

TALES OF ANCESTRY, INHERITANCE, AND POSSESSION: *New Documentary Evidence on Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the First General Land Inspection*

KEYWORDS: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, Huamanga, Land tenure, Land inspections

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's 1616 *El primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno* stands as the author's staggering attempt to obtain by privilege that which he could not secure through justice: status as a native lord and title to lands. Indeed, the last 20 years of the native chronicler's life as we know it, roughly from 1595 to 1615, are marked by the usual milestones of an ascending clerical career in the service of provincial priests, inspectors, and administrators from the south central Andean region stretching between Jauja and Huamanga.¹

I wish to acknowledge the support of Texas State University, in the form of a Research Enhancement Grant, for the archival research necessary for this note. I too thank Caroline Garriott for her careful translation of the original draft.

1. The literature on Felipe Guaman Poma is vast. Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup have compiled an excellent bibliography, available at the Danish Royal Library's [Guaman Poma website](http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/biblio/index.htm), <http://www5.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/biblio/index.htm> (accessed October 21, 2022). Recent works on Guaman Poma's official posts and legal disputes stem from Rolena Adorno's foundational analysis "The Genesis of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2:1-2 (1993): 53–92. See also Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); Galen Brokaw, "Texto y contexto en la *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Letras* 91:133 (2020): 57–80; Carlos Hurtado Ames and Víctor Solier Ochoa, eds., *Guamán Poma de Ayala en Jauja* (Trujillo, Peru: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, 2017); Jean-Philippe Husson, "The Issue of the Date of Birth of the Chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala as Debated at the Colloquium in Poitiers in 2010," *Fund og Forskning* 54 (2015): 15–29; Juan M. Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido. La idea de la historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008); José Carlos de la Puente Luna, "El capitán, el ermitaño y el cronista: claves para establecer cuándo nació el autor de la *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*," in *La memoria del mundo inca: Guaman Poma y la escritura de la Nueva crónica*, Jean-Philippe Husson, ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016); "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, administrador de bienes de comunidad," *Revista Andina* 47 (2008): 9–52; "Cuando el 'punto de vista nativo' no es el punto de vista de los nativos: Felipe Guaman Poma y el problema de la apropiación de tierras en el Perú colonial," *Boletín del Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos* 37:1 (2008): 123–149; and Steve J. Stern, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la personalidad histórica de don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Histórica* 2:2 (1978): 225–228.

This upward social movement comes to a sudden halt in 1600, when Guaman Poma is whipped and exiled after a humiliating defeat in court. Although the chronicler's failure to obtain judicial recognition of his noble ancestry and lordly (*cacique*) status, as well as legal title to certain lands close to Huamanga, inaugurates a period of uncertainty, he reappears as "author" only a few years later. Once again, Guaman Poma is at the service of local Spanish officials, this time in the nearby Lucanas province.² There Guaman Poma resumes his partially successful attempts at colonial self-fashioning. With his appointment as administrator of community endowments in Lucanas, but more so with his ongoing project of the *Nueva corónica*, he begins to represent himself as author, prince, and councilor to the king.³ In this illustrated manuscript, he rewrites the history of the Incas and the Spanish conquest, correcting previous authors and enlightening the Spanish crown on the path to "good government."

Guaman Poma invokes the loyalty of his illustrious ancestors, who witnessed the first encounter between natives and Spaniards, as well as his own worth as noble adviser and polemicist. With every step, he lays out an alternative path to reward and privilege for himself and his "children and descendants."⁴ This path was to eventually carry him to King Philip III, to whom he writes from Santiago de Chipao in early 1615, before embarking on a journey to deliver the final version of the *Nueva corónica* to the viceroy's "house of good government" in Lima. Guaman Poma then vanishes from the historical record.⁵

This biographical sketch helps us to contextualize additional evidence involving the life and times of Guaman Poma, which is presented in this research note for

2. For a summary of the known biographical facts, see Puente Luna, "Felipe Guaman Poma." Some of the most innovative works of recent years study the instances of collaboration between Guaman Poma and the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa, author of the *Historia general del Perú*. Guaman Poma worked as an illustrator of an early version of the *Historia* (c. 1596–1600) and knew Murúa's oeuvre, a source of inspiration, intimately. The two authors must have met in or around 1596. See Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, "Guaman Poma and the Manuscripts of Fray Martín de Murúa. Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the *Historia del Perú*," *Fund og Forskning* 44 (2005): 188–193, 220, Part IV; "The Making of Murúa's *Historia general del Perú*," in *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's Historia general del Perú*, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig Xiii 16, Thomas Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), 20–23; José Cárdenas Bunsen, "La legislación eclesiástica, el cabildo indígena del hospital del Cuzco y la relación entre Murúa y Guaman Poma," *Letras (Lima)* 91:133 (2020): 163–186; and Juan M. Ossio, "Murúa's Two Manuscripts: A Comparison," in *The Getty Murúa*, 78.

3. For a recent analysis of this aspect of the author's work, see Lauren G. Kilroy-Ewbank, "Fashioning a Prince for All the World to See: Guaman Poma's Self-Portraits in the *Nueva corónica*," *The Americas* 75:1 (2018): 47–94.

4. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Una carta inédita de Huamán Poma de Ayala," *Revista de Indias* 6:20 (1945): 325–327.

5. Adorno, "The Genesis," 75–84; Rolena Adorno, "A Witness unto Itself: The Integrity of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615/1616)," *Fund og Forskning* 41 (2002): 46–49; Adorno and Boserup, "Guaman Poma," 220–225. Key documents from the latter period of the chronicler's life include Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Una carta inédita"; Elías Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: y no ay remedio* (Lima: Centro de Investigaciones y Promoción Amazónica, 1991); Juan Zorrilla, "La posesión de Chiara por los indios Chachapoyas," *Wari* 1 (1977): 49–64.

the first time.⁶ Don Bernabé Susco Paucar's 1615 titles to the maize fields of Tomaringa, the information in question, contribute to the scholarship on Guaman Poma in three related ways. First, these land titles add to a growing body of documentary studies that broaden our understanding of the chronicler's life journey, thus providing further context for his famous text. Second, the titles allow us to further flesh out Guaman Poma's activities as interpreter during the First General Land Inspection (*Primera visita y composición general de tierras*), allowing us to weigh the latter's impact on his subsequent writings and legal disputes. Third, the papers hint at some avenues through which Guaman Poma could have obtained firsthand information about pre-Hispanic and colonial Incas of both high and low status, one of the *Nueva corónica's* principal themes, while in Huamanga rather than in Cuzco, as previous authors have usually assumed. An appendix to this research note, titled *Testimonio de cómo las tierras de Tomaringa pertenecen a don Bernabé Susco Paucar*, reproduces this novel testimony.

INVESTIGATING LAND

The land titles locate Felipe Guaman Poma in the villages of Socos and Paccha (near the present-day districts of Socos, Vinchos, and Santiago de Pischa), only a few miles west of the modern city of Ayacucho (known as Huamanga in colonial times), during the final days of December 1594. Thanks to similar documentary discoveries from recent years, the chronicler's general whereabouts and activities around this time are fairly well known. Toward the end of 1592, or at the beginning of the following year, Guaman Poma was assigned to serve as one of the interpreters in the First General Land Inspection, aimed at regularizing the precarious ownership regimes that coexisted in the viceroyalty at that time. This appointment, which he probably received while in Lima, placed Guaman Poma in the service of Gabriel Solano de Figueroa, a presbyter and the judge commissioned to inspect the south central provinces of Jauja, Huancavelica, and Huamanga.⁷ After a brief stay in

6. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, indias del pueblo de Socos en la provincia de Huanta, que era de la encomienda del Marqués de Oropesa, sobre propiedad de unas tierras en el valle de Tomaringa, que heredaron de don Bernabé Susco Paucar, y de las que pretendía despojarlas Diego López de Planas, vecino de la ciudad de Huamanga, a título de haberlas compuesto con Su Majestad, Huamanga, 1642, Archivo General de la Nación [hereafter AGN], Derecho Indígena y Encomiendas, leg. 8, cdo. 107. The relevant folios are transcribed in the appendix for this research note.

7. On the interpreters of the High Court, see José Carlos de la Puente Luna, "The Many Tongues of the King: Indigenous Language Interpreters and the Making of the Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Review* 23:2 (2014): 143–170. There is renewed interest in the multiple aspects involved in the different general land inspections ordered by the crown from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. See Luis Miguel Glave, "Gestiones transatlánticas: los indios ante la trama del poder virreinal y las composiciones de tierras (1646)," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 34 (2008): 85–106; Carolina Jurado, "La primera visita y composición de tierras en Charcas a

Jauja between April and June of 1594, the judge Solano and his native interpreter began journeying south, en route to Huamanga.⁸

The fragments of the General Inspection located thus far demonstrate that, in Jauja as well as in Huamanga, Guaman Poma did much more than merely translate. As he toured the region, the native interpreter participated in diverse judicial proceedings, whether by notifying interested parties about legal acts, most likely in the standard variety of Quechua known as the *Lengua general*, or by serving as a witness in formal land hearings. Moreover, in at least one striking case, the interpreter arbitrated a legal dispute concerning native lands on behalf of Solano. Specifically, the judge authorized Guaman Poma's adjudication of the lands of Totorapampa and Rumichaca, near the city of Huamanga. As part of this commission, Guaman Poma inspected the area and listened to litigants and gathered additional testimonies by taking witness depositions. After completing the inquest, he measured and delimited the contested plots of lands. After the native interpreter reached his final verdict—that the lands belonged to Catalina Pata, a local woman and a resident of Huamanga, the city where Solano held court from September 1594 through 1595—Guaman Poma presented his ruling before the judge's notary.

The native interpreter's declaration, registered by the judge's notary writing in third person, is as follows:

[H]aving determined the truth about who the said lands of the said site of Totorapampa and Rumichaca legitimately belonged[,], [Don Phelipe Guaman Poma] found and recognized said lands to belong to the said Cathalina Patta long possessed and inherited from her father, and that no other person nor Indian was owner of them, although some ill-advised individuals maliciously wanted to bother her in order to take the lands and benefit from them.⁹

través de la residencia de Don Pedro Osores de Ulloa, juez de tierras del siglo XVI," *Indiana* 33:2 (2016): 9–30; Carolina Jurado, "Tejiendo lealtades en Charcas. El segundo juez de visita y composición de tierras en la trama de la dádiva virreinal, 1594–1600," *Histórica* 49:1 (2017): 11–42; James Quillca Chuco, *El pueblo de Tongos y sus litigios. Conflictos por tierras en el repartimiento de la Isla de Tiyacaja. Huanta, Perú, siglo XVIII*, Vol. 1: Litigio contra el obraje de La Sapallanga del corregimiento de Jauja, 1711–1738 (Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2021); and Rachel O'Toole, "Don Carlos Chimo del Perú: ¿del común o cacique?," *Secuencia* 81 (2011): 11–41.

8. José Carlos de la Puente Luna and Víctor Solier Ochoa, "La huella del intérprete: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y la primera composición general de tierras en el virreinato del Perú," *Histórica* 30:2 (2006): 7–29.

9. [a]viendo averiguado la verdad de a quien pertenecían legitimamente las dichas tierras del dicho sitio de Totorapampa y Rumichaca [Don Phelipe Guaman Poma] hallo y conoço ser dichas tierras de la dicha Cathalina Patta en possession antigua heredadas de su padre y que ninguna otra persona ni indio era dueño de ellas sino que maliciosamente querían molestarla mal aconsejados por quitarlas y aprovecharse otros de ellas. Nelson Pereyra, "Un documento sobre Guaman Poma de Ayala existente en el Archivo Departamental de Ayacucho," *Histórica* 21:2 (1997): 268.

The judge Solano confirmed the native interpreter's decision, a ruling in which the Royal Court of Appeals in Lima concurred.¹⁰

On December 20, 1594, shortly after the adjudication concerning the lands of Totorapampa and Rumichaca, don Francisco Paucartira, cacique of Paccha, formally testified before the same judge, his notary Juan López, and his interpreter, Felipe Guaman Poma.¹¹ According to the cacique's brief deposition, don Francisco had previously provided an account of the tilled and untilled plots surrounding the village, noting to whom they belonged, whether the lands were sufficient to sustain the commons, and whether there existed any excess lands ("chacras y tierras") formerly belonging to the Inca king or the female religious specialists in charge of state cults ("del Ynga o ma[ma]conas"). The latter lands had been, in theory, transferred to the Castilian crown six decades before by right of conquest, so that Judge Solano could now declare them available for purchase. Seizing the opportunity to obtain official confirmation, the cacique also provided the judge's notary and interpreter with a full list of the names and sizes of the fields and other lands that he claimed he and his ancestors had possessed since "time immemorial," in the hopes that Solano would recognize his rights to them. Given that he could not sign his own name, "the said interpreter don Felipe Guamanpoma" signed on his behalf. It is thanks to this brief mention that we know of the future chronicler's presence throughout the proceedings.¹²

Even more importantly, we also learn that even before vacant or 'excess' lands were bought and titles 'fixed'—by compensating the crown for any arbitrary appropriations, procedural omissions, or unfair prices incurred in previous land transfers—preliminary proceedings such as these were conducted in other settlements as Solano and Guaman Poma toured the area.¹³ Though virtually unknown to scholars in this context, the centrality of such inquests cannot be

10. On the chronicler's role during the First Land Inspection, see the documentation published in Hurtado Ames and Solier Ochoa, *Guamán Poma de Ayala en Jauja*; Puente Luna and Solier Ochoa, "La huella del intérprete"; José Varallanos, *Guaman Poma de Ayala: cronista precursor y libertario* (Lima: G. Herrera, 1979), 210 and following; and Zorrilla, "La posesión de Chiara," 50, n1. On December 26, Solano was apparently leaving Huamanga ("de Camino para salir de esta ciudad"), but in fact he remained there until January 3. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 148–149.

11. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 16r-38v. We know of at least one contemporary case in which Gabriel Solano used Diego García Espino as an interpreter. On December 10, 1594, García Espino participated in the inspections concerning the lands of Chipitampa. Testimonio de la visita y composición de las tierras denominadas Chipitampa en el valle de Ayrabamba, jurisdicción de la villa de Huanta, que Pedro Díaz de Rojas compuso con Su Majestad en 1594, siendo visitador de tierras y juez de composiciones el comendador Gabriel de Figueroa, 1594, AGN, Títulos de Propiedad, leg. 33, exp. 630.

12. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 25r-26r.

13. These details help us better understand the role of the judge Solano and his interpreter in the boundary dispute between the *cacicazgos* of Atunjauja and Luringuanca in the Jauja Valley. The dispute, a long time in the making, pitted these two polities in April 1594, as the judge conducted the investigation and confirmation of the lands belonging to each of the *cacicazgos*. Hurtado Ames and Solier Ochoa, *Guamán Poma de Ayala en Jauja*.

overstated.¹⁴ The gathering of information about native land ownership regimes, both individual and collective, was an essential first step in the land inspection and the ‘fixing’ of titles. Probably in the presence of commoners, local caciques were interviewed to name and identify the different fields within their jurisdiction and to state whether they belonged to certain individual households or to the commons, so that titles to plots, groves, and cattle enclosures (“chacras, arboledas y corrales”) could be formally awarded. Furthermore, the caciques were expected to stipulate the existence of any vacant lands hitherto devoted to the Inca and the Sun, so the judge could make them available for purchase by interested parties.

Such was the case of the town Sumaro (Çumaró), in the Cuzco region, studied by historian Donato Amado. As part of the town’s first general land inspection and reallocation (*reparto*), an inspector-judge aided by an interpreter and a land surveyor redistributed the lands among the different kinship groups (*ayllus*) established within the town, as stipulated in its original land deed dating from November 1592.¹⁵ In the case of Huamanga, all information about the land regime in the town of Paccha was compiled following a similar procedure. The December 20, 1594 proceedings referenced a land distribution logbook (*quaderno y manifestacion de tierras y chacras*), previously created by Guaman Poma and the rest of Solano’s inspection team for the town. It contained a registry of the ayllus, their members, and the plots they owned, which the notary and interpreter presented to Solano for approval.¹⁶

As exemplified by the testimony of the cacique of Paccha, don Francisco Paucartira, preliminary proceedings also included the formal depositions of local caciques who, again with the aid of Felipe Guaman Poma, corroborated the land tenure regime previously described and recorded in the logbook. As was likely the case in other villages, the judge Solano authorized a copy of the original proceedings conducted at the town of Paccha, validating it with his signature. The caciques of Paccha would have added that testimony to the village archive, preserving these deeds should they need to defend their communal lands (as the leaders of Sumaro, in Cuzco, did on several occasions).

14. I only know of two scholars who have mentioned these investigations in their work about land inspections, albeit in passing. See Mercedes del Río, *Etnicidad, territorialidad y colonialismo en los Andes: tradición y cambio entre los Soras de los siglos XVI y XVII (Bolivia)* (La Paz; Lima: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos ASDI; Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005); Carolina Jurado, “Baldíos, derechos posesorios y tierra realenga en el primer proceso de composición en el distrito de Charcas. Virreinato del Perú, 1591-1597,” *América Latina en la Historia Económica* 29:1 (2021): 1-24.

15. In the case of Sumaro, the land tenure system prior to this inspection (including fields belonging to the Incas), as well the redistribution of plots among caciques and indigenous commoners, were all documented in a *Libro de reparto*, a distribution record. Donato Amado Gonzales, “Reparto de tierras indígenas y la primera visita y composición general,” *Histórica* 22:2 (1998): 197–207.

16. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo,” fol. 25r.

CONFLICTING TITLES

Don Francisco Paucartira, the cacique of Paccha, was not the only one to take advantage of the land inspection. Don Bernabé Tirasucso, an Indian notable from the neighboring village of Socos, listed the same maize-and-legume-producing lands of Tomaringa (“the place where one turns,” probably in allusion to the hill that bounded the fields) as belonging to him and his ancestors from time immemorial. Both claims—those of don Francisco and don Bernabé—received the corresponding legal sanction from the judge in 1594.¹⁷ To complicate title to this plot, the Tomaringa fields would enter the historical record again in 1607. In that year, one don Tomás Quispisucso, cacique of the ayllu Anan Quichuas, resettled in Socos, traveled to the viceregal capital of Lima, and secured confirmation of the lands assigned by a local inspector to the whole group back in 1594. The endowment included Tomaringa, where don Tomás himself owned certain plots. Three parallel titles to the same fields were thus created in 1594.

Seventeen years later, in 1611, don Francisco Paucartira’s niece, doña Leonor Cocachimbo, also claimed ownership of the lands of Tomaringa and presented her uncle’s last will and testament *and* Solano’s 1594 recognition as legal evidence. Don Bernabé Tirasucso, however, disputed doña Leonor’s claim before the local magistrate by presenting Solano’s older, parallel recognition to the same plot, likewise obtained during the land inspection and confirmed by the Royal Court of Appeals in Lima (the same document that the cacique of the Anan Quichuas had presented in 1607 to uphold the rights to the fields of the whole group).

The legal battle between doña Leonor Cocachimbo and don Bernabé Tirasucso for the lands of Tomaringa took an unexpected turn the following year, in 1612, when expert witnesses summoned to convene at the disputed site unanimously declared that the fields did not belong to either of these litigants. Rather, the fields were ancestral lands that belonged to doña Isabel Cusicoca, the daughter of the late cacique of Socos, don Cristóbal Quispitura, who had inherited them from his forebears (see [Figure 1](#) below). According to the witnesses, “[the] said Leonor Coca Chimbo and Bernabé Sucso have no right [to the fields] whatsoever”.¹⁸

17. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 18r, 25v. I thank Luis Andrade and César Itier for their aid in interpreting the place name. In the case of Socos, the information was included in a logbook containing the village’s census register and testimony (*padron y manifestaciones*) of the land inspection. Interestingly, the lands listed as part of the patrimony of don Francisco from Paccha in 1594 were written as “Tomarima” and not “Tomaringa.” This spelling discrepancy was likely discounted as a simple error of transcription even though a posterior hand made it more visible by scribbling “ojo” in the margin, and adding a “g” above the “m.”

18. “El pedaço de tierras sobre que litigan es y pertenece a Isauel Cusi Coca por ser hija legitima de don Xpoual Quespi Tura casique principal que fue del dicho pu° de Socos cuyas heran las dichas tierras sobre que litigan auidas y

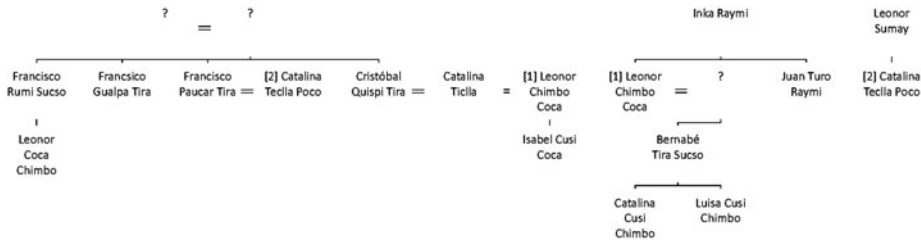
To everyone's surprise, then, the witnesses identified the third party—doña Isabel Cusicoca—as the fields' legitimate owner; however, they also acknowledged that doña Leonor and don Bernabé *did* have tenuous rights to the lands under dispute, rights that were contingent upon communal consensus and dissimilar criteria for determining inheritance rights. On one hand, doña Leonor was doña Isabel's cousin in the first degree; hence, the two women shared unnamed ancestors. On the other hand, don Bernabé was the son of one don Juan Turaraymi and the grandson of Inca Raymi, presumably an Inca scion who died without receiving baptism. These were also relatives of doña Isabel, a fact that was not made explicit at the time of the witnesses' convocation. Basing his decision purely on the words of the witnesses and disregarding Solano's 1594 titles, the local magistrate awarded the fields of Tomaringa to doña Isabel Cusicoca on January 20, 1612.¹⁹

Notwithstanding this story's many twists and turns, some things are clear. First, local witnesses in Paccha and Socos knew about these conflicting land claims, as much in 1611 as they had in 1594, when Solano and Guaman Poma inspected the region and granted title(s) to Tomaringa. Upon receipt of the apparently straightforward land records that had been corroborated by Solano's notary and interpreter based on local testimony, the judge granted parallel titles for the same fields to two later-to-be-opposed branches of the same family. Second, long before the lists of lands and their owners were entered into the legal record, different individuals in the two villages could have orally contested preliminary statements and contradictory witness testimonies before the notary and interpreter. In this case, for unknown reasons, they did not. Third, though at first glance the official lists of lands stamped with the judge's approval project an image of continuity and consensus, these records gloss over tensions over lands, especially conflicts among relatives, exacerbated years later by the judge's presumably involuntary adjudication of the same plots of land to two different subjects—and, by extension, to two different villages. Thus, underwriting the complex histories of possession and inheritance included in the preliminary land records handed to Solano for approval in 1594, there is the role of the interpreter as the creator of a judicial, yet always unstable, "truth" about the original owners of Tomaringa.

heredadas de sus padres y ansianos y que a ellas no tienen parte ninguna los dichos Leonor Coca Chimbo ni el dicho don Bernabé Sucso." Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 30v-31r.

19. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 31v-32r. After doña Isabel died in 1613, don Bernabé Tira Sucso claimed the lands again, accusing doña Leonor's father of having usurped them back in the 1550s. He presented doña Isabel's last will and testament, dated December 2, 1613, in which she recognized the lands as belonging to don Bernabé. The lands were finally awarded to him in 1615, right around the time that Guaman Poma was finishing up the *Nueva crónica*.

FIGURE 1
Litigants to the Fields of Tomaringa, 1611.



Source: Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, indias del pueblo de Socos en la provincia de Huanta, que era de la encomienda del Marqués de Oropesa, sobre propiedad de unas tierras en el valle de Tomaringa, que heredaron de don Bernabé Susco Paucar, y de las que pretendía despojarlas Diego López de Planas, vecino de la ciudad de Huamanga, a título de haberlas compuesto con Su Majestad, Huamanga, 1642, Archivo General de la Nación, Derecho Indígena y Encomiendas, leg. 8, cdo. 107.

The skills and knowledge gathered by Guaman Poma during these crucial years are, to a significant extent, the ‘stuff’ of which the *Nueva corónica* is made.²⁰ Such experiences informed Guaman Poma’s legal and authorial strategies in multiple ways. They fully familiarized him with and made him part of multiple micro-investigations into past and novel land tenure systems, thus granting him firsthand access to the legal arguments and crafty narratives used by claimants and their advocates to secure legal titles from the judge Solano de Figueroa. This toolbox of legal knowledge, skills, and connections prepared Guaman Poma to lay claim to the lands of Chupas, near Huamanga, two years later, in 1597. This legal claim eventually led him to seek confirmation from the viceroy Luis de Velasco and the Royal Court of Appeal in Lima.²¹

Such claims were ultimately rejected by the courts, and so these years also familiarized Guaman Poma with the inherent ambiguities and dangers of land titling in early colonial Peru. I strongly suspect that a scenario like that which unfolded around the Tomaringa fields in Socos (discussed above and in the sections below) was configured in the legal proceedings that pitted the local Chachapoyas community against the heirs of don Juan Tingo during Guaman

20. Adorno, “The Genesis”; Adorno, “A Witness unto Itself,” 46–49; Adorno and Boserup, “Guaman Poma,” 220–225; Brokaw, “Texto y contexto”; Regina Harrison, “Guaman Poma, Law, and Legacy,” in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva corónica*, Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, eds. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2015), 141–161.

21. Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*, 206–207; Felipe Guaman Poma. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Rolena Adorno, John Murra, and Jorge Urioste, eds. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992), 904 [918], 1094 [1104]. For a detailed analysis of land claims as family patrimony in the author’s work, see Gregory Cushman, “The Environmental Contexts of Guaman Poma: Interethnic Conflict over Forest Resources and Place in Huamanga (Peru), 1540–1600,” in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva corónica*, 87–140.

Poma's famous legal battle for the lands of Chupas. To begin with, both parties laid claim to the same lands, with titles dating back to the 1540s. As in the case of Tomaringa, moreover, colonial authorities awarded parallel titles to the same lands of Chiara (in Chupas) to members of the Tingo clan (Inés Coca) as well as the Chachapoyas families during the same years, in 1586 and 1594.²² As previously mentioned, Guaman Poma served as self-appointed procurator to the heirs Juan Tingo and Domingo Guaman Mallqui as they fought for the lands in Chupas against the Chachapoyas community between 1597 and 1600. This legal dispute was to lead to his dramatic punishment and expulsion from Huamanga. After his legal defeat, these seemingly unrecognized ancestral rights to the lands of Chupas would haunt some of the pages of the *Nueva crónica*, though in veiled form, as the author lamented the loss of the family possessions.²³

ROYAL AYLLUS IN HUAMANGA

Without additional information, it is difficult to disentangle the different histories of possession and parallel claims to the lands that Guaman Poma heard, translated, and—to some extent decided upon—in 1594 as different parties argued that the Tomaringa fields were theirs. Nevertheless, the names and genealogical relations of some of the litigants suggest that the lands under dispute had likely been under the control of Sucso ayllu, whose members claimed direct descent from Huiracocha Inca, one of the former rulers of Tahuantinsuyo. Sucso ayllu controlled different plots in the valley of Cuzco and beyond.²⁴ Apparently, some of its members also maintained an important presence in the Huamanga region, and more specifically in the villages of Paccha and Socos, after the Spanish conquest (and likely earlier, from Inca times).

Individuals with the surname “Sucso” appear in the legal proceedings concerning the lands of Tomaringa, in different capacities. Some, like don Tomás Sucso, don Cristóbal Pasucso, and don Cristóbal Sucso, were among the expert witnesses called upon by litigating parties in 1611 to testify about the ownership of the plots. Moreover, the lands in question bordered the plots of other members of this extended family, such as don Bernabé Tirasucso (also called Sucsopaucar, the plaintiff in 1611 and the grandson of Inca Raymi), don Cristóbal

22. Solano himself confirmed the titles of both the Chachapoyas and Inés Coca and Martín de Ayala. For an analysis of these titles, see Puente Luna, “Cuando el ‘punto de vista nativo,’” 142–143.

23. Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fols. 31v-32r; Prado Tello and Prado, *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala*.

24. Giovanna Ottazzi Ponce, “Ascenso colonial de un Ayllu Real. Los descendientes del Inca Huiracocha. Cuzco (1545–1690),” (MA thesis: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2014).

Ataosucso, and Tomás Quispisucso, very likely his close relatives. The proliferation of these individual owners and plots suggests the breaking up of previous generations' extensive territory, originally acquired by way of conquest by the lords of Cuzco and later confirmed during the formal establishment of the colonial villages of Pachas and Socos in the 1570s or 1580s.

Although members of this royal ayllu seem to have been split between the villages of Pacha and Socos during the resettlement process of those years, Sucso nobles exercised lordship over a prominent local ayllu, that of the Anan Quichuas. Settled by Spanish royal authorities in Socos, Anan Quichuas had been present in the region since the Inca conquest (or had arrived because of it). Local or not, the men of the group had achieved the rank of “Incas by privilege,” and their labor likely supported the noble Sucsos.²⁵ Indeed, Guaman Poma described the Anan Quichuas as lower-ranking Incas, comparing them to the Cavinás and the Andamarcas, his own relatives and co-litigants.²⁶ He even mentioned one don Pedro Guambo Toma, “paramount lord of the Quichigua Indians, of one-hundred-and-eighty years of age,” as a “firsthand witness for this [*Nueva*] *Corónica*.”²⁷ As stated, don Tomás Quispesucso was the Anan Quichuas' paramount lord at the time of Solano's inspection. He was also the cacique who obtained confirmation of these lands and others from Lima's Royal Court in 1607. The story we just recounted, thanks to don Bernabé Sucso Paucar's land titles, sheds light on the mechanisms through which Guaman Poma could have obtained firsthand information about Inca men—those of royal ancestry and those of tributary status—during his time as an interpreter in the land inspection.

CONCLUSION

Though seemingly describing a mundane bureaucratic act, this microhistory of the First General Land Inspection provides both a window into these proceedings as they unfolded at ground level—an aspect generally overlooked in general analyses—and suggests how Felipe Guaman Poma's capacity as interpreter of this inspection gave him access to Inca informants. He used their

25. Lorenzo Huertas, “Poblaciones indígenas en Huamanga colonial,” in *Etnohistoria y antropología andina*, Amalia Castelli, Marcia Koth, and Mariana Mould (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia del Perú, 1981), 135; Autos seguidos por doña Catalina y doña Luisa Cusichimbo, fol. 16v; Raúl Rivera Serna, “Huamanga en el siglo XVI,” *Revista Histórica* 40 (1999-2001): 139–141.

26. According to Guaman Poma, the Quichiua Ynga “son yndios tributarios.” Guaman Poma, *el primer nueva corónica*, 337 [339], 740 [754, quote], 1073 [1083]. On the provincial Inca identity of Tingo and Guaman Mallqui, see Puente Luna, “Cuando el ‘punto de vista nativo,’” 138.

27. “cacique prencipal de los yndios Quichiuis de edad de ciento ochenta años,” “testigo de uista deste dicho Corónica.” Guaman Poma, *El primer nueva corónica*, 1078 [1088].

experiences and testimonies both to construct the *Nueva corónica*'s vision of the Incas and to place his own claims, as chronicler and prince, before the king. Moreover, the years between 1596 and 1600, when Guaman Poma served as self-appointed procurator to the heirs of Juan Tingo and Domingo Guaman Mallqui as they jointly fought for the lands of Chupas against the Chachapoyas and others, cannot be understood without these foundational experiences. Notwithstanding Guaman Poma's defeat—he was declared an impostor and an irrelevant party to the land claim—his judicial efforts were remarkable. Few native Andeans of his time possessed such pragmatic knowledge about land and how to secure title to it in the courts. Don Bernabé Sucso Paucar's 1615 titles shed light on the means through which Guaman Poma acquired this type of highly specialized knowledge, as well as the administrative and judicial mechanisms behind this acquisition.

Texas State University
San Marcos, Texas
jd65@txstate.edu
Translated by Caroline Garriott

JOSÉ CARLOS DE LA PUENTE LUNA 

APPENDIX: TESTIMONIO DE CÓMO LAS TIERRAS DE TOMARINGA PERTENECEN A DON BERNABÉ SU[C]SSO PAUCAR

- [*fol. 18*] Memoria de las chacras que tiene Bernabé Tira sacada del padron y bisita
 Padron de general de tierras que hizo don Grauiel Solano en este pueblo de Socos
 tierras de que son las siguientes:
 Bernabe Tira Las chacras que tiene Bernabe Tira son las siguientes:
- [*fol. 18v*]
- Cuylla pampa medio topo
 - En Aiguay medio topo
 - En Aucacoma medio topo
 - En Caychay Guayco un topo
 - En Pampa Yanaco un topo
 - En tuncu Ura un topo
- ojo, un topo
- En Tomaringa un topo
 - En Tomaringa dos topos digo un topo
 - En la banda de Tomaringa donde esta puesto un mojon un topo y medio
 - En Chuquillulca medio topo
 - En Conos siete pies de higuera
 - En llatac medio topo
- Segun parese por el dicho padron y manifestaciones questan en el dicho quaderno a fojas onze del que al [¿?] acauo esta firmado de una firma que dize don Grauiel Solano y refrendado de otra que dize *Juan Lopes escriuano*
- E de pedimiento del dicho Bernabe Tira Sucso di la presente sertificacion en Socos a quinze de dizienbre del año de mil y seis cientos y siete años Diego de Rroxas e Juan de Medina presentes e para en de dize mi signo en testimonio de berdad *Françisco Nauarrete escribano de Su Majestad*.
- [*fol. 25*] Yo Juan Lucas de Balencia escriuano desta provinçia de Ticllas y de su Testimonio
 juggado de don Diego de Silva Manrique teniente de corregidor e justia mayor de la provincia de Sangaro e Tayacaxa e Ticllas por su Magestad doy fe y sertifico a los que la presente vieren como en un quaderno y manifestacion de tierras y chacras que hizieron los casiques e yndios del pueblo de Paccha ante don Grauiel Solano de Figueroa visitador [*fol. 25v*] general que fue de la conpusion de tierras en la ciudad de Guamanga en veinte dias del mes de dizienbre de mil y quinientos y noventa y quatro años pareçio don Francisco Paucar Tira casique del dicho pueblo y manifesto sus chacras e tierras que [e]stan en el dicho quaderno a fojas veinte que dize desta manera.
- Las chacras de don Françisco Paucar Tira casique deste pueblo de Paccha.
- Cayguayoc medio topo
 - Pachaguayco medio topo
 - Taucarpata
 - Tocaray medio topo

- Antachaca medio topo
- Vilcapanpa medio topo
- Aun no es medio topo
- Llaquas medio topo
- Orcochaca medio topo

Las chacras que tengo en Socos de mis padres y aguelos

- Aco un topo
- Mincay un topo
- Tomarima un topo
- Sacsamana un topo
- Yallpu corral
- Rumirumi corral
- Llaquas corral
- Yanacasma corral de cavallos
- Paucarpata medio topo

Todas las quales dichas chacras poseen las personas que las tienen declaradas de tienpo ynmemorial a esta parte y so cargo del dicho [fol. 26] juramento no save que en el termino del dicho pueblo aya chacras ni tierras ningunas del sol ni del Ynga y que las que tiene declarado son y le pertenesen a los que las tienen declaradas y manifestadas y si alguna ubiera del Ynga o maconas [sic] lo declarara y que en el dicho termino ay puestos bastantes para sus ganados y esto declaro y no firmo porque dixo que no savia firmar firmolo la dicha lengua *don Felipe Guaman Poma*.

Yaca ultimo del dicho quaderno esta firmado del dicho don Graviel Solano de Figueroa al pie de un capitulo o certificaçion que dize desta manera.

Este es traslado sacado a la letra del original el qual queda en poder del secretario desta visita para que su Excelencia lo confirme. *Don Graviel Solano de Figueroa*.

E para que dello co[n]ste de pedimiento de doña Leonor Cocachinbo yndia natural deste pueblo de Paccha y de mandamiento del dicho justiçia mayor que aqui firmo su nombre poniendo en todo su autoridad y decreto judicial para que valga e haga fe en juyzio y fuera del saque la dicha partida a la letra del dicho padron e visita que queda en poder [fol. 26v] de don Carlos casique prinçipal de dicho pueblo en seis dias del mes de novienbre de mil y seiscientos y onze años siendo testigos Gonçalo Hernandez de Leyba y Tomas de Belaostigui y el padre Pablo de Çiancas Sotomayor y Jorje Dias y en fe dello lo firme de mi nombre y rubrique de mis rubricas acostunbradas. Don Diego de Silva Manrique. En testimonio de verdad. *Juan Lucas escrivano*.