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## Author

Ballesteros Danel, Andrea



## Published

2021

## Journal Title

Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research

## Version

Accepted Manuscript (AM)

## DOI

10.1080/13260219.2021.1954368

# Ideas about Trans-Pacific Origins and Voyages in Early Spanish Chronicles from the Americas

**Author:** Andrea Ballesteros Danel

The Australian National University

Andrea.ballesteros@anu.edu.au

## Abstract

During their explorations of the Americas and the South Sea, the Spanish pondered at the question of origins and ancient voyages of the Indigenous people they encountered. They also detailed sightings of local raftsmen along the American Pacific coast and articulated knowledge gained from them about lands to the west. These writings are not only part of the history of ideas of trans-Pacific contact; they have also been used as evidence demonstrating these contacts—as secondary sources about pre-European Indigenous traditions. This article describes and analyses the earliest European ideas about trans-Pacific contacts or origins concerning the Americas, based on a detailed reading of some of the earliest chronicles. In particular, it argues what the central influence of the European intellectual landscape appears to have been: the belief that both the biblical traditions and new geographical theories were converging in order to motivate the discovery of lands to the west.

The history of ideas about pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact between the Americas and the Pacific Basin spans six centuries. Spanish, Portuguese and British colonisation of the New World took place concurrently with early modern European voyages into the Pacific.[1] This colonial context influenced European narratives about the Pacific, and hence early ideas about trans-Pacific contact emerging from the New World. These ideas and the resulting chronicles were also imbued with religious representations of geography and humanity, the wish to locate and colonise lands of wealth, and beliefs about human development and racialised differences.

Some of the earliest ideas about voyages leading to contact between parts of South America, particularly Peru and Chile, and islands in the South Sea are contained in a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish chronicles. These texts include Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* (1550); Pedro Cieza de Leon's *La crónica del Perú* (1553); Agustin de Zarate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555); Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *History of the Incas* (1572), Miguel Cabello de Balboa's *Miscelánea Antártica* (1576–86); Joseph de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590), Martín de Murúa's *Historia general del Perú* (1590); and Fernando de Montesinos's *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú* (1664).[2] They encompass some of the earliest representations of contact, as well as elaborations of theories of origin of the inhabitants of the Americas (particularly Peru and Chile), and the islands in the South Sea.

The Spanish exploration, conquest and colonisation of the New World prompted the development of ideas concerning the geographical origins of the local inhabitants of these lands. Spanish chroniclers gathered data, reported on legends and oral traditions and authored narratives describing their observations and encounters. Some of the European narratives about legends and oral traditions described indigenous ideas about possible contacts with the

South Sea or Pacific Islands inhabitants. Examples are found in the reports by friar Martín de Murúa, Pedro Sarmiento and Miguel Cabello de Balboa of Túpac Yupanqui's alleged long-distance voyage to the two unidentified islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, purportedly to the west of the South American coast.[3] Other examples include descriptions of the arrival on the west coast of god-like figures such as Naymlap.[4] These chronicles also detailed the authors' ideas concerning explanations for the origins of Amerindians, which represent some of the first instances of what would become a resilient and long-lasting collection of theories on trans-Pacific contacts and origins, linking the Americas with certain south Pacific Islands, now mainly in Polynesia.[5]

One of the principal intentions of some of the authors of these chronicles was to record ways to reach the wealthy Spice Islands of Maluku and mainland Asia, which was a popular ambition among explorers at the time. After Columbus's failure to find a direct route to China and the Spice Islands, the Spanish were still intent on reaching these lands, located to the west of the Americas. These chronicles were written at the commencement of the scientific age, prior to the establishment of archaeology and the emergence of the concept of prehistory in the nineteenth century.[6] Contextually, this was also a time when observations about nature and different 'races' started to clash with teachings from the Bible. The Inquisition (1478-1834), also restricted the freedom with which chroniclers could express their ideas and the messages conveyed, given the very real dangers of contradicting scripture at the time.[7]

The early trans-Pacific contact ideas contained in the Spanish chronicles discussed in this article predominantly described instances of raft sightings and traditions of voyages to and from the west of South America, across the South Sea. In this article, these early depictions are categorised in three ways: accounts of coastal arrivals from distant (and unknown) lands; descriptions of long voyages; and accidental voyages linking the Americas

with islands in the South Sea. A further section on the overarching intellectual and socio-political context is also included.

Although mainly speculative, these chronicles contain anthropological descriptions that have been interpreted as evidence of these contacts by authors such as Thor Heyerdahl and José Antonio del Busto.[8] In this article they are viewed both as secondary sources on pre-European-indigenous traditions and as primary sources highlighting Spanish colonial ambitions and their evolving conceptions of the New World and the South Sea. Some of these ideas have been further developed and reinterpreted by scholars, at times even evolving into scholarly traditions (as with Túpac Yupanqui's voyage to the islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi).[9] Additionally, many chronicles feature as references or evidence in modern studies pointing to ideas of pre-Columbian voyages of contact or geographical origin across the South Sea. This paper addresses the intellectual and socio-political context behind the conception of these early ideas of trans-Pacific contact in order to contribute to a clearer progression of ideas for one of the most resilient debates in the history of archaeology.

**The Socio-Political and Intellectual Context**

Before it was known as the Pacific Ocean, and while it was still largely unexplored by Europeans, the largest oceanic mass on Earth was first named *Mar del Sur* or South Sea by Vasco Núñez de Balboa, when he sighted a great ocean south of Darien on either 25 or 27 September 1513. In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan named the southern part of this Ocean *Mare Pacificum*.[10] The islands of this *Mare Pacificum* remained largely unexplored by Europeans until the mid-eighteenth century.[11] However, the title of the first known dedicated map of the Pacific Ocean, Abraham Ortelius' *Maris Pacifici* (*quod vulgò Mar del Zur*), published in 1590, sheds light on how the South Sea was conceived in Europe at the end of the sixteenth

century: “The Pacific Ocean with its surrounding regions, dotted with islands … [conveying] a completely new description” (see Figure 1).[12]

**[insert Figure 1 here]**

**Figure 1.** Abraham Ortelius, *Maris Pacifici*, 1590. Source: National Library of Australia MAP NK 1528.

Following Balboa’s sighting of the South Sea, the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 (see Figure 2) was invoked to justify the Spanish taking possession of the ocean and its real or imagined lands in the name of the Spanish Crown, resulting in the South Pacific Ocean being ambitiously claimed as a Spanish domain.[13] The signing of the Treaty of Zaragoza with Portugal in 1529 established a demarcation line, the Moluccas Antimeridian, along the Pacific Rim and across Australia in the south, to resolve a conflict between Spain and Portugal and to definitively determine into whose sphere the valuable Spice Islands fell.[14] As Douglas notes, “For 250 years after Magellan, the northern and southern margins of Oceania remained realms of European myth and speculation while the great ocean itself was a cartographic void, save for the spider tracks of the northern galleon routes and sporadic voyages which “discovered” only specks of land and the elusive, mobile Solomons”.[15] Notwithstanding Spanish pretensions, the Pacific Ocean remained largely unknown throughout Europe until the mid-eighteenth century.[16] Prior to that, Spain had only established a colony in the Philippines—linked to New Spain (Mexico) by the galleon route with Manila, as well as a staging-post in Guam from 1565, which was regularly visited and colonised by the Spanish after 1668, due to its importance as a stopover in the voyages from Acapulco to Manila.[17]

**[insert Figure 2 here]**

**Figure 2.** Map by Juan López de Velasco portraying the line of demarcation of the Treaty of Tordesillas from a Spanish perspective, as well as the Solomon Islands in the Pacific.[18]

In Europe, the growing exploration of the South Sea also encouraged European intellectuals to entertain ideas about Pacific contacts and the possible geographical origin of Amerindians. In addition to the written records discussed in this article, other European explorers, of diverse nationalities, produced a number of illustrations of rafts encountered off the west coast of Middle and South America – although none unambiguously affirmed the occurrence of trans-Pacific voyages. As noted by Dewan, and Smith and Haslett, the Italian Girolamo Benzoni in 1572, the Englishman Richard Madox in 1582–3, and the Dutchman Joris van Spilbergen in 1619, all produced illustrations of rafts from South America following sightings along the Pacific coast.[19]

Ideas about ancient voyages across the South Sea, to and from the Americas were common in Europe at the time. Many of these were arguably shaped by Spain's influence in the European intellectual landscape, as evidenced by Philip II's patronage of Antwerp printers, one of the leading publishing centres of Europe in the late sixteenth century. Plantin's 1570 Antwerp publication of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is an example. This work, which is the earliest-known modern atlas, was dedicated by the author to Philip II, "King of the Indies and Spain, the most distinguished monarch of the whole world and of all ages".[20] Ortelius's *Maris Pacifici* (Figure 1) was later published in an addendum to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

Antwerp's involvement in conceptions of the South Sea went beyond Ortelius' South Sea map. Prior to the theories expressed in Spanish chronicles referenced in this article, speculations about Amerindian origins and contact involving areas of the South Sea beyond the Pacific Rim, were proffered in Europe, particularly by the Spanish historian Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), and the French cosmographer Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). Arias Montano's *Polyglot Bible*, and Postel's 1561 *Cosmographicae disciplinae Compendium* were

influential in a number of the theories published in the Spanish chronicles that are the focus of this paper. Biblical conceptions of Ophir shaped some of these early ideas about South Sea contacts or even Amerindian origins by suggesting that the New World inhabitants had Hebrew origins. These Hebrew connections were also expressed as the identification of Solomon's Ophir with parts of the Americas.[21] A description of this mythical, fabulously wealthy region, associated with King Solomon and etymologically with Peru (and Mexico), appeared in volume eight of the Antwerp *Polyglot Bible* (1568–1572), written by Arias Montano. Arias Montano was in turn influenced by Guillaume Postel's theories regarding possible locations for Ophir. It is believed that the *Polyglot Bible*, which included a world map, reached the Americas less than ten years after its publication, arguably influencing the work by some of the chroniclers discussed in this paper, including Cabello de Balboa, and possibly Acosta.[22] In particular, these publications influenced ideas about Ophir by rehearsing speculation concerning the search for, and alleged discovery of King Solomon's prized land. They suggested that Solomon would have reached the Americas from Asia via a northern land bridge (Strait of Anian) and later located a dual Ophir of two Perus (Pervaim), or two Americas, North and South, linked by an isthmus.[23] Additionally, the legends relating to the existence of King Solomon's wealthy Ophir motivated numerous maritime voyages of exploration through the South Sea. For example, in a 1572 letter to King Philip II of Spain, the explorer Sarmiento stated his strong desire to reach several South Sea islands, which he expected to be replete with wealth.[24]

Prior to the advent of modern science, early ideas linking the Americas with the South Sea appear to have emerged at a time when the globe started to be perceived as a structure with balanced, connected and accessible lands. Consequently, contrary to the Columbian surprise 'discovery' of the Americas, *Terra Australis*, like the Moluccas, was sought with

anticipation. The assumption and certainty of its existence was based on the geographical hypothesis that a southern land must exist to balance the northern continent of the globe.[25]

According to Cuesta, sixteenth-century Spanish exploratory journeys of reconnaissance, colonisation and conquest of the Americas, Africa and East Asia were driven by a desire to locate and connect with lands to the west, following Magellan's 1519–1522 circumnavigation, which touched on a couple of islands in the South Pacific – San Pablo Island (part of modern Micronesia) and Sharks' Island (part of modern Polynesia).[26] A further driving impetus may have been the discovery of other spice islands besides the Moluccas, as expressed in a 1549 letter from Pedro de La Gasca, the second viceroy of Peru (1547–1550), to the Council of the Indies.[27]. The Spanish desire to establish connections with the South Sea even prompted voyages of exploration by well-known conquistadors such as Hernán Cortes.[28] In a 1541 letter from Pedro de Alvarado to the King of Spain, this desire was expressed as the "intention to discover, conquer and settle islands and provinces of the South Sea towards the west".[29]

Reports of pre-Columbian Amerindian navigation techniques and raft sightings by sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers fed into the existing belief that lands of wealth, some of them unidentified and yet-to-be-discovered, existed to the west of South America, in the South Sea, at unknown distances.[30] Apart from being imbued by colonial interests, these chronicles were also undoubtedly shaped by their authors' prevailing Judeo-Christian tradition and the idea of a single human origin as related in the Bible.[31]

Some sixteenth-century chroniclers sought explanations for physical similarities and differences (whether observed or speculated) between the inhabitants of the New World and Europeans.[32] Unsurprisingly, most chroniclers cited significant differences of appearance between these groups and they made attempts to explain such difference logically, by comparison to the peoples with whom they were familiar, or through recourse to biblical

description. Chroniclers also described instances detailing the arrival of 'giants' to the South American Pacific coast involving long-distance voyages. Chronicles such as those by Acosta, Sarmiento, Murúa, and Cabello de Balboa contain ideas suggestive of potential east–west or west–east journeys of exploration through the South Sea, perhaps implying possible pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact events rather than speculating on Amerindian origins.[33] Local legends and oral traditions from the New World were also central in some of these chronicles, including those by the conquistador Pedro Cieza de León (c.1520–1554) and the royal accountant Agustín de Zárate (c.1514–c.1585), who described arrivals to South America from unknown lands in the South Sea.[34] Arguably, Acosta was the chronicler who focused most on discussing these connections across the South Sea.[35] However, other chroniclers also proposed similar ideas about purported long-distance and accidental voyages between the Americas and the South Sea, such as those involving Túpac Yupanqui's voyage.

**Descriptions of Origins (Accidental Voyages) and the European Imagination**

The trans-Pacific contact ideas contained in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chronicles in question here, were tied to changing European understandings of the world and humanity. The authors of these texts were forced to reconsider universal notions, given their encounters with unfamiliar peoples. As they described these encounters and narrated their ideas on Amerindian origins, most grounded their ideas, at least tacitly, in Christian cosmology. They naturally framed their observations in terms of what they had been taught about the world, humanity and its origins. Thus, the exploration of the New World (and later the South Sea forced Europeans to consider alternative explanations for the origins and the settlement of the indigenous peoples they encountered. These changing perspectives challenged the European

‘conventional adamic narrative’ and gave rise to a new conception of anthropology as a colonial ideology.[36]

Acosta, amongst the most studied chroniclers from the sixteenth century, expressed his uncertainty surrounding the exact point of origin for Amerindians, stating: “wee may beleeve, that some came to inhabite after one sort, and some after an other”.[37] Determined not to contradict biblical authority, he explained pragmatically with respect to Amerindian origins: “The reason that inforceth us to yeeld that the first men of the Indies are come from Europe or Asia, is the testimonie of the holy scripture, which teacheth us plainely that all men came from Adam. We can therefore give no other beginning to those at the Indies, seeing the holy scripture said that, that all beasts and creatures of the earth perished but such as were reserved in the Arke of Noe. [38]

Evidently, Acosta’s explanation of the settlement of the Americas, like those of most contemporary chroniclers, had to accord with prevailing Christian dogma. He saw Noah’s Ark and the Great Flood as a basis for explaining the origin of the animals and plants of the Americas, never before seen by Europeans. He questioned whether King Solomon’s journey lasted three years or was conducted every three years, but nonetheless believed in its veracity, as an example of European expertise in navigation. He placed the origins of the local inhabitants from the Indies in the Old World, in agreement with the biblical narrative.

Despite Acosta’s descriptions of accidental voyages and coastal arrivals, he questioned Amerindian navigational abilities in comparison to European skill and equipment, and believed that the absence of navigational instruments in the Americas demonstrated the lack of Amerindian seafaring skills, which would have limited their ability to traverse long maritime distances. Acosta described how the indigenous South Americans were not versed in the use of needles, presumably referring to compasses, astrolabes and quadrants, possibly dooming them to be lost at sea when sailing for eighteen or more days without seeing land.[39]

In conjunction with Acosta's doubts about indigenous navigational capacity, this amounted to the hypothesis that the original settlers of the Americas had come by land and not by sea. Despite his support for a land route as an explanation for Amerindian origins, Acosta believed that the South Sea had been explored prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, a concept perhaps expressed less openly by his fellow chroniclers: "So as there wants no witnesses to prove that they [certain South American indigenous inhabitants] sailed in the South Sea before the Spaniards came thither". [40] Nevertheless, a comparable idea was expounded by the Spanish chronicler, Fernando de Montesinos. He speculated that the Americas had been settled via various routes, including the South Sea.[41]

Making reference to Solomon's Ophir, Acosta explained: "Some hold opinion that mention is made of the West Indies in the holy scripture, taking the region of Peru for that Ophir which they make so famous."[42] He continued: "And there are many others which affirme that our Peru is Ophir, deriving one name from another, who beleeve that when as the booke of Paralipomenon was written, they called it Peru, grounding it vpon that which the holy scripture saith, that they brought from Ophir pure gold, precious stones, and wood which was rare and goodly—which things abound in Peru, as they say."[43] This text implies that King Solomon would have crossed the Atlantic Ocean from the Old World to reach Ophir.[44] However, as the Spanish became increasingly aware of lands to the west, these were often associated with Ophir and were sought with intent, as in Mendaña's 1567–69 voyage, in which the chronicler Sarmiento participated. This potentially added a colonial interest in these early accounts of long-distance voyages and associated theories of Amerindian origins involving the South Sea, given the strong interest expressed by Spaniards (especially in Peru) in discovering, conquering and settling rich lands to the west, in the South Sea. [45] As described by Sarmiento in his 1572 letter to King Philip II of Spain, the lack of knowledge surrounding these rich islands in the South Sea made their discovery imperative as the

Spanish wanted to arrive before other Europeans claimed these lands. In 1567, this drove Sarmiento to propose journeys of exploration of the South Sea in the hopes of discovering wealthy lands, to Lope García de Castro, the seventh governor of Peru between 1564 and 1569.[46] The Spanish colonial interests in the South Sea and their association with the wealthy lands of King Solomon were clearly significant in the attribution of the name 'Solomon Islands' to the islands Mendaña sought and found during his voyage of 1567–69.[47] Writing two decades after Mendaña's expedition, Joseph de Acosta was evidently aware of the existence of the Solomon Islands:

"In this same South Sea, although an advance from the West has not been found nor is known, not many years have passed since the discovery of the islands called Solomon, which are several and very large, and are [located] some eight hundred leagues from Piru. And because it has been observed and found thus, that wherever there are several and very large islands, a continent will not be far, many [people], myself included, are of the opinion that in the vicinity of the mentioned Solomon Islands, there is a great continent that corresponds to our America on the west, and that continent may possibly extend as far south as the Strait of Magellan." [48]

Speculation about the southern *tierra ferme* (continent), called *Terra Australis* from the mid-1520s, permeated some of these early writings. The ancient classical belief that a large land mass counterbalanced those of the northern hemisphere or *oikoumene* (thereby ensuring the stability of the globe) was incorporated into some chroniclers' narratives. Additionally, these chroniclers bolstered their arguments with reference to Inca traditions regarding the existence of wealthy islands in the South Sea.[49]

**Contacts: Descriptions of Long-Distance Voyages, Coastal Arrivals from Distant Lands**

Spanish chroniclers' growing awareness of the South Sea went hand in hand with their colonial interests in this geographical area. Chroniclers' ideas implying contact between the inhabitants of the New World and Pacific Islands via the South Sea were reinforced by indigenous South American legends and oral traditions describing long-distance voyages and coastal arrivals from distant lands.

Certain Spanish chroniclers noticed the navigational skills and activities of indigenous Americans, particularly those from the central Andean region and speculated about the possibility of long-distance westward voyages initiated by Amerindians, across the South Sea.[50] Some chroniclers also included detailed descriptions of Amerindian balsa raft sightings and their probable routes. One of them was Acosta who expressly stated that the people from Ica and Arica (in modern Chile) sailed westward to distant, unnamed islands in the South Sea in ancient times, presumably in inflated seal skins (a report based on oral traditions): "In like sort, the Indians of Yca and Arica report, that in old time they were wont to saile farre to the Ilands of the West, and made their voiages in Seales skinned blowne up."[51]

Despite Acosta's descriptions of accidental voyages and coastal arrivals, he questioned Amerindian navigational abilities (discussed above) in comparison to European skill and equipment. In contrast to Acosta's observations surrounding Amerindian sailing capabilities, other chroniclers speculated about the diffusion of sailing traditions to the Americas across the Pacific from unknown and distant lands. For example, the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (c.1521–c.1603) explained in his *Historia de las guerras más que civiles que hubo en el Reino del Perú* chronicle (also known as *Quinquenarios*), how the navigation skills and techniques of the local tradespeople and raftsmen from Peru had been handed down to them by Viracocha, a man who had voyaged from afar on a raft with sails.[52]

Similarly, Cabello de Balboa narrated in his chronicles that the first settlers of the Peruvian kingdom of Chimu, a group of seafaring people arrived in rafts on the coasts of Lambayeque, Peru, presided over and guided by a chief of presumably great talent and courage called Naymlap.[53] The stories about Viracocha and Naymlap appear to be two of a series of widespread oral traditions from Peruvian north-coast mythology, pointing to long-distance voyages from an undetermined point of origin in the South Sea.[54] A number of chroniclers, including Acosta, also reported stories about seafaring giants from faraway lands, presumably in the South Sea, arriving on Ecuador's Pacific coast, specifically in Manta and Portoviejo. Acosta described how:

"In Peru they make great mention of certaine Giants, which have been in those parts, whose bones are yet seene at Manta and Puerto Viejo, of a huge greatnes, and by their proportion they should be thrice as big as the Indians. At this day they report that the Giants came by sea, to make warre with those of the Countrie, and that they made goodly buildings, whereof at this day they shew a well, built with stones of great price. They say moreover, that these men committing abominable sinnes, especially against nature, were consumed by fire from heaven." [55]

Cieza de León's chronicle also details an indigenous South American oral tradition, which recounts the coastal arrival of men so tall that common men only reached their knees.[56] Gutiérrez de Santa Clara described similar indigenous accounts of arrivals, however he expressly stated that these seafaring giants probably originated from islands in the South Sea or the southern tip of South America: "these [giants] came in very large boats or rafts, made of cane and dry wood, bearing triangular Latin sails, [sailing] from whence the sun sets and in proximity to Maluku, or the Strait of Magellan."[57] In addition to the accounts of

Acosta, Cieza de León and Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, details of a comparable arrival can also be found in other chronicles, including that by Zárate, which was collected from oral traditions detailing the arrival of 'seafaring giants' to the coast of present-day Ecuador.[58] These chronicles largely agree on the following points: the 'giants' came by sea and were highly skilled mariners, travelling in reed rafts, with no female companions; their origins are unknown, although it appears that they came from faraway lands; they were of tall stature, strong and possessing powerful fighting skills.[59] Other physical features included long hair, a lack of beards and little or no clothing; they were also good fishermen and skilled in the construction of wells and large buildings. Describing the new arrivals as unrepentant sinners, these (Christian) chronicles also represented them as sodomites, punished by the heavens for the atrocities and excesses they committed against the local women, in the form of decapitation and then fire, leaving a large ossuary behind. These accounts were shaped by Judeo-Christian conceptions descriptions about the remains of 'giants'. They also contain Amerindian reports detailing the arrivals of strangers from the South Sea, and the presence of vessels with triangular sails in the Andean region that are central to romantic ideas of trans-Pacific contact.[60]

**Speculations on Túpac Yupanqui's Long-Distance Voyage**

Three sixteenth-century chronicles by Sarmiento (1572), Cabello de Balboa (1576–86), and Murúa (1590), contain descriptions of an apparent long-distance return voyage to the South Sea headed by Túpac Yupanqui.[61] Túpac Yupanqui is widely believed to have been the tenth Inca ruler and to have been in power between 1471 and 1493. He is also known to have been involved in the expansion of the Inca Empire and the integration of the majority of the Inca territory during and after the rule of his father Pachacuti.[62] All three chroniclers detail Yupanqui's famed voyage to Auachumbi and Ninachumbi, two distant islands to the west of

South America that were purportedly named by the Incas and this suggests an instance of trans-Pacific contact initiated from South America.[63]

As described by Sarmiento, this voyage was triggered by encounters with merchants who had sailed from the west on-board balsa rafts with sails. Such encounters occurred in Tumbes, Ecuador and presumably coincided with Túpac Yupanqui's interest to expand the Inca Empire while he explored the coast of Manta, Puná Island, and Tumbes. These merchants "gave information of the land whence they came, which consisted of some islands called Avachumbi and Ninachumbi, where there were many people and much gold".[64] Given Túpac Yupanqui's colonial interests and ambitions, he "determined to challenge a happy fortune, and see if it would favour him by sea".[65] In order to obtain further details about these islands of wealth, he commanded a necromancer by the name of Antarqui, to determine whether the merchants' claims were true and whether these lands really did exist.[66] Antarqui, who had accompanied Túpac Yupanqui in his conquests, affirmed that these lands did in fact exist and thus set sail in search of them. On Antarqui's return, Túpac Yupanqui, "having this certainty, determined to go there. He caused an immense number of balsas to be constructed, in which he embarked more than 20,000 chosen men".[67] He then "navigated and sailed on [for nine to twelve months] until he discovered the islands of Avachumbi and Niñachumbi, and returned, bringing back with him black people, gold, a chair of brass, and a skin and jaw bone of a horse." [68] According to Sarmiento, such "trophies were preserved in the fortress of Cuzco [presumably Saqsaywaman] until the Spaniards came".[69] Sarmiento then claimed that he discovered these islands "in the South Sea on the 30$^{th}$ of November, 1567, 200 and more leagues to the westward [of the Pacific coast of South America]."[70] Sarmiento reported this discovery to the Licentiate Lope García de Castro, then Governor of Peru, who named them the Solomon Islands.[71] Sarmiento also claimed that Álvaro de Mendaña did not wish to

occupy these lands, in stark opposition to the prevalent Spanish colonial interests at the time.[72]

Although all three chroniclers described the same voyage, their descriptions contained minor variations. Sarmiento, for instance, specified that Túpac Yupanqui's voyage lasted between nine and twelve months, whereas Cabello de Balboa and Murúa reported that it lasted one year. The three chronicles described some bounty and people that had been brought back to Peru, mainly 'black' people, gold treasure, along with a brass chair and horsehide. Sarmiento's chronicle specified that Túpac Yupanqui's crew consisted of twenty thousand men, whereas Cabello de Balboa and Murúa's did not. Also, Sarmiento specified the names of the islands Túpac Yupanqui reached as Avachumbi and Niñachumbi, Cabello de Balboa as Hagua Chumbi and Nina Chumbi, and Murúa as Hahua Chumpi and Nina Chumpi. In short, the three chronicles detailing Túpac Yupanqui's voyage can be summarised thus: Túpac Yupanqui met merchants on one of his voyages around the Pacific coast of modern-day Ecuador and Peru, who informed him of the existence of wealthy lands to the west, inspiring him to embark on a journey. As a result, he ordered the construction of a series of rafts and commissioned several people to join him on this venture, which appears to have lasted between nine and twelve months. On completion of the journey, he purportedly brought back black men and treasures including gold, a copper throne, hide and jaws claimed to be from horses, and trophies that were preserved in Saqsaywaman and Cuzco, until the Spanish arrival.[73] Table 1 illustrates the key details of Túpac Yupanqui's voyage as described in these chronicles.

**[insert Table 1 about here]**

**Table 1.** Summary of main points surrounding Túpac Yupanqui's voyage, according to the chroniclers Sarmiento, Cabello de Balboa, and Murúa.

In addition, a sixteenth-century manuscript supposedly written by Túpac Yupanqui's grandchildren appears to contain a short description of these two lands. In contrast to the chronicles, however, the locations of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi are described as provinces near the sea, and not islands, further adding to uncertainty surrounding the accuracy of these chronicles.[74]

Given the sixteenth-century political climate and colonial interests in the Spanish American colonies, the desire to reach the land associated with King Solomon, as well as *Terra Australis*, and reports of Túpac Yupanqui's venture, further inspired and justified a number of Spanish voyagers to launch similar expeditions in an attempt to find rich lands to the west. The first such expedition was Mendaña's voyage to the Solomon Islands between 1567 and 1569 in which, as noted above, Sarmiento claimed to have sighted Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi. Knowledge of these islands also prompted Juan Fernández (c. 1518–1572) to actively search for them in his 1574 voyage of discovery of the three islands off the coast of Chile that bear his name.[75]

Some of the earliest-known ideas about Amerindian origins and their contact with peoples with links to the South Sea are found in a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish chronicles predominantly about Peru and Chile. These early ideas centred on accidental voyages, maritime skills and technology, and coastal arrivals along the western shores of South America. These ideas emerged around the time of the Spanish discovery and growing exploration of the South Sea.

The Spanish exploration, conquest and colonisation of the New World prompted interest in the origins of the local inhabitants of these lands. Spanish chroniclers gathered data, reported on legends and oral traditions on this topic, and authored narratives describing their observations and encounters.[76] Some of these descriptions, including those contained in the chronicles by Sarmiento, Murúa and Cabello de Balboa, captured indigenous ideas about

voyaging traditions resulting in contacts with the South Sea or Pacific Islands. Other ideas may have been driven by a desire to identify lands of wealth akin to the Spice Islands, in addition to a route to the genuine Spice Islands and to mainland Asia, as expressed by Pedro de La Gasca in his 1549 letter to the Council of the Indies referenced above.[77]

Ideas about trans-Pacific contacts and origins found in these texts were mainly speculative and contained anthropological descriptions largely shaped by European Judeo-Christian tradition. The hints of trans-Pacific contacts and Amerindian origins in these chronicles reveal the authors' conflicted attempts to find explanations that were acceptable in biblical terms.

Speculations about Amerindian origins contained in the chronicles discussed herein, however, at times challenged Holy Scripture and gave rise to new understandings about humanity and geography.[78] Their authors were also strongly influenced by colonial interests and 'romantic' beliefs surrounding the breadth, wealth and possible existence of desirable yet-to-be discovered lands dotted across the expanse of the South Sea, and were particularly imbued with the desire to find a hypothetical large *Terra Australis* and an expected rich mythical land associated with King Solomon: Ophir. Additionally, indigenous oral traditions pointing to voyages to rich lands to the west of the Americas and thus implying pre-Columbian Amerindian contact with South Sea islands also became enmeshed in these chroniclers' narratives. Examples are the reports by Murúa, Sarmiento and Cabello de Balboa of Túpac Yupanqui's alleged long-distance voyage to the two unidentified islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi, apparently to the west of the South American Pacific coast.[79] Other examples include descriptions of the arrival on the west coast of supernatural creatures (mainly 'giants') and god-like figures such as Naymlap.[80]

Ideas about Amerindian origins and cultural contact involving the South Sea contained in the chronicles discussed in this article have been incorporated into numerous studies, as a

generative element in the extensive literature on trans-Pacific contacts or origins.[81] Some have even been further developed or reinterpreted, at times even evolving into "full-blown" scholarly traditions, as is the case with Túpac Yupanqui's voyage to the islands of Ahuachumbi and Ninachumbi.[82]

As noted by Bevir, "to study the history of ideas is to study meaning, and so culture, from a historical perspective."[83] To study the history of archaeology properly, one must step away from "presentations of scientific processes as an inevitable progression."[84] Instead, we must use "historiographical concepts and tools to trace how archaeological knowledge has been acquired as well as to reflect on the historical conditions and contexts in which this knowledge has been generated."[85] This paper has uncovered the beliefs that shaped early ideas about trans-Pacific contact from the sixteenth century, particularly since some have imbued current archaeological discussions.

The ideas about pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact expressed by these chroniclers were developed several centuries before the concept of prehistory emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century.[86] Their scholarly context also long pre-dated the establishment of scientific archaeology.[87] Given this context, the ideas about contacts and origins were speculative interpretations of observations that were coherent with biblical explanations about the origins and past of humanity, rather than scientific demonstrations supported by evidence. Elements of these ideas have underpinned further conjecture and theorisation to the present. In this sense, chroniclers' encounters with the indigenous populations of the New World set the precedent for modern scientific and cultural understanding of trans-Pacific contact and the associated anthropological observations. Since elements of these chronicles have informed certain theories that have shaped the trans-Pacific contact debate over time, it is imperative to identify these inherited representations of trans-Pacific contact, to review

them within their historical and intellectual context, and to address their concealed colonial motivations.

**Notes**

1. David Armitage and Alison Bashford, 'Introduction: The Pacific and its Histories', in David Armitage and Alison Bashford, *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, 14 (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

2. Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias* (Madrid: V. Suárez, [1550] 1905); Pedro Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú* (Madrid: Calpe, [1553] 1922); Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (Sevilla: Alonso Escuriano, [1555] 1577); Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, ed. Sir Clements Markham (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, [1572] 1907); Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1576–1586] 1951); Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, [1590] 2006); Fray Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Madrid: Dastin, S.L., [1590] 2001); retrieved from Biblioteca Digital Hispánica; and Fernando de Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú*, ed. Sir Clements R. Markham and Philip Ainsworth Means (Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2016 [1920]). Two editions of Joseph de Acosta's chronicle are referenced in this article: 1. Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (full reference provided above); and 2. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Clements R. Markham (London: The Hakluyt Society, [1604] 1880). They can be recognised by minor variations in the author's first name—Joseph de Acosta for 2006, José de Acosta for 1880—as well as by their corresponding titles (Spanish for the former, English for the latter). The English edition is solely used for direct citations in lieu of old Spanish prose, and the Spanish version for general references.

3. Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

4. Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 329. See also Matthias Urban and Rita Eloranta, 'Ñaimlap, the Birds, and the Sea: Viewing an Ancient Peruvian Legend through the Lens of Onomastics', *Names* 65, No. 3 (2017): 154. doi: 10.1080/00277738.2017.1304104, retrieved from *Taylor and Francis Online*.

5. For a list of publications discussing pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contact involving mainland Asia, Oceania, and the Americas up until 1996, see John L. Sorenson and Martin R. Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2 Vols. (Provo, Utah : Research Press, 1996).

6. According to Glyn Daniel, scientific archaeology was established in Denmark and Sweden in 1840. See Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 56. See also Donald R. Kelley, 'The rise of prehistory', *Journal of World History* 14, No. 1 (2003): 17; and Matthew D. Eddy, 'The prehistoric mind as a historical artefact', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 65 (2011): 3.

7. David N. Livingstone, *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins*, 8–25 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

8. Thor Heyerdahl, *Early Man and the Ocean*, 174–87 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978); José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*, 159pp. (Lima: Editorial Brasa S.A., 2000).

9. See for example Del Busto Duthurburu, *Túpac Yupanqui, Descubridor de Oceanía*.

10. O.H.K. Spate, '"South Sea" to "Pacific Ocean": A Note on Nomenclature', *The Journal of Pacific History* 12, No. 4 (1977): 205–11.

11. Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages and Encounters in Oceania, 1511-1850*, 4 (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[12]. Abraham Ortelius, *Maris Pacifici (quod vulgo Mar del Zur) cum regionibus circumiacentibus, insulisque in eodem passim sparsis, novissima descriptio / Abrahamus Ortelius, Regiaeae Mts. geographus lub, merito dedicabat, 1589*, National Library of Australia MAP NK 1528.

[13]. Ana Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII', *Asociación Española de Orientalistas* XXXVIII (2002): 33–35; Ricardo Padrón, '(Un)Inventing America: The Transpacific Indies in Oviedo and Gomara', *Colonial Latin American Review* 25, No. 1 (2016): 10. doi: 10.1080/10609164.2016.1180782, retrieved from *Taylor & Francis Online*; Ricardo Padrón, 'A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim', *Hispanic Review* 77, No. 1 (2009): 1–27.

[14]. Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 33–35; Padrón, '(Un)Inventing America: The Transpacific Indies in Oviedo and Gomara': 10; Padrón, 'A Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim': 1–27.

[15]. Bronwen Douglas, 'Imagined Futures in the Past: Empire, Place, Race and Nation in the Mapping of Oceania', in *Pacific Futures: Past and Present*, ed. Warwick Anderson, Miranda Johnson, and Barbara Brookes, 132 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018).

[16]. Bronwen Douglas and Elena Govor, 'Eponymy, Encounters, and Local Knowledge in Russian Place Naming in the Pacific Islands, 1804–1830', *The Historical Journal* 62, No. 3 (2019): 709–10.

[17]. Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 46.

[18]. Juan López de Velasco, [1575]. [Demarcacion y nauegaciones de Yndias]. Manuscript. Codex Sp 7/1-SIZE.JCB Map Collection. Providence, RI: John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

[19]. Leslie Dewan and Dorothy Hosler, 'Ancient Maritime Trade on Balsa Rafts: An Engineering Analysis,' *Journal of Anthropological Research* 64, No. 1 (2008): 19–40; Cameron M. Smith and John F. Haslett, 'Construction and Sailing Characteristics of a Pre-Columbian Raft Replica,' *Bulletin of Primitive Technology*, No. 20 (Fall 2000): 13–31; Joris van Spilbergen, *Speculum orientalisoccidentalisqueIndiaenavigationum* (Leiden: Nicolaus van Geelkercken, 1619); Richard Madox in Elizabeth Story Donno, *An Elizabethan in 1582. The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1976); Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 243 (London: Hakluyt Society, [1572] 1857).

[20]. Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1570). Translation by Pamela Merrill Brekka, *The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572): Visual Corpus, New World 'Hebrew-Indian' Map, and the Religious Crosscurrents of Imperial Spain*, PhD Dissertation, University of Florida, 37 (2012).

[21]. Florentino García Martínez, *Between Philology and Theology. Contributions to the Study of Ancient Jewish Interpretation*, 165–71 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012).

[22]. Lerner, 'Teorías de Indios: los orígenes de los pueblos del continente americano y la Biblia Políglota de Amberes (1568–1573)', 237–38; Merrill Brekka, *The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1572): Visual Corpus, New World 'Hebrew-Indian' Map, and the Religious Crosscurrents of Imperial Spain*, 15.

[23]. Guillaume Postel, *Cosmographicaedisciplinae Compendium* . . . . Basilea: s.n. (1561), 16; Benito Arias Montano, Vol. 8 of *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, ed. Benito Arias Montano (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571).

[24]. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, 'Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to King Philip II, March 4, 1572', *General Archive of the Indies*: *Cartas de Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.*

[25]. Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Prólogo' in Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, xiii, xxi.

[26]. Mariano Cuesta, 'Los viajes a las islas Molucas' in *El Pacífico Español. De Magallanes a Malaespina*, ed. Carlos Martínez Shaw, 45–58 (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Secretaría de Estado para la Cooperación Internacional y para Iberoamérica, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1988).

[27]. Referring to reports by Spaniards about sightings of islands, birds, buildings, fires, and floating rubbish and wooden boards approximately 100 to 150 leagues off the west coast of South America, La Gasca described in this letter how: 'And being these [reports] true accounts, it seems that the South Sea is dotted with many and great islands, because in such diverse places these signs are found; and it could be that in those [islands] that are below the Equator, or near it, there could be spices, because they have the same climate as the Moluccas'. Translation by the author. See Pedro de la Gasca, 'Pedro de la Gasca to the Council of the Indies, May 2, 1549,' *Documentos Relativos a Don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, 334–35 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1964).

[28]. Miguel Leon-Portilla, *Hernán Cortés y la Mar del Sur*, 27 (Madrid: Algaba Ediciones, 2005).

[29]. Pedro de Alvarado, <'Carta del Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, escrita al Rey…'>, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*, Vol. 2, 8 (Madrid: Est. Tipográfico "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra", 1886).

[30]. Based on the modern studies cited in this article which focus on pre-Columbian navigation and reports of raft sightings by Spanish chroniclers in the sixteenth century, these journeys of a predominantly trading nature appear to have only occurred along the Pacific coast of Middle and South America and with nearby islands. However, some (such as *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* by José de Acosta) reported instances of indigenous South American raftsmen heading west, suggesting they may have been heading to islands in the Pacific.

[31]. Bernardo Berdichewsky, *En torno a los orígenes del hombre americano*, 42 (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1972).

[32]. Gregorio García, for example, placed the origin of Amerindians in various parts of the Old World. An explanation for the Amerindian diversity would have necessitated multiple migrations, predominantly by land but also by sea. See Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo, e Indias occidentales*, 310–12 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Críticas, [1607] 2005).

[33]. Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 41; Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

[34]. Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú*, 178–81; Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú*, 2–3.

[35]. Joseph de Acosta's early ideas of trans-Pacific contact involving the Americas are cited in numerous works, most notably in Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*, Vol. 1, 2.

[36]. Giuliano Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, 14–15 (Lecques: Theete editions, 2000); Livingstone, *Adam's Ancestor's: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins*, 1–25.

[37]. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 69.

[38]. Ibid.

[39]. Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 44.

[40]. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56.

[41]. Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú*, 3.

[42]. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 37.

[43]. Ibid.

[44]. Acosta details in his chronicle, for instance, how some of his contemporaries believed that Ophir meant Peru following the dictates of the Holy Writ. Joseph de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, 31–34; Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 38–39.

[45]. Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 34.

[46]. Sarmiento, 'Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to King Philip II, March 4, 1572,' *General Archive of the Indies*: *Cartas de Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.*

[47]. Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 38–39. See also Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y*

*descripción universal de las Indias*, 602–04 (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1894).

48. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 18.

49. Verde Casanova, 'España y el Pacífico: Un breve repaso a las expediciones españolas de los siglos XVI al XVIII': 38–39.

50. Jorge Ortiz-Sotelo, 'The Central Andean Peoples and their Relationship to the Sea', in Michel Ballard and Christian Buchet (eds.), *The Sea in History: The Medieval World*, 727–40 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell and Brewer, 2017).

51. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56.

53. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, 527–28.

54. Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 329; Raúl Arias Sánchez, 'Los dioses navegantes de América prehispánica', in *Ensayos del Museo Antropológico de la Cultura Andina*, Huancayo, Perú, 15–16 (Huancayo, Peru: Universidad Nacional del Centro del Peru and Museo Antropológico de la Cultura Andina, 2013).

55. Jose Alcina Franch, Alicia Alonso Sagaseta, Jean Francois Bouchard and Mercedes Guinea Bueno, 'Navegación precolombina: el caso del litoral pacífico ecuatorial. Evidencias e hipótesis', *Revista española de antropología americana* 17 (1987): 52–54; Arias Sánchez, 'Los dioses navegantes de America prehispanica': 15–16.

56. José de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56.

57. Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú*, 181.

58. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, 566.

59. Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Peru*, 4–5. For a more detailed description of chroniclers describing the arrival of seafaring giants to

Manta and Puerto Viejo, as well as to the Santa Elena Peninsula in southwest Ecuador, see Sandro Patrucco Núñez, 'Los Gigantes en el Descubrimiento de América', *Historia y Cultura* 21 (1991–92): 120–25.

60. Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú*, 181; Joseph de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 56; Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú*, 566; Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú*, 4–5.

61. Jeff Emanuel, 'Crown Jewel of the Fleet: Design, Construction, and Use of the Seagoing Balsa of the Pre-Columbian Andean Coast', in *Proceedings of the 13th International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology*, 1–27 (ISBSA 13), Amsterdam, Netherlands, October 8–12, 2012.

62. Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

63. Previously it was believed that this expansion covered parts of present-day Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador. See J.H. Rowe, 'Absolute chronology in the Andean area', *American Antiquity* 10 (1945): 265–85. A recent study, however, argues for a southern expansion (Argentina, 1350–1440) to have occurred before the northern one (Ecuador, 1410–1480). See Erik J. Marsh, Ray Kidd, Dennis Ogbur and Victor Durán, 'Dating the Expansion of the Inca Empire: Bayesian Models from Ecuador and Argentina', *Radiocarbon* 59, No. 1 (2017): 11; Dennis E. Ogburn, 'Recovering the Chronology of Inca Imperial Expansion', *Radiocarbon* 54, No. 2 (2012): 221.

64. Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

65. Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., 135–36.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., 136.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., xiii, 136.

73. Ibid., xiii, 136; Abiel Holmes, *American Annals; Or a Chronological History of America, from its Discovery in 1492 to 1806*, Vol. 1, 82 (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813).

74. Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

75. For a reproduction of this manuscript, see John Howland Rowe, 'Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores', *Histórica* IX, No. 2 (1985): 210–11, 224.

76. Medina states that Juan Fernández inteded to locate the islands sought by Sarmiento and referred to in his chronicle *History of the Incas*. See José Toribio Medina, *El piloto Juan Fernández, descubridor de las islas que llevan su nombre, y Juan Jufre, armador de la expedición que hizo en busca de otras en el Mar del Sur*, 117–21 (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1918).

77. Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú …* (1550); Cieza de León, *La crónica del Perú* (1553); Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555); Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas* (1572); Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica* (1576–1586); Acosta, *Historia Natural y*

*Moral de las Indias* (1590); Murúa, *Historia general del Perú* (1590); and Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales del Perú* (1664).

78. Pedro de la Gasca, 'Pedro de la Gasca to the Council of the Indies, May 2, 1549', 334–35.

79. Gliozzi, *Adam et le Nouveau Monde*, 14–15, 19.

80. Murúa, *Historia general del Perú*, 82–3; Sarmiento, *History of the Incas*, 135–36; Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323.

81. Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica*, 323. See also Urban and Eloranta, 'Ñaimlap, the Birds, and the Sea: Viewing an Ancient Peruvian Legend through the Lens of Onomastics': 154.

82. Sorenson and Raish, *Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Oceans: An Annotated Bibliography*.

83. See for example Del Busto Duthurburu, *Túpac Yupanqui, descubridor de Oceanía*.

84. Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

85. Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link, 'Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research. Introduction', in *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research*, ed. Gisela Eberhardt and Fabian Link (eds.), 8 (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2015).

86. Ibid.

87. Kelley, 'The rise of prehistory': 17; Matthew D. Eddy, 'The prehistoric mind as a historical artefact': 3.

88. Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, 56.