

THE FIRST SPANISH CONQUEST OF SOUTH AMERICA

UNIQUE PAINTED MANUSCRIPT WITH ELEVEN PICTORIAL MAPS, the only known maps of the Inca Kingdom of "Peru".

"HISTORIA DEL ORIGEN Y GENEALOGIA REAL DE LOS REYES INGAS DEL PIRU, DE SUS HECHOS, COSTUMBRES, TRAJES Y MANERA DE GOBIERNO."

[History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru; of their Deeds, Customs, Dress and Manner of Government.]

PERU: 1590

Composed by FRAY MARTIN DE MURUA, of the Order of Our Lady of Redemption of Captives, in the Convent of CUZCO (Peru), May, 1590.

150 folios, 11 3/4" X 8 1/4", on paper - water-mark of a hand surmounted by a flower, with the letters "PD" on the palm of the hand; also a cross set within a pear form, with the letters "M A" beneath it.

Ninety-seven full page water colour drawings in brown ink and fifteen smaller water colours; in all, 112 water colour drawings. Eleven Inca maps - the only known maps of the Inca period.

BINDING: Original vellum binding, with two sets of ties. Slight repairs to some pages.

WATER COLOUR DRAWINGS:

Includes identified portraits, in water colours, of the Inca Kings, their Queens and the Princes; portraits of some Conquistadors, including Pizarro; illustrations of Inca culture and customs; and the following pictorial maps:

f. 63v: A map of Cuzco, the capital city of the Inca Kings, surrounded by the four Provinces of this ancient Kingdom. A road leads out from Cuzco to each of the provinces.

- 2 f. 80v: A road map of the Kingdom.
- 3 f. 129v: A plan of the Inca city of Leon, Guanoco.
- 4 f. 130v: A map of Quito and the roads leading out from it. Animals are shown in the fields: a horse, a sheep (llama? goat?) with curled horns, and a pig or calf.
- 5 f. 131v: The town of Ica, showing palms and other trees growing in front of this city.
- 6 f. 132v: A map of the town of Canete. This is a particularly interesting map as it shows the coastline of the Pacific Ocean. A river (or road) goes from Canete to this Ocean. A canoe-type craft is shown on this ocean.
- 7 f. 133v: This map shows the district which includes the towns of Castrovirreyna and Oropesa; the lake of Chochlo Cocha; the lake and silver mines of Urcon Gocha; the hill (cerro) and quicksilver mines of Guancabilca.
- 8 f. 135v: A map of the town of Camana.
- 9 f. 136v: A map of the city of Ariquipa.
- 10 f. 138v: The city of La Paz (Chuquiapo); roads lead out from it, and a river is also shown.
- 11 f. 139v: The pueblo of Cochabamba.
- 12 f. 140v: The City of La Plata, also called Chuquizaca.
- 13 f. 141v: The Cerro and mines of Potosi. Towering over the hill is the Inca holding a pillar with each arm. On top of the pillars is the imperial crown and the Hapsburg motto, Plus Ultra (Potosi was discovered in the reign of Carlos V).

The rarity of the maps is emphasized by a recent book on topographical maps which states categorically that NO INCA PERIOD MAPS ARE KNOWN.

NOTES:

1. The natural use of this manuscript is to combine it with the publication of the Cieza-de-Leon Texts that yet remain to be published.
2. My basic description of "Historia" should now be expanded and analyzed for the basic information given on these remarkable paintings, particularly on:
 - Structure of Society and its control by the Inca
 - The daily life in this kingdom and its commerce and agriculture
 - Road systems and use of its maps.
3. Folios 75v and 80v: Higgins' Mail Road system. Make the point that the System deals with the whole of the Inca Kingdom based on "Macchu Picchu"? The Four Provinces?
4. The City of the Kings? Where was it located? Size? Formation?
5. The Accountant - develop. System of numbers. Method of recording - ink? paper? paintings?
6. Decide the use of the word INCA - when was INCA used as a common noun? After the arrival of a Viceroy?
7. Get details of Inca Government.
8. Knighthood - Hereditary Title - Grants based on going to war at his own expense.

PROVENANCE:

At the foot of the title page is the note: "Dio se al Archivo el P. M^a [Maria] Arcos de la S.ma [Santisima] Trinidad a peticion del P. Cotonia" (it was given to the Archives by Fr. Maria Arcos de la Santisima Trinidad at the request of Fr. Cotonia.)

Constantino Bayle S.J., in the Introduction to his edition of Murua's Historia...de los Reyes Ingas.... published in Madrid in 1946, traces the original manuscript to the Jesuit College of Loyola where, he says, it had been given by Fr. Maria Arcos de la Santisima Trinidad, at the request of Fr. Cotonia.

In his comments on the earlier history of the manuscript, Bayle says that it had been in the Library of the Palacio (presumably the Palacio Real in Madrid) and that at the end of the seventeenth century it had been taken by, or lent to, Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, of the Council of the Indies and, later, of the Council of Castile, a famous book collector. In the catalogue of the Ramirez de Prado Library (Madrid, 1943, Murua's manuscript is not listed.)

The manuscript later passed to the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, in Salamanca, where the Peruvian, Juan Bautista Munoz, made a copy of it in 1785. His plans to publish it were not realized and his copy disappeared from the Library of the Real Academia de Historia. This would appear to be the "Wellington" manuscript sold at Sotheby's in 19??.

The manuscript was given to the Jesuit College of Loyola and in the nineteenth century Gonzalez de la Rosa made a copy with the intention of publishing it but he died after he had completed a few chapters; the part which he had already given to the printers was lost. It is thought that de la Rosa intended to publish Murua's history and Cieza de Leon's history. It is known that the great Peruvian scholar, Pascual de Gayangos, attempted to publish Murua and Cieza de Leon but he too encountered insurmountable obstacles. The manuscript later disappeared from Loyola.

Bayle believes that the manuscript from which the copy was made in Loyola was not Murua's original, on the grounds that it was textually inaccurate and careless and that it lacked the colour drawings; it did have some drawings which were inaccurate and of little artistic value.

Since the manuscript in this library has the inscription certifying that it was given to the Archives (of the Jesuits College of Loyola) and has the full water colour drawings and undeniable evidence of authenticity, the explanation seems to be that the Jesuits of Loyola made a copy for their Archives and then disposed of the original.

The edition published in Lima in 1922 in Coleccion de Libros y Documentos referentes a la Historia del Peru, which was prepared by Horacio H. Urteaga, is universally criticized as being highly inaccurate and badly edited. Bayle holds that until the original appears there is no possibility of producing a perfect edition.

In The Conquest of the Incas (Abacus edition, 1972), John Hemming makes some interesting comments on Murua's History. He says that the manuscript was seen by Juan Bautista Munoz in the Colegio Menor at Cuenca in 1785 (see Bayle's remarks above) and that it apparently passed in to the Library of the then King of Spain; that Joseph Bonaparte removed it and some other works of art from the Royal Library and that he took it with him in his personal carriage when he fled from Madrid in 1813.

Pursued by the Duke of Wellington's army, Bonaparte had to escape from his carriage. The Duke of Wellington took the booty back to England. The Duke of Wellington made attempts to return it to Spain and was in communication on the matter with his brother, Sir Henry Wellesley, British Ambassador in Madrid, and with the Spanish Ambassador in London. The latter suggested that the booty should be the Duke's spoils of war, so Wellington retained the collection.

When the Duke of Wellington read William Robertson's account of the conquest of Peru in The History of America (London, 1777), he sent the Murua manuscript to Sir Walter Scott in 1824, suggesting that Robertson would have found it invaluable. Scott, probably not acquainted with the Spanish language nor particularly appreciative of the Inca illustrations, returned the manuscript to the Duke. It remained in the Library of Apsley House and was rediscovered by the present Duke in 1945.

The 'Wellington' manuscript was edited and published by Manuel Ballesteros-Galbrois in two volumes, Madrid, 1962, 1964. This work has a prologue by the Duke of Wellington.

Comparing Bayle's edition of Murua's History, which was taken from a copy of the "Loyola" manuscript, with Ballesteros' edition, which was taken from the "Wellington" manuscript: the texts are not identical though the material is basically the same. Some of the chapters have similarities in their titles and material. The "Wellington" manuscript has thirty-one extra chapters. The additional material is more in the character of elaborating than introducing new themes; for example, sometimes, in addition to the chapter dealing with a particular Inca there would be another chapter dealing with some of his exploits. The "Loyola" manuscript is a simpler work.

The chapters are also arranged in a different manner; for example, in the "Loyola" manuscript, the chapters on the Coyas (Queens) do not come until after those on the Incas, but in the "Wellington" manuscript, each Coya is dealt with immediately after the corresponding Inca.

Bayle illustrates his text with reproductions from Poma de Ayala's Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno (?1580-1620). The original is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and its drawings are in brown ink. Some of these drawings relate very closely to the drawings in the manuscript in the Galvin library, especially the drawing of Tupac Amaru being led away as a prisoner; the execution of Amaru; and the Nusta's Dream (almost identical).

The water colour drawings in the "Wellington" manuscript are in colour. There are only thirty-seven of them in contrast to the ninety-seven full page and fifteen smaller drawings (making a total of 112) in the manuscript in this library. From the black and white reproductions in Ballesteros' edition, the "Wellington" illustrations appear to be less primitive, further removed from Inca influence, and lacking in originality. Figures are stiff; arms sometimes come at awkward angles from cloaks, giving the impression that they are not part of the body; perhaps this indicates that the drawing is a copy and that the part of the arm which is visible got placed a little too high or too low. Floors usually have a pattern of very regular squares which were definitely drawn with a ruler. Buildings are plain and modern, with very regular gables, roofs and doors.

(?) In his introduction, Ballesteros hails the appearance of the "Wellington" manuscript as the discovery of the long-lost original manuscript of Murua's History. He does not admit of any possibility of its not being the original. His principal arguments in support of his theory are: that the manuscript is free from errors and signs of carelessness; that the material has

been put into order; and that it has an ordered distribution of chapters. These points presuppose the pre-existence of another manuscript. It would be easier to believe that the manuscript with less order was the author's original. Considering the period and the dearth of source material it would be difficult for an historian to have a detailed preconceived plan and it would be even more difficult to stick to it.

Ballesteros suggests that the "Loyola" manuscript might be a copy made from Murua's rough notes, but such a work would not be likely to have 112 Inca water-colours. He laments the disappearance of the "Loyola" manuscript. Everything which has been written on the "Loyola" manuscript has been written by people who have never seen the original.

There is little biographical information on Fr. Martin de Murua. He is not mentioned in Mendiburu's Diccionario historico biografico del Peru nor in Toribio Medina's Diccionario Biografico Colonial de Chile. He is rarely cited by historians and the Peruvian historian, Carlos Romero, says that in his vast researches he has never encountered Murua.

According to Bayle, Martin Murua was a native of Azpeitia in the Basque Country on the borders of France and Spain, and is believed to have gone to Peru in 1577. He served as curate in Huata (Charcas), Capachica (Collaeo) and Aimaraes. He spent his last years in Cuzco and Arequipa. His name appears in convent registers up to 1599, signifying a period of twenty-two years of residence in Peru.

TEXT:

Murua was not a compiler; this work appears to be based entirely on his personal contact with Inca sources. He does not seem to have relied on published sources which would have been available to him; for example, the first part of Cieza de Leon's history was published from 1553, and in the 1547 edition of Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's History there is a section on Peru. It is unlikely that the Viceroy's reports would have been available to him as these remained in the Viceregal Secretariat for decades.

The history is divided into four books. The following chapters are blank, having only the headings: chapters IV, V and VI in Book I; chapter VIII of Book II; and chapters IX, X, XVI and XXXV in Book III.

BOOK I deals with the Inca Kings and their deeds, beginning with Manco Capac, the first King. It also deals with their Queens who were called Coyas. Father Murua is unique in giving a detailed account of the Coyas, their manner of dress and the organization of their households. The Inca King could have many wives, but the principal one, the Coya, was always his sister. One of her sons was the heir, not necessarily the eldest son, but the one who was most accomplished in warfare, government and royal affairs. If the Coya had no son then a suitable heir was chosen from the sons of the other Inca's wives.

BOOK II deals with the government of Peru; the division of the Kingdom into four provinces: Colla Suyo (the southern province), Chinchai Suyo (north), Conte Suyo (west), and Ante Suyo (east); the wealth of the Incas; the physical description, dress and customs of the Indians; their laws, order, punishment and type of prisons; their sacrifices, idols, priests and witches; houses, bridges and other structures; their postal system, roads and land-marks; marriage and burial customs; the names of their months and the activities proper to each month; natural produce and the cultivation of the soil; the formation of census.

There were six different types of houses or institutions of women: those of the first were reserved for the Inca; they were noble girls and of exceptional beauty, and they were rarely seen by anyone else. On special occasions they were sometimes shown to high officials.

Those of the second house were also of the nobility but less beautiful. They performed certain duties for the Inca, such as serving his meals.

In the third house were women of high birth but of no particular accomplishments.

In the fourth house were musicians; these sang and played instruments for the Inca and high officials.

The fifth house was for servants who came there as very young children to serve the Inca.

In the sixth house were very beautiful girls, aged sixteen to eighteen years. These came from places other than Cuzco. They worked in the fields and enjoyed greater liberty and privileges than some of the other women.

An ordered system of land-marking was introduced by Topa Inca. It was based on the mountains, rivers and mines; it also embraced the coastal islands. Rigorous laws were drawn up concerning this system: the inhabitants of one sector could not pass to another to hunt, cut wood, interfere with mines or take colours for dyes. The last point is an interesting one; it suggests that the source of natural colours must have been a prized commodity in Peru. The colours in this manuscript, particularly the olive green, salmon pink and almond pink, are quite remarkable.

The postal system was operated by couriers who were stationed at regular intervals along the road. There was an ordered road system.

BOOK IV describes the principal cities of Peru and their wealth. It describes Cuzco, Lima, Guanuco, Leon, Quito, Ica, Canete, Guancabelica, Oropesa, Guamanca, San Juan de la Frontera, Camana, Arequipa, Arica, La Paz (Chuquiapo), Cochabamba, La Plata (Chuquisaca) and Potosi(a?).

ACTION: Prepare a map based on this information.
Was O'Higgins' postal system copied from this service?

WATER COLOUR DRAWINGS:

The drawings include identified portraits in water colour of the Inca Kings, their Queens and the Princes. On folio 41v there is a painting of Tupa Amaro, who was a direct ancestor Joseph Tupac Amaro who led the revolts against the Spanish Administration in the eighteenth century in Peru. (There is considerable material on these revolts in our Ramirez manuscripts, including a report on them to Jose de Galvez, Visitor General to New Spain and later Spain's Minister for the Indies.)

On folio 50v there is a painting of Amaro being taken as a captive by the Spaniards; the scene of his beheading, which was executed at the command of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581), is represented on folio 51v.

On folio 44v Pizarro and his armed followers are pictured in front of Atavalipa Inca. The latter is seated on a throne and an attendant holds an umbrella over his head. His followers are grouped on his left.

There is another painting of Pizarro on folio 109v. Here his ears are being pierced, presumably as a mark of honour; the man performing the operation is wearing a large ornamental disc on his right ear. The Inca nobility, called Orejones, wore disc-plugs in their ear lobes.

On folio 46v is Viceroy Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marques de Canete, (1556-1561). He is sitting on a chair while Mango Inca and his followers kneel in front of him. The town of Canete, which had previously been called Guarco, was named for the Marques of Canete.

On folio 49v there is another representation of the Marques de Canete. Here he is with Prince Sairetopa. Both are sitting on similar chairs, facing one another.

On folio 47v Diego Mendez is shown killing Mango Inca with a sword. Mendez was one of the Spaniards responsible for Pizarro's death. He later escaped from Cuzco prison and joined with Mango Inca but in a dispute one day Mendez and his Spanish companions killed Mango Inca.

- Folio 59v: Pachacuti Inca Yupangui confers honours on the Prince who had returned victoriously from the war. This was the first Inca to introduce the idea of rewarding services with honours. The custom was continued by his successors, with modifications according to the ideas of the particular Inca.
- Folio 64v: Pachacuti adoring the sun in his Curicancha (the house which he ordered to be made for adoration).
- Folio 65v: Two stone houses, one for the Inca and one for the Coya (Queen).
- Folio 66v: Guaina Capac seated before the houses which he ordered to be built in Tiaguanaco.
- Folio 69v: The Inca Suyu Ocapo. The text describes the system of government under his rule.
- Folio 70v: A woman being stoned for adultery (the same punishment as recorded in the New Testament). The woman is hung up by the feet.
- Folio 71v: A thief being punished; while one man holds him by the hair another lashes him.

- Folio 72v: The imprisonment of a senior official for 15 wrong-doing.
- Folio 74v: An underground prison with reptiles and other wild 16 animals in it.
- Folio 75v: A Chasqui or postman; these were also couriers who 12 kept the Inca informed of events through the kingdom. (Ambrose O'Higgins copied this system for a Royal Spanish Postal Service [see MS "The Andes Mail"], in the ?? century..
- CHECK:
- Folio 76v: A quipucamay or accountant. 18
- Folio 78v: Illustrates the type of bridges in Peru. They were 19 concave and were made of three thick cables. Some were exclusively for the Incas, others were public. Guards were stationed at the bridges.
- Folio 79v: Illustrates the system of land-marks. 20
- Folio 80v: Illustrates the road system throughout the whole 21 Empire. See page 15.
- Folio 81v: The marriage ceremony of an Inca. 22
- Folio 82v: The wedding celebrations at an Inca's marriage. 23
- Folio 83v: Illustrates the marriage customs of ordinary 24 Indians.
- Folio 84v: A Guancabilica Indian. 25
- Folio 85v: Illustrates the manner of choosing wives: this 26 Indian has just returned from a war; he indicates to the Inca Toc Rico the woman of his choice and asks for her. The woman appears very pleased but the one beside her seems envious.
- Folio 86v: The Inca's Alguacil or constable. 27
- Folio 88v: Illustrates a woman in the Second House, or 28 Institution, of women (as described on page 7 of this text).
- Folio 89v: A woman from the Third House, serving a meal to the 29 Inca.

- Folio 90v: A woman from the Fourth House, playing a musical instrument like a drum. 30
- Folio 91v: Inmates of the Fifth House who came to it as children. 31
- Folio 92v: A woman from the Sixth House; she is sowing grain in a field while a porter sits on the ground in the doorway of the house. 32
- Folio 93v: A sentry guarding the entrance to one of the houses. 33
- Folio 94v: Shows one of the special houses for women who were dedicated to the worship of the sun; they were called "daughters of the sun". They were of the highest rank and came from the four provinces. 34
- Folio 95v: The Inca Capac Yupangui offers a child in sacrifice to his idol, Pachayachachic. His wife kneels on the ground, holding vessels containing food. 35
- Folio 96v: Symbolizes Capac Yupangui introducing the idol Pachayachachic to the rest of the kingdom. This idol is described as being of gold and in the form of a ten-year-old boy, with the right arm raised. (In the illustration the left arm is raised.) 36
- Folio 97v: (Indians) walking in procession. It is an interesting study of the portrayal of people in this manuscript: the drawings are extremely free and fluid, and the features are very expressive and individual. 37
- Folio 98v: Cuzco Indians adoring their idol (?). 38
- Folio 99v: The Inca and Indians from Cuzco adoring the sun. 39
- Folio 100v: Indians from the Province of Anda Suyu offering llamas to their idol, Anti Viracocha. (Murua calls llamas Peruvian sheep.) 40
- Folio 101v: A Lima Indian burning fire before the idol Pachacamac. 41
- Folio 102v: An Indian from the Province of Chinchai Suyu adoring the idol Tipci Viracocha. 42

- Folio 103v: A Puquina Indian offering coca, and an Indian from 48
Colla Suyu offering an alpaca to the idol Titicaca.
- Folio 104v: A witch sacrifices a child to Apachita. Only 44
children of ten years and under were sacrificed, and
then only for a special reason.
- Folio 105v: A priest offers sacrifice. 45
- Folio 106v: Two witches kneeling in front of a fire; witches 46
cured illnesses and foretold events; they also acted
as confessors.
- Folio 107v: A witch who is concocting a brew to kill someone. 42
- Folio 108v: Illustrates some of the superstitions in which these 47
Indians believed.
- Folio 109v: Pizarro's ears being pierced. 49
- Folio 110v: A witch kneeling in front of a container of 50
ointments.
- Folio 111v: Vilcoma, the Inca's High Priest. 51
- Folio 112v: A woman confessing to a witch. Confession was a 52
common practice; there were male and female
confessors; the Inca confessed to the sun.
- Folio 113v: A funeral service, with a witch officiating. 53
Various objects and food were buried with the
person, and the witch took the dead person's teeth,
nails and hair.
- Folio 114v: The Inca's parliament. 54
- Folio 115v: The Inca dividing his soldiers. 55
- Folio 116v: The Inca dividing a group of maidens. 56
- Folio 117v: A worshipper of the clouds. 52
- Folio 118v: Indians paying tribute to the Inca. 58
- Folio 119v: The Inca's gardener. 59

- Folio 120v: The Inca and his principal Cacique arming an Indian (in reward for services. An interesting illustration of a form of knighthood. The caption actually uses the word caballero. A caballero in Spain was a man of noble birth who went to wars at his own expense. When the caballero was successful at arms the King granted an hereditary title.
- Folio 121v: Illustrates the Incas' custom of fasting and doing penance. All in the group are dressed in brown robes and wear brown veils.
- Folio 123v: A festival, with the Inca and his Queen present. 67
- Folio 124v: The Inca giving laws and orders. 63
- Folio 126: The Inca's jester. 69
- Folio 143: Two of the virgins who are specially chosen and dedicated to the worship of the sun. One is holding a mirror while her hair is being dressed by the other. 65
- Folio 145v: The sleeping Chuquillanto, who was a Nusta (a princess? or a type of lady-in-waiting?) and a daughter of the Sun. She fell in love with Acoitraba, a shepherd from the Sierra Nevada who guarded the Inca's sheep (llamas) for sacrifices. The sleeping Chuquillanto is in the centre of the page. On her skirt is the nightingale which she saw in her dream and that told her to go and tell her sad story to the four fountains of Sicllapuquio, Llallucha Puquio, Ocoruru Puquio and Chicha Puquio. The fountains are symbolized in the four corners. 66
- Folio 146: The song which Chuquillanto sang to the fountains. 61
- Folio 146v: Two further scenes illustrating the same story: in the upper scene, Chuquillanto is asleep in bed and Acoitraba kneels beside her. In the lower scene Chuquillanto and her companion return after their meeting with Acoitraba. 68
- Folio 147: The lovers escape together. After travelling some distance they sat down on a rock near the town of Calca and both were turned to stone. 69

Folio 147v: The statues of Chuquillanto and Acoitrapa which, in Fr. Murua's time, could be seen from the towns of Calca and Guallabamba. Behind them can be seen the Pitu Siray Sierras.

AMERICA'S FIRST MAPS:

Thirteen of the drawings are really America's first known pictorial maps. This form of map was used by the Chinese in the 7th century but it was not used in Europe until ???.

Folio 63v: A map of Cuzco surrounded by the four provinces. A road leads out from Cuzco to each of the provinces.

Folio 80v: A road map.

Folio 129v: A plan of the city of Leon, Guanoco.

Folio 130v: A map of Quito and the roads leading out from it. Animals are shown in the fields: a horse; one which looks like a sheep with curled horns; a pig or calf.

Folio 131v: The town of Ica, showing palms and other trees growing in front of it.

Folio 132v: A map of the town of Canete. This is a particularly interesting map as it shows the coastline of Chile (and "the Southern Sea"). A river (or road) goes from Canete to the "Southern Sea". A canoe-type boat is shown on the Sea.

NOTE: I know of no other sea painting of this or an earlier date.

A note at the top of the page states that more than 150,000 arrobos of wine are brought from this city to Camana and Arequipa.

Folio 133v: This map shows the district which includes: the towns of Castrovirreyna and Oropesa; the lake of Chochlo Cocha, the lake and silver mines of Urcon Cocha; the hill (cerro) and quicksilver mines of Guancabilca.

MINING:

Folio 135v: A map of the town of Camana.

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