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'De los famososs hechos de los yndios cañares y de sus privilegios' Don Pedro Purqui and the Early Modern Andean Chronicle by Martín de Murua

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Abstract

The article considers the background and interests of don Pedro Purqui of Cañari descent in the late sixteenth century in Cuzco, Peru. Purqui made distinct interventions in an Inca-centric history project and, more broadly, as an Indigenous leader and intellectual in colonial Cuzco's heterogenous and multivocal 'lettered city'. His literary efforts contributed to the conceptualization of Cañari social memory as part of a larger process of ethnogenesis during the early modern period. The case study examines legal and chronicle records in juxtaposition with the Galvin Murua (1590-1596), compiled by the Basque Mercedarian friar, Martín de Murua. Purqui's strategic efforts aimed to defend and promote the Cañari's privileged but precarious status of nobility and heritage in an emergent and contested colonial context. The analysis demonstrates that the seeming contradictions of the Cañari, locally in Cuzco and regionally in the Andes, involved multivalent, complementary elements in iteratively conceived ethnic identity and social memory.

Keywords: Cañari, Cuzco, Iberian, Inca, Murua

0. *La Famossa Ystoria*

Probanza hecha del origen e creación e primera posesión de los grandes señores Reyes Incas y señores que fueron de este Reyno ... Lengua del padre fray Martin de Morua de la dicha orden para averiguar la declaración que de ello tomo de ... don Pedro Purqui cacique principal [?] de los yndios [*roto* Cañaris]. (Murua 2004, under f. 5v)¹

¹ ([An] Investigation into the origin and creation of the great lords, Inca Kings and nobles of this Kingdom ... [It is the] translation of Fray Martín

A now hidden, pasted-over folio that includes an original title and native declaration from 15 May 1590 describes how don Pedro Purqui (Purque, Porque) of Cañari ethnic descent participated in an early manuscript version of an early modern chronicle on Inca history and Spanish colonization, titled *Historia del origen* (see figure 1).² He joined four other Inca leaders and intellectuals in Cuzco in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Unfortunately, the Basque Mercedarian friar, Martín de Murua (1566?-1616),³ later covered the native declaration with a paradisiacal Andean landscape, erasing their recognition from plain view. However, fiber optic scanning in 2007-2008 at the Getty Manuscript department allowed scholars to decipher the deteriorated text (Cummins and Ossio 2013). Unlike the other Inca collaborators, *Historia del origen* includes a chapter devoted to the Cañari in Cuzco that identifies don Pedro as their captain (Murua 2004, f. 69r). Correspondingly, a notarial document from 27 June 1595, identified don Pedro as *cacique principal* (native leader) of the Santa Ana parish and *alcalde* (mayor) of the Cañari in Cuzco. His wife, doña Francisca Manco, had died. The record marked his land donation in the Santa Ana parish to his legitimate son, Joan Sánchez Urco.⁴ In fact, notarial records between 1572 and the late 1590s consistently listed don Pedro as the *cacique principal* and *alcalde* of the Cañari in the Parish of Santa Ana.

At first glance, Purqui's involvement with an Inca-centric history is surprising. Scholars often highlight the competitive relationship between the Cañari and Inca that extended from at least the fifteenth century to independence in the early nineteenth century (Gisbert and Mesa 1982, 180; Dean 1999, 186-197; Amado Gonzales 2017, 184-199). During this period Cañari alliances rapidly shifted under Inca and Iberian colonial rule (Solari Pita 2022, 34). The Cañari's ambivalent reputation in the early colonial period becomes obvious with their negative portrayal in the final version of Murua's chronicle, *Historia general del Piru* (1616). Friar Martín removed the favorable Galvin chapter and replaced the chapter with descriptions of thieves, witches, and traitors. The disparaging and distrustful portrayal of the Cañari and Chachapoya echoes what the Andean artist and author, don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala (c. 1535-1550?), shared in his own chronicle, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615). As such, Purqui's literary intervention is poignant. His advocacy for the Cañari as an Indigenous intellectual had him deeply enmeshed in the polyphonous and contested colonial discourse in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

de Murua of said order [Mercedarian] to discover the declaration that was taken from ... don Pedro Purqui native leader of the Indians [*missing* of the Cañaris]). Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author.

² Cummins 2014, 39, 59 n. 20.

³ Friar Martín's last name has been spelled with an accent (i.e. Murúa). This article uses the Basque historian, F. Borja de Aguinalde's (2017) spelling, based on his genealogical investigations (i.e. Murua). For citation purposes of previous manuscript publications, I retained the old spelling. 'Morua' is used by native scribes, including Guamán Poma in his chronicle (c. 1615, f. 647 [661]).

⁴ Archivo Regional del Cuzco, Antonio de Salas, Prot. 18, 1596-1597, 27 June 1595, ff. 566r-567r.



Figure 1 – 1590 title page with Andean endorses (Murua 2004, f. 5v, behind). Courtesy of Sean Galvin

Andean intellectuals in the early modern period inhabited multiple discourses and memory practices, including ritual and storytelling activities, *kipu* arts (sophisticated Andean textile recording device), and place-making ceremonies. Spanish colonization and the introduction of alphabetic writing transformed Indigenous recording practices to include literacy through legal and historical projects (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011; Puente Luna 2018). Rather than understanding literacy as a univocal and independent medium (Goody 1977; Ong 1982), Indigenous intellectuals engaged with multiple, interdependent literacies and processes of interpretation and legibility.⁵ They could be literate or not. This multivocal network of practices involved lettered, pictorial, textile, architectural and performance literacies of particular social groups and interpretative communities (Fish 1982; Bakhtin 1984; Rappaport 1990; Boone and Mignolo 1994; Rappaport and Cummins 1994; Rappaport and Cummins 2012, 6; Ramos and Yannakakis 2014; Leon Llerena 2023).

The illuminated chronicle, *Historia General del Piru* (1616), compiled by Murua is an extraordinary example of a chronicle entangled in the polyphonous cultural landscape of early modern Spanish America. The palimpsest of Inca history and Spanish colonialization was produced during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the Southern Andes. The history, written in Spanish and Quechua (Inca imperial language), left two extensively illustrated and manipulated manuscript versions (respectively known as the Galvin Murua [1590-1596] and Getty Murua [1616]). During his multi-phased production process,⁶ friar Martín collab-

⁵ According to Laura Leon Llerena (2023, 6-9) the concept of legibility or illegibility historicizes literacy by separating the technical ability to read and write from the cultural and social expectations and processes associated with producing meaning.

⁶ The production of the Galvin and Getty manuscripts consisted of multiple campaigns and phases (Adorno and Boserup 2008; Turner 2014; Trentelman 2014, and others).

orated with various native Andean artists, scribes, and authors, including the seminal author, don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala.⁷ The manuscript's multiauthorial composition allowed for Indigenous participants to strategically promote their perspectives and voices within the unequal colonial context (Schoepflin 2022).

In Don Pedro's background, the process of ethnogenesis identified in Europe, South America and elsewhere has been a significant component to studies on the Cañari (Solari Pita 2022, 33). Ethnic identity is a political act enacted through collective and individual strategies, including the rearticulation of the past in contemporary contexts. The past expressed through history, myth, and memory is a vital resource for interpreting and conceptualizing the present (Rappaport 1990). The Cañari engaged in centuries of ethnogenesis in response to Inca and Spanish rule and categorization. Overlapping with Purqui's life, anthropologist Frank Salomon identified historical antecedents to the Cañari's unusual and radical 'reorganization of collective memory' (1987, 208) towards a long process of 'Inca-ism' during Spanish colonization. Despite firm ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence of the Cañari's distinct, non-Inca origin and anti-Inca political actions, a 'structural amnesia' (*ibid.*) since the Spanish invasion enabled them to adopt Inca genealogy as part of their collective legitimacy. The collective native experience of Spanish violence, coercion, and oppression throughout the colonial period blurred the lines between Cañari and Inca experiences. The conditions supported the development of a pan-Andean Indigenous awareness that attached itself to a non-localized Inca identity. The shift played an important role in pro-Inca ideology and political movements in the colonial period, including the Tupac Amaru II rebellion in the late eighteenth century (Szeminski 1982). Their process ultimately informed the development of independent nation states in the Andes (Hirschkind 1995; Solari Pita 2022). Our case study on Purqui's literary intervention offers additional early colonial evidence to the slow rise of 'Inca-ism' in the collective memory and political strategy of the Cañari in Cuzco during the Spanish colonial period.

This article examines legal and chronicle records in juxtaposition with the Galvin Murua to consider don Pedro Purqui's role in an Inca-centric history project and, more broadly, as an Andean leader and intellectual in colonial Cuzco's heterogenous and multivocal 'lettered city' (Rama 1996). The analysis demonstrates that the seeming contradictions of the Cañari locally in Cuzco and regionally in the Andes involved multivalent, complementary elements in iteratively conceived ethnic identity and social memory. Don Pedro defended and promoted the privileged status of Cañari nobility and memory in colonial Cuzco society with interrelated legal, cultural, and sociopolitical strategies. While likely not literate in alphabetic writing,⁸ he used the chronicle genre to reformulate competing and allied visions of Inca and Cañari history and social memory. His literary interventions offer evidence and contribute to the Cañari's protracted processes of ethnogenesis. He countered other simultaneously powerful forces that undercut their positive reputation, which are visible in the compositional changes and erasures in the Getty Murua.

My study begins with a general review of the Cañari's migration, settlement, and social status in the Cuzco region during the Inca and early Spanish colonial period. Particularly, I consider the Cañari's socio-political and cultural power in colonial Cuzco through their impressive role in festival activities, such as the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola in 1610. Section two examines don Pedro's participation as a witness in the 1580s on behalf of Inca descendants in their legal claims for

⁷ Guamán Poma contributed over 100 images and labels to the Galvin manuscript. He used a successive working schedule between c. 1596 - c. 1600. Four were transferred to the final Getty version (Adorno and Boserup 2008, 43).

⁸ His signature does not appear in any document, including his land donation where it would have been customary (Archivo Regional del Cuzco, Antonio de Salas, Prot. 18, 1596-1597, 27 June 1595, ff. 566r-567r).

their rights and privileges attached to their noble status. Section three analyzes don Pedro's literary interventions and conceptualizations of the Cañari position in colonial Cuzco in the Galvin Murua and subsequent changes and erasures during Murua's redactions for the Getty Murua.

1. *Cañari in Cuzco*

The Cañari originated from the northern provinces of Acay and Cañar in present-day Ecuador, with central populations in Hatun Cañar, Cañarbamba, and Tomebamba (Faron-Bartels 2001, 91; Decoster and Najarro 2016, 89). In their original territory they are generally understood by historians and archaeologists as having a pluri-ethnic population though ethnically distinct from the Inca (Alcina Franch 1980; Oberem 1981; Burgos Guevara 2003). They likely functioned as independent chiefdoms that allied against outside aggressors such as the Inca. The dialogical process promoted a shared ethnic identity fostered by Inca categorization of non-Inca groups, which developed with Spanish colonization (Hirschkind 1995). They spoke a shared but dialectically different language, of which only a few words remain (Faron-Bartels 2001, 107). Colonial chronicles relate that the Inca rulers, Topa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, had been only recently conquered by the Cañari in the fifteenth century.

The Inca relocated large numbers of Cañari as *mitmaq* (*mitmaj*, *mitima*, *mitmaqkuna*) to various locations in the Inca state, including Cuzco, Yucay Valley, Lima, Jauja, Huánuco, Huamanga, Cajamarca, Yaro, and Cajabamba, Porcón, and Chiara in present-day Peru and Copacabana, La Paz, and Sucre in Bolivia (Hirschkind 1995, 322; Solari Pita 2022). It has been estimated that, out of an original population of 50,000 Cañari, the Inca relocated around 35,000 (70%) to other parts in the Andes (Pärssinen 1992). *Mitmaq* as an Inca institution classified any transplanted person and included whole families accompanied by their ethnic leader (Salomon 2007, 158). Far from uniform, they could be relocated for various reasons, including punishment or demonstration of trust, but always to carry out various kinds of services (Espinoza Soriano 1973). The fierce reputation of the Cañari secured them the position of guards and soldiers for the Inca, roles that they then played for the Spaniards (Oberem 1976 and 1981).

The many alliances and switches the Cañari made during the Inca civil war and Spanish invasion can appear bewildering. Immediately after the death of his father and Inca ruler, Huayna Capac, Atahualpa sent gifts via Cañari emissaries from Quito in the north to his half-brother Huascar, in Cuzco. Despite the rebuke from his mother, Rahua Ocllo, Huascar suspiciously rebuffed the gifts and ordered the execution of the lead Cañari messenger and his skin transformed into a drum (Betanzos 1987, 210). However, in the outbreak of the Inca civil war between the half-brothers, the Cañari likely identified an opportunity for independence and aligned with Huascar, despite entreaties by Atahualpa.⁹ In retaliation, Atahualpa ordered a genocidal war against the Cañari that left approximately fifteen women for one man (Herrera y Tordesillas 1615, Book 3, Ch. 17; Murua 2008, ff. 105v-106r; Decoster and Najarro 2016, 90). After the death of Huascar, the Cañari immediately aligned themselves with the Spaniards to defeat Atahualpa and his army (Cieza de León 1984, 208, 315-317). While the changeability of Cañari's alliances

⁹ Pedro Cieza de León describes a particular instance early in the Inca civil war when Atahualpa sought support from the Cañari. However, the Cañari had already agreed to support Huascar. One version says they took Atahualpa prisoner while another version says that Huascar's captains took Atahualpa prisoner. In either case, Atahualpa escaped (Cieza de León 1984, 24). Murua offers extensive description of the changing alliances of the Cañari between Atahualpa and Huascar in the Getty Murua (Murua 2008, ff. 98r-129r).

can appear inconsistent, the Cañari leaders recognized favorable conditions to release themselves from oppressive rule and to expand their territory and independence.

A second wave of Cañari arrived from the north as part of the Spanish military offensive against the Inca. They were participants in the brief 'Hispano-Andean alliances' between groups in Huamanga (Stern 1981), Quito (Salomon 1987, 212), and the Chachapoyas, Wanka (Espinoza Soriano 1967 and 1971-1972). In the Cuzco area, they often inhabited available land in their efforts at territorial expansion and control (Decoster and Najarro 2016; Duffait 2016, 84). In the subsequent decades the Cañari repeatedly helped the Crown as spies and soldiers to defeat the Inca, including the uprisings in Cuzco and Lima led by Manco Inca, a son of Huayna Capac and half-brother to Atahualpa and Huascar.¹⁰ During the Spanish civil war, Cañaris consistently supported the Crown to defeat Spanish rebel bands. However, Spanish exploitation and oppression of the native groups led to a breakdown in these alliances by the 1560s (Stern 1981, 486). Nonetheless, the loyalty of the Cañari to the Crown repeatedly garnered them royal privileges and favors, including tribute exemption.

The Cañari achieved unprecedented power and status in colonial Cuzco society. Their favored position fostered a competition with the local Inca elite or *inca de la sangre* (inca by blood, also called *inca orejones* or big-eared Inca). They lived in the Urubamba Valley in Huayna Capac's 'house of the Inca' and in the hills of Carmenca, which was then renamed the Parish of Santa Ana (Decoster and Najarro 2016, 90). The dominant leadership of don Francisco Chilche helped the Cañari to overshadow other parish inhabitants, including the Chachapoya, *yanaconas* (native servants), and other non-Incas. Chilche famously killed an Inca champion on behalf of the Spanish conquistadores during the Inca siege of Cuzco in 1536, which he provocatively reenacted in 1555 during Corpus Christi celebrations.¹¹ The Cañari held various judicial functions as soldiers, guards for the prison and arms storage, messengers, and executioners, in addition to participating in and maintaining order during festivals.

In the 1570s, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515-1582) was a significant force in the tension between the Cañari and Inca. During his tenure, he aimed to reorganize and equalize natives Cusqueños, to increase income for the Spanish Crown, and to support evangelization efforts. His social reorganization included imposing tribute payments on all Andeans, which included ending historical exemptions for Inca descendants and *yanaconas*. In contrast, Toledo confirmed on 11 August 1572 that 'in the war and in the time of conquest', the Cañari and Chachapoya maintain tax exemptions and other special privileges. In exchange they continued to provide Cañari special services to Spanish officials and uphold their loyalty to the Spanish Crown (Toledo 1986, 199). In the same decree, Toledo ordered that all *caciques principales* of each parish are registered to collect tribute. The *alcalde* (mayor), Licenciado Polo de Ondegardo (c. 1530-1575) and other officials completed the census on 13, 14 and 22 August.

¹⁰ After initially supporting the Spaniards, the *conquistadores*' disrespectful behavior eventually led Manco Inca to resist. In 1536 he laid siege to Cuzco and eventually established an Inca stronghold near Vilcabamba (Hemming 1970, 173-183).

¹¹ De la Vega (1966, part 2, 1417-1418, cited by Dean 1999, 58-59, 181. Francisco Chilche was a *mitimaq* brought to Cuzco under Huayna Capac and designated as a *yanacona* in service of the Inca. Years later he presented himself to Francisco Pizarro in Limatambo and offered his allegiance to defeat the Inca. For his loyalty, he received land in Yucay Valley and titles of *cacique* and *alcalde* in Yucay Valley and the Carmenca neighborhood in the Santa Ana Parish (Archivo Regional del Cuzco, Libro de cabildo del Cuzco, no. 3, box 2, 37, ff. 37r-v and 67r-v; Villanueva Urteaga 1970, 7; González Pujana 1982, 102). According to Murua (2008, f. 169r) and Guamán Poma (1616, f. 443 [445]), he poisoned Sayre Tupac out of jealousy and married his widow, Inca *ñusta*, doña Paula Cusihuarca. Also see Trujillo 1948, 63; Valcárcel 1949; Villanueva Urteaga 1970, 1-185; Covey and Amado González 2008, 23-24; Decoster and Najarro 2016, 91-92; Amado Gonzales 2017, 91-93, and others.

The earliest identified reference of don Pedro Purqui, our protagonist, was his identification as a *cacique principal* of the Santa Ana Parish in this census.¹² Simultaneously, Toledo had grown impatient with Inca rulers in Vilcabamba or never agreed with the previous administration's attempts to negotiate with them. In May 1572 the viceroy imprisoned previously loyal and compliant Cuzco Inca descendants, including Carlos Inca, for supposedly planning a revolt with the Inca descendants in Vilcabamba. The prison guards were Cañari. A few months later, the Inca men were charged as guilty and exiled. Building further resentment, the Cañari oversaw their extremely dangerous and inhospitable journey to Lima. Finally, in August 1572 Toledo sent bands of Spaniards, Cañaris, and Chachapoyas to pursue the young Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru, in the steep, forested mountain terrain surrounding the last stronghold of Inca sovereignty in Vilcabamba.¹³ According to Murua's description, Chilche led Cañari soldiers during the final attacks (Murua 2008, f. 169r). Tupac Amaru and his wife were eventually captured, brought to Cuzco, and executed on 24 September 1572. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Cañari, Inca, and Spaniards created an entangled web of alliances and social memory practices that they publicly performed and reinscribed during festivals and ceremonies.

Colonial ceremonies poignantly contextualize don Pedro's participation in Murua's history project and illustrate the Cañaris' symbolic and socio-political status in colonial Cuzco. In the words of art historian Carolyn Dean, during colonial festival processions and their visual representations, 'Inkas, Cañaris, Chachapoyas, and no doubt others[,] sought to authorize competing versions of the past' (1999, 197). Inca elite displayed their acculturation to the colonial paradigm and submission to the Crown while also asserting their Inca heritage and rightful claims to power and prestige (Cummins 1991; Amado Gonzales 2017, 151). For example, an anonymous author (possibly Francisco de Avila) recounted a 24-day festival held in Cuzco in May 1610 to celebrate the beatification of San Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order (Cummins 2005, 38, n. 49). The account described the atmosphere of Christian Andean celebration in Cuzco. Beginning on Monday 3 May, processions from the native parishes of Belén, Santiago, Hospital de Naturales, and San Blas streamed daily into the center. The festivities included Andean music, dance, and dramatic representations of the Inca past. Andean commoners carried Inca representatives of the eleven Inca rulers through the city in litters in the pre-Hispanic tradition of Inca kings. The elite Inca descendant, Don Alonso Topa Atauchi, led the procession. He was adorned in the finest textile and royal paraphernalia, including the *mascapaycha* or Inca royal tassel.

Similarly, the Cañari utilized festivals to assert their own heritage of martial prowess and privileged status (Dean 1999, 161-197). On Sunday, during the festival day of the Basques, the Santa Ana parish and the Cañari entered Cuzco's main plaza. The record describes how, '[They] put in front three hundred Cañari soldiers armed with spades, pikes, and many arquebuses, and very well dressed [they] placed [themselves] in the plaza ... They did not enter the church,

¹² Toledo ordered that all *yndios yanaconas* and *yndios cuzqueños* (Inca descendants living in Cuzco) who were not assigned to an *encomienda* (royal grant of Indigenous labor and tribute to a Spaniard) had to be registered to pay tribute to the Spanish Crown. Two of the Inca witnesses in the Galvín Murua and their relatives were also included in the census. Don Francisco Chalco Yupangui, don Luis Chalco Yupangui's father and outspoken leader for the San Sebastián parish and descendant of Viracocha, was listed as a *cacique principal*. Huayna Capac's descendants in San Cristóbal parish and part of don Martín García de Loyola's *encomienda* listed don Martín Quispe Topa as the eight-year-old son of don Hernando Pomacapi (twenty-six years old) and Beatriz Chimbo Urma (thirty years old) (Villanueva Urteaga 1931, 232-233; Aparicio Vega 1963, 119-126; Ossio 2014, 28; Amado Gonzales 2016, 100; Schoepflin 2022, 48).

¹³ An 11 August 1572 *auto* (order) by Toledo cites select native Cuzqueans' support for an uprising led by the Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru (Villanueva Urteaga 1931, 230; Aparicio Vega 1963, 119-128; Puente Luna 2016, 18; González-Díaz and Figueroa Ortiz 2022).

which was full of Spaniards and more than 5,000 Indians' (Romero 1923, 447). Befitting their bifurcated militaristic role, the Cañaris reenacted battle scenes during the Inca conquests. The reenactments included the Cañari conquest of the Canas of Anacona for the Inca. Subsequently, they performed how the Inca vanquished the Cañari under Huayna Capac's command, including the Yahuarcocha origin story – a lake of blood named in memory of the many who died fleeing into it. The Getty Murua describes the story in Huayna Capac's life history (Murua 2008, f. 72r). The prisoners and booty of the Inca conquest were then symbolically offered to the *corregidor* (administrative judge) as a show of submission to the crown's authority. These encounters of social memory and ethnic identity embodied the complex relationships among and between the Cañari, Inca and Iberians in colonial Cuzco society. Their strategies encompassed a spectrum of competition, negotiation, and alignment. Don Pedro, as a Cañari leader and intellectual, complemented these collective efforts in the public sphere with strategic interventions in Cuzco's 'lettered city' and legal process.

2. *Lawsuits and Alliances: Purqui as Witness for Inca Descendants*

A heavily deteriorated notarial record reveals that don Pedro participated as a witness in a *probanza* (evidentiary proof) on behalf of Inca descendants. In response to Toledo's multiple efforts to undercut the power of Cuzco's noble Inca in the 1570s, elites launched a legal campaign to fight his decrees.¹⁴ After victories and setbacks, in 1579-1580 the native *alcalde mayor*, don Francisco Sayre (son of Paullo Inca and Mama Ussica or Doña Catalina and grandson of the 12th Inca ruler, Huayna Capac), directed on behalf of the Inca descendants of the eleven *ayllus* (Andean social unit) a petition and *probanza* to continue their campaign.¹⁵ The witnesses were composed of a diverse and overlapping group of sympathetic conquistadores, inhabitants of Cuzco, *encomenderos* (grant holder of native labor and tribute), priests, and non-Inca native *caciques*, *principales* and elders from the surrounding region. Through a series of six pre-formulated questions, the witnesses confirmed the extent and widespread recognition of the social and economic crisis that the *inca orejones* in Cuzco had suffered in the sixteenth century. Women, children, and commoners were predictably excluded. The answers highlighted the *inca orejones'* consistent and unceasing loyalty to the Spanish Crown during and after the Inca revolt led by Manco Inca and their pre-Hispanic privileged status. This assertion directly countered Toledo's previous accusations of a rebellion supported by Cuzco's Inca descendants. The legal formula also followed the required terms of the Iberian *hidalgo* (lesser nobility). Inca descendants repeated this legal strategy throughout the colonial period.

Don Pedro Purqui, 'Native leader of the Cañari Indians who are in the fort [Sacayhuamán and Carmenca] of this city' presented the last testimony in the petition by a native Andean, recorded in 1580 or 1581 (Espinoza Soriano 1977, 107).¹⁶ Unfortunately, deterioration in the original document destroyed most of his testimony. The remainder includes the following:

People so principal that they had their *yanaconas* and servants and were served. And this he responds. 5. To the fifth question I say that this witness knows that the said Incas, almost all of them, [they] served the *marqués* don Francisco Pizarro and his captains in all the things that they ordered and occupied in

¹⁴ For a full examination of the lawsuit and transcripts, see Puente Luna 2016.

¹⁵ The list excludes representatives from the Huascar kin group, with the assumption that the last member, don Alonso Tito Atauchi, nephew of Huascar and son of Tito Atauchi, had died (Espinoza Soriano 1977, 84).

¹⁶ Unlike the Spanish testimonies, there are no dates for the native testimonies. The last Spanish testimony was completed on 12 February 1580, and the *probanza* ended in August 1580 (82).

the service of your Majesty. And this he responded. 6. To the sixth question I say that this witness says what is in the previous question and to refer to it. And this he responded. And I swear what was said is the truth according to my official office. I sign the said interpretation, don Joan Collafina. Before me, Luis de Quesada. (107-108)

The first line we see is the last part of his answer to Question Four, which asked to confirm the state of impoverishment of the *inca orejones*. Don Pedro indicated his respect for the Inca by repeating a descriptor used by other witnesses: 'gente tan principal'. Don Pedro's response to Question Five also agreed with other testimonies by reiterating the loyalty and submission of *inca orejones* in Cuzco to the Crown during the Spanish and Inca revolts. Unlike most of the non-Inca native testimonies, and like many of the Iberian witnesses, Purqui did not acknowledge in his answer to Question Five the abuse and mistreatment that Manco Inca suffered under the conquistadores, particularly by Hernando Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro, in their incessant search for gold and silver. Nor did Purqui confirm that the abuse justified Inca resistance. This perspective aligns with the Cañari's role in siding with the Spaniards against Manco Inca's followers in 1536 and the incursion into Vilcabamba to capture Tupac Amaru in 1572. Nonetheless, he upheld pre-Hispanic precedents that maintained the elite status of the Inca. His answer also referred to Question Two that confirmed the *inca orejones* as the rulers and governors of Peru. As part of their noble status, *yanacona* attended to the Inca descendents – a precedent Francisco Pizarro and subsequent viceroys continued to respect. According to other witnesses, the *inca orejones* never provided personal services until *Corregidor* Gabriel Paniagua de Loaysa ordered and harassed them. For Question Six on the destruction of Spanish royal property by the Inca, Purqui referred to his response in Question Five, possibly to underline Inca loyalty to the Spaniards.

Don Pedro's participation in the *probanza* reveals a direct link of the Cañari with the efforts of Inca elite to protect their noble status in colonial Cuzco and challenges the interpretation by many scholars who argue that an exclusively competitive relationship existed among ethnic Indigenous groups in Cuzco. Having witnessed attacks on the Inca by Viceroy Toledo and his administration, the Cañari must have been acutely aware of how Spaniards might change their views towards the social status of any Andean elite and the precarity of their own position. Purqui recognized that supporting the precedent of Inca nobility benefited their own privileged position. The *probanza* evidences that don Pedro's participation in the Galvin Murua c. 1590s, as the only non-Inca Cañari witness, was founded on a network of alliances and experiences. He possibly considered that a literary intervention in a chronicle could offer a more robust and complex discourse on historical and socio-political conceptualizations than the more limited and mediated legal framework. He could advocate and protect his Cañari community to a broader Spanish and transatlantic audience beyond Cuzco's regional courts and officials.

3. Don Pedro's Intervention in the Galvin Murua

The ambivalent and fluid reputation of the Cañari in colonial Cuzco is exemplified in the differences between the Murua manuscripts. In the Galvin version, don Pedro introduced positive associations. In contrast to the negative portrayal in the Getty, the Cañari are repeatedly described for their reputation as fierce warriors and their role as privileged guards and favored soldiers for the Inca. Quoted below, one chapter on Inca processions and the *cuyusmanco* (royal Inca complex) describes how the Cañari and Chachapoya inhabited exclusive royal Inca spaces:

La multitud de los cañares y chachapoyas, que era cierta gente de guerra, como luego veremos, se hacía la guarda a la persona del Inga. Tenían éstos su salario, y eran privilegiados y reservados de los servicios personales [como se dirá a su tiempo] los capitanes deste guarda serán de mucha autoridad y cuando iba el gran ynca a la guerra iban muy juntos a él y por esto tenían muy gran salario y andaban acompañados de gente lucida.¹⁷ (Murua 2004, f. 55v)

Often on the verso folio side Murua inserted supplemental descriptions to chapters in the Galvin Murua.¹⁸ Phrases such as ‘como luego veremos’ and ‘como se dirá a su tiempo’¹⁹ in the above quote allude to subsequent Cañari chapter. Like Ch. 17 on the Cañari, the supplemental information highlights the significant and complementary role of the Cañari in Inca imperial society. The similar perspective shared between the supplemental texts and Ch. 17 suggest Purqui contributed to both.

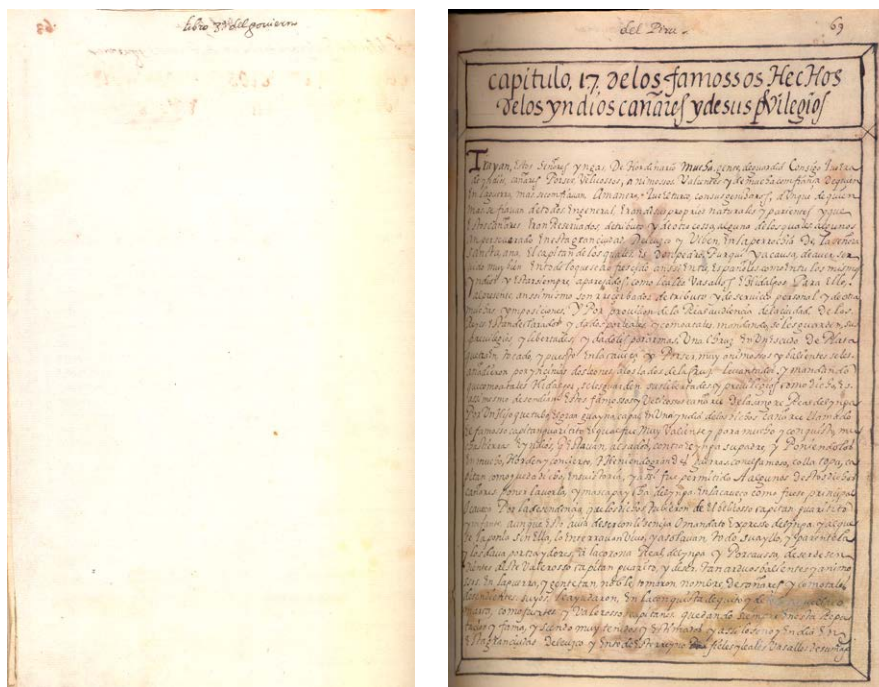


Figure 2 – Cañari Book 3, Ch. 17 and blank facing folio (Murua 2004, ff. 68v-69r). Courtesy of Sean Galvin

The text in Galvin Ch. 17 (see figure 2) on the Cañari identifies don Pedro Purqui as their captain. Significantly, he was the only Indigenous collaborator from the 1590 declaration who was also explicitly identified in the account. Surprisingly, despite Chilche’s established persona in sixteenth-century Cuzco society, the 1590 chapter excluded him. Instead, the narrative

¹⁷ (The multitude of Cañaris and Chachapoyas, that were truly people of war, as we will see, [they] guarded the Inca. They had their salary and were privileged and reserved from personal services [as will be told in time]. The captains of this guard were of great authority and when the great Inca went to war they went with him, and for this they had a large salary and traveled accompanied by magnificent people).

¹⁸ Other references include Murua 2004, ff. 51r, 52v, 58v, 66r, 67v, 142r.

¹⁹ (as we will see); (as will be told in time).

describes the coat of arms granted to the Cañari by the Spanish Crown – a cross on a shield of silver that the Cañari embellished with two lions on each side to signify their bravery. The narrator threads a fine needle to justify their unique status in Cuzco – one that intertwines their loyalty to the Spaniards and their Inca descent through Captain Guaritito (Varitito). ‘Como queda dicho en su historia’,²⁰ he was a Cañari warrior and son born out of wedlock to the eleventh Inca ruler, Huayna Capac.²¹ Guaritito was a valiant conqueror for his father and fought in many wars with Captain Colla Topa. Because of their Inca descent some Cañari leaders wore the Inca *mascapaycha* or royal tassel but only ‘con licencia o mandato expreso del ynga’,²² presumably in the pre-Hispanic era. The punishment for wearing the fringe without permission was to bury the transgressor alive, to destroy his *ayllu* and kin, and to mark him as a traitor to the Royal Inca. The narrator concludes that many people took their names because of their reputation as fierce warriors. They maintained a great reputation as descendants who helped in the conquest of Quito and Lacomarca (Guamanca) and remained faithful and loyal vassals of the Spanish Crown.

The chapter composition incorporates all the significant legal and performed markers of Spanish colonial nobility and vassalage. Familiar words from notarial records such as privileges and liberty, tribute and personal service, vassal, *hidalgo*, and captain are used. The Murua manuscripts’ chapters on captains describe the lives and accomplishments of male Indigenous leaders who were not rulers. The description of the Cañari coat of arms echoes the one granted to Chilche by the Crown – a silver cross with two lions and the words valor and loyalty written on each side (Iglesias 1985, 28). Only kings had the power to grant coats of arms in the Spanish empire. Across the Spanish Americas the heraldic emblems became contested tools of negotiation for Indigenous elites. Native subjects deployed coats of arms to illustrate the king’s acknowledgement of their noble status, their loyalty to the Spanish crown, and the confirmation of certain privileges. Coats of arms became a strategic tool to display superiority over other Andeans through the imagistic blending of pre-Hispanic and colonial markers of authority, ancestry and worth.²³ The Murua manuscripts incorporated fictitious and real coats of arms throughout the account. They functioned as a key visual tool to establish authority and legitimacy for the Mercedarian order, Inca kingdom, and royal Inca kinship, including fictitious emblems in the *coya* (Inca queen) portrait in the Galvin version by Guamán Poma and then copied into the Inca ruler portraits in the Getty version by Murua. Purqui’s textual addition of the Cañari coat of arms intentionally signals the Cañari status among the privileged Indigenous elite in Spanish American society.

In addition to aligning with Iberian criteria for nobility, the language and content of Ch. 17 is decidedly more conciliatory with the Inca than we would expect. The narrative signals alliances with the Inca through Guaritito’s descent and leaders associated with pre-Hispanic Inca rule, such as Colla Topa. Guaritito was likely involved in the Inca civil war by siding with Huascar and the Spanish pacification campaign. Guaritito’s mother, Cañari Vinca, was Huayna Capac’s secondary wife during the northern campaigns (Murua 2004, f. 48r). The Inca used interethnic marriages with elite woman to build alliances across their territory. According to

²⁰ (as it is said in their history).

²¹ A Guaritito is mentioned as Inca Capitán Capac Guaritito in both the Galvin (2004, f. 43r) and Getty (2008, f. 212r) manuscripts. The Galvin f. 43r chapter on Capitán Capac Guaritito was left blank. In the Getty he is identified as the son of Ynga Yupanqui and brother of Topa Ynga Yupanqui.

²² (with the license or express permission of the Inca).

²³ Cummins 1998, 91-148; Estenssoro Fuchs 2003, 101; Ramos 2005; Dominguez Torres 2011; Martínez 2014, and others.

the text, Guaritito led battles against rebellions in defense of his father, Huayna Capac. Noticeably, the chapter excluded his leadership during the Inca civil war against his half-brother, Atahualpa, who ruled in Cañari territory in the northern Andes. According to Miguel Cabello Valboa, Guaritito actively turned Francisco Pizarro against Atahualpa through an account of the cruelty inflicted by his captain's Challcochima and Quizquiz (1951, 474).

The alliance between Guaritito and Colla Topa against rebellions again aligned the Cañari with the Inca empire and its descendants. Information from the Murua manuscripts associate various timeframes, Inca rulers, and geographies to Colla Topa, but he was unquestionably a vibrant Inca captain in the social memory of Inca descendants. In the Galvin Murua, Colla Topa is mentioned as a leader under Pachacuti Inga Yupangui. 'Vencían con industria y a costa de tanta multitud, como lo hizo el valiente y fuerte Collatopa' (2004, f. 60v).²⁴ In the Getty Murua, Colla Topa is described as descended from Inca ruler, Viracocha Inga (2008, f. 65r) and captain to Topa Ynga Yupangui along with the Inca leaders Guaritito, Sinchiroca, and Huaillo Cusi Arauchi (f. 212r). Under Inca ruler Huayna Capac, he participated in conquest activity in northern Andes, such as Carangui, with Inca leaders Mihi and Auquitoma (f. 67v). He was part of the funerary rituals for Huayna Capac, including memorializing the Inca ruler's memories in *kipus*. Under the command of Atahualpa, he joined other relatives and leaders to ritually carry Huayna Capac's body to Cuzco. However, out of suspicion of his half-brother's intentions, Huascar took Colla Topa prisoner and tortured him along with Cusi Hualpa – initiating the Inca civil war between half-brothers (ff. 80v-83r).

In other words, if we follow the Galvin account, don Pedro pinpointed the pre-Hispanic alliance of Cañari and Inca descendants through Huayna Capac and his kin and followers in the north, the original territory of the Cañari. His literary intervention transcends the more recent colonial Cuzco politics and past by providing temporal depth to the Inca and Cañari relationship. The text does not mention Cañari caciques, such as Chilche, who fought the Inca. The expansive and complex account in the chronicle echoes Purqui's legal strategy in the 1579-1580 *probanza* that supported the pre-Hispanic precedent of Inca nobility and privileges. Significantly, the Inca endorsers of the Galvin Murua belonged to the same kin group of the Inca witnesses in the 1579-1580 *probanza*. However, the chronicle medium provided a more intricate and descriptive conceptualization of Cañari descent and status than the legal formula. As the chapter text continues, the connection to royal Inca genealogy through Guaritito allowed don Pedro to propose that a Cañari leader could wear the pre-Hispanic and colonial Inca marker of nobility and power – the *mascapaycha* or Inca royal tassel.

The *mascapaycha* was a textile object of authority with pre-Hispanic origin used by the Inca. In the colonial period, the royal fringe continued as a symbolic adornment reserved exclusively for Inca descendants, a privilege upheld, if not promoted, by Spanish officials. After the fragmentation of the Inca system, the red tassel held many, often contested, meanings over the course of the sixteenth century (Cummins 1998, 97). Prior to 1572, Spaniards explicitly defined the *mascapaycha* as Atahualpa's crown and linked it with the Iberian concept of the Crown, rulership, and their conquest narrative of a unified geopolitical Inca territory (Estensoro Fuchs 2005). Murua repeatedly translated the *mascapaycha* as 'crown', including Atahualpa's regal appearance when he was captured by Pizarro.²⁵ After Tupac Amaru's execution and Viceroy

²⁴ (They vanquished with skill and at the cost of many, like the valiant and strong Collatopa).

²⁵ 'Y traía en la frente una borla de lana colorada muy finísima, que era la corona e insignia de los reyes Ingas deste Reino' (And he wore on his forehead the multicolored tassel of very fine wool, that was the crown and insignia of the Inca king of this kingdom) (Murua 2004, f. 45r. Also, ff. 50r, 55r, 69r, 103r, 119r, 122r, and 135r).

Toledo's concerted efforts to delegitimize the Inca, the need to represent the sovereign ruler in Atahualpa became irrelevant for Spaniards. The *mascapaycha* shifted to include all the *Sapa* (supreme ruler) Inca as part of royal genealogical succession. Nonetheless, the perpetuation of the tassel's royal significance allowed Inca leaders to negotiate their 'pact' collectively and individually with the Spanish Crown and officials in Peru (Fane 2010, 36; Martínez 2014, 190-192).



Figure 3 – Inca ruler Manco Capac wearing a *mascapaycha* (Murua 2004, f. 9v). Courtesy of Sean Galvin

By the late sixteenth century, the royal tassel served as a vital Indigenous signifier of noble Inca continuity and adaptability by Indigenous artists, descendants, and intellectuals, including Murua's collaborators. The fringe highlighted their royal bloodline according to the custom of primogeniture and, therefore, confirmed their political legitimacy as descendants of pre-Hispanic rulers and nobles (Martínez 2014, 190). The tassel's circulation as an object and discursive symbol allowed Inca elites to convey multiple meanings depending on the context and audience. The performative wearing of the tassel with other elite Inca clothing and paraphernalia in portraits and festivals contributed to an accepted and uncontroversial display of Inca descendants' simultaneous vassalage and elite status in early colonial society, while downplaying their submission (Wuffarden 2005, 232-244). Symbols of prestige included elite textiles and paraphernalia, genealogical trees, portraits, coats of arms, and the *mascapaycha*.²⁶ In the Murua manuscripts the royal tassel is repeatedly associated visually and textually to royal Inca history and descent, including the portraiture of the Inca rulers and their paraphernalia, Inca leaders or 'captains' with Spanish conquistadors and officials, and the fictitious royal Inca coats of arms (see figure 3). The Cañari chapter is one vital and unique intervention.

²⁶ Cummins 1998; Phipps 2004; Estenssoro Fuchs 2005, 93-173; Ramos 2005 and others.

The symbolic significance of the *mascapaycha* in the colonial context crystalized with the establishment of the *alferéz real de los incas* or bearer of the royal standard in 1545 and the formation of the *cabildo* (council) of twenty-four for the election of the *alferéz real de los incas* of the eight native parishes (or *cabildo de los incas*) in 1595. The honorific position of the *alferéz real de los incas*, symbolized by the wearing of the *mascapaycha* during the festival procession of Santiago on 25 July, was established to reward those Inca in Cuzco who had remained loyal to Spaniards. The celebration was held in honor of the apostle's appearance at the conclusion of the Inca uprising led by Manco Inca. The annual election of the *alferéz real de los incas* had become so chaotic and competitive between kinship groups that in 1595 Cuzco's mayor formed an honorific council of Inca descendants from each native parish. Three of the Inca witnesses to the Galvin Murua appear as voting members in 1595 and 1598, which are two of the very few remaining annual election records: don Luis Chalco Yupanqui, don Juan Cusi Quispi, and don Pablo Manco Topa.²⁷ As historian Donato Amado Gonzales' studies show (2008 and 2017), even though membership in the *cabildo* derived from native parish organization, those Inca leaders' validity depended on native kinship and class groupings.

Purqui provided an early precedent for his *ayllu* to assert increasing power in native colonial Cuzco by positioning the Cañari as contenders to the *mascapaycha* in an Inca history. He attempted to secure the privileged social status of the Cañari through two of the most significant determinants in colonial Cuzco – descent from Inca rulers and loyalty to the Spanish crown. Don Pedro's literary intervention in the Galvin Murua created a complex historical discourse for a Cañari man to be the *alferéz real de los incas* that was more difficult through legal avenues. By claiming the privilege to wear the royal tassel, albeit with Inca validation and attitudes of reverence, don Pedro both challenged and associated his Cañari community with Inca exclusivity. His realigned collective memory of conquest negotiated a uniquely powerful position in colonial Cuzco society. Poignantly, he inscribed his community's reformulation into an Inca history for a Spanish audience circa 1590 at the height of internal Inca competition and rancor that led to the formation of the *cabildo de los incas* in 1595. He likely identified an opportunity through the more expansive chronicle medium to introduce the Cañari into the honorific corporation and further solidify their power and prestige in Cuzco.

In fact, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, membership in the *cabildo de los incas* was repeatedly contested by non-Inca inhabitants in Cuzco, particularly the powerful Cañari and Chachapoya from the Santa Ana parish. For instance, in 1600, the low attendance at the annual gathering of the *cabildo de los incas* (likely due to illness) prompted don Pedro Huayna Yupanqui, a non-Inca, to insert his membership and vote. In resistance, Inca descendants, don Luis Chalco Yupanqui and don Pedro Tito Cusiguallpa officially voiced their dissatisfaction, leading to the permanent barring of non-Inca members on 21 October 1600 by the Viceroy of Peru, don Luis de Velasco.²⁸ Decades later, in 1685, don Francisco Uclucana Sabaytocto again gathered a group of Inca descendants, offered them *chicha* (maiz beer) and wine in an unsuccessful attempt to promote himself and his son as the *alferéz real de los incas*. The Inca used the 1600 document in a petition to rebuke don Francisco Uclucana Sabaytocto, who they identified as 'Sahuaytocto indio cañari' (García 1937, 199). According to historian Donato Amado Gonzales, he was descendant and *cacique* of the Chachapoya *ayllu* in the San-

²⁷ 4 June 1595, 24 June 1598, and 29 June 1600 elections records are in Archivo Regional del Cuzco, *Betancur Collection*, vol. 1, no. 25, ff. 288-294. The documents in the Betancur Collection are a copy of original documents.

²⁸ García 1937, 200; Amado Gonzales 2017, 117-120 and 133-134.

ta Ana parish, not a Cañari. However, the assumption by Inca descendants to conflate him as a Cañari leader exposes the dominance of the Cañari *ayllu* (2017, 188-197). In the same decade, the Santa Ana parish, and particularly Francisco Uclucana Sabaytocto, commissioned a famous painting series on native processions during Corpus Christi that linked the Cañari with Inca nobles and Spanish colonial power. One painting captured the might of the Cañari and Chachapoya from the parish of Santa Ana in their procession to the cathedral in Cuzco's main plaza. Their sumptuous attire and banner and central position in front of the cathedral under the gaze of Spanish ecclesiastics and officials asserted their privileged status in Cuzco. The visual narrative of the paintings presented the Cañari as legitimate nobles and bearers for the symbolic office of the *alferéz real de los incas* (Amado Gonzales 2017, 205-210; Dean 1999, 183). Following the long arc of social memory and ethnogenesis, a century earlier don Pedro's literary conceptualization of Cañari ethnic descent and status in colonial Cuzco society justified their intimate relationship with the *mascapaycha* and provided an early validation for non-Inca participation in the *cabildo de los incas* and as bearers of the *alferéz real de los incas*.

Don Pedro's efforts to conceptualize the unique heritage of the Cañari in the late sixteenth century according to Inca and Iberian criteria of nobility becomes even more poignant when considering that in 1616 the Cañari and Chachapoya appear to have had their privileged status threatened. The circumstances prompted the Cañari leadership to successfully petition Viceroy Príncipe de Esquilache to reconfirm and ratify their rights and privileges without requiring personal services. As part of the petition, the *cacique principales* of the Cañaris in Santa Ana parish, which by then did not include don Pedro Purqui, authorized don Juan de la Raya y Cámara to represent them.²⁹ The Galvin chapter clearly served as a complementary venue to legitimate Cañari's potentially precarious position and consistent need to protect and, if possible, promote their status within Cuzco's political and cultural context and history. Indeed, Murua's removal of the chapter for the Getty version underscores the Cañari's insecurity.

The question remains as to exactly why Murua redacted the Cañari chapter and references for the Getty version in the early 1600s. He would have already been aware of the ambivalent position of the Cañari in Cuzco during the Galvin production by living in Cuzco and through his collaborator, Guamán Poma. While working on the Galvin Murua, the Andean artist participated between 1595 and 1600 in an unsuccessful lawsuit against the Cañari and Chachapoya. He claimed traditional land rights in the Huamanga region over the Cañari and Chachapoya. Subsequently, in his own chronicle he repeatedly disparaged them.³⁰ Correspondingly, the accompanying image to the Cañari chapter was left blank. Guamán Poma, who completed the illustrations for this section of the Galvin manuscript (Trentelman 2014; Turner 2014; Ossio 2015), may have left the folio empty to undercut Cañari leadership in the visual narrative (Schoepflin 2022, 146-149). In the Getty Murua, the acute threats to Cañari privileged status in the early 1600s may have prompted Murua to question if the perspectives shared in the chapter were appropriate for an Inca history. Moreover, Murua stated explicitly in the Getty Murua his aim to, 'Dar mayor claridad a esta historia' (Murua 2008, f. 23v).³¹ He avoided confusion for the Spanish reader by adhering more strictly to European standards of a royal history. The friar edited the order of the Inca kings, queens, and captains and streamlined the section that

²⁹ Amado Gonzales 2017, 190; Archivo Regional del Cuzco, Francisco Hurtado, Prot. 113, 1616, 19 August 1616, f. 1135.

³⁰ For the full collection of the lawsuit documents, see Guamán Poma 1991.

³¹ (give greater clarity to this history).

included the Cañari chapter to focus exclusively on Inca customs and governance. In addition to new material on the Mercedarians in Peru and the Inca resistance in Vilcabamba, the friar incorporated substantially new copied text to the life histories of Inca rulers' Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. Like many other passages in his chronicle, Murua copied textual descriptions of rulers from other chronicle sources, including Cristobal de Molina, a secular priest and advocate for the Inca elite in Cuzco.³² One example explains:

Dizen comúnmente los antiguos desta nación de los cañares que assido siempre traidora - revoltosa, y embustera lleuando y trayendo chismes y que por los muchos que lleuaron sin fundamento, y con él a Huascar ynga de Atao Hualpa los mando matar y hizo en ellos la destrucción que hemos visto y aun ágora tiene las misma costumbre y ordinario en las revueltas y diferencias andan a viua quien vence no teniendo más firmeza que la que descubren los buenos o malos sucessos. (Murua 1616, f. 106r).³³

The passage describes the Cañari as consistently deceitful and unreliable allies in the past and present. The negative representation from Molina's Inca sources introduced, potentially inadvertently, the more negative tenor to the Getty Murua. Finally, Murua aspired to pass royal censorship to receive authorization to publish from the Crown in a political atmosphere of Spanish imperial consolidation. Potentially, don Pedro's literary intervention could no longer be accommodated as a challenge to dominant concepts of the Inca elite, *mascapaycha*, and the idealized projection of a stable colonial Andean social order. Murua likely decided that the Cañari's interventions no longer safely fitted within his goals to present a chronicle focused on Inca history that met the expectations of a Spanish and transatlantic audience and context.

Despite these challenges, don Pedro, as a Cañari leader of *mitmaq* heritage in late sixteenth-century Cuzco, promoted the collective memory and ethnic identity of his community through his literary efforts. From his testimony in the *probanza* to the Galvin Murua, his advocacy and mediation contributed to the Cañari's long, continuous process of ethnogenesis. As a complement to his legal strategies, don Pedro not only infiltrated, but actively participated in the literary adaptation and reformulation of competing and evolving visions of Andean history for a broader Iberian audience through Murua's transatlantic chronicle project. By protecting Inca memory, heritage, and privileges in the face of shared colonial oppression, don Pedro indirectly defended and legitimated the elite rights of his community in the colonial present and future while maintaining important alliances with Inca and Spanish actors. These alliances and strategies by Purqui and his community were not exclusive or singularly opposed to each other. Rather, they existed as part of a composite history in which all the accumulated threads dynamically and iteratively coalesced into their unique and powerful role for the Cañari in Andean society.

³² Though not an unusual early modern practice, scholars have identified multiple uncited sources in Murua's texts (Rowe 1987; Julien 2000; Álvarez-Calderón 2007, and others).

³³ (The elders commonly say of the Cañari nation that they had always been traitors – rebellious and deceitful, spreading and making gossip, and that for many they spread them without reason, with him from Atao Hualpa to Huascar Inca he order them to kill and they made the destruction that we have seen and [they] still now have the same customs and norms in the riots and differences, they live with whoever wins, without having more conviction than that who realizes the good and bad results).

Appendix

Martín de Murua, *Historia del origen* (2004 [1590-1596]), f. 69r.

Capítulo 17, De los famosos hechos de los yndios cañares y de sus privilegios

Trayan estos señores yngas De Hordinario mucha gente de guardia Consigo que era de yndios cañares Por ser velicosos, animossos, valientes y de mucha confiança de quien en la guerra mas se confiauan a manera que el turco con sus genízaros, aunque de quien mas se fiaban de todos en general eran de sus propios naturales y parientes y que estos cañares eran Reservados de tributo y de otra cossa, alguna de los cuales algunos an perseurado en esta gran çiudad Del cuzco y viben en la parrochia de la señora sancta ana el capitán de los cuales es don pedro Purqui y a causa de auer servido muy bien en todo lo que sea ofreçido anssí entre españoles como entre los mismos yndios y estar siempre aparejados como leales Vasallos e Hidalgos para ello. Al presente anssí mismo son reçerbados de tributo y de seruicio personal y de otras muchas ymposiciones. Y Por proviçión de la Real audiencia de la çiudad de los Reyes están declarados y dados por leales y como a tales mandando se les guarden sus privilegios y libertades y dado les por armas una chruz en un escudo de plata que traen tocado y puesto en la cabeza y por ser muy animosos y balientes se les añadieron por ynçinias dos leones a los lados de la cruz. Leuantados y mandando que como a tales Hidalgos, se les guarden sus libetades y privilegios como dicho es. Assí mesmo descendían estos famosos y velicosas cañares de la sangre Real del ynga por un hijo que tubo el gran guayna capac en una yndia de los dichos cañares llamado el famosso capitán guaritito el qual fue muy valiente y para mucho y conquisto muchas tierras e yndios q[ue] estaban alsados contra el ynga su padre y Poniéndolos en mucho Horden y conçierto tHeniendo grandes guerras con el famoso colla topa capitan como queda dicho en su istoria y assí fue permitido A algunos destos dichos cañares poner la uorla y mascapaycha del ynga en la caueça como fuese principal a caueça Por la descendencia que los dichos tubieron de el belicosso capitán guaritito ymfante aunque esto auía de ser con lisençia o mandato Expreso del ynga y al que se la ponía sin ella lo enterrauan viuo y asolauan todo su aylo y parentela y los daba por traydores a la corona Real del ynga y Por caussa de ser desendientes deste valerosso capitán guaritito y d ser tan arduos balientes y animossos en la guerra y gente tan noble tomaron nombre de cañares y como tales descendientes suyos la ayudaron en la conquista de quito y de to[roto] a quel Lacomarca como fuertes y valerosos capitanes quedando siempre en esta Reputación y fama y siendo muy tenidos y estimados y assí lo sono y en día en esta gran ciudad del cuzco y en todo este reyno por fieles y leales vasallos de su mag[esta]d.

(Chapter 17, Of the famous deeds of the Cañari and of their privileges

These Inca lords brought many guards with them who were Cañari Indians because they were brave, courageous, valiant, and very confident. For whom in war they [Cañari] were the most trusted in the manner of the Turkish with their Janissary, although who they [Inca] generally trusted most of all were their own natives and relatives. And these Cañaris were reserved for tribute and other things, some of which some continue today in this great city of Cuzco. And they live in the Parish of Santa Ana. Their captain is don Pedro Purqui. And they were always considered loyal vassals and nobles for having served so well, either among the Spaniards or

the Indians. Today, they are exempt from [paying] tribute and personal service and many other impositions, and by provision of the Real Audiencia of the City of Lima they were declared to be loyal and as such ordered that their privileges and liberties be guarded and given a coat of arms: a cross on a silver shield that they wear with a headdress placed on the head. Because they are very courageous and valiant, they added as symbols two lions to the sides of the cross. They are decreed as nobles with their freedoms and privileges maintained, as it is said. Likewise, these famous and fierce Cañaris descended from the royal blood of the Inca by a son of the great Huayna Capac and an Indian of the Cañari, called the famous Captain Guaritito. He was very brave and for a long time conquered many lands and Indians that had rebelled against the Inca, his father, and putting them into much order and agreement. [He] had many great wars with the famous captain Colla Topa, as was said in their history. It was allowed for some of these Cañaris to put the Inca *borla* [tassel] and *mascapaycha* [royal tassel] of the Inca on their head like the principal leader for the descendancy they had from the valiant captain [and] prince, Guaritito, although had to be with the license or express mandate from the Inca. If they [Cañari] did it without permission, they [Inca] buried him alive and destroyed all his *ayllu* and relatives and labeled them traitors to the royal crown of the Inca. For being the descendants of the valiant capitán Guaritito, and for being so diligent, valiant, spirited in war, and noble people, [others] took Cañari names. As their descendants helped in the conquest of Quito and of [missing] Larcomarca as strong and brave capitans, they [Cañari] always maintained to this day in this great city of Cuzco and throughout this kingdom their reputation and fame for being highly regarded and esteemed as faithful and loyal vassals of his majesty).

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