, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 23 July 2003; the symposium "Colonial Latin American Literature: A State of the Art," Yale University, 23–24 October 2003; and the 52nd International Congress of Americanists, Seville, 18 July 2006. See, in print, Adorno, "La censura"; and Adorno, "Estudiosos."

2. Both published editions were prepared by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois: Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64); and Murúa, *Historia general* (1986). In 1962, in the introduction to his two-volume edition, Ballesteros acknowledged the manuscript's many modifications and announced that he would prepare a list of them to append to the end of his work; see Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Introducción" (1962), xlviii. In 1964, at the conclusion of the second volume, Ballesteros announced his plan to publish this apparently already collected material as a separate volume under the title "Apéndices instrumentales"; see Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Advertencia final," 275–76. According to his former student and later colleague, Dra. Concepción Bravo Guerreira, such a volume was never published. I acknowledge with gratitude Dra. Bravo's response on 3 December 2002 to my inquiry. Ballesteros summarily attributed to Murúa himself all the additions and suppressions in the calligraphed manuscript.

3. The Getty Murúa's title page has been reproduced previously in Ballesteros Gaibrois, "La crónica," 99; Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:1; Ossio, *Los retratos*, pl. 1; and Adorno, "La censura," 63.

4. These transcriptions and translations of the Latin title-page inscriptions are by Ivan Boserup and Karsten Friis-Jensen (Københavns Universitet), whose clockwise (rather than left to right) reading reveals the logic of Murúa's inscriptions. Transcriptions and editions previously published by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois ("Original perdido," 257) and Anton von Euw ("XIII 16 Martín de Murúa," 309) have been flawed. On the title page, the two distiches are written (and punctuated):

Auribus, arrectis, tener ceu plura: penetrans
 Linceo Visu, sum prius intuitus
 Auditui, Si dulce melos, non prebeat istud
 Illustra, Lector, Lumine mentis opus.

5. Ballesteros reproduced the rubric and signature but identified them as pertaining to a copyist; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 2:272: "firma del copista." John Rowe correctly identified the name but made the same error about its owner's function; see J. Rowe, "Martín de Murúa's Manuscripts," 4: "The signature of the copyist responsible for finishing the manuscript appears at the very end; I read it as Gerónimo Núñez de León." Von Euw followed Rowe and called Núñez de León a copyist; see von Euw, "XIII 16 Martín de Murúa," 312, 313: "387v Unten Subskription des Schreibers, von Rowe als Gerónimo Núñez de León gedeutet" (Below on 387v is the signature of the calligrapher, identified by Rowe as Gerónimo Núñez de León); "Sie wurde zwischen 1611 und 1613 in La Plata, dem heutigen Sucre in Bolivien von mehreren Kopisten geschrieben und von Gerónimo Núñez de León 1613 vollendet" (It was calligraphed by several copyists between 1611 and 1613 in La Plata, modern Sucre in Bolivia, and completed by Gerónimo Núñez de León in 1613).

6. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 11r: "el original que en el nuestro consejo se vio que va rubricado y firmado al fin de Gerónimo Núñez de León, nuestro escribano de cámara" (the original [manuscript] that was examined in our council and is rubricated and signed at the end by Jerónimo Núñez de León, our court notary). The office of *escribano de cámara* was a distinguished one; its proprietary holder was a court official and, as such, could not engage in private business affairs; see Parry, *Audiencia*, 155.

7. Núñez de León rubricated Cervantes's manuscript prior to 24 September 1616, the date on which the king authorized its printing. Then, after the book was typeset and a single approval copy was examined at court against the original, Núñez de León issued, on 23 December 1616, the statement setting its price (*tasa*), which was to be placed "al principio de cada libro de los que se imprimieren" (at the front of each and every copy printed); see Cervantes, *Los trabajos*, n.p. (front matter).

8. Apart from the four original documents of approbation of the manuscript (folios 8r–11r), there are three hands clearly in evidence in the Getty Murúa: the scribe who calligraphed the first half of the manuscript (Getty Scribe 1), the scribe who calligraphed the second half (Getty Scribe 2), and Murúa himself. See Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 162–65, table 6;

and Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 31, and appendix 2. As I will argue here, the body of the work also contains evidence of a fourth hand, that of the chronicler of the Mercedarian Order, Fray Alonso Remón (1561–1632).

9. A small letter *x* is inscribed at the head of the addition on Borja at the bottom of the page, and another *x* is found at the right margin eight lines above, indicating that the information about Borja's appointment was to be inserted by the printer following the account of Montesclaros, where it would precede the summary statement about the worthy goals and service of the viceroys in general, which was intended to conclude the chapter's text. Borja's appointment as the next viceroy of Peru was announced by Philip III in 1614, and he took up the reins of governance upon his arrival in Lima on 18 December 1615. The textual emendation that presents Borja as the sitting viceroy reveals that this addition to the text was made around the time of the governmental transition in Lima and in anticipation of Murúa's work appearing in print after the new viceroy was installed.

10. For the royal license to print, see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 11r.

11. Pedro de Valencia, the king's censor, in Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 9r. This conventional statement is found in several other letters in the Getty Murúa, such as Remón's approbation (fol. 8r), cited above.

12. In a royal decree of 8 July 1502, Ferdinand and Isabel had claimed the right to examine all works to be printed or sold in their kingdoms, but historians today generally date the first attempt to systematically monitor the content of printed books in Castile to a royal edict issued in 1554 by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his son, the Spanish crown prince, Philip (the future Philip II). This decree designated the Consejo Real de Castilla as the licensing body for the printing of all books, and on 21 September 1556, the Infanta Juana, while acting as regent of Spain for her absent brother, issued a royal decree that required "espresa licencia nuestra" (our express license) to be given for the publication of books on the topic of the "Indies" (Americas), with the examination and approval by the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias, as well as the Consejo Real de Castilla, as requisites; see Adorno and Pautz, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, 3:73, 88. Juana's decree is transcribed in Torre Revello, *El libro*, xii–xiii; and Reyes Gómez, *El libro*, 1:797–98.

13. The consideration of this dimension of Murúa's *Historia general* is made possible by the codicological examinations that Ivan Boserup and I have carried out at the J. Paul Getty Museum since early 2002; see Boserup, "Quelques observations"; and Adorno and Boserup, this volume.

14. This spanned the period of the production of the Cuzco manuscript, probably completed in 1590 or 1591, through the completion of the Getty manuscript, around 1613. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 15–27.

15. Raúl Porras Barrenechea initiated this line of investigation in the 1940s, in reference to the content of the Galvin manuscript, which he knew only through the Bayle edition of 1946 of the Loyola copy of 1890. For his praise of Murúa's literary merit, see Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas*, 480:

Es un narrador ameno, pintoresco e intencionado, con expresiones coloreadas y giros populares sabrosos, de gran rapidez descriptiva, y gracia de las comparaciones. Es la suya una prosa ágil y esmaltada, llena de sales clásicas y su frase tiene ya la desenvoltura y donaire de los períodos cervantinos.
 (He is a pleasant narrator, picturesque and purposeful, with vivid expressions and juicy turns of popular phrase, of great descriptive velocity and gracefulness in his comparisons. His prose is agile and polished, full of classical wit, and his sentences have the ease and grace of Cervantes's sentences.)

At the same time, Porras observed that the gravest charge that could be made against Murúa was "sus impunes y desmesurados saqueos de las obras de otros cronistas" (his excessive plundering of the works of other chroniclers, done with

impunity), in particular his “reproducción literal del tratado de Polo de Ondegardo” (literal reproduction of the treatise of Polo de Ondegardo). Porras had in mind Polo’s “Instrucción contra las ceremonias y ritos que usan los indios conforme a su gentilidad” (Instructions [for use] against the ceremonies and rites that the Indians carry out in accordance with their pagan beliefs) and “Errores y supersticiones de los Indios” (Errors and superstitions of the Indians), both of which had been published in 1585 as appendices to the *Confessionario para los curas de indios* (Confessional guide for priests working with Indians), under the auspices of the Third Concilio Provincial de Lima of 1583. See Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas*, 677–78.

In 1962, Pierre Duviols published similar observations about Murúa’s reliance on Polo de Ondegardo; see Duviols, “Les sources religieuses,” 33–43. In 1964, Carlos Aranibar continued this line of inquiry, starting with Polo de Ondegardo and mentioning Francisco López de Gómara, Cristóbal de Molina, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Porras likewise mentioned Guaman Poma). Aranibar lamented the presence of “confusos datos por complete ajenos a la material incaica. Basta decir que en algún párrafo se habla de flechas con puntas de pedernal y huesos de peces—lo cual es material mexicana—y ha merecido ser incluído en el texto nada menos que tres veces” (confusing information completely foreign to Inca culture. It is enough to point out that in some paragraph he speaks of arrows with flint heads and fish spines—which are Mexican materials—and it has been deemed worthy of being incorporated into the text no less than three times), and the fact that the Coricancha (Temple of the Sun) in Cuzco “es convertido en pirámide escalonada azteca, con plataformas superpuestas y ‘ciento diez gradas para subir a lo alto’” (is converted into a graded Aztec pyramid, with superimposed platforms and ‘one hundred ten steps to reach the top’); see Aranibar, “Algunos problemas,” 106–7.

John Rowe sets forth Murúa’s treatment of the Inca queens as based on Lopez de Gómara’s *Historia de las Indias y conquista de México* (1552; History of the Indies and the conquest of Mexico); see J. Rowe, “La mentira literaria.” Rowe deduced that for his *Historia general*, Murúa had used extensively a source also used by Miguel Cabello Balboa for his *Miscelánea antártica* (1586; Antarctic miscellany); see J. Rowe, “Probanza.” As Porras Barrenechea (*Los cronistas*, 350–51, 456) had done earlier, Rowe judged Cristóbal de Molina to have been this source. Martti Pärssinen has demonstrated Murúa’s reliance, in the Galvin manuscript, on the account of the quipu in Fray Jerónimo Román y Zamora’s *Repúblicas del mundo* (1575; Republics of the world)—who, I add, had copied the material from Las Casas’s manuscript *Apologética historia sumaria* (1555–59; Compendious apologetic history)—and on Diego Fernández de Palentino’s *Primera y segunda parte de la historia del Perú* (1571; First and second part of the history of Peru) for his history of the Spanish conquest of Peru; see Pärssinen, “Otras fuentes”; and Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 190, where we show that it was Román’s second, postexpurgation edition, published in 1595, that Murúa used. Annalyda Álvarez-Calderón has identified these same sources, plus the works of Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa; see Álvarez-Calderón, “Friar Martín de Murúa.” See also Ossio, this volume, 94 nn. 31, 32, for a detailed list of comparable texts in Sarmiento and the Getty Murúa as well as in Cabello Balboa and the Getty Murúa. Ossio shows that forty-four of the ninety-three chapters of Murúa’s book 1 closely follow the contents of twenty-four of Cabello Balboa’s chapters, but he rejects the preliminary hypothesis that Cabello Balboa was the actual source because he feels that Murúa tended to copy his sources literally; the correspondence between Murúa’s and Cabello Balboa’s texts is comprehensive but not exact.

16. On 24 September 1572, the viceroy Toledo wrote to the Spanish king Philip II: “Los libros del obispo de Chiapa [Bartolomé de Las Casas] y los demás ympresos sin licencia del Real Consejo se yrán recojiendo como Vuestra Magestad lo manda, que los de Chiapa era el corazón de los más frailes de este reino y con que más daño han hecho en él” (The books of the bishop of Chiapas [Bartolomé de Las Casas] and the other works printed without the permission of the Real Consejo will be confiscated as your majesty requires, for those of the bishop of Chiapas were [close to] the heart of most friars in this kingdom,

to which much harm has come because of them); see Levillier, *Gobernantes*, 4:442. Las Casas’s tracts were published in Seville in 1552 and 1553, before the 1554 enforcement of mandatory royal approval prior to publication.

17. Ballesteros Gaibrois, “Introducción” (1986), 23.

18. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 17–20.

19. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 35.

20. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 32, and appendix 2; and Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 244–45 (appendix 7).

21. The second reference to their marriage in the calligraphed text is “el qual se efectuó muy en as y en paz de sus basallos, y después en la de la Santa Madre Yglesia” (the one that was executed very much in tranquility and in peace with their vassals, and afterward in that of the Holy Mother Church); see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 221r.

22. The diminutive size of the canceling pen stroke reflects the small size of the single calligraphed word it cancels. It does not have the same characteristics as the censorial corrections in table 4.

23. I have previously made this suggestion about censorship designed to help, rather than hinder, the potential publication of the Getty Murúa in Adorno, “Estudiosos,” 64–65; and Adorno, “La censura,” 55–56.

24. The expurgated text on folio 319r reads: “Diligencias devidas para justificar su acción y título y estos basos, *queros*, que en esto se entremeten. Ninguno ay que sepa los primeros principios de las letras y gentes que si les preguntasan la Razón de los objetos que ponen, no sabrían dalla ni aun de sí mismos” (the tasks necessary to justify their action and title and these vessels, *quero*, that are used in this regard. No one among them knows the early origins of letters and the people, and if asked about the reason they use these objects, they would know neither what to say nor how to explain anything about themselves).

25. This study modifies the views I previously expressed about censorship in Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru*, but it does so only by identifying the censor. See Adorno, “La censura,” 55–57; and Adorno, “Estudiosos,” 63–65.

26. Along the same lines are editorial concerns such as word choice and accuracy of information. Thus, for example, with regard to idolatrous practices, Remón replaces the verb “extirparon” (they extirpated) with “quitaron” (they removed) on folio 324v; and “el reino de Chile” (the king of Chile) is removed from “Tucumán, el reino de Chile y Paraguai” on folio 327r.

27. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, appendix 2.

28. The first South American recommender of Murúa’s work was a commissary of the Holy Inquisition of Laricay province and a local parish priest, Martín Domínguez Jara, who inspected the manuscript at the behest of the archbishop of La Paz in 1611. He affirms the validity of the contents of Murúa’s work on the basis of his own fifteen years of working with Andeans, including their most respected elders, and his total of twenty years in the Americas; he declares that the work will be most useful for missionary priests evangelizing the native populations (folio 4r). The last of the South American recommenders, Francisco de Irujo, director (*comendador*) of the Inquisition for the provinces of Río de la Plata, Paraguay, and Tucumán, likewise credited his own long-term knowledge of native culture and his acquaintance with its eldest elite members for pointing to the validity and value of Murúa’s work, which contained, he said, “tantas tan uarias antiguas y curiossas cosas dignas de ser sauidas” (so many ancient and interesting things worthy of being known) (folio 3v). Both men are unlikely to have made cancellations that are concerned with matters of state.

29. See Ballesteros Gaibrois, “Introducción” (1962), xxxvi.

30. Murúa refers to his pastoral duties there in the context of a bizarre case of a human birth about which he speculates that the Andean mother had copulated with an animal. See Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 306r:

También en un pueblo de yndios, una legua de la ciudad de la Plata, llamado la Limpia Consebición de Nuestra Señora de Huata, siendo yo cura y comendador en el

dicho pueblo, vide parir a una yndia en el dicho pueblo una niña llena de pelos desde los ojos para arriba, sin faición de frente, y todo el rostro y cuerpo.

(Also in an Andean settlement, about a league from the city of La Plata, called Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Huata, while I was the parish priest and prelate of the aforementioned village, I saw an Andean woman in the said village give birth to a female child covered with hair from her eyes upward, with no definition of the forehead, and her face and body covered too.)

31. The five were the archdeacon Francisco Vázquez, the canon Alejo de Benavente Solís, the padre Gutierre Fernández, the *comendador* Fray Baltazar de los Reyes, and the provincial Fray Pedro de Arce. Only one, Fray Luis Carillo in Potosí, failed to identify Murúa by an office within the Mercedarian Order; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fols. 5r–7r = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:9–13.

32. The officials in Ilabaya and La Paz in 1611 were, respectively, the padre Martín Domínguez Jara and the padre Diego de Guzmán and Fray Pedro González; and the two in Córdoba de Tucumán and Buenos Aires in 1614 were, respectively, Don Luis de Quiñones Osorio and the licentiate and padre Francisco de Irujo; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fols. 3r–5r = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:5–9.

33. Palacio, *Provinciales*, 223, 225, 250–51, 281; and Barriga, *Los mercedarios*, 3:352–53. Murúa's documented time in Cuzco is the basis for the identification, by Ivan Boserup and myself, of Cuzco as the place of production of the manuscript that preceded the Galvin; see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 15–17.

34. Palacio, *Provinciales*, 81, 226; and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 18, 50, 191 n. 175.

35. In Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 6r = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:11, Vázquez states,

no ay cosa que se pueda quitar, añadir y emendar y me parese que se deue ynprimir y sacar a luz... y se le deuen dar muchas graças al dicho Padre Comendador y hazer muy grande estimación del trabajo y diligencia que [h]a puesto en saber e ynquirir las cosas deste reyno con rrara verdad, claridad y distincion. (there is not a single thing that can be removed, added, or corrected, and it seems to me that the manuscript should be published... and that the aforementioned prelate priest [Murúa] should be given great thanks and held in high esteem for the diligence and labor that he has invested in learning and researching about matters in this kingdom [the Viceroyalty of Peru] with truth, clarity, and distinction.)

36. Mesa and Gisbert, *Monumentos*, 191–93.

37. Fray Pedro de Arce is documented as having been present among the Mercedarians of the province of Cuzco from 1576 onward. In 1585, he was provincial vicar (*vicario provincial*), and in 1592, he occupied that post as well as that of prelate (*comendador*) of the Mercedarian spiritual community at Chuquisaca (that is, La Plata [Sucre, Bolivia]). In 1595, he occupied the post of prelate (*comendador*) at “la casa máxima” (the principal house) of the Mercedarians in Cuzco. He was twice elected provincial of the large Mercedarian province of Cuzco, which was divided into northern and southern jurisdictions in 1593 but made official only in 1599, and he served from 1596 to 1598 and again from 1606 to 1610. See Palacio, *Provinciales*, 243–44, 256–57, 279, 283–86.

38. See Adorno and Boserup, the volume, 11–15.

39. Simón Díaz, *El libro español antiguo*, 87.

40. For this suggestion, see Bayle, “Introducción,” 35 n. 12. On Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado and Murúa's Getty manuscript, see Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 113–17. Ramírez de

Prado (1583–1658) was a councilor of the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias (1626–54) and, from 1642, a member of the Consejo Real de Castilla. See Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, 1:358.

41. For commentary on and transcriptions of these extensive additions, see Sáenz de Santa María, “Primera sección,” xxiv–xxv; and Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 2:53–55.

42. This chapter, entitled “De las señales y planetas que hubo en el cielo de Nueva España antes que en ella entrásemos, y pronósticos e declaración que los indios mexicanos hizieron, diziendo sobre ellos; e de una señal que hubo en el cielo, y otras cosas que son de traer a la memoria” (On the signs and planetary phenomena that appeared in the sky above New Spain before we entered it, and the omens and interpretations that the Mexican Indians made of them, speaking about them; and of a particular sign that appeared in the sky, and other things that are worthy of being remembered), was first published in 1632 in the second printing of Díaz's chronicle; significantly, it did not appear in the first printing or in Díaz's autograph manuscript, which he continued writing and revising until his death in Guatemala in 1581. See Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 1:664–67 (chapter 212bis).

43. See Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 1:xxxii.

44. See Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 1:xxxii.

45. Remón suggests that Ramírez's reputation had been instrumental in gaining the approval of the Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias through the offices of Guzmán, who was the son-in-law of the powerful court favorite Gaspar de Guzmán, conde-duque de Olivares; see Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 1:xxxii. The president of the council was Lorenzo de Cárdenas y Balda, conde de la Puebla del Maestre, who held that office from 28 June 1629 to 26 November 1632; see Schäfer, *El Consejo Real*, 1:352.

46. Remón, *Historia general*, bk. 12, chap. 12, fol. 104r. However, the unnamed author of the prologue to Díaz's *Historia verdadera*, which was published after November 1632, mourns Remón's death and notes that he left five volumes ready for printing; see Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1992–2001), 2:cxiii. One was Díaz's chronicle, and another was the history of the Mercedarian Order, authored by Remón, that I cite here.

47. Remón, *Historia general*, bk. 12, chaps. 11–20, fol. 102v–122v; and Sáenz de Santa María, “Primera sección,” xxiv.

48. Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas*, 476.

49. Remón, *Historia general*, bk. 13, chap. 3, fol. 143v: “si los Autores que han tratado desto escrivieran con igualdad, . . . no hubieran ocasionado a los que han leydo sus escritos, a que juzgaran mal de lo que deúan juzgar bien, y a imputar culpa adonde se deúa agradecimiento y premio.”

50. Remón, *Historia general*, bk. 13, chap. 3, fol. 143v; and Torre Revello, *El libro*, x.

51. Varner, *El Inca*, 376; the documents are transcribed in Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana*, 2:4–5, 17–18.

52. Castro's approbation is reprinted in Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana*, 2:3–4.

53. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 8r.

54. Valencia's approbation of Garcilaso's *Segunda parte* is reprinted in Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana*, 2:4: “la historia es muy útil y gustosa, por los ejemplos de prudencia y estrañeza y variedad de los sucessos, y está tratada con claridad y apacible estilo, y principalmente con zelo de verdad y desapasionada intención, y que muestra haverse tomado de vistas y de ciertas y diligentes relaciones.”

55. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 9r = Murúa, *Historia general* (1962–64), 1:15: “ayudará mucho al cumplimiento de la historia del Perú, porque con nueva diligencia a descubierto i trata muchas cosas de las antigüedades de aquel Reino i del gobierno i descripción, grandeza i maravillas naturales dél.”

56. See note 12; and Varner, *El Inca*, 362–70.

57. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera* (1982), 1:xxxii: “A su librería de Vuestra Señoría tan grande en número y tan rara en elección apenas se puede añadir libro que no tenga.”

Colors, Textiles, and Artistic Production in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*

1. Introduction

The manuscript of Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru* (1616) at the J. Paul Getty Museum is an artistic document of rare significance, in part for its thirty-eight hand-colored illustrations depicting Inca royalty, history, and coats of arms.¹ Produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Getty Murúa was created in an era when Peruvian artists illustrating Andean history combined European conventions of figurative illustration with traditional Andean artistic concepts.

The majority of the drawings in the Getty Murúa illustrate in detail Inca nobles wearing traditionally styled royal garments. Each illustration fills a full page and generally consists of a single figure standing on a tiled floor or, in a few cases, in a landscape.² The figures were sketched in black chalk, outlined in either brown or red ink, and painted with watercolor and gouache. The illustrators appear to have been familiar not only with the conventions of Andean dress but also with the cultural values expressed by color among the Inca.³ The hues used to depict garments closely echo those of extant Inca textiles, suggesting that the artists had seen actual historical clothing, either as heirlooms or, possibly, at burial sites or shrines. In addition, the garments are rendered with a high degree of attention to details such as weave and design.

In this essay, we focus on the artistic rendering of the Inca-style garments in the Getty Murúa's illustrations, exploring the European and Andean influences in their depictions of Inca kings (*inca*), queens (*coya*), and nobles. Our interest in the correspondences between the colors of the garments in the illustrations and those of historical Andean textiles prompted us to conduct an in-depth scientific examination of the colorants employed in the Getty manuscript. The results identified three distinct sets of colorants, or palettes, plus an embellishment phase, which suggests that the illustrations were created either by several different artists or during different artistic campaigns involving one or more artists.⁴ In this way, the identification of the palettes and their distribution across the illustrations offers a new contribution and body of evidence to the scholarly discussion regarding the production of the manuscript.⁵

2. Andean Garments and the Illustrations in the Getty Murúa

TYPES

Garments in Inca society evolved through the centuries prior to Spanish contact to express aspects of an individual's identity, authority, and allegiance. For the Inca, special garments of prescribed materials and design were integral to empire building, religious ritual, and social hierarchy. Andeans continued to wear such garments—iconic symbols of the Inca past—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably for Christian ritual and festival celebrations. The remarkable similarity between the garments depicted in the Getty Murúa and extant examples of Inca textiles from the late Inca and early colonial periods suggests that the artists were either drawing on recent memory for their models or reproducing actual textiles.



FIG. 1. Detail of *uncu* with all-over *tocapu* in the portrait of Inca Roca, the sixth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 32v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

FIG. 2. *Uncu* with all-over *tocapu*, Inca (Peru), early to mid-1500s, tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, garment: 76.2 × 91.4 cm (30 × 36 in.). Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks



The garments worn by Inca royalty included the *uncu* (tunic) and *yacolla* (mantle) for men and the *anacu* (wraparound dress) and *lliclla* (shoulder mantle) for women. Constructed from uncut rectangular lengths of woven cloth, these garments employ culturally specific design conventions and motifs. For example, on an *uncu*, the neck yoke, the waistband, and the general divisions of upper and lower body were often patterned or differentiated by color and design. The *uncu* in the illustrations in the Getty Murúa conform to these criteria, utilizing geometric designs, either singly or in groups, such as *tocapu* (abstract geometric motif enclosed in a square) (see, for example, folio 26v) or series of squares and stripes (see, for example, folio 28v), as well as some figurative elements (see, for example, folios 21v and 24v, where birds are inscribed within the squares). Associated with rank and high status, *tocapu* were generally found along the waistbands of *uncu*, but on certain special garments, they cover more of the surface. The *uncu* worn by Inca Roca was entirely covered with *tocapu*, a form that Murúa describes elsewhere in the text as a *capac uncu*—“camiseta rica y poderoso” (rich and powerful shirt).⁶ Although the details of the *uncu* with all-over *tocapu* designs in Inca Roca’s portrait vary from those found in the only known extant example of such an *uncu* (figs. 1, 2),⁷ their conceptual similarity is clear.

Other depictions of *uncu* in the Getty Murúa can likewise be directly related to surviving examples. Dozens of *uncu* with *tocapu* waistbands like those worn by Manco Capac (folio 21v) and Lloque Yupanqui (fig. 3) have been preserved.⁸ Furthermore, Lloque Yupanqui’s brilliant blue *uncu* bears a striking similarity to a very rare ritual garment found frozen at a mountaintop Inca shrine (fig. 4).⁹ Another recurring motif, called the *q’asana*, consists of a panel of four squares with identical geometric motifs, as seen in the lower portion of Mayta Capac’s *uncu* (folio 28v; see also folio 44v).¹⁰ An Inca *uncu* with this pattern is in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History.¹¹

The Inca kings in the Getty Murúa are generally shown wearing a *yacolla* over their knee-length tunics. Traditionally, the man’s mantle was a large plain rectangle of woven cloth secured over the shoulders by knotting two of its corners together.¹² Only two illustrations in the Getty Murúa (folios 84r, 89r)—significantly, two of the four folios believed to have been transferred from the Murúa’s *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru* (1590), that is, the Galvin manuscript—depict *yacolla* worn in this fashion.¹³ The majority show it draped loosely around the shoulders, in a style reminiscent of a European royal cape. This difference in depiction suggests that the various images were created by different artists or that the capelike rendering coincided with a more formalized European conception of Inca kingship. As will be discussed below, differences between the colorants on the four transferred folios and those of the balance of the Getty Murúa’s images support the hypothesis that different artists were responsible for these depictions.

During the Inca and early colonial eras, a woman’s dress (*anacu*) traditionally consisted of a large rectangular piece of woven cloth worn wrapped around the body, belted at the waist, and fastened together at the shoulders with metal pins (*tupu*). A rectangular mantle (*lliclla*), waist-length or longer, was wrapped around the shoulders over the dress, and pinned at the breast. For both the *anacu* and the *lliclla*, designs were organized within a series of horizontal registers and juxtaposed with large areas of solid color. This horizontal orientation has been associated with female attributes in Andean society over many centuries, and to this day women’s garments employ this design principle.¹⁴ All the female figures in the Getty Murúa are clothed in this way (see, for example, folios 23r, 79r), with some variation. However, only in the dresses of the *coya* and her hunchbacked companion on folio 89r—one of the folios believed to have been transferred from the Galvin Murúa—are the overlapping layers of the *anacu* accurately shown. The image of Rahu Ocllo (folio 79r), also one of the transferred images, does not show the overlap, but otherwise it is very much in the style of the portraits of *coya* in the Galvin manuscript, rather than the other *coya* portraits in the Getty Murúa—for instance, Rahu Ocllo stands on a mound (not on a floor), her feet are not shown, and the lower portion of her dress has a cylindrical shape.

The remarkable correlation between the garments depicted in the Getty Murúa and extant Inca textiles extends to the minute technical details of finishing. For example, the two-part edging, consisting of an embroidered zigzag with a bound polychrome chain-looped stitch, found on surviving Inca tunics is clearly depicted along the hem of Manco Capac’s *uncu* on folio 21v (figs. 5, 6; see also figs. 3, 4). Likewise, the stitching along the neck and arm openings that was characteristic of Inca *uncu* is carefully rendered in several illustrations (see fig. 3).

Yet another example of the artists’ attention to details of Inca dress is found in depiction of the belts worn by the *coya*. Called the *mama chumpi* (mother belt), this essential part of a *coya*’s clothing



FIG. 3. Detail of *uncu* with *tocapu* waistband in the portrait of Lloque Yupanqui, the third *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 26v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

FIG. 4. Blue *uncu* with triangle-patterned waistband, Inca (Ampato, Peru), early 1500s, tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, ca. 81 × 76 cm (32 × 30 in.). Arequipa, Museo Santuarios Andinos de la Universidad Católica de Santa María





FIG. 5. Detail of embroidered edging of *uncu* and *tornesol yacolla* in the portrait of Manco Capac, the first *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 21v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 6. *Uncu* (detail), Inca (Peru), late 1400s–early 1500s, tapestry weave, cotton warp and camelid weft, garment: 88.9 × 74.3 cm (35 × 29¼ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

was wrapped around the waist and tied, holding the *anacu* in place. Some of these belts seem to have held symbolic significance and were created especially to be worn during particular ritual occasions. One special type of *mama chumpi* that was worn for the annual Inca Corn Festival is documented on the last folio of the Galvin manuscript (see p. 82, fig. 3), where a cryptic encoded description identifies, row by row, the process used to weave the belt.¹⁵ Belts worn by the *coya* in the Getty manuscript's illustrations are carefully delineated in both design and weave. Chimpo (see fig. 11) and Mama Cura (folio 27v), for instance, wear belts that clearly show their woven patterns.

In fact, the illustrations in the Getty Murúa depict a variety of fabric weaves and types in the garments. Andean garments, and in particular those manufactured in royal workshops, were woven of the finest material, such as the yarns spun from the silky hair of the alpaca and the vicuña, the camelids native to the Andean highlands.¹⁶ The famous double-faced tapestry-weave cloth known as *cumbi* is shown in the *uncu* worn by Capac Yupanqui (folio 30v) and in the various *anacu* worn by Chimpo (see fig. 11), Chimpo Urma (folio 29v), and Rahua Ocllo (folio 79r). Woven by experts (*cumbicamayo*) and utilizing camelid-wool yarns dyed by color specialists (*tulpu camayo*), *cumbi* remains unsurpassed in quality: perfectly finished on both sides, such cloth generally had dozens of warps and well over one hundred wefts per inch of weaving.¹⁷ A large number (at least fifty are known) of *uncu* woven as *cumbi* have survived, though only one such *anacu* is known to exist.¹⁸

The illustrations also record various warp-patterned fabrics, such as the striped *lliclla* worn by Mama Yunto (folio 37v) and the *anacu* of Chimpo Ocllo (fig. 7), some of which correlate to eighteenth-century examples that clearly represent the long-standing regional textile tradition depicted in the manuscript (fig. 8). A few also depict a significant shift in type of fabric: Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (fig. 9) and Huayna Capac (folio 62r) are shown wearing garments that appear to be made of cotton with designs drawn on the surface. Such fabrics are made to this day in the *selva*, the tropical lowland region of the Amazon river basin referred to by the Inca as the Antisuyu (fig. 10).¹⁹

Because the textiles in the Getty Murúa are depicted in such detail, we may speculate about their provenance by comparing them to surviving examples. The representation of Inca royalty in the early colonial era often emphasized the use of *tocapu* as rank insignia, signaling the wearer's claim to elite status. Moreover, what we know about the production of Inca fabrics indicates that those textiles



FIG. 7. Detail of *anacu* in the portrait of the *coya* Chimpo Ocllo. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 31v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

FIG. 8. *Anacu*, Aymara (Bolivia), 1700s–1800s, warp-faced plain weave with warp-float patterning, camelid warp and weft, 125 × 135 cm (49¼ × 53⅝ in.). Private collection





FIG. 9. Detail of *uncu* in an image of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, the ninth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 40v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

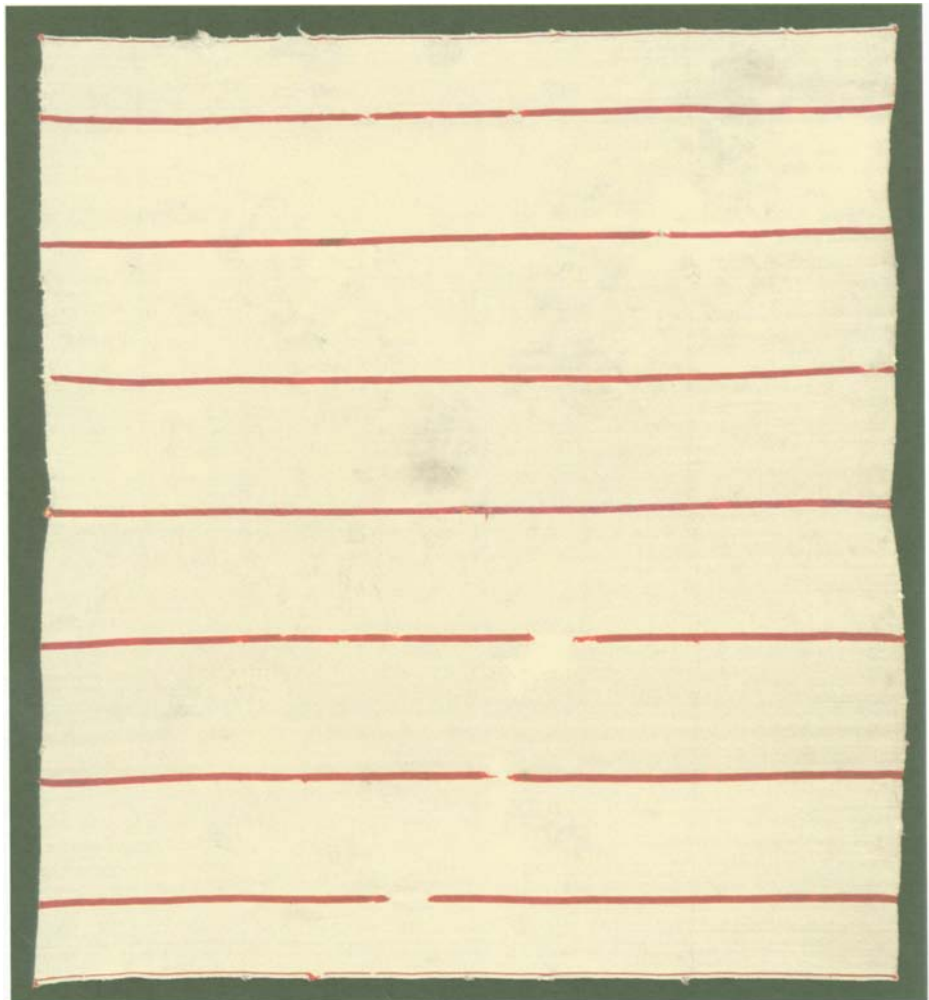
FIG. 10. Baby carrier (detail), Shipibo/Conibo (Peru), 1900s, dyed and dye-painted cotton, bone, 20.3 × 65.4 cm (8 × 25 3/4 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art





FIG. 11. Detail of *lliclla* in the portrait of the *coya* Chimpo. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 25v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

FIG. 12. *Lliclla*, Aymara (Peru), 1600s–1800s, warp-faced plain weave, camelid warp and weft, two panels, joined: 126 × 120 cm (49 5/8 × 47 1/4 in.). Private collection



with *tocapu* motifs were likely made using the *cumbi* technique. An interesting feature of the Getty Murúa's illustrations is that the Inca models for the men's garments with checkerboard and *tocapu* designs clearly would have been made under the auspices of the royal weaving workshops and reflect the royal style associated with Cuzco, the Quechua-speaking center of the Inca empire. By contrast, the women's garments for the most part do not use *tocapu* designs.²⁰ Instead, the majority of their clothing appears to be modeled on the simpler warp-striped textiles associated with weaving traditions of the Aymara culture (figs. 11, 12), which centered around Lago Titicaca in the Altiplano of Bolivia and Peru, southeast of Cuzco. This suggests either that the models for the *coya* themselves had Aymara textiles associated with them or that the textiles were imagined by the artists who contributed to at least some of the illustrations and who therefore may have come from that region.²¹

COLORS

The application of color to the images in the Getty manuscript follows recognizable Andean color patterns that relate directly to the subject matter depicted, namely, Inca nobility and their accoutrements. We know these patterns from references in colonial documents and through the examination of extant textiles and objects. Such evidence suggests, for example, that red and blue were often used in the garments of Inca nobles, while white was reserved for clothing worn by the Inca king and particular priests of the Inca cult of the sun.²² Evidence from preserved artifacts also suggests that depictions of the royal headgear known as the *mascaypacha* are consistent with Inca tradition: that particular fringed ornament is always described in sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles as red in color.²³ Likewise, metallic silver paint (now tarnished to dark gray) was used to portray Inca objects known to be metal, such as weapons (see fig. 16) and jewelry.

Some of our understanding of color choices for garments comes from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* (1615; *The first new chronicle and good government*), in which he depicts basically the same series of Inca kings and queens that the Getty Murúa presents. Although the drawings in the *Nueva coronica* are done solely in ink, Guaman Poma provides a written description in the accompanying text that, significantly, indicates the colors of the garments worn by particular individuals. For instance, he describes Manco Capac as wearing a *yacolla* that was crimson or blood-colored (*encarnado*) and an *uncu* that was earth red (*colorado*) in the upper section and light blue (*azul claro*) in the lower section²⁴—a color scheme similar to that in the Getty Murúa's image of Manco Capac (see fig. 5). By contrast, the Getty Murúa's text generally describes the character of the personages but not their garments, relying instead on the colored illustrations to provide the visual description. Indeed the text sometimes directs the reader to look at the illustrations: "Su figura es al natural la que se vee" (His portrait is that which is shown).²⁵

This differentiation among various shades of red likely was based on the observation of Andean textiles dyed with the regional dyestuffs.²⁶ At least two red dyes, from very different sources, were used to color Andean fabrics: cochineal, a brilliant, crimson dye made from the dried bodies of the females of the scale insect *Dactylopius coccus*; and Peruvian-type madder red, a more orange-red dye from the root of a Peruvian species of the *Relbunium* genus.²⁷ These two red hues (though not their dye sources) were distinguished by Guaman Poma in his textual descriptions. Similarly, the artists of the Getty Murúa utilized a number of different mineral pigments and organic colorants (discussed in the next section) to achieve hues ranging from red to orange, pink, crimson, and purple. We can see that the artists differentiated the crimson of the yoke of Capac Yupanqui's *uncu* (see fig. 15) from the more orange-red *yacolla* of Lloque Yupanqui and Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (see figs. 3, 9), perhaps in the same way that Guaman Poma differentiated these two shades of red. The crimson neck yoke is seen on a number of extant historical *uncu*.²⁸

Perhaps the most striking example of the use of color in the Getty Murúa involves the depiction of the Andean version of *tornesol* (literally, "turns to the sun"), a type of luxurious silk cloth favored by Spanish nobility. The use of one color in the warp and a contrasting color in the weft of this fabric resulted in a shimmering two-tone effect, particularly in the shadows and folds (fig. 13). Several mantles in the Getty Murúa are colored a brilliant blue mottled with red, pink, or yellow. These contrasting colors capture the optical illusion of different hues created when light hits *tornesol*-type cloth (fig. 14).²⁹ Imported to the New World by the mid-sixteenth century, *tornesol* inspired Andean weavers to create similar fabrics, using naturally lustrous black alpaca yarns sometimes combined



FIG. 13. Antonio de Pereda y Salgado (Spanish, 1611–78). *Allegory of Vanity* (detail), ca. 1634, oil on canvas, 139.5 × 174 cm (54⁷/₈ × 68¹/₂ in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



FIG. 14. *Tornesol* mantle (detail), Bolivia, late 1700s, black camelid warp and pink cochineal-dyed silk weft, two panels, joined: 89 × 76 cm (35 × 30 in.). Private collection

with imported silk such that hints of pink, green, or blue wefts emerged from the dark warps.³⁰ In his *Nueva coronica*, Guaman Poma mentions *tornesol* in his description of Tupac Inca Yupanqui's mantle,³¹ and it is clearly depicted by the artists of the Getty Murúa in the *yacolla* of Capac Yupanqui (see fig. 15), Sinchi Roca (folio 24v), Mayta Capac (folio 28v), and Huayna Capac (folio 64r) and in Mama Cura's *anacu* (folio 27v). We know of no examples of Andean textiles composed in this way prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Thus, the depiction of Inca nobility from pre-conquest times wearing fabric associated with Spanish aristocracy provides a fascinating instance of the cross-fertilization of European and Andean ideas and visual sensibilities found in the manuscript.

In sum, the images in the Getty Murúa seem to provide remarkably faithful renderings of Andean textiles and garment types from the late Inca and the early colonial era. The depictions capture salient aspects not only of traditional Inca dress but also, as the appearance of *tornesol*-type textiles shows, of garments at the transitional moment in which the manuscript was created. These sensibilities are conveyed in both the types and the coloration of the garments worn by Inca royalty in the Getty Murúa.

3. Technical Analysis of Colorants in the Getty Murúa

METHODOLOGY

A study of the materials and painting techniques employed in the production of the illustrations in the Getty Murúa was initiated in 1999.³² The aim was to assess whether any relation existed between the colors and colorants used to depict the garments and actual textile colorants found on surviving garments of the Inca and early colonial periods. At that time, a visual analysis³³ of the illustrated folios was conducted, along with a preliminary scientific analysis of selected images,³⁴ which provided an overview of the colorants used throughout the manuscript.³⁵ In 2005, the study was resumed and expanded to take advantage of the Getty Conservation Institute's recently acquired Raman

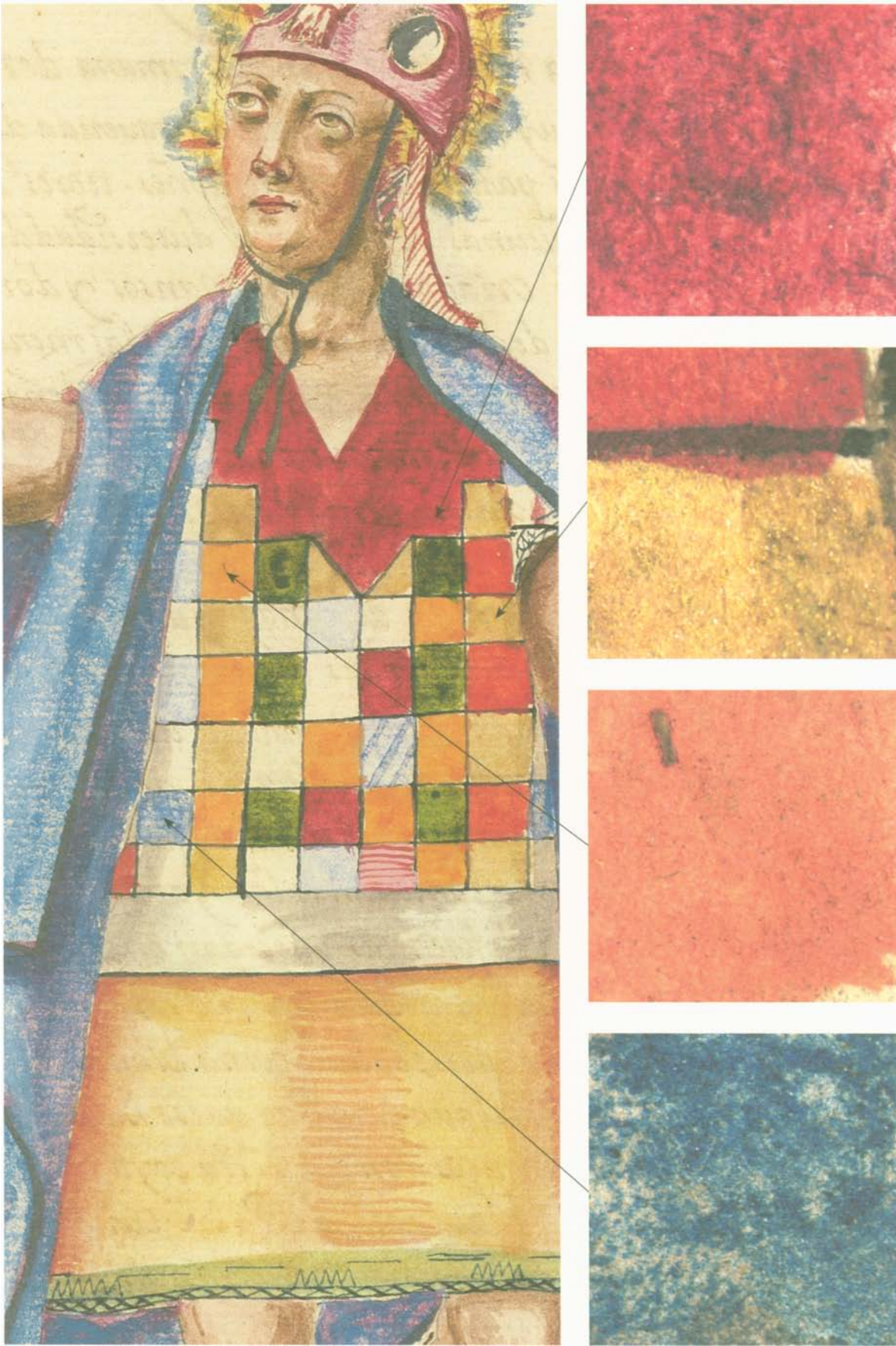


FIG. 15. Photomicrographic details of *uncu* in the Getty Murúa's portrait of Capac Yupanqui (folio 30v): *top to bottom*, organic red, vermilion and orpiment, red lead, azurite

microspectrometer, which would permit more precise identification of the colorants used in the Getty Murúa. During this phase, all thirty-eight of the colored folios in the Getty Murúa were examined.³⁶

The colors used in the illustrations of the Getty Murúa are rich and varied. The artists employed a fairly complex palette that included yellow, orange, red, pink, magenta, purple, blue, green, black, brown, and gray, in varying shades and values. The colorants appear, from visual examination, to have been applied directly to the paper with a brush, without any preparation or ground; secondary details were applied with pen and ink. Several of the hues appear to be made up of mixtures, with a white pigment often added to create lighter values of the same hue. Under binocular magnification, the colorants appear variously as fine powders (such as the red lead shown in fig. 15), as granular or crystalline materials (such as the vermilion, orpiment, and azurite shown in fig. 15), as washes (pale yellows, purples, greens, and reds), and as translucent glazes (such as the organic red shown in fig. 15). Additional visual effects were achieved by applying separate layers of pigments, as in the application of a darker, contrasting color over a lighter hue (for example, the application of red over yellow in the lower half of Capac Yupanqui's *uncu*; and the use of mineral blue over a mixture of pink and white in his *yacolla* to achieve a *tornesol* effect) or in the use of a light color to model a darker pigment (see, for example, the shaded areas of Capac Yupanqui's *yacolla*, where pink is applied over blue) (fig. 15). The materials used to create the colors include both identifiable inorganic pigments and suspected organic colorants.

Given the importance of the manuscript and the delicate nature of the illustrations, only noninvasive techniques were employed. No samples were removed from the painted surfaces. The images were first carefully examined under binocular magnification to determine possible areas of interest. In many cases, the appearance of a painted area under magnification revealed much about the identity of the materials used. Visual identification can be subjective, however, so the instrumental techniques X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy³⁷ and Raman microspectroscopy³⁸ were employed to gather objective data regarding the identity of the pigments. Because these techniques are somewhat limited in their ability to identify organic materials, questions regarding many of the organic colorants in the manuscript, such as the organic reds and yellows, the brown inks, and the paint medium, must remain open until noninvasive methods are developed that are as effective as XRF spectroscopy and Raman microspectroscopy are for inorganic colorants.

RESULTS

The results of the analytical study of the illustrations in the Getty Murúa are summarized in table 1. Analysis revealed the presence of five yellow colorants, at least four reds, two blues, and possibly as many as three greens, in addition to white, black, brown, and metallic silver. (For a description of the pigments, see the appendix, pp. 141–44.)

Before considering how the illustrations may be grouped based on an analysis of the pigments present, it is useful to distinguish between those on folios that are tipped in (that is, singletons glued to a stub or another page) and those on folios that are bound in as part of the original quire structure (that is, as a bifolium folded and sewn through the fold) and therefore indisputably in their original place within the *Historia general*. The twenty-nine bound-in illustrations run from folio 23r through folio 64r. The remaining nine illustrations (folios 2r, 13r, 19r, 21r, 21v, 79r, 84r, 89r, 307r) are on tipped-in folios. It is generally agreed that folios 79, 84, 89, and 307 were transferred from the Galvin to the Getty Murúa. These four folios are grouped together in the table not only because they come from the Galvin manuscript but also, as will be shown below, because they share a common palette. Opinion is more divided about the origin of folios 2, 13, 19, and 21, but we believe that they are native to the Getty Murúa and were moved within the manuscript during editing.³⁹

Although many of the pigments, such as vermilion, lead white, and orpiment, were found in the majority of the illustrations, a number of pigments or pigment combinations were found only in individual images or on small groups of related folios. These so-called marker pigments were taken as indicators of the use of a separate palette and generated the groupings in table 1. Whether these palettes, or color groups, represent different artists or the same artist working with a different palette cannot be determined based on analysis of the colorants alone.

It is important to note that our analysis focused solely on the colorants used in the illustration of the garments and not on the materials or style of the ink outlining or facial details.⁴⁰ We also cannot address issues such as whether the artist responsible for executing the faces was the artist who

TABLE 1. Pigments identified on the illustrated folios in Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*

GROUP	FOLIO	YELLOWS				REDS				BLUES		OTHER	
		YELLOW OCHRE	LEAD-TIN YELLOW	ORPIMENT	PARA-REALGAR	REALGAR	VERMILION	RED LEAD	ORGANIC REDS	AZURITE	INDIGO	COPPER-BASED GREEN	SILVER
A	2r coat of arms			X, R			X, R	X, R	V			X	
	13r coat of arms						X		V	X	V, R	X	X
	19r adoration of Manco Capac			X, R			X, R		V	X	R	X	X
	21r investiture of Sinchi Rocha		X, R	X, R			X, R		V		V, R	X	X
	21v Manco Capac			X, R			X, R	X, R	V	X, R	R	X	X
	23r Mama Huaco						X	X, R	V	X		X	X
	24v Sinchi Roca			X			X		V	X	V	X	X
	25v Chimpo			X			X		V	X	V	X	X
	26v Lloque Yupanqui			X			X, R		V	X	V	X	X
	27v Mama Cura			X			X		V	X	V	X	X
	28v Mayra Capac			X			X		V	X	V	X	X
	29v Chimpo Urma			X, R			X, R	X, R	V	X, R	R	X	X
	30v Capac Yupanqui			X, R			X, R	X, R	V	X, R	R	X	X
	31v Chimpo Ocllo						X, R			X		X	X
	32v Inca Roca			X			X		V	X	V	X	X
	33v Cusi Chimpo			X			X, R	X, R	V	X	V	X	
	34v Yahuar Huacac			X, R			X, R		V			X	
	35v Ipahuaco						X		V			X	
36v Viracocha Inca						X		V		V	X		
37v Mama Yunto						X*		V			X		
38v Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui			X			X		V	X				
B	40v Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui			X			X, R	X, R	V			X	
	42v Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui						X	X, R	V			X	
	44v Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui	X		X			X		V	X		X	
	46v Mama Ana Huarque						X*		V			X	
	47v Tupac Inca Yupanqui	X					X*		V			X	
	49v Tupac Inca Yupanqui	X, R					X, R		V	X, R	R		
	51v Tupac Inca Yupanqui	X, R		X, R			X, R		V	X, R	R		
	54v Mama Ocllo	X					X, R	X, R	V	V	V		
	56r Huayna Capac			X			X*		V	V	V	X	
	57v Huayna Capac	X		X			X	X, R	V	V	V		
	60r Huayna Capac						X*						
C	62r Huayna Capac	X		X			X		V	V	V		
	64r Huayna Capac	X					X*		V	V	V	X	
	79r Rahua Oello			X, R	X, R	X, R	X, R		V		R	X	
	84r Huascar			X, R	X, R		X, R				V, R	X	
	89r Chuquillanto			X, R	X, R	X, R	X, R				R	X	
307r coat of arms			X, R	X, R	X, R	X, R		V		R	X		

NOTE: Pigments were identified by visual examination (V), X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (X), or Raman microspectroscopy (R). Every effort has been made to accurately identify the pigments present in each image; nonetheless, an identification indicated by a V or an X should be considered tentative unless accompanied by an R.

*Pigment identified in flesh tones only.

rendered the garments. There is a notable stylistic difference in some of the illustrations (see, for example, folio 30v versus folio 47v). Nonetheless, the identification of distinct palettes is significant in that it indicates a change in the illustration process.

Group A: Folios 2r through 38v

The basic palette used in the twenty-one illustrated folios at the beginning of the manuscript consists of vermilion, orpiment, indigo, and azurite (frequently with lead white admixed), together with unidentified organic reds (that may include cochineal, Peruvian-type madder, brazilwood, and annatto) and copper-based greens. Red lead also appears on some of the folios. Not all pigments are present in every image in this group, but this may well be a sign of a simplified color scheme used for specific illustrations rather than a different palette. By contrast, the appearance of a unique pigment may indeed indicate the presence of a different palette. In fact, lead-tin yellow is a uniquely occurring pigment in the Getty manuscript, identified only in the lower part of the *uncu* of the figure on the left in folio 21r, a tipped-in folio that is the only page in the manuscript with illuminations on both sides. The pigment palette of folio 21v is similar to the bound-in folios that follow it in this group, yet green ink was used instead of red to outline the floor tiles on both recto and verso and to frame the image on the recto. It is unclear what these unique occurrences mean. One possibility is that the two images were not painted at the same time as the other images. Another is that they were painted at the same time but modified later.⁴¹ In fact, the anomalous appearance of lead-tin yellow, a distinctly European manufactured pigment, underscores the unique character of this image of the investiture of Sinchi Roca (see p. 155, fig. 6).⁴²

Our examination of the illustrations in this group further revealed that some of the images were embellished, most likely subsequent to their original execution. Specifically, all the illustrated folios from 13r through 32v feature metallic silver paint on small items such as weapon tips (fig. 16) or garment pins, loosely drawn shading in red, dark brown, green, and pale yellow-brown inks and other colorants to give a marbled effect on the floor tiles, and coats of arms in the portraits of the kings. The fact that all these embellishments stop at the same point in the manuscript suggests that they were all done during the same pass.⁴³ Moreover, the presence of outlined but uncolored weapon tips (fig. 17) and garment pins on later folios indicates that the silvering was intended to continue through the manuscript, and a similar case can be made for the marbling and the coats of arms. The ink outlines for the metal items and the floor tiles support the idea that such embellishments were done after the initial outlining and painting of the images. An artist other than the one who painted the figures may have been responsible for the embellishments, or the original artist may simply have left them for a subsequent campaign.



FIG. 16. Detail of painted silver object in the portrait of Capac Yupanqui, the fifth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 30v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 17. Detail of object meant to be painted silver in the portrait of Yahuar Huacac, the seventh *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 34v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

The red ink used to frame the page and outline the floor tiles changes in hue between folio 32v and folio 33v, and red rather than brown or black is used to outline the figures starting with folio 33v. Thomas B. F. Cummins has suggested that these changes—particularly when coupled with the abrupt absence of silver paint, marbling, and coats of arms—indicate a second campaign that begins on folio 33v and continues through folio 64r. By contrast, we identify a palette change—that is, a second campaign—beginning at folio 40v and continuing through folio 64r (group B). These apparently contradictory perceptions are a reflection of our different approaches: we focus on the colorants, and our groupings differentiate the major coloring campaigns (with the addition of the embellishment campaign on folios 13r through 32v), whereas Cummins's divisions emphasize the drawing and embellishment campaigns.

Group B: Folios 40v through 64r

The next thirteen illustrations share a common palette primarily distinguished by the presence of the pigment yellow ochre.⁴⁴ Along with yellow ochre, the palette for these folios includes vermilion, an organic red, indigo, and azurite mixed with lead white. Red lead and a copper-based green also appear on some of the folios. An additional yellow pigment, orpiment, is found on many of the folios within this group, and it was used side by side with yellow ochre on folios 44v, 51v, 57v, and 62r, where the painter differentiated one yellow passage from another by the subtle difference in tonality between them. For instance, on folio 51v, the bright yellow of the roof at the center of the group of buildings in the background was identified as orpiment, whereas the duller yellow of the other buildings consisted of yellow ochre. A particular lavender hue—which was found to be a mixture of yellow ochre, indigo, azurite, an organic red, and lead white—was often used in association with yellow ochre,⁴⁵ making this hue possibly another diagnostic feature of this group. Folio 60r does not have any trace of a yellow pigment due to its somber tonalities of the king in mourning dress.

This group of illustrations is further characterized by its departure from the strict procession of alternating portraits of kings and queens—each featuring a single figure accompanied, at most, by a coat of arms—that characterized folios 21v through 38v. Instead, folios 40v through 64r offer images with multiple figures (folios 42v, 44v, 51v) or a single figure accompanied by a building (folio 40v, 62r), landscape element (folio 49v), or small vignettes (folios 49v, 51v, 57v, 64r). This change in content corresponds to a change in the presentation of illustrations within the manuscript, which transitions at this point from a portrait alternating with a single page of text to there being multiple pages of text between illustrations.⁴⁶ Folio 64r is the last of the illustration sequence to have been bound into the original manuscript.

Group C: Folios 79r, 84r, 89r, and 307r

Folios 79, 84, 89, and 307 were likely transferred to the Getty Murúa from the Galvin manuscript at some point between 1590 and 1616. Our analysis of the colorants in this set of four illustrations confirms a shared palette consisting of indigo, orpiment, pararealgar, realgar, vermilion, and lead white. Also present is an unidentified copper-based green. It is notable that azurite, which was found consistently—and quite often together with indigo—in the manuscript's illustrations in groups A and B was not found in these four folios, in which indigo seems to be the sole blue colorant. It is also notable that the pigments realgar and pararealgar are found only on these tipped-in folios.⁴⁷ The presence of these two pigments, in conjunction with indigo and in the absence of azurite, can provisionally be seen as forming a characteristic pigment signature for this group. The use of indigo, a widely distributed colonial-era textile dyestuff, has been found to be particularly associated with paintings from the Cuzco region in the seventeenth century, whereas azurite and other blue colorants were more widely associated with paintings from Bolivia.⁴⁸ This finding supports the idea that these four folios may have been painted in or around Cuzco, where Guaman Poma worked.

Although the one or more artists who worked on the majority of the Getty Murúa's folios remain unidentified, the two-dimensional drawing style of folios 84r and 89r is identifiably that of Guaman Poma,⁴⁹ based on comparison with the Andean's almost four-hundred drawings in his autograph manuscript for the *Nueva coronica*. Folios 79r and 307r are rendered somewhat differently. With their more Europeanized drawing style, characterized by shading to model the forms three-dimensionally, both folios are very similar in style and format to a number of illustrations in the Galvin manuscript and, in the case of the coat of arms, to comparable images in Guaman Poma's own manuscript.⁵⁰

Obviously, we cannot make any determination regarding the identity or number of illustrators who worked on the Galvin Murúa based on the extremely limited data available from these four folios. Whether two artists shared identical pigments or one painter worked in two different stylistic modes will be better understood only after a similar pigment analysis of the Galvin Murúa is complete.

4. Conclusion

This analysis of the colorants in the illustrations of the Getty Murúa has shed light not only on the quality and type of historical knowledge about Andean textiles that the images communicate but also on the process of their production. It has also yielded insights into the textual and codicological divisions within the manuscript as a whole.

Representations of traditional Inca clothing throughout the Getty manuscript are remarkably similar to surviving examples of Andean textiles from the late Inca and early colonial periods. The depictions reflect not only pre-colonial garment types, color combinations, finishing techniques, and weaves but also currents in textile production and use in Murúa's time. In particular, the portrayal of *tornesol*, the two-tone silk cloth that was in high fashion in Spain during the sixteenth century, in the garments of several Inca kings and queens points to its production by Andean weavers, whose versions of this luxury fabric became the cloth of the native nobility by the seventeenth century.

The illustrations were found to contain a relatively limited number of inorganic pigments, including azurite, vermilion, red lead, yellow ochre, and the three arsenic-sulfide pigments orpiment, realgar, and pararealgar. Most of these—in particular, vermilion, azurite, and the arsenic-sulfide minerals—were available locally or regionally. Some of the colorants identified in the manuscript were related to textile dyes: indigo and suspected other organic colorants such as cochineal, brazilwood, annatto, and Peruvian-type madder (*Relbunium* genus) may have been used as well. Generally speaking, the textiles depicted were rendered in hues that reflect specific sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Andean garments and weaves. Since we have positively identified only one organic colorant (indigo), at this point we cannot draw any further correlations between the colorants used in the illustrations and those that would have been used in the production of the garments themselves.

Additional work would need to be done to constitute an exhaustive scientific analysis of the Getty Murúa (in particular, the identification of chalks, inks, and organic colorants). Based on our findings to date regarding the various colorants used in the depiction of the textiles, we were able to identify the presence of three distinct palettes, or color groups, within the illustrated folios. Moreover, the identification of a uniquely occurring pigment in folio 21r may suggest the presence of an additional palette, bringing the number of distinguishable color groups or working sessions to four. Unfortunately, the number of artistic hands involved in the production of the Getty Murúa is not so easily determined. We conclusively identified two distinct palettes for the bound-in illustrations and observed what we believe to be an embellishment campaign involving the addition of metallic silver, marbling, and coats of arms to these illustrations.

Whether these palettes or campaigns represent different artists or different working sessions by the same artist is a matter to be addressed in conjunction with a stylistic analysis of the drawing and coloring of the images. Cummins has carried out a comprehensive examination from an art historical point of view, concluding that several different artists can be recognized by their distinctive work in the folios of the Getty Murúa.⁵¹ Our analysis has shown that there appear to be differences in palette, which suggest different working sessions or hands, across the folios original to the Getty Murúa. Similar examination of the Galvin Murúa would enable us to identify and distinguish pigment palettes used in that manuscript, which in turn will further our understanding not only of the production of each of Murúa's two extant manuscripts but also of the relation between them. Such analysis should also broaden our understanding of the use of colors in the evocation and documentation of the late Inca and early colonial history of the Andes.

Appendix

A1. YELLOWS

Orpiment and Pararealgar

Many of the yellow areas had a finely divided, highly specular surface quality when viewed under binocular magnification. When such areas were examined using XRF spectroscopy, high concentrations of arsenic were found, suggesting the presence of an arsenic-sulfide pigment. There are two common yellow arsenic-sulfide pigments: orpiment (As_2S_3) and pararealgar (As_4S_4). Although these pigments cannot be differentiated based on XRF data alone, Raman microspectroscopy easily distinguishes which form is present.⁵² Orpiment appears in most of the illustrations, whereas pararealgar was found only on the four folios believed to have been transferred from the Galvin manuscript, where its presence appears to be correlated with the use of realgar. Pararealgar is a light-induced polymorph of realgar, and therefore it is common for the two pigments to be found together. All three arsenic-sulfide minerals—orpiment, realgar, and pararealgar—occur together naturally, but pararealgar has only recently been identified as a distinct mineral species.⁵³ Therefore, it is likely that pararealgar may have been misidentified as orpiment in at least some of the works from the Peruvian region. Prized for its highly lustrous quality, orpiment is found in the Andes in mountainous regions near volcanic activity and was used in paintings and on polychrome sculpture during the colonial period in Peru.⁵⁴ Tadeo Haenke (who lived in Bolivia between 1794 and 1817) noted in his “Introducción a la historia natural de la provincia de Cochabamba y circunvecinas” (1799; Natural history of the province of Cochabamba and environs) that orpiment was used by painters and as a mordant in dyeing textiles. He says that it was extracted in the regional zone of Carangas (now in the Oruro department of Bolivia) and was called *parrinacota*.⁵⁵

Yellow Ochre

A third yellow identified in the manuscript was deeper in hue than the arsenic-based yellows and had a more matte, nonspecular appearance when viewed under binocular magnification. XRF analysis indicated a high iron content, suggesting the presence of an iron-earth pigment, most likely yellow ochre. Yellow ochre is an earth pigment consisting of a mixture of clays and silica, with the hydrated iron-oxide mineral goethite $\text{FeO} \cdot \text{OH}$ producing the color. Raman microspectroscopy confirmed the presence of goethite on folios 49v and 51v, and XRF analysis identified several additional folios on which iron was found to be the primary element present in the yellow passages, suggesting the presence of the pigment yellow ochre.

Lead-Tin Yellow

The fourth yellow pigment in the manuscript is lead-tin yellow. It was identified in the tunic of Manco Capac on folio 21r, and there appear to be no other occurrences in the Getty Murúa of this manufactured European pigment, with its characteristically light, bright, yellow hue. The form identified is lead-tin yellow type I, Pb_2SnO_6 , which is synthesized by heating a mixture of lead and tin oxides. Lead-tin yellow was a common pigment in European painting until 1750, after which it was no longer used. It has been identified in colonial paintings from Peru.

Organic Yellow

The final yellow colorant in the manuscript appears to be an organic yellow compound, possibly an ink-based wash. XRF analysis of areas such as the coat of arms on folio 28v and the *lliclla* on folio 35v did not reveal the presence of any elements that might be responsible for the yellow color,⁵⁶ suggesting a thin layer of primarily organic material. There are a number of organic yellow colorants, many of which, such as saffron and fustic, are derived from plant sources. Indications of the presence of this colorant could be seen on many of the folios, but it is not listed in table 1 because we have not yet been able to characterize it.

Guaman Poma's textual descriptions of the garments worn by the Inca nobility differentiate at least three different colors of red: *rosado* (pinkish red), *encarnado* (crimson or blood red), and *colorado* (earth red). The palette of the Getty Murúa incorporates this differentiation of reds, as is borne out by the identification of three distinct red pigments—vermilion, red lead, and organic red—on the bound-in folios. In addition, a fourth red, realgar, was identified on three of the transferred folios, one of which is confidently attributed to Guaman Poma (folio 89r).

Vermilion

Vermilion (mercuric sulfide, HgS), or its mineral equivalent cinnabar, was found throughout the manuscript. Murúa himself tells us that this colorant was employed in ritual contexts: “bermellón que llaman ychma, y limpi, que eran muy preciados para sus subpesticiones” (vermilion was called *ychma* and *limpi*, which was very precious for their superstitions).⁵⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega writes that *ychima* was applied as a cosmetic, but exclusive to the Inca king and his wives.⁵⁸ Cinnabar was mined by the Inca from several mines in the southern Andes, and during the colonial period the Spanish employed the mercury derived from the tons of cinnabar mined at Huancavelica, in the central Andes, for an amalgam process for silver production.⁵⁹ Cinnabar was also extensively traded and exported and used as a pigment in Europe. In Peru, it has been identified on Inca *qero* (drinking vessels made of wood) and in colonial paintings on canvas and panel.⁶⁰

Red Lead

An orange-hued reddish pigment with a granular, powderlike surface was observed on several folios. Raman microspectroscopy identified this pigment as red lead (lead tetroxide, Pb₃O₄), a common artist's pigment manufactured by heating oxides of lead. It has been in use since antiquity. Francisco Stastny and Noemí Rosario-Chirinos have identified traces of red lead in paintings executed in Peru throughout the colonial era.⁶¹ According to Gabriela Siracusano, it was used primarily as an absorbent base for the more expensive vermilion pigment.⁶²

Organic Reds

Organic red pigments of some kind are visible on all but four of the painted folios, two of which are those attributed to Guaman Poma (folios 84r, 89r). A magenta or deep bluish red, as in the *inca*'s neck yoke on folio 30v (see fig. 15), appears under binocular magnification as a rich translucent glaze with solid masses dispersed in its matrix. Its general appearance suggests an organic pigment, possibly cochineal, a dyestuff derived from the scale insect *Dactylopius coccus* that lives on cacti of the *Opuntia* genus. Cochineal was widely available in the Andes, where it was used primarily as a dyestuff for textiles, though it has been identified in colonial paintings as well.⁶³ Cochineal, referred to in the sixteenth century as *magno* in Quechua and *grana* in Spanish, is a brilliant crimson and was likely used as a colorant in the Murúa manuscript, although we cannot confirm its presence at this time given the noninvasive techniques we employed. According to XRF analysis, many of the lighter passages of red, as in the *coya*'s pink mantle on folio 33v, contain lead, suggesting that the pigment lead white may have been mixed with an organic red pigment in those areas. By contrast, the pure organic colorant, with no added lead white, was used to make the brilliant crimson of the *coya*'s dress on folio 33v. Some passages of red (see folio 37v, for example) appear to consist of an organic red that is not brilliant crimson (nor is it in a glaze form) but rather is more of a dull rose or moderate purplish red wash, suggesting that other sources for organic reds, such as brazilwood, may have been used.⁶⁴ A rich red hue that correlates to the crimson or blood red (*encarnado*) referred to by Guaman Poma in his *Nueva coronica* was also created by layering organic red with azurite blue pigment. Examples of this vibrant red hue can be found in extant Inca textiles such as in the neck yoke of a checkerboard tunic belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.⁶⁵

Realgar

Realgar is an arsenic-sulfide mineral, As₄S₄, and has a rich terra-cotta color. Upon exposure to light, realgar can undergo transformation to yellow pararealgar, although it is thought that this transformation is inhibited if the pigment is bound in a medium.⁶⁶ In all the images in the Murúa manuscript where realgar has been identified, pararealgar was also found to be present, but in separate

areas, indicating that both pigments were deliberately used on these folios for their contrasting hues. For example, the scrolls of the strapwork at the top and bottom of the coat of arms in folio 307r make use of all three arsenic-sulfide pigments: the tops are executed in (bright yellow) orpiment, the central regions in (orange-yellow) pararealgar, and the bottoms in (brownish red) realgar.

A3. BLUES

Azurite

A brilliant blue—a color rarely found in Andean textiles—is found in several of the mantles, including those of Mama Huaco (folio 23r) and Capac Yupanqui (folio 30v). These garments were rendered with what looks, under magnification, like the mineral pigment azurite. A coarsely ground crystalline pigment with a bright blue appearance, azurite is derived from the natural mineral azurite (basic copper carbonate, $2\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2$). Areas in the Murúa manuscript thought to be azurite, such as the *yacolla* of Capac Yupanqui on folio 30v, were found to contain large amounts of copper when examined by XRF spectroscopy and were conclusively identified as azurite by Raman microspectroscopy. In most areas, azurite was mixed or layered with lead white to form a wider range of blue hues, as can be seen in Capac Yupanqui's *yacolla*. Azurite was mined in the Cochabamba region in central Bolivia as well in the Atacama desert area in northern Chile, and the pigment has been found in colonial-period canvas and panel paintings, so its use in the manuscript is not surprising.⁶⁷

Indigo

Indigo was positively identified on twelve folios of the Getty Murúa by Raman microspectroscopy and on additional folios by visual examination. Indigo is a dark blue pigment that has a highly absorptive character when viewed under ultraviolet light and a finely divided appearance with very fine, regular particle size under binocular magnification. It is thus readily distinguished from azurite, which has a crystalline appearance. Also called *anil* (in Spanish, *añil*), it is a vegetable-based colorant derived from plants of the *Indigofera* genus, including the species *Indigofera suffruticosa*, which is native to the tropical and subtropical areas of the Americas, where it was used extensively for dyeing textiles and also in the colonial period as a paint pigment. In the Getty Murúa, indigo was used as a broad wash in the illustrations attributed to Guaman Poma (the mantle and quiver in folio 84r; the *uncu*, *anacu*, and *lliclla* in folio 89r; the strapwork in folio 307r), but it was also identified in many of the other illustrations as well, where it was utilized as a dark ink (see the outlines of the squares of the *uncu* on folio 30v), as a broad wash (see the edge of the mountainous landscape on folio 19r), or in creating a lavender hue (see the *anacu* on folio 54v). During Inca times, indigo seems to have been used only rarely as a fabric dye (see fig. 4). During the colonial era, however, the Spanish utilized indigo extensively in their *obrajes* (textile workshops), and archival records document the importation of indigo cakes from Guatemala.⁶⁸ Indigo also appears in colonial-era paintings, particularly those ascribed to the region of Cuzco.⁶⁹

A4. GREENS

In most of the folios analyzed using XRF spectroscopy, a copper-based green was identified by high levels of copper but as yet no specific compounds have been identified. Preliminary analysis suggests that several different copper-based green pigments may be present, possibly including forms of copper sulfate, copper carbonate, or copper resinate. That more than one copper-based green was employed is obvious from visual examination of the folios. For example, on the *anacu* on folio 29v, Raman microspectroscopy indicated the presence of multiple components, one of which is likely a copper sulfate. Under binocular magnification, the bright green rounded particles appear bound up in a yellow-green resinous glaze. By contrast, the green used by Guaman Poma in folio 89r was applied very thinly and has a yellow-green cast. Yet another green, a saturated emerald green hue bound up in a rich resinous glaze, is evident in the garment worn by Rahua Ocllo in folio 79r. Some greens were created by mixing yellow and blue, as on folio 51v, where indigo and yellow ochre (goethite) were combined to create the dull olive drab green in the garment of the figure kneeling on the right. Copper is mined in Bolivia and other Andean regions, so the identification of either a copper corrosion product or a copper-bearing green mineral might suggest the use of a local product.

Metallic silver paint was identified by XRF spectroscopy. Its use appears to have been reserved for elements that would have been manufactured in metal, such as the head of Manco Capac's weapon and his medallion on folio 19r, Mayta Capac's helmet on folio 38v, and Chimpo Ocllo's cloak pin on folio 31v. It was also applied to the sandals of several figures (folios 21v, 23r, 24v, 25v, 27v, 28v, 30v, 31v, 32v). Objects made of metal appear throughout the manuscript, and metallic silver paint is used consistently for such details through folio 32v. No metallic silver paint is present on similar objects in the remaining illustrations, which suggests that the silvering was part of an embellishment campaign subsequent to the initial execution of the illustrations.

Notes

1. The Getty Murúa (Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 [83.MP.159]) contains thirty-five illustrations of people and three full-page coats of arms. Four of the images (fols. 79r, 84r, 89r, 307r) are thought to have originally been part of the Galvin manuscript. The Getty manuscript is in excellent condition, with no evidence of retouching, repainting, or loss in any of the images.
2. Fols. 19r, 21r, 40v, 49r, 51v, 57v, 62v, 64r, 84r, and 89r present landscape or architectural elements or vignettes in addition to the main figure(s).
3. See Phipps, "Color," 51–59.
4. See Cummins, this volume, 151–62.
5. See Ossio, this volume; and Adorno and Boserup, this volume.
6. Murúa, *Historia general* (1611–13), bk. 1, chap. 64, "Que el Marques Pizarro fue al Cuzco," fol. 138v.
7. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., acc. no. B-518. On this tunic, see Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *Colonial Andes*, 153–56 (cat. no. 18 by Elena Phipps).
8. See, for example, J. Rowe, "Standardization," 251, figs. 7, 8.
9. Excavated by Johan Reinhard in an Inca ritual burial site at 19,200 feet on Nevado Ampato, near Arequipa, Peru; see Reinhard, *Ice Maiden*, fig. 23. This male tunic was found near a female burial.
10. The *q'asana* motif is illustrated by Guaman Poma de Ayala in his letter to the king of Spain, *El primer nueva coronica* (1615), 98 (Mayta Capac). His text also describes the various garments of the nobility, including their colors and designs.
11. Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C., acc. no. 307655. For a color photograph of this tunic, see Phipps, "Rasgos," fig. 12. See also J. Rowe, "Standardization," 261, fig. 15. An Inca-style tunic with interesting geometrical designs in bands that are reminiscent of the striped designs depicted in the upper portion of Mayta Capac's *uncu* (folio 28v) is held by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (acc. no. M.78.84.2).
12. For the archaeological evidence for this practice, see A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving," 26.
13. Based upon their similarity to images in the *Nueva coronica*, folios 84r and 89r of the Getty manuscript are generally agreed to have been drawn by Guaman Poma.
14. For a discussion of the orientation of designs on women's garments, see Desrosiers, "Las técnicas," 21–27; and A. Rowe, "Inca Weaving," 14–21.
15. See Desrosiers, "Interpretation."
16. See J. Rowe, "Standardization"; and A. Rowe, "Technical Features."
17. See Phipps, "Garments," 21–25.
18. Brooklyn Museum, acc. no. 36.760. See Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *Colonial Andes*, 163–64 (cat. no. 22 by Sophie Desrosiers and Elena Phipps).
19. While Inca kings normally wore garments made of *cumbi* cloth, we know from several chronicles that while traveling in the various regions of their empire, they would don garments from that locality; see Betanzos, *Narrative*, 169.
20. The exception to this rule in the Getty manuscript is the image of Rahua Ocllo (folio 79r), which is more closely related in style to many of the illustrations in the Galvin Murúa, from which it is believed to have been transferred.
21. See Ossio, this volume, 78–84.
22. See Phipps, "Color," 52–53, 54.
23. González Holguín, *Vocabulario*, 232, s.v. "Mazcca paycha"; and, for example, Pizarro, *Relación*, 66.
24. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (2004), 87: "su manta de encarnado y su camegeta arriua colorado y en medio tres betas de tocapo y lo de auajo azul claro" (his mantel blood red [encarnado] and his shirt [that is] above earth red [colorado] and in the middle three rows of *tocapu* and that which is below clear blue). See Phipps, "Color," 54, 58 n. 18, on the translation of Guaman Poma's terms for red.
25. This instruction to look at the illustration occurs (with small variations in wording) at the end of chapters 5 through 18 in book 1 of the Getty Murúa. Somewhat more discursive references to illustrations have been appended to chapters 2 through 4 and the unnumbered chapter of book 1.
26. See Phipps, "Color."
27. Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos, "Dye Analysis."
28. See, for example, Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *Colonial Andes*, 140–43 (cat. no. 11 by Elena Phipps).
29. See Phipps, "'Tornesol.'"
30. See, for example, Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *Colonial Andes*, 175.
31. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva coronica* (2004), 111: "su manta de torne azul" (his mantel of "turns blue"). Whether this is an error in wording and should have read "tornesol azul" (blue *tornesol*) is not clear, but it seems to be referring to *tornesol* of a blue color.
32. Elena Phipps was a guest scholar at the J. Paul Getty Museum from 4 October through 31 December 1999, during which time she and Nancy Turner examined the Getty Murúa and designed a program to study the relation of the colorants to the depiction of textile components; see Phipps, "Summary Report."
33. The Getty Murúa was examined under binocular magnification (10–100×) under natural and ultraviolet light to reveal repairs, damage, and the condition of the paint film and also to gather preliminary information about the nature of the pigments.
34. X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy was conducted at the Museum Research Laboratory at the Getty Conservation Institute under the direction of Dr. David Scott, formerly senior scientist, and Dr. Narayan Khandekar, formerly associate scientist, with the aid of two interns, Emi Koseto and Stefanie Scheerer. Tests were conducted using a KeveX 0750A XRF spectrometer (air-path, Rh tube, Ba, Sr secondary target) on thirty-two sites on twelve folios.
35. Phipps and Turner, "Colors."
36. A systematic study of the elemental composition of each of the illustrations was conducted using a Keystmaster TRACER XRF spectrometer (air-path, Re tube, 40 kV, 2μA). Selected

folios were studied in depth using Raman microspectroscopy (Renishaw InVia Raman microspectrometer, 785 nm excitation, 50× objective).

37. X-ray fluorescence is a noninvasive technique that uses X-rays to determine the elemental composition of each area studied. From the elements detected, the possible pigments (or other materials) present may be inferred. For instrument specifications, see note 36.

38. Raman microspectroscopy uses light from a laser to determine the molecular composition of the material under investigation. Because the spectrometer is coupled to a microscope, Raman spectra may be obtained from particles that are only a few micrometers across, including individual pigment grains. The resulting spectrum is characteristic of the particular material under examination. For instrument specifications, see note 36.

39. Regarding the rearrangement of folios within the Getty Murúa and the insertion of Galvin folios into the Getty Murúa manuscript, see Boserup, "Some Codicological Issues"; and Boserup, "Quelques observations."

40. Very limited XRF analysis was performed on two areas of brown ink only. The ink used by Guaman Poma appears to have a high concentration of copper (detected in the hair of the figure on folio 89r), while the ink used for the text on folio 33v contains iron without a significant level of copper. Further testing of the various inks found throughout Murúa's two manuscripts and even in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* might well enhance our understanding of the creation of these works.

41. See Cummins, this volume, 154–55.

42. Pigments of European manufacture have been found in some colonial paintings from Peru; see Stastny and Rosario-Chirinos, "Perfil tecnológico," 23.

43. The coloration of the floor tiles on folios 21r and 21v differs from that of the floor tiles on the other folios. On folios 21r and 21v, the marbling is in green, yellow-brown, indigo, and two shades of red. It even appears that colorants used for floor tiles on folio 21r differ from those used on folio 21v.

44. Raman microspectroscopy conclusively identified the mineral goethite, FeO·OH, the primary colorant in yellow ochres, on folios 49v and 51v. XRF analysis of the yellow passages throughout the manuscript revealed iron-based yellows, which are presumed to be yellow ochre, on folios 44v, 47v, 54v, 57v, 62r, and 64r.

45. See, for example, folios 49v, 51v, 54v, 56r, 57v, 62r, and 64r.

46. See Cummins, this volume, 158–59, where he argues that the changes in the illustration program occur at this point to correspond with the shift in the biographical narratives from the description of individual rulers to the description of royal "deeds."

47. In folio 79r, the marker pigments realgar and pararealgar were found in both the coat of arms and the figure's garment.

48. Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments," 105, 112; see also Siracusano, *El poder*, 111–19.

49. Whether Guaman Poma was the artist for the Getty and the Galvin folios has been discussed for many years by scholars; see the essays by Adorno and Boserup, Ossio, and Cummins in this volume.

50. The curved terminus hooks of the coat of arms on folio 307r are not dissimilar to those of coats of arms in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* (see, for instance, pp. 79, 83, 515). We thank Rolena Adorno for this observation.

51. See Cummins, this volume.

52. Trentelman, Stodulski, and Pavlovsky, "Characterization." Orpiment has a very characteristic appearance when viewed under magnification; thus, for those folios not analyzed by Raman spectroscopy, the identification of orpiment was based on the detection of arsenic by XRF analysis coupled with visual examination.

53. Roberts, Ansell, and Bonardi, "Pararealgar"; and Bonazzi, Menchetti, and Pratesi, "Crystal Structure."

54. Siracusano, *El poder*, 119–22.

55. See Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil* (1987), 55; and Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías, *Arte textil* (2006), 60.

56. The air-path XRF spectroscopy employed in these studies cannot reliably detect the light elements (carbon, oxygen, nitrogen) that compose most organic materials.

57. Murúa, *Historia general* (ca. 1611–13), fol. 282r.

58. See Phipps, "Color." For a description of how the colorant was used as makeup, see Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries*, chap. 25, 1:537: "Even the girls did not put it on their cheeks as they do rouge here, but applied it with a little stick like henna between the corner of the eyes and the temple. The line they drew was about as broad as a stalk of wheat and looked very well. The *pallas* used no other cosmetics but powdered *ichma*, and that not every day but only occasionally on feast days."

59. See Bakewell, *Miners*.

60. See Stastny and Rosario-Chirinos, "Perfil tecnológico"; Kaplan et al., "Análisis técnico"; Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments"; Siracusano, *El poder*, 98–108; and Gettens, Feller, and Chase, "Vermilion."

61. Stastny and Rosario-Chirinos, "Perfil tecnológico," 24.

62. Siracusano, *El poder*, 109.

63. See Phipps, "Color"; and Donkin, *Spanish Red*. For cochineal glazes on paintings, see Stastny and Rosario-Chirinos, "Perfil tecnológico," 24.

64. Apart from these organic washes, the purples found in the manuscript are largely achieved by mixing pigments. One purple is characterized by the presence of indigo, an organic red, lead white, yellow ochre, and azurite, as in the neck yoke and waistband on folio 49v. A similar mixture of mostly organic components likely makes the purple dress on folio 54v and the mantle on folio 51v. Another purple is found in the Getty Murúa solely on folio 79r, in the *anacu* of Rahua Ocllo, where the color seems to be derived from an unidentified organic colorant mixed with lead white to achieve a wash of the desired hue.

65. Phipps, Hecht, and Martín, *Colonial Andes*, 140–41 (cat. no. 11 by Elena Phipps).

66. Trentelman, Stodulski, and Pavlovsky, "Characterization."

67. Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments," 106.

68. Importation of indigo was first referred to in 1590 in Acosta, *Historia natural*, 290; see Phipps, "Color," 59 n. 32.

69. See Seldes et al., "Blue Pigments," 106.

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The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Piru*: An Art Historical Study

THE MOST REMARKABLE feature of the known manuscripts (Getty and Galvin) composed by Martín de Murúa is that they constitute two of the three extant works with a significant corpus of images from the early Andean viceregal world. The third manuscript is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno* (1615; The first new chronicle and good government), which is the best known and most widely studied. Together, the three provide almost the entire set of images, in any medium, to represent the Inca in the early Spanish colonial era.¹ This is an amazing fact in and of itself, one still not fully appreciated by Andean scholars. Even more amazing is that these manuscripts are so intimately related to one another that they demonstrate a shared and very tight circle of sources, influences, artistic practices, and aspirations. The precise historical circumstances under which their illustrations were produced remain unknown, but it is clear that Guaman Poma not only was deeply influenced by the structure of the Galvin manuscript but also recycled some of its images in the compositions for his own manuscript.²

The nature of a manuscript can determine the focus of its study, and this certainly should be the case here. This essay takes as the critical and defining element of the three manuscripts the fact that they have images, and it has the aim of describing the salient aspects of the production, style, and iconography of the Getty Murúa's illustrations. The three works hold a place in the historiography of colonial literature for a variety of important reasons, starting with the nature of their authorship and their content. But the extraordinary interest that the manuscripts themselves have commanded is unprecedented in Andean scholarship. The codicological and historical work done by Rolena Adorno, Ivan Boserup, and Juan M. Ossio on these manuscripts and the innovative scientific correlation of the Getty Murúa's pigments with extant textiles by Elena Phipps, Karen Trentelman, and Nancy Turner is unparalleled.³ Only one other Andean manuscript has received as much attention, the anonymous early-seventeenth-century Huarochirí manuscript. It is as exceptional in terms of Peruvian colonial history as Murúa's and Guaman Poma's works, but its extraordinariness is manifested by text, not image. Almost coeval with the Getty Murúa and the *Nueva coronica*, the Huarochirí manuscript is the only extant extended text on Andean religious beliefs written in Quechua. It has been the subject of translations into various modern languages and of a wealth of textual commentaries and interpretations. To date, however, there has been no published codicological treatment of the manuscript and no facsimile edition. Conversely, there has been no scholarly translation of either of Murúa's works or of the *Nueva coronica*, but all three manuscripts have been issued in facsimile.⁴ And while the work of Guaman Poma has generated an almost endless stream of studies since its discovery in 1908, Murúa's manuscripts, which resurfaced in the latter part of the twentieth century, have not received substantial attention until recently.⁵ Yet it now becomes patently clear that the *Nueva coronica* is inconceivable as a stand-alone work and must be seen as dependent in part upon Murúa's efforts. It was Murúa who seems to have had the innovative idea of placing images in a historical manuscript, thus providing the impetus for the illustrations in the *Nueva coronica*.

Simply put, without Murúa's two manuscripts and the *Nueva coronica*, our knowledge of early colonial art and artistic practices in Peru would be greatly diminished. Aside from painting, sculpture, and architecture—media that seldom took as their subject matter Andean history—we would be left with only the written record for representations of the Inca in the centuries before and after the Spanish conquest. Yet because the images in the three manuscripts are so intimately associated

with their texts, many scholars treat them as anything but unique, referring to them as illustrations to the texts of Guaman Poma and Murúa, and leaving it at that. The images certainly do illustrate the texts, and each work is rightly called an illustrated manuscript, but there is much more involved than mere embellishment. Moreover, until the Galvin manuscript came to be publicly known thanks to the sustained efforts of Ossio, the relationship between Murúa and Guaman Poma was rarely addressed.⁶ This is especially true in regard to scholarship focused on Guaman Poma in general, and it is even more evident in the discussion of his images and their creation. Certainly the texts of these two authors are significant, but that significance is magnified by the concomitant corpus of images, which number more than six hundred in all.

There is, in fact, a self-consciousness in all three manuscripts about the presence of the images. The reader is asked in various ways to take note of the illustrations. For example, in the prologue to book 4 of the Galvin manuscript, Murúa writes,

Viendo la ocasión en las manos, prudente y discreto lector, para sacar en limpio el presente libro, no quise perdonar a mi trabajo ni contentarme con solo la historia y gobierno de los Ingas, por ser muy falto sino hacerlo entero y cumplido, poniendo aquí las grandezas y riquezas deste Reino del Perú y las excelencias de las ciudades y villas que en él hay de españoles, y otros sucesos muy admirables, juntamente declarando los nombres propios de cada una, que, por ser de indios, no se dejaran bien entender; y también por huir de la ociosidad, que es enemiga de toda virtud, tomando el lenguaje que para todos fuese común y que se pudiesen aprovechar de las curiosidades que en este libro hay. Para lo cual, si en él hallaren alguna falta, sujétome a la corrección de lo que mejor lo entendieren y supieren, suplicándoles no les cause admiración este tan humilde y pequeño servicio en sus altos entendimientos. Por lo cual, procurando tan felicísimo remedio, tomé por partido dirigirle al católico Rey Don Felipe, segundo marte y tercero deste nombre, a quien por su dichoso entendimiento, ánimo, esfuerzo y raro valor es parte de la defensa de nuestra católica fe y honra de la victoriosa patria de nuestra España en cuya sombra irá bien seguro, y que nadie se atreverá ni aun con la imaginación a ofenderle. Y así, cuando llegare a las pías manos del sapientísimo lector, que con amoroso espíritu por las esmaltadas y varias pinturas y colores será bien recibido.

(Taking in hand the opportunity, prudent and discrete reader, to produce [*sacar*] in this present book a clean copy, I did not wish to [leave] my work [as it was] or to content myself with only the history and government of the Inca, as it [that is, the book] would be greatly lacking without making it complete and entire, therefore [I am] placing here the greatness and riches of the kingdom of Peru and the excellence of the cities and towns of Spaniards that there are in it, and other very admirable events, using the proper names of each one, which, because they are Quechua [*indios*], are not easy to understand; and also to avoid laziness, which is the enemy of all virtue, [I am] using the language that was shared by all, so then one can take [full] advantage of the curiosities that this book contains. If someone should find some fault [with this work], I accept the corrections of those who know and understand better, imploring them that this small and humble service not cause them surprise due to [their] great knowledge. Therefore, seeking [to obtain] so felicitous a remedy, I decided to dedicate this book to the Catholic king Philip, a second Mars, and third of this same name,⁷ who by his marvelous wisdom, spirit, will, and exceptional bravery is part [of] the defense of our Catholic faith and the honor of our victorious homeland of Spain, in whose shadow will go security, such that no one would even dare [in reality] or with the imagination to offend him. And thus, when [this book] arrives in the pious hands of this so wise a reader, who with a loving spirit for enamel works and various paintings and colors, it will be well received.)⁸

A comparable passage appears in the prefatory remarks to the *Nueva coronica*:

Pasé trauajo para sacar con el deseo de presentar a vuestra Magestad este dicho libro yntitulado Primer nueva coronica de las Yndias del Pirú y prouechoso a los dichos fieles cristianos, escrito y debojado de mi mano y ingenio para que la uaridad de ellas y de las pinturas y la enbinción y dibuxo a que vuestra Magestad es enclinado haga fázil aquel peso



FIG. 1. Allegorical image of Potosí. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 141v. Private collection

y molestia de una letura falta de enbinción y de aquel ornamento y polido ystilo que en los grandes ingeniosos se hallan.

(I have worked hard to produce [*sacar*], with the desire of presenting to Your Majesty, this book, entitled *Primer nueva corónica* on the Indians of Peru, and [to be] beneficial to said Christian faithful, [it is] written and drawn by my hand and [with my] ingenuity so that the variety of them [that is, the images] and of the colors [*pinturas*] and the invention and design [that is, beauty] to which your majesty is disposed⁹ lightens the weight and annoyance of a text lacking in invention and ornament as well as in the polished style to be found in the [writings of] the very clever.)¹⁰

The similarity of the two passages is remarkable, not only in terms of to whom the manuscript is dedicated (Philip III of Spain) but also for the fact that the images are characterized as something the author thought would please the Spanish king and attract his attention.¹¹

On a number of occasions, Murúa either directs the reader to look at a specific illustration or comments on the iconography of an image. For example, he writes in the Galvin manuscript about the allegorical image of the great Bolivian mining city of Potosí (fig. 1) as if he were explicating an independent work of art, telling the reader “como se ve por esta pintura” (as this painting shows) and



FIG. 2. Sinchi Roca, the second *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 24v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

explaining its dense iconography.¹² He does not treat it as a mere embellishment of the text. In the Getty manuscript, the reader is directed to look at images by notations made after the illustrations were painted.¹³ For example, on folio 24v, Murúa has written above the figure's head, "figura al natural de Cinchiroca ya Inga y Señor primero" (portrait of Sinchi Roca as *inca* [king] and principal lord) (fig. 2). And on the following page, folio 25r, Murúa has added at the end of the text, "Su figura es al natural la que se vee" (His portrait is that which is shown). Guaman Poma often resorts to *ekphrasis* in his text, as, for example, in his extended and detailed literary descriptions of the Inca kings. In other words, each author has intentionally drawn the reader's attention to the images.

I shall concentrate in this essay on one genre of image within the larger corpus: the portraits of the Inca kings (*inca*) and queens (*coya*). These are essentially the only images that the three manuscripts have in common. Whereas the Galvin manuscript and the *Nueva coronica* have a variety of types of images, the images in the Getty manuscript are almost exclusively portraits, though this plainly was not what was originally intended.¹⁴ The portraits in the three manuscripts are not based on any lost Inca prototype, as has been suggested by several authors over the past forty-odd years.¹⁵ Rather, they participate in a tradition that is wholly a colonial invention. In fact, one critical characteristic of the three sets of Inca portraits is that, regardless of whatever iconographic, formal, and stylistic differences that one may discover among them, they all derive from an established European template.¹⁶



FIG. 3. Inca with a foot plow. From Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo = Vestitus Antiquorum, Recentiorumque Totius Orbis* (Venice: appresso Gio. Bernardo Sessa, 1598), fol. 487v. Private collection

Their significance, then, is to be found not only in their appearance but also in *where* they appear. They demonstrate that Peru had a colonial artistic tradition well enough established for Murúa to have had access to several different artists, one of whom was assuredly Guaman Poma, and for those artists to have produced, over time, a set of images sufficiently coherent for striking similarities to exist across the three manuscripts regardless of their independent histories.¹⁷ In other words, the portraits in the three manuscripts derive from a shared visual history that predated their creation.¹⁸ This is seen most clearly in matters of composition. In the portraits, the figure is almost always depicted standing and isolated in either frontal or three-quarter view against a neutral background. The *inca* and *coya* in the Galvin manuscript and the *Nueva coronica* are situated outside, whereas in the Getty manuscript they stand in an interior space, on a tiled floor whose converging lines impart a sense of depth to the picture plane. Both formats derive from European visual culture and the portrait genre in particular. The placement of the figures in the foreground and on a small raised hill in the Galvin portraits probably derives from Renaissance costume books. One of the earliest, Christof Weiditz I's manuscript *Trachtenbuch* (1529–32; Costume book), was begun during its author's sojourn in Spain and includes images of Aztecs whom Hernán Cortés brought to the Spanish royal court in 1529. Just as in Weiditz's representations of the inhabitants of various areas of Spain, the Aztecs appear as isolated figures, each standing on a hillock. This compositional format is also found in published books, including Cesare Vecellio's *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (On the ancient and modern clothing in various parts of the world), published in Venice in 1590.¹⁹ In the second edition, published in Venice in 1598, Vecellio added an image of an Inca standing on hilly ground (fig. 3). The use of flooring with converging vertical lines crossed by parallel horizontal lines to create the effect of a three-dimensional interior space, as in the portraits made for the Getty manuscript, was also a common pictorial device, one found even in rudimentary prints. It is employed, for example, in the image of Mary holding the Christ Child on the title page of Luis Jerónimo de Oré's *Simbolo catholico indiano* (Indian Catholic symbol), published in Lima in 1598, a book well known to both Guaman Poma and Murúa.²⁰

Nonetheless, there are stylistic differences in the handling of the figures across the three manuscripts. Indeed, the male portraits were probably created by a minimum of three different artists,



FIG. 4. Manco Capac, the first *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 21v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

one for each manuscript. Guaman Poma's style—invariable throughout the hundreds of drawings in the *Nueva coronica* (see p. 79, fig. 1; p. 80, fig. 2)—is unmistakable. Line is the defining element in his images, regardless of medium. In paintings from Cuzco attributed to him²¹ as well as in his colored images in the two Murúa manuscripts (see p. 21, figs. 8, 9; p. 22, fig. 10; p. 34, fig. 15), line defines the form and volume of the figure while flat fields of color fill the areas so outlined. Guaman Poma's strong dependence on line in his images may be traced to the colonial relation between European patron and native artist. The patron normally gave the artist a European print to render as a painting, a transaction that later underpinned the colonial characterization of the native artist as mimic. Guaman Poma seems to have been trained in such a manner. At the very least, it is clear that he copied and transformed a variety of old and new prints for his drawings in the *Nueva coronica*.²² It is also clear that he reworked images that other artists executed for the Galvin manuscript in his own manuscript and that in every case he simplified the style of figures, although his compositions could be more complex.²³

The portraits of the Inca kings and queens in the two Murúa manuscripts are consistent within each manuscript and also generally consistent with one another, but they are the work of two different artists (or groups of artists), both with a greater facility than Guaman Poma with the creation of



FIG. 5. Manco Capac, the first *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru*, 1590, Galvin MS, fol. 9v. Private collection

volume by tonal gradation, shading, and color washes. The two also handle line very differently, both from each other and from Guaman Poma. For example, the Galvin manuscript's artist uses a dark line of pigment to mark the outline of the body (see fig. 5; p. 20, fig. 7; p. 88, fig. 5), whereas the outlines of the figures in the Getty manuscript are much softer, drawn only lightly in brown or red pigment and defined primarily by the flesh tones of the body itself (see p. 126, fig. 1; p. 128, fig. 3; p. 130, fig. 7; p. 131, fig. 9; p. 132, fig. 11). The artists also differ in their portrayal of the proportions of the body and in their handling of color, especially in its use to give definition to facial features.

And while the sets of royal portraits share a common tradition, it is clear that the Getty Murúa's artist did not always copy the Galvin images directly, even though they seem to have been available. For example, the Getty manuscript's portrait of Manco Capac (fig. 4) appears to follow the pose as well as the color of the garments of the Galvin manuscript's portrait (fig. 5). Each wears an *uncu* (tunic) having a red upper half, a greenish blue lower half, and horizontal bands of *tocapu* (squares with abstract geometric motifs) at the waist. The cloak is draped in a similar fashion around the figure, with the folds at the neck following the same sweeping diagonals. The cloak in the Galvin manuscript is a light mauve glossed on the left as "*sani que es morada*" (*sani*, which means purple);

the cloak in the Getty manuscript is a deep violet. Whether the artist who painted the figure of Manco Capac in the Getty manuscript was working from the Galvin manuscript or following a preexisting set of conventions cannot be determined, and artistic invention must be factored in as well, in light of the significant differences between the two images. For example, not only are there three bands of *tocapu* on the *uncu* in the Galvin manuscript versus two bands in the Getty manuscript but also, and perhaps more important, the forms of the *tocapu* differ. The *tocapu* motifs are entirely abstract in the Galvin manuscript, whereas two of the *tocapu* in the Getty manuscript are figural: a red bird appears at the center of the top band, and a red llama at the center of the bottom band.²⁴ The form of the royal headdress also differs, both across the two portraits of Manco Capac and across the two manuscripts generally. The figure in the Getty Murúa wears the royal fringe (*mascaypacha*), which hangs from a cloth headband (*llautu*) over the forehead, with a superstructure composed of three tufts of material, perhaps wool or ichu grass,²⁵ topped by several feathers. This accords with historical descriptions of the Inca crown. In the Galvin manuscript, the headband supporting the fringe and superstructure is set with a row of golden points. This crown, the conventional sign of royalty in Europe, is worn by both *inca* and *coya* in the Galvin manuscript's series of royal portraits.²⁶

Such differences might have been introduced in the lost Murúa manuscript posited by Adorno and Boserup to exist between the two extant versions. This seems unlikely, however, both because several images in the Getty manuscript seem to have been inspired by the Galvin manuscript²⁷ and because several images from the Galvin manuscript have been inserted into the Getty manuscript. At the same time, there are the iconographic elements in the Getty manuscript's portraits that are reproduced but intentionally altered from the Galvin portraits so as to reconfigure the nature of dynastic relations. I shall return to this issue at the end of the essay, after describing the production and placement of the images in the Getty Murúa.

1. Production of the Getty Illuminations

The Getty manuscript contains thirty-eight images, including the title page (folio 2r).²⁸ However, pages left blank and ready to receive images indicate that the manuscript was intended to have many more illuminations, so that it would have been as fully illustrated as the Galvin manuscript or the *Nueva coronica*. Thirty-four of the images are original to the Getty manuscript, and they were created, by and large, in sequential order, from front to back, and in several passes, after the text was calligraphed. That the illustration program was abandoned is evidenced, first, by the variously unfinished states of the images after folio 32v; second, by the blank pages preceding new chapters beginning with folio 66r; and, finally, by the transfer of the last four images in the Getty manuscript (folios 79r, 84r, 89r, 307r) from another manuscript (or manuscripts).²⁹ The handling of line and color in the last three of the transferred images suggests that they were created by Guaman Poma, and except for the coat of arms of Peru on folio 307r, the transferred images function as illustrations to the Getty Murúa's text. With that exception, after folio 89r any pretense of providing images for the remaining chapters ceases, even though, as mentioned, blanks had been left, ready to receive them.

Aside from this deteriorating sequence of production, marked first by incompleteness and then by substitution, the first thirty-four images in the Getty Murúa were executed during two main campaigns. The first, excluding the title page on folio 2r and the coat of arms of the Inca kings on folio 13r, begins either at folio 19r, with the complex composition of the legendary emergence of Manco Capac from Tambotoco, or at folio 21v, with the portrait of Manco Capac, and it ends at folio 32v, with the portrait of Inca Roca. The second campaign starts at folio 33v and ends at folio 64r. There are also two further subtle changes that may indicate additional steps in the production process. One occurs only on folio 21r, the investiture of Sinchi Roca, the other occurs over folios 40v through 64r. The two major campaigns and the two minor campaigns identified by analysis of visual style correspond with pigment changes identified by scientific analysis (see p. 137). Just as important, the first campaign is contained fully within the fourth quire (folios 16r–32v) of the Getty manuscript, while the second campaign is contained in the fifth and sixth quires (folios 33r–64v) (see pp. 63–65). In other words, there is a concurrence, as there should be, in the various traces of the production of the Getty manuscript.

I now turn to detailing the visual evidence for the different campaigns and the order in which the images were created. To begin, it cannot be established when the title page (folio 2r) (see p. 96, fig. 1)



FIG. 6. Investiture of Sinchi Roca, the second *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 21r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

or the coat of arms of the Inca kings (folio 13r) (see fig. 7) were done. This is because, as I will describe below, there is reason to believe that not all images were produced in a sequential manner, from front to back. It is therefore possible that the title page and coat of arms of the Inca kings were not the first images created in the Getty manuscript. Nonetheless, because the coat of arms was clearly executed using the working procedures observed in the other images of the first campaign, it will be discussed along with them. In other words, one cannot definitively say in what order the images were made, despite stylistic and codicological evidence. In terms of the pictorial images, of which the majority are portraits, there are three clearly identifiable working stages as outlined above. The two main campaigns are by the artist or artists who created images original to the Getty manuscript and the third stage is the addition of four images, most or all of which are from the Galvin manuscript. Despite the caveats raised above, the images created for the Getty manuscript generally follow an order of production that goes from the front of the manuscript toward the back, a working process that I will describe below. As I will also suggest below, there is a strong possibility that one image, that depicting the investiture of Sinchi Roca by his father, Manco Capac (fig. 6), was produced after most images in the first campaign were completed. The evidence for its lateness is codicological, stylistic, and scientific. First, folio 21 is the only instance in the Getty Murúa of illuminations appearing on both sides of a folio, and the images

could not have been painted at the same time, as one side would have needed to dry before the other was executed. At the very least, the green canopy on folio 21r, which is done in a very heavy wash, made a hiatus imperative. Second, the investiture scene is different from those that follow it: the frame and floor tiles are drawn in green pigment rather than red, the tiles are delineated with double lines rather than single, and the content is a historical scene rather than a royal portrait. Finally, lead-tin yellow is one of the pigments used to paint the image on folio 21r, and its unique presence in this illustration could indicate later execution. Altogether, this is an unusual image in the corpus.

FIRST CAMPAIGN (FOLIOS 19R–32V)

Eleven of the thirteen images in this group are portraits of individual Inca kings and queens, and all exhibit what must be understood as a nearly complete or complete state of execution, a process that took at least three to five passes: underdrawing, drawing an outline of the figure, underpainting, painting, and the addition of details to the figure by drawing or painting, marbling to the floor, and the frame around the image. The portraits appear in the order of *inca* followed by his *coya*, so that a royal pair is created. The portraits of the kings are usually more individualized than those of the queens. The former exhibit a greater variety of poses, more individuation of facial features, and a diversity in age, dress, and ritual or military paraphernalia. In addition, each portrait of an *inca* in this first campaign includes a coat of arms, based on European conventions, for his *panaca* (descendants, excluding his heir). These coats of arms were copied from the Galvin manuscript, with the radical alteration that they now appear not with the *coya*, as in the Galvin manuscript, but with the *inca*.

Each page that was intended to receive an image was left blank until the entire text of the quire was written. The first pictorial element to appear on the page was the schematic figure, which was lightly sketched in black chalk. Details of the fingers, toes, and facial features were also articulated in black chalk, as were the outlines of weapons, shields, and other accoutrements. Much of this chalk underdrawing remains visible today. In the portraits of the *inca*, the coats of arms were drawn in black chalk after the underdrawing of the portraits and before the coloring was added.

In many cases, it is apparent that the original chalk underdrawing of the figure has been modified, either by another black chalk outline or, more often, when the figure was painted. In other words, the underdrawing functioned as a guide rather than an absolute. The most dramatic instance of deviation from the underdrawing can be seen in the coat of arms on folio 13r (fig. 7).³⁰ A *quenti* (hummingbird) appears in the lower left quadrant of the shield, and an *otorongo* (jaguar) in the upper right. The preliminary drawing of each animal has been altered considerably. The bird was initially more like a falcon (rounder breast as well as shorter wings, tail, and beak), and its wings were positioned differently. The jaguar's tail went from hanging down and curling at the tip to a less realistic form, such that it is now too long and points upward in an almost serpentine form. These modifications seem to be intentional because, although the *mascaypacha* and the two *amaru* (large serpents) in the other two quadrants show similar black chalk underdrawing, their forms have not been significantly changed. What cannot be determined is whether the two animals were altered because the artist who executed the underdrawing was different from the artist who applied the colors or because the artist changed his mind, perhaps under the direction of Murúa himself. Similar deviations from the original underdrawing can be seen in most of the other figures of the first campaign.

Once the underdrawing was complete, the images were colored. While it cannot be proved that all the figures in the first campaign were sketched in a single pass before they were painted, it seems a likely *modus operandi*. This is because some of figures in the second campaign have the same black chalk underdrawing but lack some of the colors used in the first campaign. Indeed, the underdrawing might have been done first for all figures in both campaigns (folios 19r–64r) and then the coloring added in several passes. At the very least, we can see that the same basic process of production was followed in the two campaigns.

At its most complex, the coloring of the figure was executed in several passes, as in, for example, the portrait of Sinchi Roca on folio 24v (see fig. 2). First the broad areas of the body were painted in a single wash and allowed to dry. Then a second, thinner wash was applied so as to give various visual effects, such as textile weaves and folds.³¹ Finally, several finishing passes of coloring occurred, including the addition of the frame and floor.



FIG. 7. Royal coat of arms of the Inca kings. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 13r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Interestingly, the frame and the floor came after the figure was delineated. Thus, while the pages of text were first framed and then filled with text, the figures in the illuminations were sketched on the page first and then framed.³² Exactly when the floors and frames were added is unclear, but they were executed at the same time, as indicated by the use of the same color and the same thickness of line for both elements. Their creation was one of the later phases of production, as the lines of the floor run up to (or slightly into) the figures but do not cross through them and the framing lines sometimes run over painted areas (see especially folio 51v). The final pass seems to have been the coloring of details of cast shadows, dress and ornament, and the coats of arms.

The order of the finishing process may be judged from the portrait of Manco Capac (see fig. 4). The coat of arms must have been painted before the feathers of the *tupayauri* (golden staff), which overlap the lower border and field of the shield. The shield has the same fine black chalk underdrawing as the portrait, so apparently it and the figure were sketched before coloring was done and then the solid area of red and the gold border of the coat of arms were painted at the same time as the large areas of solid color on the figure. Then the contouring of the clothing and details such as the feathers of the *tupayauri* were added, and the coloring of other elements such as the *llautu* was completed. Also the fine details of musculature and face were done during a finishing pass. For example,

the iris of the eye was probably painted at the same time as the broad fields of color, but the pupil was added at the end, after the contours of the eye and the iris were dry.

SECOND CAMPAIGN (FOLIOS 33V–64R)

The second and decidedly new campaign begins at folio 33v, with the portrait of Cusi Chimpo, the sixth *coya*. This campaign is marked by images that are less complete than the preceding portraits, a state suggested by the absence of details such as the marbling of the floor and of the silver paint that colors metal objects in the first campaign. More important, there is a clear change in the pigment used to create the frame of the page and the floor lines, from the decidedly orangish hue of the first campaign to the purplish red hue of the second. In addition, the figures are, for the most part, now outlined primarily in red instead of black. This combination of differences indicates a change that was probably temporal as well as stylistic. There are subtle differences in the handling of the figures' features, including shading and contour, that suggest that either a second artist became involved in the illustration program at this point or some hiatus occurred between the completion of the first campaign and the beginning of the second—or both.

A second important iconographic change occurs on folio 34v, with the portrait of Yahuar Huacac, the seventh *inca* (fig. 8). It is the first male portrait of the second campaign, and unlike all the preceding portraits of *inca*, his portrait does not have a coat of arms. Yahuar Huacac's portrait is similar to the portrait of the fifth *inca*, Capac Yupanqui, from the first campaign (see p. 89, fig. 6), and it is important to compare them so as to understand the working process of the two campaigns. Yahuar Huacac holds a military shield, as does Capac Yupanqui, and we find on the facing recto in each case the text "Su figura es esta que se vee" (His figure is that which is shown) inscribed in Murúa's hand below the chapter text. The phrase "armas que añadio este inga" (the personal arms of this Inca) is written below the military shield in both portraits, but it does not refer to the design on the shield itself, as has been suggested.³³ Rather, it refers to the personal coat of arms of the *inca*. However, the coat of arms belonging to Yahuar Huacac was never painted, although it should have appeared above his proper left shoulder. How do we know? By analogy with the portrait of Capac Yupanqui, in which the *inca* stands with a war shield under which is written "armas que añadio este inga" and above which is painted his personal coat of arms. This same text in folio 34v, which appears below the personal coat of arms of each *inca* in the portraits of the first campaign (see figs. 2, 11, 12) except for Manco Capac's, must be read as referring to Yahuar Huacac's absent coat of arms. His coat of arms would have been the same as the one depicted in the portrait of his wife and sister Ipahuaco in the Galvin manuscript (see p. 20, fig. 7). Its device comprises an eagle or a hawk with its wings open in the upper half and two rampant felines (pumas) flanking a *mascaypacha* in the lower half. If the portraits of the kings had been completed in the second campaign, then most likely each portrait would have had the personal coat of arms that appears with his queen in the Galvin manuscript, just as occurs in the first campaign.

This detail suggests that some of Murúa's annotations to the images occurred before the images were finished, specifically, before final details such as the coats of arms were added. At the very least, the text "armas que añadio este inga" clearly precedes the completion of the image on folio 34v, because it refers to a nonexistent coat of arms. But is this true for all instances of this phrase? Were they, perhaps, directions to the artist rather than aids for the reader? Whatever the case, this is the last time these words appear in the illustrations to manuscript, and another coat of arms does not appear until the portrait of Rahua Ocllo (folio 79r), which was transferred from the Galvin manuscript.³⁴

The second campaign is also marked by a change in the nature of the portraits of kings and in their presentation within the manuscript. Instead of the alternating portraits of Inca kings and queens that we saw from Manco Capac (folio 21v) to Mama Yunto (folio 37v), for the final three Inca kings, we have a portrait of the *inca* that basically conforms to the conventions found in the previous portraits followed, beginning with folio 40v, by two to four depictions of that *inca*'s deeds, followed by the portrait of his *coya*.

These intervening images are a clear departure from all the preceding portraits, and they are inserted to complement chapters that narrate the events and deeds of each of the three *inca*. They are the least finished of all the illustrations. Many details are suggested only by sketches in red pigment or black chalk, and I suspect that these illustrations were to have had many more details and to have filled the entire page in a way similar to the scenes of the adoration of Manco Capac (fig. 9) and the investiture



FIG. 8. Yahuar Huacac, the seventh *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 34v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

of Sinchi Roca (see fig. 6). The first of those scenes conflates a number of separate events into a single composition (emergence, adoration, departure), just as some of these images attempt to do. The narrative component of the investiture of Sinchi Roca likewise anticipates some of these images in the second campaign. This suggests that one if not both of the scenes from the beginning of the Getty Murúa may have been painted later, after the first campaign was complete.

Another clear departure from precedent is that Murúa apparently changed his mind about these intervening images. On folio 40v, for example, in which Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui occupies the foreground and a building the background (fig. 10), “no sea de pintar” (meaning, “do not print/paint” or “not to be painted/printed”), is written above the king’s head. The same phrase appears on folios 42v, 62r, and 64r,³⁵ and its abbreviated form—“no”—appears on folios 44v, 49v, 51v, 57v, and 60v. These annotations were addressed to either the artist or the printer and would not have appeared in the printed version. Note that this direction is specific to the images that deal with the deeds of the last three Incas; it does not appear on the official portraits of these kings (folios 38v, 47v, 56r) or their queens (folios 46v, 54v, 79r).

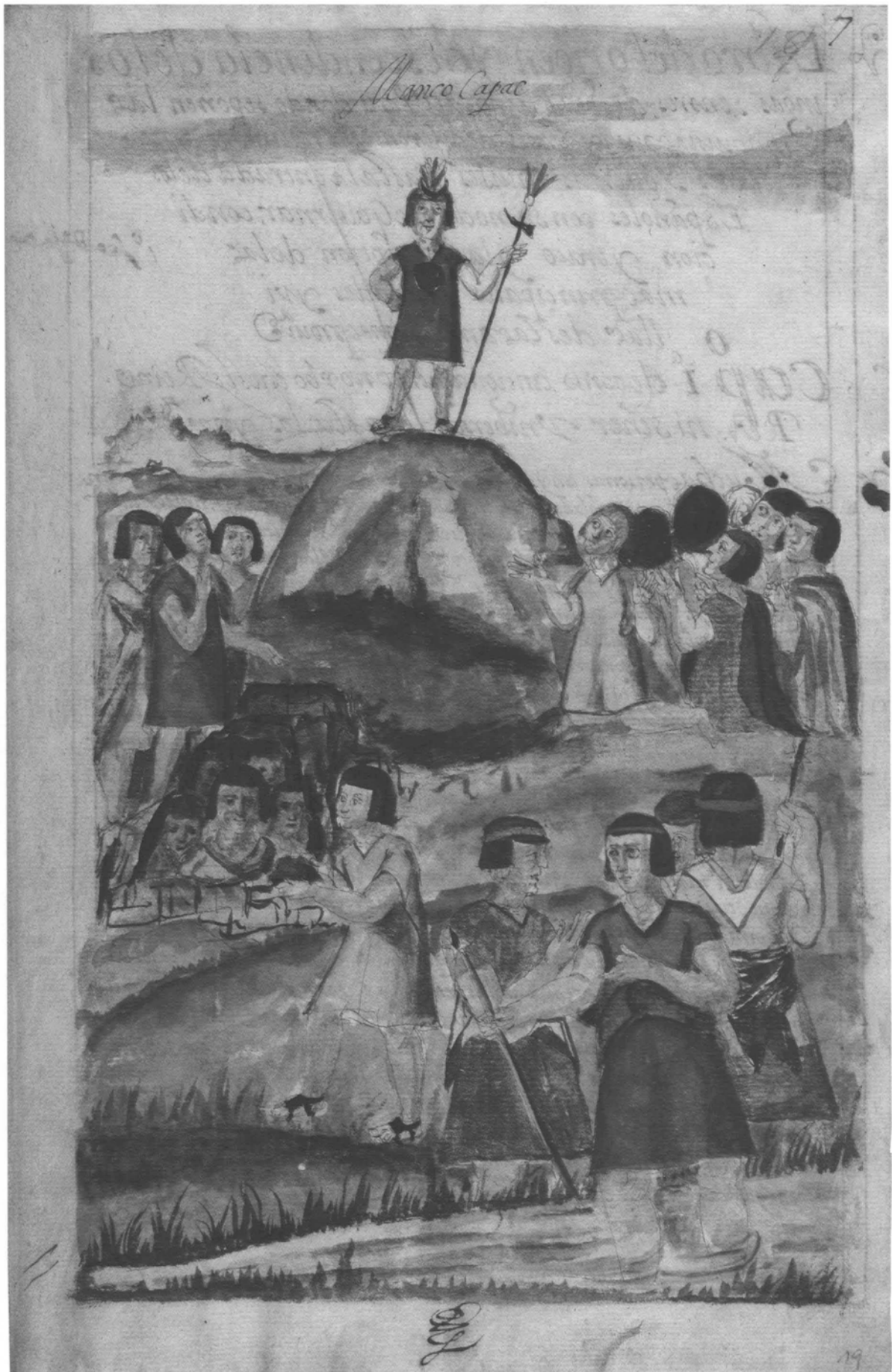


FIG. 9. Adoration of Manco Capac and myths of the Ayar brothers. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 19r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 10. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, the ninth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 40v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

THIRD STAGE (FOLIOS 79r, 84r, 89r, AND 307r)

The last image created specifically for the Getty manuscript is found on folio 64r. The next image, on folio 79r, is the portrait of Rahua Ocllo, who was of the generation before Atahualpa, the *inca* whom the Spanish expedition encountered. Like the Getty's remaining images (folios 84r, 89r, 307r), her portrait was long attributed to Guaman Poma, but when the Galvin manuscript became available, all four were immediately identified as having come from that manuscript. It was also recognized, based on the other portraits in the Galvin manuscript, that the Getty manuscript's image of Rahua Ocllo was probably not by Guaman Poma.³⁶ The first three images are missing from their places—as folios 32, 52, 61, respectively—in the Galvin manuscript, so it is clear they were transferred from it to the Getty Murúa. When and why they were removed is unclear. However, if they were purposefully taken out of the Galvin manuscript to be inserted in the Getty manuscript, why were other images not taken and reused as well? There is no evidence to support any theory. But whatever the reason, it seems unlikely that the portrait of Rahua Ocllo and the other two images from the Galvin manuscript were simply at hand and conveniently available to bring to a close the

illumination of the Inca dynastic sequence in the Getty Murúa, after which its illustration project essentially ceased.

The final image is a coat of arms of Peru attributed to Guaman Poma. Inserted in the Getty manuscript as folio 307r, it functions as a frontispiece to book 3, which largely deals with Peru under the Spanish. It is not clear where the image came from. It may be that it was originally part of the front matter of the Galvin manuscript, as Ossio as well as Adorno and Boserup have argued based on the fact that the letter of commendation from the *curaca* (native lords) of Cuzco, which appears on folio 307v, seems to refer to the Galvin manuscript or to a putative predecessor.³⁷ But because the introductory section of the Galvin manuscript is missing, we cannot be sure that this is true or even likely. Much more work on this particular folio is required.³⁸

At the very least, there is a very marked and noticeable working difference between the illustrations by whoever created the majority of the Getty Murúa's images and those that were inserted. In brief, the images created specifically for the Getty manuscript show a much more sophisticated artistic process and style than those attributed to Guaman Poma. Contouring and color give a volume to the Getty manuscript's figures that is lacking in Guaman Poma's. One cannot, however, say that this qualitative difference is a result of the ethnic identity of the artist. The artists working on Murúa's manuscripts could all have been Andean. We know that by 1571, there were Andean artists in Cuzco who were capable of rendering portraits of Inca in an acceptable European style, and the Quiteña contemporary of the Murúa manuscripts' artists, Andrés Sánchez Gallque, demonstrated in his portrait *Don Francisco de la Robe and His Sons Pedro and Domingo* (1599; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado) that native Andeans were versed in this European genre.

2. Relationship Between Text and Image in the Getty Murúa

The relationship between the images and the text is more complicated than might first seem. Most often, the image bears out the main concerns of the accompanying text in a rather straightforward way. For example, Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca king, is described on folio 29r as handsome—"hermoso de rostro" (beautiful of face)—and his portrait, on folio 28v, is the most elegant in the entire series (fig. 11). His figure has a dynamic and youthful pose, the head is turned in three-quarter view, and the facial features show a long face, strong jaw, and carefully delineated aquiline nose. He is the first of several *inca* to be depicted as a warrior, that is, he carries a shield and wears a helmet. The artist is clearly trying to convey in the portrait the textual description of Mayta Capac. By contrast, the previous *inca*, Lloque Yupanqui, is depicted as older, with gray hair and in a less dynamic pose (fig. 12). His appearance corresponds to the text on folio 27r, which recounts that even though he was old (*siendo ya biejo*), Lloque Yupanqui begot Mayta Capac after the Sun in the guise of a man spoke to him of having a successor. One can find similar correspondences between the physical or even moral characteristics of a king as described in the text and depicted in his portrait. For example, the portrait of Manco Capac on folio 21v nearly fills the entire space within the frame, resulting in the largest figure in the entire manuscript. This image's heroic scale matches the description of Manco Capac in the text.

The images that depict the deeds of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac both follow and pictorially amplify the accompanying text. In this sense, these images are more than portraits, and if they had been completed, they probably would have been more like the investiture of Sinchi Roca or the emergence of Manco Capac, which not only have a narrative quality to their compositions not found in the royal portraits but also fill the page with topographic elements or vignettes that contrast strikingly with the empty interiors of the portraits. In one instance, the image on folio 51v, preceding the chapter "Como Tupa Inga Yupanqui ordeno todo su reino y de la traicion que yntento contra el su hermano Toca Capac y de su muerte" (How Tupac Inca Yupanqui established order throughout his kingdom, and on the treason attempted against him by his brother Toca Capac), pictorially conveys the different means by which Tupac Inca Yupanqui brought order to his expanding kingdom (fig. 13): the figures building a masonry structure at the upper left allude to the establishment of a second capital city, Tumibamba (Cuenca, Ecuador), in the north; the cluster of figures with spears sketched in black chalk at the upper right seems to depict the army, representing the element of military conquest and control; and a *quipucamayoc* (quipu reader), the quintessential Inca official, who kept account of the empire's resources, kneels in the foreground, about to hand a report to the *inca* himself. In another instance, on folio 60v, we see the psychological rendering of individual grief:



FIG. 11. Mayta Capac, the fourth *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 28v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 12. Lloque Yupanqui, the third *inca*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 26v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 13. Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the tenth *inca*, with a *quipucamayoc*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 51v. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



FIG. 14. Mama Huaco, the first *coya*. From Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 1616, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16 (83.MP.159), fol. 23r. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum

Huayna Capac appears dressed in black, his arms crossed, his eyes cast down, in a pose of mourning. Both the color of his garments and his bearing are explained by the title of the chapter, “Del llanto que hizo Huayna Capac por su padre y madre y visita de mucha provincias personalmente” (Concerning Huayna Capac’s mourning for his mother and father, and [his] inspection of many provinces).

On other occasions, the artist was not following the text closely. This is evident in the image of Manco Capac after he emerged from the cave of origin, Tambotoco, near a place called Pacaritambo (see fig. 9). Halfway down folio 22v, the text says that he wore two “planchas de oro” (plates of gold), one on his back, the other on his chest. But at the end of the same folio, an addition written in Murúa’s hand states that Manco Capac invented the device of wearing “planchas de plata” (plates of silver). This addition corresponds to the image now on folio 19r, which must have appeared after folio 22v when the description was written, only to be moved later. The point is that, in this case, the artist was not following the text, and the result is a discrepancy in the text, in which the contradictory statements are separated only by a handful of lines.³⁹ There is a similar discrepancy on folio 20v. The addition at the end of the page refers to the image on folio 21r as depicting “La coronacion de Cinchiroca” (The coronation of Sinchi Roca), while the text describes, as the title of the chapter 3 promises, “Como Manco Capac armo cavallero a su hijo Cinchiroca” (How Manco Capac bestowed knighthood on his son Sinchi Roca).

Both of these discrepancies are artifacts of the reshuffling of the beginning of the Getty manuscript, but later on, there are other straightforward disjunctions between text and image. For example, the image of Mama Huaco—Manco Capac’s wife and sister—that appears on folio 23r (fig. 14) and the textual description do not match when it comes to details of dress. On folio 23v, the text states,

El vestido que usaban era de cumbi finissimo que parecia de seda labrado con diversidad de labores paxaros y flores. Los topes heran de oro y plata y el tipqui que tambien al presente se usa con sus cascabeles que hera el que con que prendian y en laçaban la liclla ante el pecho.
(The garments they [queens] wore were made of the finest *cumbi*, which seemed like silk woven with diverse designs of birds and flowers. The *tupu* [dress (*anacu*) pins] were of gold and silver, and the *ttipqui* [mantle pins], which at present they still use, with its small bells, by which they fastened the *liclla* [shoulder mantle] at the breast.)

In the portrait of Mama Huaco, her *anacu* is decorated with various figures above the hem, but the only recognizable figure is a red llama, and there are no birds or flowers. Moreover, while Mama Huaco is depicted wearing a silver *ttipqui* with the bells, this is not true of the other *coya*.⁴⁰

3. Inca Portraits in Peru

The fact that only three extensively illustrated manuscripts, all produced within some twenty years, are extant from early colonial Peru is, of course, remarkable in itself. But it also means that whatever group, atelier, or workshop that Murúa organized or had access to was idiosyncratic in terms of manuscript production in Peru.⁴¹ By idiosyncratic, I mean that in Peru, there was no systematic attempt to produce illustrated manuscripts on pre-Columbian and colonial history, customs, and religion. This was vastly different from what occurred in New Spain because there was no pre-Hispanic tradition of manuscript illustration or production in Peru as there was in Mexico.⁴² In fact, Murúa makes note of this difference when he writes in chapter 25 of book 3 of the Galvin manuscript in regard to the quipu, the knotted cords used by the Inca to record numerical and historical data, that they are

una invención buena para dejar por memoria lo que ellos querían, pero no iba por pinturas, ni cifras, como se usaba en la Nueva España, mas por otra parte harto más oscura y digna de ser sabida: ésta era un género de nudos hechos, como dicho es, en unos cordones algo gruesos, en la manera de pater noster, o de rosario o nudos de cordón de nuestro P. San Francisco.

(a good invention for remembering what they wished, not by paintings or glyphs, as used in New Spain, but by other means much more obscure and worthy of remark: this was a type of knots made, as just mentioned, in rather thick cords, in the manner of the Lord’s Prayer, or the rosary or knots of the cord of our Saint Francis.)⁴³

Here, Murúa echoes Agustín de Zárate, Miguel Cabello Balboa, José de Acosta, and other Spanish chroniclers in recognizing the importance of the quipu and the lack of painting and writing in pre-Columbian Peru. What is noteworthy, then, is not his observation about quipus but that he chose to illustrate one (see fig. 13), especially because the Mercedarian Order was not known as an innovative patron of the visual arts in sixteenth-century Peru. Of course, Murúa had access to a variety of contemporary published and unpublished sources and drew freely on them to construct his texts, of which Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1554; History of the Indies) was one. He used it extensively as a source of information, especially for his chapters on the *coya*.⁴⁴ El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's extant annotated copy of the edition of López de Gómara's *Historia* printed in Zaragoza in 1555 demonstrates the kind of engagement a sixteenth-century chronicler had with such a text. This edition was issued in full folio size with a large number of imaginative woodcut illustrations of the conquest of the Americas—both the quality and the subject were unusual for Spanish printed books—and it may have influenced Murúa's vision for his own volume.⁴⁵ The extensive use of images in Pedro Cieza de León's *Parte primera de la Chronica del Peru*, published in Seville in 1553, could also have inspired Murúa to add images to his manuscripts.

As previously mentioned, the Getty manuscript was originally intended to have many more images and therefore to be closer in appearance to the Galvin manuscript and the *Nueva coronica*. Indeed, each of the three manuscripts begins its account of Inca history with portraits of the kings and queens of the Inca dynastic succession.⁴⁶ That these Inca royal portraits followed precedent is clear because the four or perhaps five different artists who worked on these three manuscripts all employed the same set of iconographic and compositional conventions in their portrayals. The full-length figure is positioned in the foreground, at or only slightly back in the frame, and in most cases stands frontally, with his or her head turned slightly to the right or the left.⁴⁷ These are the conventions of royal Inca portraiture that proliferate in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, in both Peru and Spain. For example, they are used for the portrait of Tupac Inca Yupanqui that accompanies a coat of arms conceded in 1545 by Charles V to the *inca*'s descendants in an *ejecutoria* (patent of nobility) that dates to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.⁴⁸ They are also used on the engraved title page of Antonio de León Pinelo's *Tratado de confirmaciones reales de encomiendas, oficios i casos, en que se requiern para las Indias Occidentales* (1630; Treatise of royal confirmations of the royal grants, offices, and cases that are necessary for the West Indies [Americas]) (fig. 15). There, the figure of Peru looks remarkably similar to the image of Tupac Inca Yupanqui on the *ejecutoria* in both pose and iconography, including the checkerboard design of the lower half of the *uncu*,⁴⁹ and to Vecellio's engraving of an Inca with a *chakitaclla* (foot plow) (see fig. 3).⁵⁰ These three images are close in style, form, and iconography to the portraits of the Inca kings in all three manuscripts.

The engraving on León Pinelo's title page includes, next to the figure of Peru personified as an *inca*, the right half of the coat of arms that originally appeared after the title page in Garcilaso's *Primera parte de Comentarios reales* (1609; First part of the royal commentaries). The coat of arms, as well as the image of the *inca*, are described in the foreword to the *Tratado* signed by León Pinelo's brother, Juan Rodríguez de León. The latter cites (without acknowledgment) text from Garcilaso for an iconographical explanation of the *inca*'s dress and the symbolic meaning of the coat of arms. Rodríguez adds, however, that his own description is based on a painting, and he therefore specifies some of the colors of the objects. Due to the close visual and textual relationship of the *Tratado* with the *Comentarios reales*, it is possible that the image on the *Tratado*'s title page was taken from one of the paintings in Garcilaso's possession. Whatever the source, it is clear that a common set of images of Inca royalty was circulating in Peru and Spain.

The most famous and most politically charged set of portraits of Inca royalty that we know of were those commissioned in 1572 by Francisco de Toledo, while he was viceroy of Peru. The portraits were painted by native artists on four pieces of cloth (*paños*) at the same time that Toledo commissioned Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to write a polemical manuscript undermining the legitimacy of Inca rule, the *Historia de los incas* (1572; History of the Inca). The portraits and the manuscript by Sarmiento were sent to Philip II in Madrid. There the paintings were hung among the most important portraits of the royal collection until at least the early 1700s.⁵¹ Before being sent, however, members of the Inca royal families were asked to witness the paintings and to listen to the texts painted on the images as they were read out loud. As in many other similar instances, repeated throughout the different Spanish vicerealties, indigenous witnesses were here asked to testify to the truth of the content of a work before it was accepted by the Spanish court.⁵²



FIG. 15. Jean de Courbes [Juan Courbes] (French, 1592–ca. 1641). Engraved title page. From Antonio de León Pinelo, *Tratado de confirmaciones reales de encomiendas, oficios i casos, en que se requieren para las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid: por Juan Gonzalez, 1630). Private collection

Copies of Toledo's set of portraits were made and seemed to have circulated in Peru in various forms. They imitated other sets of Inca portraits. For example, Diego de Rodríguez de Figueroa of Potosí commissioned a set of Inca royal portraits in Peru in 1582, and Garcilaso writes about a set of Inca royal portraits that were to be sent to him from Cuzco in 1611.⁵³ Such images could carry various and often very distinct agendas and desires, according to who commissioned them and in relation to their intended audiences.⁵⁴ Thus, as we shall see, the presentation of the series of Inca royal portraits in Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica* and the Galvin Murúa differs from their presentation in the Getty Murúa in ways that shift their intent.

Because the portraits commissioned by Toledo and subsequent copies have not survived, we cannot say that these are the direct sources for the portraits in the three manuscripts. We do know, however, that Murúa and Guaman Poma were conscious of the importance of Toledo as an investigator of Inca history. For example, in the Galvin manuscript, Murúa writes,

El Virey, D. Francisco de Toledo en sacar verdadera averiguación del origen de los reyes *ingas* de este dicho reyno, y halló ser verdad que antiguamente no hubo en él señor general de toda la tierra, sino en cada provincia y en cada parentela y generación se gobernaban como behetría por el más principal *curaca* o cacique de ella.

(The viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, paid great attention to producing a truthful investigation of the origin of the *inca*, kings of this kingdom, and he found it to be true that in the distant past there was no paramount leader of the entire land but rather each province and each family and generation was governed as an independent village by its highest ranking *curaca* or *cacique*.)⁵⁵

In the Getty manuscript, Murúa repeats this assertion almost verbatim:

Muchas personas an ynquirido y puesto diligencia de sacar de raiz quien fueron los primeros Pobladores destas provincias del Piru y el origen de los ingas que señorearon este Reyno y entre ellos fue Don Francisco de Toledo hermano de Don Joan de Toledo Conde de Oropeso del habito y orden de alcantara Comendador de acebuhe que fue Visorey destes reynos y governo con grandeissima prudencia y hizo en ellos leyes justissimas dignas de tal cavallero y lo que mas cierto hallo fue que antiguamnete no ubo en todas estas provincias señor general sino por el mas principal de ella sin haber pueblos en orden ni policia como agora estan y como lo estuvieron en el tiempo de las ingas.

(Many people have inquired and searched diligently to find out who were the first inhabitants of these provinces of Peru and the origins of the *inca* who governed this kingdom. Among them was Don Francisco de Toledo, brother of Don Juan de Toledo, conde de Oropesa, of the habit and Order of Alcántara, comendador de Acebuche, who was the viceroy of these kingdoms and governed with great prudence and established in them just laws worthy of such a gentleman. What he found to be true was that in ancient times there was no paramount leader of all these provinces but rather local leaders [and] that there were no ordered and civilized towns as there are now and as there were during the time of the Inca.)⁵⁶

This passage was written on the folio carrying on its verso the first image in the Getty manuscript, the adoration of Manco Capac (see fig. 9), a folio that has been moved from its original place within the manuscript.⁵⁷ The illustration originally functioned as the frontispiece to chapter 2 of book 1, and chapter 1 of book 1 was on the recto. The text on this page begins,

Libro de la origen y descendencia de los ingas señores deste reyno del piru donde se ponen las conquistas que hizerion de diferentes probincias y naciones y guerras civiles hasta al entrada de los epañoles con su modo de gouenar condicion y trato y la description de las mas principales ciudades y villas de esta amplissima provincial.

(Book of the origin and lineage of the *inca*, lords of the kingdom of Peru, where they conquered different provinces and nations, and of their civil wars up to the arrival of the Spanish, with [a description of] their type of governance and conditions and affairs and the description of the principal towns and cities of this very large province.)

Before having a blank pasted over it, this text was copied onto folio 16r, where it now stands as the beginning of chapter 1 of book 1 of Murúa's *Historia general del Piru*. The image of Manco Capac's emergence from the cave was moved twice, to function first as an illustration to chapter 3 of book 1 and then as an illustration to chapter 2. The result is a very odd set of visual and textual relations. Nonetheless, the original association between the text referring to Toledo's investigations and the image of Manco Capac is, I think, significant. It suggests not only that Murúa understood his work on the history of the Inca in relation to the works commissioned by Toledo but that the series of portraits in Murúa's manuscripts stood in some relation to the paintings sent by Toledo to Philip II.

The depiction of Manco Capac at Tambotoco in the Getty manuscript is unusual in the context of the other images of the first campaign for two reasons. First, the scale of the figures has little relation to the landscape. That is, the figure of Manco Capac is almost as tall as the mountain on which he stands. Second, the composition conflates several narrative moments. Manco Capac stands in the distance, above the cave of Tambotoco. Resplendent in his gleaming plates of silver (now tarnished to gray), he is adored by his followers, while in the middle ground, the faces of his five brothers are shown emerging from the cave. In the foreground, figures in the Andean landscape move toward the viewer and the valley of Cuzco. This composition anticipates the unfinished illustrations of the deeds

of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Tupac Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac of the second campaign, and it gives an idea as to how those images might have appeared if completed.⁵⁸

A version of this image may have preceded the royal portraits in the Galvin manuscript, but we do not know, as the initial pages of that manuscript are missing. But whether or not such an image appeared in the Galvin manuscript and was copied to initiate the Getty Murúa's illustration program, its placement is significant in the later manuscript. No other image is as charged with characterizing the epistemological nature of Inca history as this one. It does more than just merely pictorialize the narrative of the origins of the Inca. Like the openly skeptical Toledo, Murúa seems to have been critical of the Inca's foundational myth. In the Getty manuscript, it is characterized as a "fábula ridícula" (absurd fable), and the depiction of these origins accordingly uses pictorial conventions to render it as something fantastic, a primitive fable.⁵⁹ Scale, time, and space are rendered as something imagined and unreal, effectively presenting the beginnings of Inca history and dynastic succession as legend, not fact. No other illustration is so precise in creating an atmosphere of the unreal.

This composition may be related to the *paños* commissioned by Viceroy Toledo. In the description of the first scene in those paintings, we read that "en las cenefras la historia de lo que sucedió en tiempo de cada uno de los yngas y la fábula y notables que van puestos en el primer paño, que ellos dicen tambotoco" (at the edges [appeared] the history of what took place during the reign of each one of the *inca* and the fable and notable [things] that they call Tambotoco are depicted first on the first piece of cloth).⁶⁰ Thus, the origins of the Inca initiate both the series of Inca portraits commissioned by Toledo and the series in the Getty manuscript, and they characterized as a fable in both. The point is that not only do the two sets of Inca portraits begin with the same kind of mythical image but in the Getty manuscript this image is directly related to the reference to Toledo's investigations.⁶¹

Nonetheless, the series of Inca portraits in the three manuscripts could not have been copied directly from those commissioned by Toledo or by Rodríguez de Figueroa. For one, the portraits in both of the latter series are described as bust-length,⁶² whereas those in the three manuscripts are full-length and seem indebted in style and composition to the figures in costume books, as discussed above. Second, the Inca royal portraits in the manuscripts are conceived in association with a textual description embedded in a historical narrative, not as works of art per se. Nonetheless, the series of portraits in the manuscripts by Murúa and Guaman Poma are clearly a sequential development of the series commissioned by Toledo. Guaman Poma's uncolored drawings are accordingly accompanied by textual descriptions of the colors of various *uncu* and other Inca clothing. As is now clear, these descriptions correlate to the colors used in the portraits of the Galvin manuscript. In addition, the portrait of Manco Capac in the Galvin manuscript has been annotated, as it was to serve as an explanatory model for Inca royal regalia (see fig. 5). Iconographic elements are labeled with Quechua terms. The *chipana* (bracelet) is also given a Spanish translation, and the cloak he wears is identified in Quechua and Spanish as purple in color. This portrait is the only image in any of the manuscripts treated this way, but it is obvious that it has been studied. This raises the interesting possibility that Guaman Poma could have made sketches and notes based on the Galvin manuscript.

Although it is clear that the portraits all participate in the same tradition, the change in their presentation in the Getty manuscript is significant. In the Galvin manuscript and Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica*, the portraits are arranged in two sequences, first the twelve *inca*, then the twelve *coya*. They are two discrete groups, organized by gender. In the Getty manuscript, this pattern was not followed. Rather, the portrait of each *inca* is followed by the portrait of his *coya*. The reader of the Getty manuscript is therefore presented, uniquely, with a succession of royal couples, *inca* followed by *coya*, rather than male and then female lines of succession. Two additional shifts in the iconography occur between the two Murúa manuscripts. A coat of arms appears in each portrait of the *coya* in the Galvin manuscript, but in the Getty manuscript the coats of arms are with the portraits of the *inca*. Furthermore, in the Galvin manuscript the *coya* are depicted wearing European-style crowns and the *inca* wear a hybrid crown and *mascaypacha*, whereas in the Getty manuscript the *coya* have no such royal insignia and the *inca* wear just *mascaypacha*.⁶³

If we take these differences seriously, then we might want to consider whether a conflict between Andean and Spanish ideologies motivated the changes. What if the changes were not merely about finding better solutions—the crowns removed to create more culturally accurate depictions, the coats of arms associated with the male lineage as originally planned, the royal pairs just an artifact of a reorganized narrative—but rather about redefining the nature of Inca royal power and its transmission? These portraits, while deriving from a European iconographic tradition, address colonial and Andean

contexts simultaneously. It is therefore important to pay attention to the construction of the manuscripts themselves, for this allows us to conclude that the changes from one series to the other were intentional, not accidental. The placement of the coat of arms with the portraits of the *coya* was not determined by available pictorial space or whim. This is a charged iconographic element that was consistently used in relation to the portraits first of the *coya* and then of the *inca*. Significantly, the change occurs in the narrative structure and the pictorial images of the *coya* but not in the historical information offered by the text. In fact, accurate information about the *coya* based on Inca sources probably was not of great concern to Murúa, for, as John Howland Rowe has pointed out, Murúa incorporates a great deal of Mexican information from López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* in his history of the *coya*.⁶⁴ Murúa's focus is therefore not "factual," that is, on producing a modern sense of some pure historical reality. He instead anticipates a readership that is broader than Andeans or Spaniards living in the Viceroyalty of Peru—a "universal" readership of received ideas that circulated, in part, in published form.

Thus, the structural and iconographic changes must, I believe, be seen in the light of issues related to Andean forms of political organization and their transformation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to accord with Spanish norms. In the Inca system, the *inca*'s clan, or *panaca* (royal lineage group), comprised all the descendants of an *inca* excluding his heir (who would start his own *panaca*). The heir to the throne, the next *inca*, had to be the son of the *inca* and his principal first wife, who was also his sister. In other words, the lineage of both the father and the mother of the heir apparent was absolutely critical, the *sine qua non* for determining the next *inca*.

This aspect of Inca royal succession is not only referenced in the two separate series of portraits of the *inca* and the *coya* in the Galvin manuscript and in the *Nueva coronica* but also emphasized by the association of the *coya* with the fictive coats of arms, marking the line of royal descent, in the Galvin manuscript. However, in all the cases I have studied of the concession of coats of arms by the king of Spain to Andean native nobility, the coat of arms was granted to the male line, not the female.⁶⁵ Thus, what is shown in the Galvin Murúa's portraits of the *coya* is a conflation of the Inca tradition of royal descent and European markers of patrilineal descent.

The rules of descent and inheritance in colonial Peru were codified only after Philip II sent a royal adviser to the viceroyalty in the 1590s to investigate and register forms of descent. Alonso de Bonilla, the royal adviser, wrote to the king that there were many different forms of descent and that it would be best to recognize only primogeniture through the male line.⁶⁶ Whether the portraits in the Getty manuscript were responding specifically to this recommendation does not really matter. What one finds is a radical shift in attributes that realign Inca images of royalty with those of Europe.⁶⁷ As already described, the text dictated the structure of the images, because it was produced first. Hence, the sequence of alternating *inca* and *coya* was an intentional and calculated change from both the Galvin manuscript and the *Nueva coronica*, both of which offer separate sequences of all the *inca* followed by all the *coya*. The ordering of the chapters is clearly deliberately changed in the Getty manuscript from all the *inca* and then all the *coya* to *inca, coya, inca, coya*. The images must of course follow suit, and there are as well comparable pictorial changes, both stylistic and iconographic. As already noted, in the Getty Murúa, much greater attention is paid to the male figures, both in formal handling and in iconographic attributes, with the most important changes being that each *inca*'s personal coat of arms now appears with the portrait of the king and that the *coya*'s portrait now is paired with (and follows) that of the *inca*. No longer are there two lines of separate lines of descent. Rather, the royal couples, in which the king precedes the queen, are the progenitors of the next king. In fact, descent defined by the female line does not fit with Spanish concepts of royalty as laid out in *Las siete partidas*.⁶⁸ Thus, when Garcilaso writes in 1611 that he had received the set of portraits of the *inca* to be presented before the Spanish king on behalf of a petition by the royal descendant of the Inca *panaca* in Cuzco, he notes that they show their descent through the male line.⁶⁹ And, as Irene Silverblatt notes, Garcilaso's treatment of gender and descent in land tenure patterns in the Andes falls clearly within the Spanish rather than the Andean ideal.⁷⁰ She also notes that when Guaman Poma writes that Andean women in general had independent rights to land, he contradicts Garcilaso, and that Murúa likewise "affirms just the opposite of Garcilaso." Silverblatt does not cite the Getty manuscript, however, but rather Constantino Bayle's edition of the nineteenth-century copy of the Galvin manuscript. This is because such an assertion does not appear in the later (Getty) manuscript. In fact, the independent property and rights of women are either systematically changed or diminished between the Galvin and the Getty manuscripts. Murúa does, of course, detail the lines of royal descent through the incestuous marriage of brother and sister in

chapter 14 of book 2 of the *Historia general*, where, as Ballesteros notes, a matrilineal system of descent is implied, because if there were no legitimate or illegitimate heirs from that marriage, then the son of another of the *inca* and *coya*'s sisters would inherit.⁷¹ Chapter 14 is entitled “De como susedian los Ingas en este reino” (On how the *inca* succeeded [one another] in this kingdom), however. The following chapter is the only one in book 2 to address the *coya*, but its focus is on their marriage to the *inca*. In fact, all of book 2 is about the *inca* and his role in governing the realm of Tawantinsuyu. Book 2's overwhelming emphasis on Inca male roles thus buttresses the shift in emphasis effected in the royal portraits and the royal pairings of book 1.

Garcilaso's description of male descent in the portraits sent to him in Spain is very much in line with how the portraits are presented in the Getty manuscript. The Getty portraits no longer accommodate the dual descent that structures the royal portraits of the Inca kings and queens in the Galvin manuscript. Equally important, Guaman Poma, aware of the series in the earlier Murúa manuscript and perhaps of the problems it posed for Europeans, steered a middle course in his series of royal portraits for his own manuscript. He kept intact the two parallel series, first the Inca kings and then the Inca queens. However, whereas the kings wear the *mascaypacha*, the queens have no iconography that would give them value above and beyond their being the *inca*'s wife and the next *inca*'s mother. Guaman Poma's royal portraits do not include coats of arms or European crowns. They are simply two series that can be understood according to the viewer's cultural perspective, be it the author's (Andean) or the king's (Spanish).

There can be no doubt that Murúa made a conscious decision to alter the order and iconography of the Inca dynastic portraits between his two manuscripts.⁷² In the Getty manuscript, the series closes with a portrait of the eleventh *coya*, Rahua Ocllo, that harks back to the older, more Andean structure and two images by Guaman Poma that are more scenes than portraits. Why this happened we do not know. Adorno and Boserup suggest that the unfinished quality of the Getty manuscript in terms of illustrations was due to the fact that the visual part of the project “broke down,”⁷³ such that even the series of royal portraits was completed with images taken from the Galvin manuscript. This is reasonable enough and may very well be true. However, it could have been due to more than mere exhaustion or breakdown. Other events and desires may have interfered with the completion. After all, we know, thanks to documents, that the Códice Florentino—Bernardino de Sahagún's masterful late-sixteenth-century compilation of Aztec history, religion, language, and culture in the period prior to the Spanish conquest—was not finished in terms of its illustrations due to political reasons. Whatever the case is for the Getty manuscript, the order of both its text and its images presents a dynastic structure that radically transforms the order presented in the Galvin manuscript and the

Nueva coronica. And it is the images that make the case most emphatically.

Notes

1. For the most authoritative review of colonial images of the Inca, see the various essays in Cummins et al., *Los incas*.

2. Not only does Guaman Poma use images from the Galvin manuscript that can be attributed to him as a source for his drawings in his *Nueva coronica* but he also copies images made by other artists.

Guaman Poma's name is odd if one follows the rules of Quechua naming in Domingo de Santo Tomás's *Grammatica*, 143–44:

Es de notar que los indios suelen poner los nombres a los niños poco después de nacidos: los que les imponen los padres o madres de los cuentos y successos que acaescen al tiempo que nascen; o de los rostros y gestos que sacan al tiempo de nascer. . . . Y así les imponen nombres de aves *condor*, que es “buitre”; *Guaman* que es “açor”; *Quispe* que quiere dezir “piedra resplandesciente”; *Curonina*, que quiere dezir “guasano de fuego”; *Poma* que significa “león”; etc. Y estos nombres los tienen hasta que llegan a ser de edad de veinte años arriba o poco más, o que casan, o están para ello. Y entonces les mudan el nombre, y les ponen otros nombres: o de los padres o aguelos o personas que avido muy notables.

(It is to be noted that the Andeans often give names to children shortly after they are born: these are names given by fathers and mothers [based on] events or stories that occur at the time of birth or because of faces and gestures that they make at birth. . . . And thus they give them the names of birds [such as] *Condor* which means “vulture”; *Guaman* which is “peregrine falcon”; *Quispe* which means “resplendent stone”; *Curonina* which means “fiery worm”; *Poma* which means “lion”; and so on. And these names they keep until they reach the age of twenty, more or less, or until they marry or are about to get married. And then they change their name and take others, or those of their parents or grandparents or persons who were very remarkable.)

Both “Guaman” and “Poma” are mentioned by Santo Tomás as being first names given to a child and then changed upon reaching adulthood. There are three possibilities then in terms of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's name. Either Santo Tomás was wrong or the rules for naming changed rapidly so that Guaman Poma kept the given names he received at birth (certainly he also

used his Spanish names, a possible indicator of dramatic change) or Guaman Poma is a pseudonym of some sort.

3. There is no rigorous comparative study of the images of the three manuscripts. Nor has there been any study of the images in the Galvin manuscript based on an inspection of the manuscript itself, so that any and all attributions are speculative and based on study of the facsimile or photographs; see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 11, 15, 42. Further study of the Getty manuscript itself is required to identify the number of artists; however, the scientific examination reported in Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman, this volume, opens the path for future inquiry.

4. There have been two attempts to render into English an abridged version of the *Nueva coronica*. Christopher Dilke's *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life Under the Incas and Under Spanish Rule* (1978) has little scholarly value, as it is an impressionistic rendering that gives only the slightest hint of the complexity of the text. David Frye's *First New Chronicle and Book of Good Government* (2006) is a much more nuanced, but still abridged, translation that brings the English speaker closer to Guaman Poma's prose. The facsimile edition of the *Nueva coronica* produced in 1936 by photographic process is not particularly reliable in terms of reproducing the quality of the calligraphic and pictorial line, according to Adorno, "Witness," 30–46. This problem has been greatly ameliorated by the virtual manuscript made available in 2004 by Det Kongelige Bibliotek at <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm> (8 March 2007). This digitized version has the disadvantage (as do all virtual versions of historical texts) of eliminating the physicality of the manuscript and therefore tends to disembodiment the images and text.

5. For example, John Rowe chose to interpret Murúa's use of non-Peruvian accounts taken from Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1555) for the history of the *coya* as a sign of Murúa's mendacity and plagiarism. The tone of this criticism lacks a historical understanding of the use of such texts, but it also stresses the unoriginal at the expense of the original. Murúa's manuscripts in fact offer a true and unique contribution, especially in terms of images. Instead, Rowe characterizes Murúa as representing the most extreme case of an author searching for literary success. See J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria," 753.

6. Mendizabal Losack, "Las dos versiones"; Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Relación"; Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Dos cronistas paralelos"; J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria"; and Murra, "Guaman Poma's Sources."

7. The reference to Philip III means that this part was written after 1598, the year of Philip II's death; see Cummins, "Images."

8. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 129r.

9. This part of the passage has been consistently misunderstood and badly translated. Guaman Poma is clearly making reference to the three parts of painting, "invencion, debuxo y colorido" (invention, drawing, and color), later discussed by Francisco Pacheco, who cited Italian theorists such as Leon Battista Alberti and Pietro Dolce; see Pacheco, *Arte*, 280–81. Hence this passage is referring as much to the intellectual element of the images as it is to an appeal to the king's passive "enjoyment" of them, and it is perhaps to be understood as being in distinction to the rough and unaccomplished writing style of Guaman Poma. His knowledge of these ideas may well derive from Murúa; see Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), folios 9v, 10r, 20v, 21v.

10. Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica* (2004), 10.

11. Another, slightly later Peruvian example of an author calling the king's attention to an image in a document relates to an elaborately decorated frontispiece of an otherwise rather ordinary official manuscript written in 1630 by Francisco López de Caravantes; see Cummins, "Imitación," 52–53; and López de Caravantes, *Noticias general*. The document was prepared in Lima to be sent to Philip IV in Madrid. Caravantes was *contador de cuentas* (accountant) for the provinces of Peru, and the manuscript is his official report, addressed directly to the Spanish king. Its contents detail the financial state of the viceroyalty as well as the social and political issues most immediately affecting its well-being. The frontispiece depicts an Andean man leading a llama upon which is seated his wife. On the back of the image, Caravantes addresses the reader's—that is, the king's—attention to the meaning of the image and the corresponding text:

Por estos retratos de los del Perú y de los animals que les dio para su servicio la divina providencia, tan domésticos como ellos, que se llaman carneros por su lana (pareciendo camellos) se reconocen sus personas y trajes en cuya conservación consisten las riquezas deste Reino, por depender desta gente la labor de sus minerals y campos, guarda de ganados y beneficio de sus lanas. Veráanse a su aumneto y perpetuidad en el discurso séptimo desde número 248 hasta 256.

(By these portraits of Peruvians and the animals, [which are so] domesticated that they are called sheep because they provide wool (similar to camel hair), that Divine Providence has given to you for your service, may be recognized these people and their dress and in whose protection resides the wealth of this kingdom, which comes from the labor of these people in its mines and the fields, in tending the flocks and benefiting from the wool. You shall read of their increase and perpetuity in discourse 7, between [page] numbers 248 and 256.)

12. Cummins, "Images." This address to the reader to look at the image is not unusual in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish books and manuscripts. Santa Cruz Pachacuti, for instance, directs the reader to one of his images but in a less specific way, writing in relation to his drawing of the images in the Coricancha (Temple of the Sun) in Cuzco, "aquí los pinté como estaban puesto" (I have drawn them here as they were placed [in the Coricancha]); see Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, *Relación* (1993), 208 (fol. 13v).

13. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 34, 36–38.

14. Cummins, "Images"; and Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 31–32.

15. See, for example, Mendizabal Losack, "Don Phelipe Guaman Poma"; and Julien, "History," 64. This idea has been uncritically accepted by a number of scholars; see, for example, Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 46, 80.

16. Cummins, "Uncomfortable"; Cummins, *Toasts*; Cummins, "Imitación"; Cummins, "La fábula"; and Murra, "Guaman Poma's Sources," 66.

17. By the end of the sixteenth century, artists were trained both in monastic communities and in workshops by being apprenticed to a master painter. How Murúa gained access to these artists, including Guaman Poma, is unknown, and it is also unknown whether the artists worked together in some manner or were completely independent from one other.

18. A part of this essay is based on two unpublished papers: Cummins, "Guaman Poma"; and Cummins, "Images."

19. I thank Barbara Anderson for bringing this to my attention and in general for her tremendous collegiality.

20. See Ossio, this volume, 85.

21. For a discussion of possible paintings by Guaman Poma, see Gisbert, "Artistic World," 86.

22. See Guchte, "Invention"; and Cummins, "Imitación," 46–48.

23. Compare, for example, Guaman Poma's version of the Galvin Murúa's image of Potosí (see fig. 1); see Guaman Poma, *Nueva coronica* (1615), 1065; and Cummins, "Imitación," 32–35.

24. Cummins, "Comparison."

25. For a description of and an interpretive essay on the *mascaypacha*, see Larrea, "La mascaipacha."

26. The *mascaypacha* was understood by Spaniards in Peru and Spain as being the Inca royal crown, and the *mascaypacha* of Huayna Capac and Atahualpa are recorded as being in the royal collection at the Escorial; see Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios reales*, 2:333.

27. For example, the portrait of Inca Roca in the Getty Murúa (see p. 126, fig. 1) follows the composition of his portrait in the Galvin manuscript (folio 14r). Both depict Inca Roca standing with one hand on his son's head.

28. For detailed listings, see Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 62–66, 72; and Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman, this volume, 137.

29. That the added images in the Getty manuscript came from Murúa's earlier manuscript was suggested in the 1980s in, for example, Juan Ossio's *Los retratos* and John Rowe's "La mentira literaria" (p. 754). This was established once the Galvin manuscript became available; see Cummins, "Images." In their essay in this volume, Adorno and Boserup, based on the facsimile produced under Ossio's direction, also argue that these images probably come from the Galvin manuscript. The Galvin manuscript is clearly composed of two pictorial campaigns: images created by several anonymous artists, and images that, based on the drawings in the *Nueva coronica*, appear to be in the style of Guaman Poma; see Cummins, "Images"; and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*. See also Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 32–36, 40–42; and Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 175–77 (section 3.1), 246 (appendix 8).

30. This coat of arms first occurred at the beginning of the Galvin manuscript, as described in book 1 in chapter 21, in the context of Cusi Chimpo, the sixth *coya*; see Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 28r:

Las armas y escudos que tenía por insignia a la puerta de este gran palacio era una corona real, que los *Ingas* traían puesta en la cabeza, que es como a manera de una borla, llamada entre ellos *mascapaicha* y un pájaro o ave llamado *coriquinqui*, y un tigre en un árbol grande atravesado, con la lengua de fuera llamado *tomí otorongo*, y dos culebras grandes, que llaman *Machac Cay*, las cuales están pintadas al principio de este libro.

(The coat of arms and shields that they have as their insignia at the doorway of the great palace were a royal crown that the *inca* wear on their foreheads in the manner of a fringe, which they call *mascapacha*; and a fowl or bird called *coriquinqui*; and a jaguar rampant against a great tree and with its tongue out that they call *otorongo*; and two great snakes that they call *Machac Cay*, as painted at the beginning of this book.)

It is again described in book 3, in chapter 7: "E tenían por armas una borla de lana, de muchos colores pintada, ésta era la insignia del Reino, una casa grande, un cóndor y dos culebras y un *otorongo* o raíz de un árbol" (And they have as their coat of arms a fringe of multicolored wool, which was the insignia of the kingdom, a great house, a condor and two snakes, and a jaguar or the root of a tree); see Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 59r. This coat of arms is missing from the Galvin manuscript but has been faithfully copied for the beginning of the Getty manuscript; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 13r. The coat of arms that would have been depicted in the Galvin manuscript's missing portrait of Cusi Chimpo is very different from the coat of arms described here. It would have been the same as the one that appears in the portrait of Inca Roca in the Getty manuscript and, like all the coats of arms associated with individual royal portraits, was composed of a shield divided horizontally into two sections; see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 32v.

31. See Phipps, Turner, and Trentelman, this volume, esp. 134, 136. A similar process can be observed in the creation of the *inca* portraits in the Galvin Murúa.

32. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 31.

33. In his "Martín de Murúa's Manuscripts," John Rowe recognized the unfinished character of these images but mistakenly identified the design of the military shield as the referent of the text written below the shield.

34. Rowe correctly suggested that this image came from the Galvin manuscript even though he had never seen it; see J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria," 754. It was then conclusively established after Ossio rediscovered and examined the manuscript; see Ossio, "Una nueva versión"; Ossio, "Tras la huella" (2001); and Ossio, *Códice Murúa: Estudio*, 7–72. For a comparative study of the images, see Cummins, "Images"; and Cummins, "Imitación," 41–42. Subsequent publications by Adorno and Boserup have restated this evidence; see for example, Adorno and Boserup, this volume.

35. Mark P. McDonald points out that the term *pinturas* was used in Seville in the seventeenth century "and had nothing to do with painting, as we understand it today, but refers to the print image in terms of its subject-matter and as an object"; see McDonald, "Seville Inventory," 59. Thus, Murúa's "pintar" may refer to printing rather than painting. However, the final images inserted into the manuscript do not carry this instruction. As they are already fully realized, including the coloring, it may very well be the case that this instruction is intended for the artists. Indeed, the colors missing in the images that carry this text (metallic silver, for example) help mark their incompleteness. It is also clear that in Peru, the verb *pintar* (normally translated as "to paint") could be used to refer to the act of drawing, as it is used in the passage by Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui quoted above, in note 12.

36. The portraits of the *inca* in the Galvin manuscript are by an artist who has greater facility in creating volume and texture than either Guaman Poma or the artist who created the portraits of the *coya* in the Galvin manuscript. That the portraits of the kings and queens were executed by different artists can easily be seen in the difference in facial treatment: the queens' faces have broad planar expanses, whereas contour lines, shadowing, and tonal changes give the kings' faces much greater definition.

37. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 12; and Ossio, this volume, 92 n. 7.

38. In 1595, the issue of who was an Inca royal descendant and who could be one of the twenty-four *lectores* (readers) had to be reorganized completely by Agustín Xara de la Cerda, who at the time was the *juez de naturales*, or judge elected to hear suits brought by indigenous Peruvian plaintiffs; see Amado González, "El alférez real," 56–60. So who the principals, *curaca*, and *caciques* in this letter are is unclear, and what relation they have to the political turmoil in Cuzco is yet to be determined.

39. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 36–39; J. Rowe, "Martín de Murúa's Manuscripts"; and Boserup, "Quelques observations," 80–81, 94.

40. The *tupu* are not visible in any of the portraits of *coya* because they are covered by the *lliella*.

41. There are, of course, manuscripts from Peru from this period that include one or two images, most often as frontispieces or title pages. But none attempts an illustrated history of Inca and colonial Peru such as these three manuscripts.

42. The tradition of Mexican codices and their commensurability with European forms meant that there was a reimagining of what they were during the Spanish colonial era. Most were destroyed by the Spanish, some were guarded by indigenous people, and some were collected by either the Spanish or the natives. This meant that many had a second life in the period of New Spain, when they were copied, used as sources for new kinds of pictorial manuscripts, or introduced in court as evidence. This never happened in Peru, as no such tradition existed there to build upon. See Cummins, "Representation."

43. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 77v. The chapter is titled "De los contadores que el Inga tenía, llaman entre ellos *Quipucamayos*" (Concerning the accountants that the Inca had, whom they call *quipucamayoc*).

44. Murúa also used Francisco López de Gómara's *La conquista de México* (1552) as a source. See J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria," 755–61.

45. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega annotated his copy of the 1555 edition of López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias*; see López de Gómara, *Historia general*.

46. See Guaman Poma, *Nueva coronica* (1615), 86–115 (*inca*), 120–42 (*coya*), in which the dynastic portraits are situated in the larger sweep of Andean and Christian universal history; Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fols. 9r–34r *passim*; and Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fols. 19r–89r *passim*.

47. The three sets of portraits of the Inca kings are illustrated in Cummins, "La fábula," 22–23, 26–27, 32–35.

48. Seville, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico, Legajo 2346, MP Escudos y Arboles Genealógicos, 78. See Cummins, "Imitación," 38, fig. 12.

49. See Cummins, "Imitación," 38, fig. 12; and Cummins, "La fábula," 20–30.

50. The second edition of Vecellio's *Habiti antichi* added a section titled "De gli habiti dell'America" (On the clothing of the Americas), fols. 488r–507r. The first edition of Vecellio's costume book, dated 1590 and also printed in Venice, does not have the image of the Inca with a foot plow (folio 487v) or the second image of an Inca noble (folio 489v) or any images about the Americas.

51. Catherine Julien has suggested that the portraits executed for Toledo were painted according to some lost system of Inca painting—based on a mention of history paintings on boards by Cristóbal de Molina; see Julien, "History," 62–65, 80–81. However, this supposition is a flight of fancy and does not conform to historical facts. First, Molina does not describe the supposed Inca paintings, their form, or their composition, and none are extant. Second, the paintings commissioned by Toledo are described in the inventory of Philip II in 1599 as portraits, and because the inventory was created by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, the Spanish court painter who is best known for his portraits, we can have faith that the works executed for Toledo were portraits in the European style. Julien severally and intentionally misrepresents the inventories in two crucial ways to advance her suggestion that they may have followed an unknown Inca style. First, she conflates the inventory made in the Palacio Real in Madrid—where the Inca royal portraits were hung next to the most important imperial portraits by Titian, *The Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg* (1548; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado) and *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* (1572–75; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado)—with the inventory made at the Escorial, where Inca objects, including two *mascaypacha*, were registered under the title "Cosas extraordinarias" (Extraordinary things). The *inca* portraits, of course, carry no such descriptive title. Second, and worse, Julien eliminates the value of the objects so as to make them appear of equal stature. In fact, all the Inca objects in the inventory are given little or no value, including the *mascaypacha* of the last two *inca*, while the portraits of the *inca* are given a value equal to Titian's portrait of Philip II; see Cummins, "Imitación," 35–37.

52. See Cummins, "We Are the Other"; and Cummins, "From Lies to Truth." The testimony of the Inca witnesses to the accuracy of the paintings was recorded and brought to Spain by Toledo, as indicated by a later inventory of some of his papers that lists "Testimonio de la pintura de los quatro paños de la averiguacion q se hizo con los Indios de la descendencia de los yngas" (Testimony of the paintings on the four cloths from the inquiry that was done with the Andeans about the descent of the *inca*); see *Inventario de los paples*, fol. 2v. Unfortunately, I have found only the inventory and not the testimony itself; however, it may very well be in the Archivo General de Indias, given that some of the other papers mentioned in the inventory, including an investigation of idolatry in the valley of Yucay, northeast of Cuzco, are in the archive.

53. Rodríguez de Figueroa, "Carta"; and Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte*, 350–51.

54. Intent and reception are not always in concord, and the portraits that Toledo commissioned met with fierce opposition from María Cusi Guaracay, daughter of Paullo Inca, in regard to the placement of her relatives in the painting; see Nowack, "Aquellas señoras," 38.

55. Murúa, *Historia del origen* (1590), fol. 8v.

56. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 19v.

57. See Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 36–39.

58. The radically different composition of this image from all the rest led me to state, mistakenly, that this image had come from the Galvin manuscript; see Cummins, "La fábula," 25–26.

59. It may be only a coincidence, but the text in the Getty Murúa has been altered to assure the reader that both versions of the origins of the Inca are equally unbelievable, as opposed to the original text that says that one version is as believable as the other. The original text, "Tanta razón ay para creer la una e no la otra" (As much reason to believe the one and the other), was changed to "no hay razón para creer más una que la otra" (there is no reason to believe one more than the other); see Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 18r. See also Adorno, this volume, table 3.

60. As cited in Dorta, "Las pinturas," 69.

61. In his *Nueva coronica*, Guaman Poma subverts this image of Inca origins as clouded in fable. He does not start his sequence of portraits with the mythic emergence from the caves of Tambotoco. Rather, the principal elements of the myth—the caves, the hill Pacaritambo, and the idol Huanacauri—appear within one of the quadrants of the first coat of arms of the Inca (p. 79), and the dynastic sequence is interrelated with worldwide Christian events. That is, following the portrait of the second *inca*, Sinchi Roca (p. 88), is placed the birth of Christ (p. 90) and the miracle of the cross of Carabuco and the appearance of Saint Bartholomew in the Andes (p. 92). This shifts the visual terms of the origins of the Inca, because the seventeenth-century viewer must have believed the mysteries of the Catholic Church to be true.

62. Bust-length portraits of the *inca* continued to be painted well into the eighteenth century. Derived from European bust portraits, which hark back to the classical era, the first example of an *inca* bust portrait was in the new coat of arms granted by Charles V to Francisco Pizarro in 1538; see Cummins, "Imitación," 30; and Cummins, "La fábula," 12. The earliest extant example dates to 1584, to Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, vol. 2, fol. 641r. On folio 643r, Thevet claims that it is based on a portrait he possesses: "Voila que i'ay bien voulu discourir de l'histoire d'Atabalipa, duquel ie vous represente icy le pourtraict, tel quel ie l'ay apporté avec plusieurs autres, que ie tiens riere moy, comme chose rare et precieuse" (And that is all I wish to relate concerning the history of Atahualpa, whose portrait is here presented to you, which [derives from a portrait] that I bought and which I keep with me, just as I keep several other portraits because [they are all] rare and precious). However, the bust format of Atahualpa's portrait is like all the others in this series of depictions of great men.

63. The figure of a crowned queen probably came from prints of the ancient Spanish kings and queens, as can be seen in the series painted for the Convento de San Francisco in Cuzco around 1590 and attributed to the Quiteña artist Andrés Sánchez Gallque.

64. See J. Rowe, "La mentira literaria." For an expanded list of Murúa's sources, see Ossio, this volume, 86–87.

65. This is based on the relevant documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

66. See Díaz Rementería, *El cacique*.

67. One need only think of the disjunction between the titular and proprietary rights of a queen in terms of real authority as represented by the Spanish queen known as Juana the Mad. She was nominally queen of the kingdom of Castile from 1505 to 1555 but kept locked away by her husband, father, and son for most of that time; see Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 162–77.

68. *Las Siete Partidas*, 2:274.

69. Garcilaso, *Primera parte*, 350–51.

70. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 219.

71. Murúa, *Historia general* (1616), fol. 251v; and Murúa, *Historia general* (2001), 369 n. 539.

72. Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 46 n. 68, suggest a different "codicological" explanation for this radical difference between the two Murúa manuscripts. My analysis is not, as they say, focused on "two iconographic aspects." My argument is actually based on the fact that there are both structural and representational changes that fundamentally reorder the reading and viewing of the two Murúa manuscripts. Adorno and Boserup imply that the change in the iconography of the portraits is less consequential than the "codicological" evidence. In fact, their "codicological" examination of the Galvin manuscript is based solely on examination of the facsimile. Furthermore, close visual examination of the Galvin and Getty manuscripts reveals that the critical shift in the placement of the coats of arms from the *coya* to the *inca* was intentional, not incidental. This is clear as the escutcheons of the coats of arms were drawn at the same time as the borders around the Galvin's *coya* portraits. The designs within the escutcheons may have been added later, as were other details to all portraits of the *inca* and the *coya*, but the visual evidence is indisputable that in the Galvin manuscript, the coat of arms was conceived as an integral and original element of the *coya*'s image.

73. Adorno and Boserup, this volume, 32.

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