Review Articles

The Spanish and Inca Peru

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Garcilosa de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru Abridged,* transl. By Harold V. Livermore. Ed. With introduction by Karen Spalding. Cambridge and Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006. xxx + 232 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87220-844-5 (hbk.); 978-0-87220-843-8 (pbk.). $45.00 (hbk.); $16.95 (pbk.).

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government Abridged*, Selected, Translated, and Annotated by David Frye. Cambridge and Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006. xxxiv + 376 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87220-842-1 (hbk.); 978-0-87220-841-4 (pbk.). $37.95 (hbk.); $12.95 (pbk.).

Pedro Sarmineto de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*. Translated and edited by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith. Introduction by Brian S. Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007. xviii + 268 pp. ISBN: 978-0-292-71413-7 (hbk.); 978-0-292-71485-4 (pbk.). $50.00 (hbk.); $19.95 (pbk.).

Titu Cusi Yupangui, *History of How the Spaniards Arrived in Peru*, Transl. With Introduction by Catherine Julien. Cambridge and Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006. xl + 182 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87220-829-2 (hbk.); 978-0-87220-828-5 (pbk.). $45.00 (hbk.); $16.95 (pbk.).

Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*. Translated, introduced, and annotated by Ralph Bauer. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2005. xviii + 166 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87081-821-9 (pbk.). $21.95.

This set of five books consists of a series of colonial chronicles and histories about the Andean region at the time of the Spanish conquest. Combined, they provide a number of easily comprehensible accounts, of interest to both undergraduate students and a general audience, reflecting both sides of the cross-cultural encounter—the Spanish and the Indian. Though these qualities reflect the strengths of these texts, it simultaneously represents their weakness: a simplified and structured interpretation of the highly complex realities of pre-Hispanic and early colonial Andean society.

It is extremely challenging to recreate the history of societies "without writing". Usually, oral tradition is considered to be one of the main sources, though certainly not the only one. Modern Inca historiography has relied extensively on chronicles, representing a written version of oral traditions and collected five hundred years ago—a technique with obvious poten-

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tial and pitfalls. We will come back to such matters after commenting on each individual work.

Garcilaso de la Vega el Inca's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* is a selection of texts from Harold V. Livermore's 1966 translation.[1] As Karen Spalding states in the introduction of this new abridged version, "This edition is intended for people who enjoy going to strange and exotic places and getting to know new and unfamiliar societies and cultures". Spalding opens with a straightforward biography of Garcilaso's life, but then adds her own interpretation to a number of issues, such as the collaboration of the Inca elite and their position as indigenous "go-betweens" in the Spanish conquest and the historicity of Garcilaso's work. Collaboration with the Spaniards in an effort to maintain position and status came at a cost: "The price of the alliance for the *curacas*, however, was their active support imposing Christianity" (xix). Moreover, "as the sympathy of the crown for the Andean population declined, the Inca elite that was courted and favoured during the 1540s and '50s saw its hopes of recognition and recompense from the crown as the descendants of royalty fade" (xx). In the same way, Spalding introduces the matter of whether Garcilaso's work can be viewed as historical, a controversial issue in modern Andean historiography.[2]

Garcilaso de la Vega "el Inca" (1539-1616), was a bastard son of a Spanish officer and an Indian noble woman. He was born in 1539 and left the Andes region in 1560, never to return. He wrote the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* ("Royal Commentaries of the Incas") between 1609 and 1616, when he was already in his seventies. Obviously, his work was based on memories more than fifty years old, begging the question how reliable this kind of source really is. Reviewing the selected chapters, we realise that these excerpts fits neatly with Spalding's own points of view, seemingly contradicting her intention announced at the onset of the book that proper academic discussion should be founded on mere disclosure rather than interpretation.

David Frye is to be congratulated for his audacious and modest translation and annotation of an abridged version of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* (written between 1600 and 1615). The translation of Guaman Poma's work into English was arguable the most daunting of the texts under discussion, based on a digital version of an original manuscript located at the Danish Royal Library, Copenhagen, using Adorno, Murra, and Urioste's *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1980) as reference.[3] Frye's organisational scheme is clear, consisting of four sections: "General Considerations"; "The Andean World in the Time of Guaman Poma"; "Reading the First New Chronicle"; and: "Notes of the Text and Translation".

The first section, "General Considerations", consists of references and is a virtual biography of Guaman Poma's life. It is very important to point out one detail: Frye's definition of *visita* as "church inspection tour" (x) in reference to the first public event in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's (c. 1550-after 1616) life and his role as an interpreter, "this time for a different kind of *visitador*: not a church inspector, but the Spanish judge of the city of Huamanga in charge of legitimizing land titles" (x-xi; cursive in the original). Here, Frye unfortunately follows a common historiographical confusion about the concept of *visita*. As Guillermo Céspedes dela Castillo (1946) and Ismael Sanchez Bella (1991) have demonstrated, the *visita* was an inquiry, a proceeding ordered to establish any specific matter; ecclesiastical, administrative, judicial, fiscal, and the like.[4] Thus, there is no other kind of *visita*, but rather a *visita* with another goal or subject.

The second section, "The Andean World in the Time of Guaman Poma", consists of a brief description of contemporary Andean society and culture, largely following the path trodden by traditional historiography. In contrast, the third section, "Reading the First New Chronicle", has a more anthropological slant. In the editor's words: "Guaman Poma explicitly modelled 'this book' or 'this chronicle' (as he repeatedly calls it) on the Spanish books that he voraciously read..." (xxi). It becomes apparent here that Guaman Poma's main efforts were aimed at explaining the injustices of colonial rule to the "winners"—most notably King

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Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621)—in his own "discourse structure", arguing that the Spanish were merely foreign settlers in Peru.

The final section, "Notes of the Text and Translation"—which should have been placed before the introduction—indicates the difficulties and frustrations experienced by many a modern translator of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts: "'Accessible' is not a world easily associated with this book. The modern reader, accustomed to the standardised spelling and grammar of today's printed book, is confronted in the Guaman Poma manuscript with page after page of run-on sentences with virtually no useful punctuation, words spelled in every conceivable variation, and a lack of concern for leaving spaces between words" (xxvii). Even for Spanish-speaking students and scholars, accustomed to dealing with sixteenth-century books, reading Guaman Poma may prove to be a daunting task. In sum, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* is a valuable text to introduce students to Andean ethnohistory.

Editors Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith assert that Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *The History of the Incas* (1572) "is one of the most important manuscripts surviving from the Spanish Conquest period of Peru". A bold statement indeed, in view of the fact that there are, at least according to Rau Porras Borrenechea, twenty-four chronicles dealing with the Incas, including that of Sarmiento de Gamboa (1532-92). Not to diminish its significance, but Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia de los Incas* was written as part of a reorganisation plan for the Viceroyalty of Peru in accordance with the *Junta Magna* of 1588.[5] As a result, the text had a clear political motivation and strong bias towards the Crown's interests. Along the same lines, Bauer and Smith state that "a government in exile in Vilcabamba had carried out a guerrilla war against the Spaniards", and that "Toledo was also told to put an end to the long-standing war with the Incas of Vilcabamba" (1-2). Theirs resembles more of a modern interpretation than an actual historical reading of primary documents. First, during the initial thirty-five years of Spanish presence in Andean America, Spaniards fought Spaniards, both sides having Indian allies—as evinced, for instance, by the cases of Manco Inca Yupanqui (1516-44) and Paullu Inca (1518-49). Second, at least to my knowledge, no historical document seems to support such a statement. Third, referring to Toledo's reform (15), the editors again ignore the *Junta Magna* of 1588. Finally, Bauer and Smith's "idealization" of Sarmiento's work is exposed: "Sarmiento's work is unique among these, not only because of the large scale of this investigation and the dramatic public reading of the manuscript, but also because in 1572 there were still former officials in Cuzco who had held positions of power during the final years of Empire" (33). Although not explicitly stated in the text, Bauer and Smith have combined the original manuscript with Clements R. Markham's *History of the Inca* (1904).[6] A "sample translation" has been added as Appendix I, and might prove to be useful. Bauer and Smith's "Introduction", however, distorts the history of the Peruvian Viceroyalty in the sixteenth century, offering the reader a biased version of the subject.

The final two texts, *History of How the Spanish Arrived in Peru* and *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, refer to the same manuscript, by Titu Cusi Yupanqui (1529-71), a son of Manco Inca Yupanqui and Inca ruler of Vilcabamba (1558-71), usually known in Spanish as the *Instruccion al Licenciado Lope de Castro.* The style of Catherine Julien's dual-language edition is essentially narrative. At the end of the "Introduction", she describes the location and the other publications of the manuscript. One important merit of this edition is indeed the publication of two versions of the document, both in English and in Spanish, providing the reader with a highly functional comparative tool. However, aside from the narrative, Julien includes Western political and legal concepts, including the political division or "province", a clear Spanish word, in the description of Vilcabamba Inca. In addition, she refers to the "estate that had been alienated by their descendant" (xi). This Western notion of property has been seriously questioned and today its extension to the pre-Hispanic world has become virtually untenable[7] A clear example of Western reasoning is: "Between the properties granted and the *encomienda* of Beatriz [Coya Inca],[8] Titu Cusi and his son would be able

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to support themselves outside of Vilcabamba" (xii). One interesting fact is Julien's interpretation of a document from 1565, which she styles *Memorial*, reflecting an interview between Titu Cusi and Juan de Matienzo (1520-79), Judge of the Court of Charcas.[9] Nevertheless, this text offers an important interpretation of the relationship between Spaniards and Vilcabamba's Inca, very different from Bauer and Decoster's notion of a "guerrilla war".

Like Julien's work, Ralph Bauer uses the original manuscript by Titu Cusi Yupanqui located at the Escorial in Madrid. His work, however, might be considered as a "discourse analysis" in its description of "cataclysmic events". As Bauer argues: "Aware that their clubs, pikes, and slingshots were largely ineffective against the armor and mounted Spanish conquistadors, Native leaders soon learned to appropriate not only the foreigners' use of swords, firearms, and horses, but also the most powerful weapon that the invaders had brought: the written word" (11).

Bauer emphasises the use of language, especially bilingualism, such as Quechua-Spanish and Spanish-Quechua. Indian elites had to learn Spanish, but Spanish missionaries had to learn Quechua too. It was not merely an issue of translation, but of cultural exchange as well. This manuscript, titled "Instructions to Councilor Lope de Castro", consists of a selection, and, of course, nowhere deals with "guerrilla war" as argued by Bauer and Smith. The author throughout continues scrutinising Tito Cusi's personality and thought via a series of anecdotes.

Bauer refers to *quipus* (a set of strings of different colours with knots) as "indigenous structures of knowledge". We know they were an accounting system since references to them appear in the *visitas* for fiscal and/or demographic reasons, but whether they were alphanumeric has recently become a matter of debate. The question is, as the author rightly points out, that the *quipu* should be supplemented with the available oral tradition and its *quipucamayoc* ("quipu authority") rather than the Spanish literary tradition and its chroniclers.

After describing the structure of the document, Bauer arrives at a very important question in relation to history: the handling of time. As he asserts:

> The hybrid character of this text as a history is manifest not only in its form, however, but also in its content. As exasperated modern historians have lamented when dealing with the subject of pre-Conquest Inca history generally, colonial sources based on Inca oral traditions are notoriously at odds with one another. One difficulty has been that the Inca traditions did not give dates or historical events or lifetimes of rulers, partially because their concept of history was cyclical. (31)

Unfortunately, this is exactly why we cannot refer to a "History of the Incas" in the Western sense, as is common in European and U.S. historiography. Instead, the *Inka-ri* or "Myth of Eternal Return" clearly represents Andean thought of the sixteenth century. At the end of the text, Bauer adds a note about Quechua terms and their orthography and, of course, a reference to other editions of the manuscript.

After reviewing these texts, one cannot but recognise the challenges posed by the nature of most sources on Andean America. As Franklin Pease already acutely pointed out in his *Las Crónicas y Los Andes* (1995) regarding myths and the construction of history, the process of descriptive narrative, passed from one person to another, amplified and polished, is the story of crude myths and hearsay becoming historical "facts".[10] The "other" was first narrated by the untrained, who did not even understand the language; the meaning of such terms as *Inca*, *Cuzco*, or *ayllu*, came years after first contact, and even then nuances were distorted. The voice of those who next set out to make sense of the peoples of the Andean region echoed Old World historical models from classical antiquity, the church fathers' histories, or the chronicles of the European dynasties. These sorts of problems of translation haunt the construction of any "History of the Inca". Behind the façade of sheer divulgation hide innumerable personal agendas and conceptions. At this point, one is reminded of an excellent

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article by Ines Gareis (1994) on the so-called "Rashomon effect" in the case of ethnohistorical sources, where four storytellers each give their own interpretation, none of them valid.[11]

Notes

1 Harold V. Livermore, trans., *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. 2 vols. Austin, TX: University Texas Press, 1966.
2 See Raul Porras Barrenechea, *Los Cronistas del Perú (1528-1650)*. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1986. According to Barrenechea, Garcilaso had a "unilateral vision", 400.
3 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. Critical edition by John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno. Translations and textual analysis from *quechua* by Jorge L. Urioste. México: Siglo XXI, 1980.
4 See Guillermo Céspedes dela Castillo, "La Visita Como Institución Indiana", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 3 (1946): 984-1025; and Ismael Sanchez Bella, *Derecho Indiano. Estudios. Las Visitas Generales en la América Española (Siglos XVI-XVII)*. Pamplona: University of Navarra, 1991.
5 See Lewis Hanke and Celso Rodríguez, *Los Virreyes Españoles en América Durante el Gobierno de la Casa de Austria. Perú* I. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles CLLXXX, 1978.
6 Clements R. Markham, ed., *History of the Incas and the Execution of Tupac Amaru*. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 22. Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907.
7 Among others see Franklin Pease, "La Noción de Propiedad entre Los Incas: Una Aproximación", in Sosho Masuda, ed., *Etnografia e Historia del Mundo Andino: Continuidad y Cambio*. Tokyo: University of Tokio, 1986; Susan E. Ramírez, *The World Turned Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
8 Beatriz Coya Inca, Sayri Tupac's daughter, who had been promised in marriage to Titu Cusi's son, Felipe Quispe Tito. Finally, Beatriz Coya Inca was married to Martin Garcia de Loyola. Sayri Tupac was Titu Cusi's predecessor as ruler of Vilcabamba.
9 Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "El Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui y su Entrevista con el Oidor Matienz 1565", *Mercurio Peruano*, 23:167 (1941): 3-18.
10 Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y Los Andes*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995.
11 Inés Gareis. "El Efecto Rashomon en Fuentes Etnohistóricas", *América Indígena* 54:4 (1994): 141-56.

The Seven Years' War and the "Making" of America: A Review Essay

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Walter R. Borneman, *The French and Indian War: Deciding the Fate of North America*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006. xxiv + 360 pp. ISBN: 978-0-0607-6184-4 (hbk.). $27.95.

William M. Fowler Jr., *Empires at War: The French and Indian War and the Struggle for North America, 1754-1763*. New York, NY: Walker and Company, 2005. xxviii + 332 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8027-7737-9 (pbk.). $15.00.

Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of America*. Pivotal Moments in American History. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006. xx + 220 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-530071-0 (hbk.). £16.99; $28.00.

Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2006. xxvi + 294 pp. ISBN: 978-0-14-303804-7 (pbk.). $16.00.

The year 2005 marked the 250th anniversary of the beginning of the Seven Years' War and as often happens with milestones, this anniversary has led to a small explosion of books depicting and explaining the conflict. These milestone books are usually written with a popular rather than a strictly academic audience in mind and each of the books reviewed here

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