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Appropriation, subversion, and restoration in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*

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APPROPRIATION, SUBVERSION, AND RESTORATION IN FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE
AYALA'S EL PRIMER NUEVA CORÓNICA Y BUEN GOBIERNO

A Thesis

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by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 LITERARY APPROPRIATION.....	8
Chronicles as Literature.....	8
Guaman Poma’s Literary Abilities.....	12
A “New Chronicle”?.....	24
3 POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SUBVERSION.....	34
Pro-Spanish Overtones.....	34
Anti-Spanish Undertones.....	36
Social Dynamics.....	41
4 CULTURAL RESTORATION.....	53
Sacrifice.....	53
Reclamation.....	58
The Creation of an Indigenous Andean State.....	66
5 THE IMPORTANCE OF GUAMAN POMA FOR THE MODERN READER..	75
Colonialism, Imperialism, and Globalization.....	75
Subalternism and Colonial Literature.....	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	80
VITA.....	83

ABSTRACT

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala finished his chronicle, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, in 1615 for King Felipe III as a handbook for improving the Spanish colonial system, although it was not published until 1936 when it was rediscovered in Copenhagen. Despite the fact that the king did not publish it, the manuscript serves as an important part of colonial-period indigenous literature. In his chronicle, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala effectively creates an image of himself as an acculturated Andean who defends the civil authority of the king of Spain and the religious authority of the Catholic Church. However, deeper analysis reveals that this image of the chronicler is but one of many techniques which he used to disguise his true goals: the subversion of the total civil and religious power of the Spanish colonial administration and the creation of a semiautonomous Andean state. The author reveals these goals through his use of various literary and artistic techniques, including the nearly 400 drawings he incorporated into his chronicle and his manipulation of many of the most widespread arguments of the colonial period.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

One of the difficulties of analyzing any literary work is the natural tendency to contemporize the work—to remove it from its historical context. This tendency is compounded when dealing with works of literature that are more historical in nature, such as chronicles. Without a profound understanding of the historical and cultural contexts of a work, many of the major themes can be lost or distorted. One must understand that many of these chroniclers were writing about their own time or previous periods in history, writing to their own generations, and writing based upon the extent of knowledge available at that time. As obvious as these truths might seem, the modern reader—a product of centuries of cumulative changes in all areas of study—must be able to understand fully the significance of a work for its time and even be able to disregard those centuries of changes without completely forgetting them. That does not mean that modern interpretations of literature are inherently flawed. Modern advancements in thought, theory, and scholarship can provide profound new insights into the artistic expressions of earlier eras. However, a reader cannot have a thorough understanding of any work until he or she can find a common point of departure. Cultural products, such as literature, art, philosophy, theology, politics, and people, are very much products of the time in which they were written. In the Spanish world, both the chronicle as a genre and the chronicler were very much the creations of their place in time, a period which combined aspects of both medieval and renaissance thought in Spain and Spanish and indigenous thought in the colonies.

Despite seeming to be an acculturated defender of Spanish and Catholic authority, a deeper analysis of Guaman Poma's manuscript reveals that the author effectively uses these apparent characteristics to create a façade that would be more acceptable to the Spanish king and

at the same time would hide his true goals: the subversion of Spanish political and religious power and the restoration of an Andean state; the author reveals these hidden goals through the manipulation of various literary and artistic techniques, the incorporation of subtle textual references, and through the manipulation of many of the most widespread arguments of the era.

Spanish culture throughout the colonial period was a practically unavoidable dichotomy of medieval European thought blended with the advancements of renaissance Europe (Brading 21, 23). That these two worldviews should meet in Spain was no accident: the nation's seven hundred-year struggle to drive out the Moors naturally led to the perpetuation of the medieval warrior mentality (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 41).¹ Furthermore, this extended conflict was both a political and religious crusade that naturally led to the perpetuation of medieval superstitions and religious fidelity all under the banner of Christianity (Frost 123). Thus, these particular characteristics of medieval Spain were able to survive the modernizing cultural forces of the Renaissance, leaving many with a fanatical devotion to the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy.

As renaissance thought slowly began to permeate Spanish society, the result was a Classical concept of civilization and barbarism that combined with religious devotion to form a heightened level of ethnocentrism. Few cultures have really tried to understand other "inferior" cultures, preferring instead to indoctrinate, subjugate, or acculturate them. Said describes this trend when he says, "All cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them" (Said, *Culture and Imperialism* 100). Religious scholarship resulted in new interpretations of Classical writers, particularly Aristotle, so that these "pagan" philosophies could be incorporated into Christian philosophy (Frost 122). Of particular interest

¹ The Arabs crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 711 CE. The *reconquista* would not end until the Spanish captured Granada in 1492 (Marzal, "Transplanted" 143).

during the conquest and colonization of the Americas were Aristotle's concepts of civilization and barbarism.² The discovery of the Western Hemisphere created many philosophical, theological, and scientific difficulties for Europeans of the era (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 10-14). At the heart of these problems lay Western civilization's compulsion to classify everything. Many of the discoveries in the Americas defied any attempt to classify them according to existing European methods and categories. The ethnocentrism of the day allowed the indigenous cultures to be classified as inferior based only on the fact that they were different (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 16). However, Europeans sought a more precise way of classifying indigenous cultures because the scholars of the day had difficulty comprehending the existence of complex societies that developed completely outside of recognizable European cultural norms and Christian religious practices (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 10-14). The discovery of these cultures had profound implications for the European concepts of humanity and civilization.

Long before the discovery of the Americas, the Classical concept of civilized and barbaric humans had given rise to the dualistic Christian concept of the City of God and the City of Man (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 15-24; Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 18). The image of two cities battling each other—the civilized, Christian city versus the barbarous, pagan city—set the stage for the combined political and religious conquest of the Americas. Césaire describes the inevitability of the results of this concept: “the chief culprit in this domain is Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equation *Christianity = civilization, paganism = savagery*, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences”

² While Aristotle's role in the debates concerning the Amerindians will be discussed later, both Hanke's *Aristotle and the American Indian: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* and Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* offer much more detailed analyses of the role of Aristotle's ideas in the colonial period than can be done here.

(33). Renaissance European standards for civilization included city-dwelling populations, complex socio-political hierarchies, organized religion, and the domination of natural resources (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 52, 70-71, 73-74, 78). The fact that many indigenous societies partially met these criteria or fulfilled them in ways that were new to the Spanish explorers created a philosophical dilemma for them. In the European mentality of the time, difference naturally led to a hierarchical classification according to value. Naturally, Europeans considered their culture to be inherently superior to all others regardless of whether these other cultures met the criteria for being a civilization (Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 257).³ However, in the Americas the Spanish found awe-inspiring civilizations and cultures that led some to question seriously the applicability of their preconceptions.

The scholars of that era wondered how such complex civilizations could form completely outside of the influences of Western civilization. Western scholars had long believed that cultural evolution followed a rigidly-defined trajectory (MacCormack 212),⁴ but the discovery of the Americas caused some to question such a belief. Despite the evidence against such a theory, the scholars of that day and of centuries to come would all use cultural evolution to as a pseudoscientific way of justifying ethnocentrism and imperialism. Even the scholars most sympathetic to the indigenous populations of the Western Hemisphere still described the inherent inferiority of such cultures when comparing them to European culture, and many of the writers of this period became apologists for the inherent superiority of Europe and inferiority of the Americas. As Said says, “no identity can ever exist by itself and without an array of opposites, negatives, oppositions” (*Culture and Imperialism* 52). A large percentage of these chroniclers focused on what they considered to be the negative aspects of the Western Hemisphere and its

³ See also Said, *Culture and Imperialism* 25 and Said, *Orientalism* 7.

⁴ See also Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 256 and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 18.

cultures. Because few could deny the accomplishments of the indigenous cultures, these writers framed their negative descriptions primarily in racial and religious terms. The subsistence lifestyle of many of the Amerindian cultures was a constant frustration to the profit-seeking Spanish and led them to describe these races as deficient, unintelligent, and natural slaves (Brading 80).⁵ The writings of Aristotle concerning masters and slaves, as well as various pseudoscientific theories including climatology, formed the basis for these claims (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 137).⁶

Furthermore, the indigenous cultures were inherently inferior to the Europeans on the basis of religion because theologians believed that anyone sufficiently worthy and intelligent would have come to an understanding of the basic theology of Christianity (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 53). Even though many of the cultures had highly-structured religions, human sacrifice and polytheism were the primary concerns of the Spanish explorers, missionaries, and chroniclers who sought justification for the events of the colonial period. While profit was the central motive for the conquest and colonization of the Americas, religion provided the necessary justification for such acts (Greenblatt 71). Colonialism cannot exist outside of a framework of superiority and inferiority. If the cultural accomplishments of the indigenous empires could not be adequately deconstructed in order to justify the conquest, their “demonic” religions could be. While cultural, racial, and political justifications for the conquest and colonization could be debated openly, the one thing that was not open for debate was the superiority of the Christian religion. Spain of the era of the *reconquista* and inquisition did not allow for open debate about Catholicism, and religious heretics and dissidents were severely punished. Thus, the only aspect of the conquest that all writers seem to have agreed on was the necessity of evangelizing the

⁵ See also Frost 124 and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 3.

⁶ See also Brading 80, 197; Frost 124; and Pagden, *European Encounters* 146-147.

indigenous peoples and exterminating their pagan religious practices (MacCormack 5). The only question open for debate within this religious framework was the methodology (MacCormack 5); however, evangelization of any sort provided the pro-conquest Spanish with the necessary justification for past actions as well as for an ongoing presence in the New World (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 49).

When Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala began working on his manuscript which he titled *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* in the last decade or two of the Sixteenth Century,⁷ he was writing to both Spanish and Andean readers living in the previously described context.⁸ By the time he completed the final draft of his manuscript in 1615,⁹ writers had been describing the New World for well over a century, and apologists had been attacking and defending the conquest for nearly the same length of time. Regardless of an individual's knowledge of the vast collection of writings completed and published during this period, the nature and state of Spanish colonialism would have been familiar to many. The debates and writings of apologists on both ends of the spectrum were circulated throughout the colonies and had direct influence on Spanish royal and colonial administrative matters, making such subjects important for both the Spanish and their indigenous subjects.

As the importance of chronicles became clear to the Amerindians who were educated by Spanish missionaries, several Amerindians wrote their own chronicles in order to provide a more indigenous perspective of the events of the conquest and of the colonial period in general.

⁷ Many scholars have attempted to pinpoint the year in which Guaman Poma began writing; however, the author himself seems unclear on the point. At times he states that the chronicle took both twenty and thirty years to complete (Ossio 48). Various scholars have been able to determine that the original draft of the manuscript was completed in 1613, leaving many to estimate that Guaman Poma began writing sometime around the years 1583 or 1593 (Ossio 49).

⁸ Guaman Poma's motivations for writing and the readers he targeted will be discussed in the first chapter.

⁹ According to some scholars the final draft was not completed until sometime between 1613 and 1616 (Ossio 49). However, the manuscript was not published until 1936 when a facsimile of the autograph manuscript was published in Paris (Ossio 39).

According to Mignolo, “Western systems of writing and discursive genres were actually adapted and used by the Amerindians in order to sustain their own cultural traditions” (*The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 204). These chronicles provide an invaluable glimpse into the colonial period indigenous cultures, as well as important information about the indigenous peoples’ attempts to conceptualize and explain the dramatic changes and misfortunes they experienced at the time of the conquest. Many of these chronicles exhibit an intense nostalgia for pre-Hispanic times as well as great discontent with colonial Spanish American society. For the modern reader these indigenous chronicles are fascinating examples of subaltern members of a society seeking to find some way in which to make themselves heard by the colonial authorities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERARY APPROPRIATION

Chronicles as Literature

Maintaining objectivity has long been considered to be one of the principal difficulties of historical writing. As White states, “A historical narrative is thus necessarily a mixture of adequately and inadequately explained events, a congeries of established and inferred facts, at once a representation that is an interpretation and an interpretation that passes for an explanation of the whole process mirrored in the narrative” (281). Although the term “chronicle” typically denotes a historical text, the chronicles written during the Spanish colonial period performed several functions beyond recording historical information (Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 176-178). Lienhard classifies these chronicles as historical, philosophical, and anthropological (148). According to Adorno, “Sixteenth-century historiography also purported to adhere to the classical prerogative of serving as *magister vitae*, teacher of individuals and nations; thus it bore the burden of communicating moral as well as empirical truths” (*Writing and Resistance* 37). White indicates that the division of history into different types associated with the primary goals of the writer did not occur until Nineteenth Century, but that interpretation was still seen by many as the central role of historiography (283). Before that division, chronicles performed many of these functions and “are connected to the origins of modern forms of anthropology, ethnography, social and natural science, and also to the beginnings of the modern novel and of the discourse on universal human rights” (Beckjord 1). The authors of these chronicles typically had very precise goals in mind before writing, and these goals heavily influenced the information they included or excluded and how they presented that information. Like the historical writings of many periods, few chronicles of the colonial period

could qualify as factual historical accounts, and many authors wrote as a way of achieving some present goal, not out of a desire to accurately portray the past. This fact is hardly surprising considering that at the time the focus on a high level of unbiased accuracy had yet to be uniformly established in the field of history, and even in modern historical writings there exists a tendency to write historical texts out of a desire to promote changes in society.¹⁰ This typical temptation of historical writers was compounded during the colonial period by the high level of esteem given to firsthand testimony as opposed to verifiable data. Considering the level of technology during this era, verifiable data naturally did not have the importance over eye witness accounts that it has in modern historical writing.

Combined with the interest in and fascination with New World subject matter that resulted from the discovery, the chronicle became the favorite genre of pro- and anti-conquest writers. The resulting boom in historical literature provides modern readers with valuable insight into the thought processes of the Spanish colonial world. While earlier historians accepted these accounts as predominantly true, the trend in more recent times has been to take a more critical approach. The result has been an increasingly profound look at the meanings of the “text within the text” and at the significance of the authors’ lives on their works. By analyzing the chronicles both as literature and as historical accounts, scholars have achieved deeper insights into the veracity of the accounts and the messages they seek to convey.

If we analyze these chronicles as literature and not as historical or documentary writing, they fall into many different literary genres. The chroniclers employed many of the common literary techniques of the time in order to accomplish their goals. The astute reader will find in most chronicles romantic and fantastic elements that seem to harken back to the glorious

¹⁰ Hayden White discusses the role of interpretation on historical writing and the possible influences on a given historiographer’s interpretation in “Interpretations in History.”

accounts of chivalric deeds in medieval literature. Many of the Spanish chroniclers draw on a rich past of literature and legend based on *El cid* and the glories of the *reconquista* in order to romanticize the conquest of the Americas. Such chronicles often sought to turn the conquistadors into legendary heroes, aggrandize their military accomplishments, and turn the native populations into two-dimensional, barbaric savages.

Once a generation of literate Amerindians came into being, these writers sought to correct such misconceptions and provide the indigenous viewpoint. Many times these accounts were not any more historically accurate than those provided by the Spanish, but their intrinsic value is in providing alternative perspectives that prove to be just as varied as those written by the Spanish. Just as there was no single Spanish view, account, or interpretation of the events of the conquest, each of the indigenous accounts are also unique. Although the authors knew they could not openly advocate the end of Spanish colonial rule or the expulsion of Catholicism, many did use their chronicles as tools to glorify their pasts and criticize colonial society. Through these writings modern readers can gain insight into the shortcomings and injustices of the colonial system not from the view of a European, such as was offered by writers like Bartolomé de las Casas, but from the standpoint of the subalterns who had experienced these injustices for themselves.

Whether written by Spaniards justifying their own actions or those of others during the conquest, Spaniards fighting the injustices they witnessed, or by Amerindians trying to find a voice in a deaf colonial system, many of these chronicles share one characteristic in common: they are activist literature. This classification applies to those historical writings which were motivated by the author's desire to instigate some type of change in society. One of the most well-known examples of colonial-period writers who wrote works of activist literature is

Bartolomé de las Casas, author of several works whose primary purpose was to change colonial policy with respect to the indigenous populations. Others sought to uphold the system and wrote in order to prevent change: “Ridrigo d’Escobedo prefigura, de modo algo reductivo, a los primeros ‘escritores’ coloniales: auxiliaries del poder” (Lienhard 8). Many writers sought to stimulate change or perpetuate the current system by providing “documentary” evidence in support of his position. According to Lienhard, writing had particular power during this period in history, leading to what he calls the “fetichismo de la escritura” (7, 12). Each chronicler may have used different methods including fabrication (the creation of fictional evidence or strategic editing of actual evidence), elimination, narration, eyewitness testimony, and firsthand accounts in order to establish his authority, but the goal was that the finished work would function well as propaganda and would cause the reader (or frequently the king, the Council of the Indies, or the viceroyalty) to be more sympathetic to the author’s viewpoint. The majority of chroniclers were attempting to justify or condemn, to initiate progressive or regressive reform, or to improve personal status. While each subsequent chronicle purported to be the “real story,” the author’s blatantly biased attempts to simply prove a preexisting goal means that for modern scholars these works are not reliable sources of historical information.

Such was the case with Guaman Poma’s manuscript. The Andean author sought to gain support for himself and his family, for the provincial Andeans, and for indigenous people in general by appealing directly to King Felipe III¹¹. His entire manuscript, divided into two general parts (*El primer nueva corónica* that deals with Andean history and culture, and *Buen gobierno* that deals with colonial Spanish rule in the Andes), is addressed to Felipe III with the hope that the king would read, publish, and disseminate it so the people at all levels of colonial society might have a better understanding of the Andes which would lead to a better society (Adorno,

¹¹ King Felipe III was monarch of Spain from 1598-1621.

Illustrated Chronicle 16). The author also stated many of these same goals for his manuscript when he wrote to Felipe III about his manuscript on February 14, 1615 (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 15; Ossio 44).¹² Further proof of his desire to publish his chronicle is his strict adherence to many of the printing conventions of his day (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 19). Although we do not know if the king ever read the manuscript, the probability is very low. The manuscript did reach Spain, the king never published it, and somehow it found its way into the possession of the Danish ambassador to Spain and was eventually found in the Royal Library in Copenhagen for the last time in 1908 (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 17).¹³

Guaman Poma's Literary Abilities

In writing a work that would address such diverse readers and discuss so many divisive issues, such as colonial reform, the merits of the Andeans and their culture, and the proper way to govern the colonies, Guaman Poma knew he needed to maximize its appeal by using all of the arguments, information, and literary and artistic techniques at his disposal. An extensive knowledge of the pro-conquest arguments of the time was a necessity when it came to refuting his Spanish opponents on their own terms, and Guaman Poma demonstrates a keen understanding of these issues. He systematically attempts to dismantle arguments based on the concepts of barbarism, just wars, and climatology that earlier chroniclers, theologians, and adherents of the Classical philosophers had all used. The author knew that for the changes he proposes in the *Buen gobierno* to be accepted, he would need to provide a European philosophical framework to justify them. Far from being a factual historical account, the *Nueva corónica* provides an edited account of Andean history that Guaman Poma uses as a foundation

¹² Both a facsimile and transcription of this letter are available online through *The Guaman Poma Website*.

¹³ See also *Writing and Resistance* xiii-xiv and Ossio 39. The manuscript was likely sent to Spain with the help of Buenaventura de Salinas y Cordoba who published his own work in 1630 which appears to be based on Guaman Poma's chronicle (MacCormack 386-387).

for the arguments found later in the manuscript.¹⁴ Modern archaeology demonstrates a much different religious, civil, cultural, and chronological progression for the Andes than that which Guaman Poma describes. The differences between historical fact and the accounts of Guaman Poma are so stark that the author very likely made intentional changes to Andean history in order to suit his purposes. He alters Andean history so that the pro-conquest arguments of his day become invalid because they draw from information that the author considers to be inaccurate or false (Pease XIX). For all the arguments that he cannot dismiss in this manner, he blames the related negative characteristics of the Andes on the Inca who distorted traditional Andean cultures. However, this characteristic of his chronicle hardly makes Guaman Poma any less reliable of a source than many of the other chronicles of the period because such an approach was quite common among both Spanish and indigenous chroniclers.

One of the primary justifications for the conquest and colonization of the New World was related to the concept of barbarism. Even before the discovery of the Americas, Europeans had used this idea to justify their Old World desire for territorial expansion, as well. Furthermore, the Europeans were hardly the first to make use of the idea of civilization and barbarism as arguments for cultural superiority and the right to rule and conquer. In Western Civilization, the philosophical roots of the argument come from Classical philosophers such as Aristotle (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 15). However, one should recognize that these arguments are simply a more sophisticated means of describing the ethnocentrism that appears in most cultures (Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 262; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 16). The questions are why this concept became so pervasive in Europe and how Europe was able to use it to justify the colonization of such a vast portion of the world.

¹⁴ For a factual account of pre-Inca Andean history based upon modern archaeological evidence, see *The Incas and their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru* by Moseley.

Upon considering the role of civilization and barbarism in Europe, the Classical philosophers do play a large role. With the advent of the Renaissance came an increasing interest in and respect for Classical thought. Despite the pagan roots of Greek philosophy, Christian theologians and philosophers highly esteemed Greek ideas and sought to incorporate them into Christian thought. Considering the Hellenistic influences on the New Testament, such scholars had little trouble blending the two. The philosophical arguments related to the natural hierarchies within and among societies became increasingly important as Europeans encountered new cultures. Once the secular Greek arguments for the inherent superiority of civilized nations over barbaric nations were combined with the sense of religious superiority that comes from any “one true religion,” a heightened level of ethnocentrism came into being.

Religious and cultural superiority in Christian thought can be traced back to its roots in Judaism. The books that form the Old Testament of the Christian Bible demonstrate a high level of ethnocentric beliefs based on religious and cultural differences. Divine mandate prohibited acculturation, intermarriage, or even acceptance of foreign cultures because of their pagan religions. These ideas heavily influenced Christian Europe who eventually developed a similarly blended concept of religion and culture. What perhaps started out as the recognition that European was Christian eventually led to the idea that Christian was European. While such a change seems subtle, the implications are profound for the philosophical roots of the conquest of the Americas. After culture was equated with religion, processes of acculturation and evangelization could no longer be separate tasks (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 29). The tendency to equate acculturation with conversion has been a common characteristic of Christian evangelization throughout its existence.

Thus, the criteria for being a civilized nation could no longer be satisfied by having a complex society, but the society needed to be structured according to Christian/European cultures (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 70). Any deviation from Christian/European cultural standards was seen as a deviation from natural law, and such deviations were not acceptable. Furthermore, according to this concept of natural law, uninhabited lands belonged to the discoverer, a concept known as *res nullius* (Greenblatt 60; Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 91). Thus, if the Amerindians could be shown to be sub-human, their lands would be open to European possession. According to European thought, Christians had the responsibility to correct anything that was contrary to natural law. The Christian kings of Europe were responsible for upholding natural law within their domains, but the pope had dominion over the entire world due to a concept known as “plenitude of power” (Cervantes 8; Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 25). Thus, the pope could give dominion of any pagan part of the world to whomever he believed God desired to have it (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 29-30). If a nation was violating natural law or following pagan religions, the pope had the authority to give such territories to a Christian king so that he could conquer and convert the inhabitants (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 29-30, 67; Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 30-31). Such was the case in the Americas where by virtue of the *Inter caetera*, the Catholic kings of Spain received permission to colonize the New World based on the condition of converting the inhabitants in 1493 from Pope Alexander VI (Brading 79).¹⁵ Justification for the conquest and colonization of the newly discovered lands came to rest heavily on the belief that the Spanish were fulfilling a God-given responsibility to civilize the savage races that inhabited the Americas.

The concept of a just war is directly related the concepts of civilization and evangelization and was favored by the Dominicans of the period (Adorno, *Writing and*

¹⁵ See also Greenblatt 66 and Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 32-33.

Resistance 11). A war was considered just primarily if it could be justified religiously, although some diplomatic reasons also applied. Any pagan nation that denied Christian missionaries access, committed horribly unnatural acts, or that denied trade could justly be enslaved through whatever means necessary for such offenses because they could not be classified as true men (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 96-98).¹⁶ The crusades for the Holy Land and the *reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula are excellent examples of the European concept of just wars. Although the Amerindian cultures traded freely with the Spanish, many proponents of the conquest used the first two criteria as justification for the violent overthrow of indigenous civilizations. Thus, pro-conquest chronicles always focused on the unnatural acts of the Indians (many of which were likely fabrications or exaggerations) (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 82-83), the piety and heroism of the Spanish, and divine intervention on behalf of the Spanish. The conquest of the Americas was recast as a new crusade, noble in its purpose, miraculous in its realization, and justified from its inception.

Faced with such widely-accepted arguments for the perpetuation of Spanish authority in the New World, Guaman Poma wisely decides not to challenge the underlying philosophies since such a challenge would never have succeeded. Instead, he seeks to demonstrate that pre-Inca Andean culture was civilized and Christian and that the violence of the conquest was unnecessary and unjust:

Y acá los yndios somos cristianos por la rredimción de Jesucristo y de su madre bendita Santa María, patrona de este rreyno y por los apóstoles de Jesucristo, San Bartolomé, Santiago Mayor y por la santa crus de Jesucristo que llegaron a este rreyno más primero que los españoles. De ello somos cristianos y creemos un solo Dios de la sanctícima trinidad. (1080 [1090])¹⁷

¹⁶ See also Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 61, 64, 67, 77.

¹⁷ Related passages can be found on the following pages of the manuscript: 49-50, 80, 87, and 119 [49-50, 80, 87, and 119]).

Guaman Poma establishes a strong link between the pre-Inca Andeans and the Hebrews of the Old Testament and a pre-conquest evangelization of the Andes by St. Bartholomew (1080 [1090]). His alternate account of Andean history seeks to invalidate the claims of the Spanish on the basis of evangelizing the pagan Indians. Modern archaeology certainly does not support such claims as modern evidence demonstrates that the “pagan” Andean religions began their theological development as early as 1500 BCE (Gossen 2). While the Inca did impose certain religious beliefs, they primarily incorporated them into their own religious system (Marzal, “Andean Religion” 87). The *Nueva corónica* also describes Andean culture in great detail in an attempt to demonstrate the highly complex and civilized nature of pre-Inca civilizations. According to Guaman Poma, the pre-Inca civilizations represented the pinnacle of Andean cultural and social achievement that deteriorated after the conquest of the region by the pagan Inca civilization (65-75 [65-75]). The author further sought to undermine pro-conquest arguments by stating that the Inca had peacefully accepted Spanish control of the empire through the mediation of Guaman Poma’s grandfather, don Martín Guaman Malqui de Ayala (375-376 [377-378]). This account of the early diplomatic encounters with the Spanish nullifies the conquistadors’ justification for conquest (Pease XIX). In this way, the colonization of the Andes became nothing more than a restoration of pre-Inca Andean religion and civilization and the conquest was an unnecessarily violent act.

The Andean chronicler used the unrest that characterized the viceroyalty of Peru during the colonial period to his advantage in his deconstruction of pro-conquest arguments. The violence and insubordination demonstrated by the conquistadors in Peru were alarming to the Spanish authorities, particularly the king.¹⁸ Furthermore, the author used the civil war started by the malcontented conquistadors in Peru to demonstrate their flawed character and to establish his

¹⁸ For Guaman Poma’s full discussion of the civil wars, see pages 408-435 [410-437].

family's loyalty to the crown. In his account, the Andeans are defending Spanish royal authority, and the Spanish conquistadors are attempting to destroy it. Throughout this chronicle, the conquistadors and their descendents epitomize the negative traits of the Spanish colonists. Given the conflicts between the descendents of the conquistadors and the Spanish crown concerning the end of the *encomienda* system since the 1540s, establishing them as villains from the start is a credible tactic (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 108). However, despite the author's attempts to negate the necessity of the conquest, he does present it as having one benefit: the destruction of pagan Inca authority that creates the possibility of restoring traditional Andean nobility, culture, and religion. In this way, Guaman Poma softens his rebuke of Spanish actions at the time of the conquest, but still negates the arguments for its justification and the perpetuation of the colonial system in Peru.

As previously mentioned, the Andean chronicler consistently alters, edits, or reinterprets Andean history from the beginning of his manuscript in an attempt to remove the underlying facts from the pro-conquest and colonization arguments that the Spanish used for almost a century. Still conscious of needing the support of the king, he frequently praises the king and distances him from the negative aspects of the colonial system: "Porque unos le enforma mentira y otros uerdades. Y otros con color de que vuestra Magestad le haga merced de obispado o deán, canónigo, príncipe, oydor y otros cargos y oficios" (Guaman Poma 962 [976]). Although Guaman Poma establishes himself as the teacher and the king as the student, particularly in Chapter 32, his dialogue with the king (960-981 [974-999]), the author shows respect for the king and attempts to make his harsher criticisms more palatable by not accusing or blaming the king directly. One immediately wonders how sincere Guaman Poma is in all of his praise for the king of Spain. The Andean chronicler knew that he was already at a disadvantage because of his

status as an Andean and that he would have to demonstrate his loyalty and reliability to the king if his manuscript were ever to be published. Thus, the entire manuscript is filled with respectful addresses to the king, praises for him, and reasons why the king himself was not at fault for the problems of the conquest and colonization.

The very diverse nature of his readers and subject matter required him to make use of all the tools he had at his disposal. One of the primary tools that Spanish chroniclers used was the development of the authority of the chronicler in the eyes of the readers. If his readers did not perceive the chronicler to be trustworthy or knowledgeable, they could ignore his writings, data, and conclusions. An excellent example of Guaman Poma's desire to develop his authority is part of the letter from the author's father to the king:

“Entre las cosas questa gran prouincia destos rreynos a prosedido útiles y prouechosos al seruicio de Dios y de vuestra Magestad, me a parecido hazer estima del ingenio y curiucidad por la gran auilidad del dicho mi hijo lexítimo, don Felipe *Guaman Poma* de Ayala, *capac*, ques príncipe, y gouernador mayor de los yndios y demás caciques y prencipales y señor de ellos y administrador de todas las dichas comonidades y *sapci* y tiniente general del corregidor de la dicha buestra prouincia de los Lucanas, rreynos del Pirú...” (5-6 [5-6])

Thus, the author attempts to demonstrate his reliability and importance from the beginning of the manuscript using the testimony of his father. A chronicler had various methods he could use to establish his reliability, including personal testimony, eyewitness testimony, and data, and Guaman Poma made use of each of these.

Personal testimony, particularly in the writings of the conquistadors, provided the greatest source of authority for a chronicler. According to Pagden,

authority could only be guaranteed (if at all) by an appeal to the authorial voice. It is the ‘I’ who has seen what no other being has seen, who is capable of giving credibility to the text. If the reader chooses to believe what he reads, he does so because he is willing to privilege that writer's claims to authority over all others and not, in this case, because what he reads might seem to him to be inherently plausible or internally consistent. (*European Encounters* 55)

Personal testimony was difficult to deny or disprove, and attempting to do so could have been seen as an attack on the honor of the author. While such a technique for establishing authority hardly seems like reliable evidence, the “I know what I saw” defense has been and continues to be used as a method for establishing reliability. Furthermore, the personal testimony of the chronicler could easily be reinforced by recording the personal testimonies of others. If the author’s account could be supported by the others who were present at the time, then the author’s account gained credibility, as did the author’s personal credibility. While other sources of information that corroborated the claims of the author were neither necessary for nor used by other writers, for Guaman Poma, an indigenous writer, such sources would have been much more valuable for establishing his credibility with readers that viewed him as an outsider.

Closely related to personal testimony and used as frequently was eyewitness testimony. While personal testimony is a form of eyewitness testimony, personal testimony refers to the testimony of events that the chronicler witnessed himself. In contrast, eyewitness testimonies refer to the accounts of events that the author did not witness himself, but used the testimony of informants who were actually present as justification for his accounts of the events. Because of the technological limits of the era, eyewitness testimony provided one of the most common and trusted forms of testimony. Although known to be unreliable in modern times, eyewitness testimony conferred a great deal of reliability to the accounts of the chroniclers, and the authors were careful to provide the names of the witnesses they used in their writings.

Many chroniclers also relied on the use of data to substantiate their claims. This data could be numerical or simply factual pieces of information. The nature of reliable sources of information differed greatly from acceptable sources in modern times. Many times such data could be traced back to eyewitness testimony instead of unbiased, verifiable sources. However,

by providing the sources of the information, the authors implied that skeptical readers could go to the same source, find the same information, and would draw the same conclusions. Yet for the purposes of establishing credibility, the use of specific “factual” data could function quite well, regardless of its actual accuracy. By supplying numbers, dates, and details, the author would appear to be more reliable than a writer that could not remember such information. Regardless of the sources of information, chroniclers relied heavily on eye-witness testimony which helps to explain various contradictory accounts of the same events that scholars find in the chronicles.

Guaman Poma also made use of the previously discussed techniques in order to create a sense of credibility for both himself and his chronicle. In the first part of his manuscript, the *Nueva corónica*, the author describes events that occurred before his birth. In order to lend credence to his account of these events, the chronicler relied heavily on eyewitness testimonies that were repeated to subsequent generations in the form of oral histories. Whether the oral histories provided by Guaman Poma actually existed as such or were fabricated by the author to substantiate his claims, the reader cannot be sure, only doubtful (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 14). The straightforwardness and truthfulness of Guaman Poma’s historical information is suspect. As Adorno states, “When he pretends to inform, he is engaging in debate; when he purports to explain, he is attempting to persuade” (*Writing and Resistance* 15). His accounts of the Andean past certainly do not coincide with modern archaeological evidence. However, archaeology has also disproven most other oral histories from the region, so the unreliability of such accounts does not disprove their existence. However, the very nature of Guaman Poma’s chronicle and his attempts to Christianize the Andean past create a justifiable level of doubt when considering the veracity of his oral histories.

In addition to the oral traditions of his distant ancestors, Guaman Poma uses the eyewitness testimonies of his more recent ancestors to justify his accounts. As he begins to progress to the more recent pre-conquest events through the early colonial period, the author begins to establish the authority and credibility of his forefathers by repeatedly mentioning their positions of responsibility and respect within the Inca and pre-Inca hierarchies. After establishing his father and grandfather as trustworthy eyewitnesses to many of the events prior to his birth, the author uses their reliability to substantiate his accounts by making them the central figures in his stories. He does use many other sources, but his focus on the former prestige of his family causes the reader to doubt the veracity of his accounts.

In the second part of his manuscript, *Buen gobierno*, the author bases the majority of his accounts on his own personal testimony. The injustices that he describes are occurrences that he either experienced or saw himself, although he does include some other witnesses. Instead of relying on the traditional uses of testimonies and data that characterize many of the Spanish chronicles, Guaman Poma prefers to take a more experiential approach. The manuscript consistently describes events in which his family members, past and present, are intimately involved. Indeed, the entire manuscript praises his family for their abilities and integrity throughout all of the events he describes. Thus, they serve two functions: giving both the events of his chronicle and the author himself more credibility. However, by limiting the sources of his information primarily to his own family, Guaman Poma actually lowers his credibility and makes himself appear to be simply self-serving.

Although Guaman Poma seeks to establish his credibility and authority as a source of information about the pre-Hispanic and colonial Andes, the results of his attempts are mixed at best. His difficulty in establishing his authority is the result of an inherent difficulty in mediating

between two worlds and attempting to be an authority in both. As Adorno writes, “The essential drama that Guaman Poma faces is how to cast the narrator as the trustworthy confidant whose very authority derives from his condition of exotic strangeness” (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 131). The author demonstrates a surprising level of familiarity with Spanish arguments related to the conquest and colonization of the Americas (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 15-17).

However, his own perception of his ability to effectively counter these arguments seems to have been quite low, since he chose not to argue against them. Instead, Guaman Poma systematically rewrites Andean history in order to remove any foundation these arguments might have had. Since his manuscript was never published, scholars can only speculate as to the effects the author’s approach might have had. However, because his accounts of history are based almost exclusively on the trustworthiness of his own family, the author does not establish his own credibility with the level of success of the Spanish chroniclers. The greatest failing of the Andean chronicler is his attempt to prove himself more reliable than previous chroniclers; however, his inability to do so results in what readers perceive to be a lower level of reliability due to his possibly self-serving motives.

However, Guaman Poma’s manuscript provides modern readers with a glimpse into an indigenous writer’s perspectives on the events of his day. The extent of his attempts to create a voice for himself and his people within a colonial system that demanded silence from the indigenous population it controlled is an important characteristic of the chronicle. Additionally, much of the manuscript’s descriptions of indigenous customs and the injustices of late Sixteenth-Century and early Seventeenth-Century Peru are supported by outside sources and modern investigation. Although the manuscript was never published and the author’s goals were never

accomplished, the chronicle stands out as a unique source of information about the colonial period.

A “New Chronicle”?

Despite the king’s apparent lack of interest in the manuscript, Guaman Poma seems to have highly regarded his literary accomplishment, calling it *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*. The author never specifies what makes his chronicle the first new one, leaving it to the speculation of modern scholars. While the fact that he called it the “first new chronicle” is not surprising considering the claims that nearly every other chronicle makes about being new, different, or true, one must still wonder what he meant by this classification. With our modern knowledge of the plethora of chronicles written during the colonial period, such a claim seems quite preposterous. Obviously Guaman Poma intended to distinguish his chronicle from previous chronicles (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 15),¹⁹ but the question remains as to how he made this distinction and why. Guaman Poma was not the first indigenous chronicler, nor was he the first to criticize colonial institutions.²⁰ However, one must realize that indigenous chronicles went unpublished during the colonial period and so Guaman Poma would probably have had no knowledge of their existence. Furthermore, the Andean likely used the title as a way of lending his manuscript more authority and prestige while underscoring the idea that his version of history and events is the one that is true. The author makes it clear that he was familiar with several chronicles that were published or written prior to his own.²¹ In order to determine what makes

¹⁹ Particularly, Guaman Poma attempts to denigrate and distance his chronicle from Fray Martín de Murúa’s 1590 chronicle of Inca history (also unpublished during the colonial period), despite his likely role in the preparation of Murúa’s manuscript and the many aesthetic similarities between the two works (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 32; Guaman Poma 517, 611, 648-649, 906 and 1080 [521, 625, 662-663, 920 and 1090]; Ossio 51-65).

²⁰ Other indigenous chroniclers of Peru include Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui and Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, as well as the *mestizo* chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega.

²¹ References in Guaman Poma’s manuscript and comparisons with other chronicles written prior to his indicate that he was familiar with the works of José de Acosta, Johannes Boemus, Miguel Cabello Balboa, Diego Fernández, Luis de Granada, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Martín de Murúa, Juan Ochoa de la Sal, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y

this work new one must determine how the work is unique from the previous works with which Guaman Poma was familiar. From his perspective, the *First New Chronicle and Good Government* would have been the first chronicle that was written by an Andean, presented the provincial Andeans' version of history (Guaman Poma was a member of the Yarovilca dynasty) (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 16), was decidedly pro-Andean, and was highly critical of the Spanish government and Catholic Church. Guaman Poma delivers, under the guise of being very pro-king and pro-Christian, a scathing rebuke of the civil and religious institutions of the colonial period. While Las Casas is also famous for such writings, and Guaman Poma likely read Las Casas since some of his works had become quite popular in Peru, the "voice of the Indians" was presenting a very Spanish denunciation of the Spanish colonial system; the nature of Guaman Poma's work differs greatly from those of Las Casas because of the author's Andean perspective.

For the modern reader Guaman Poma's manuscript does hold a unique place among the chronicles because it offers the perspective of the provincial Andean elite instead of the typical views of the Cuzco elite. The uniqueness and cultural importance of work is further underscored by its inclusion in UNESCO's "Memory of the World" list (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 6). The previous chronicles written about Peru dealt largely with matters concerning the Inca and glorifying their culture and empire. While Guaman Poma seeks to increase his readers' perception of his authority by demonstrating his connection with the Cuzco Inca nobility, he is adamant about his family's heritage as members of the provincial Yarovilcan nobility (5-7, 166, 174 [5-7, 168, 176]). These elites ruled their respective regions long before the Inca imposed

Valdés, Luis Jerónimo de Oré, Domingo de Santo Tomás, Agustín de Zárate, as well as other religious writings of the time such as *sermonarios* and catechisms, and his manuscript shows definite influences of theorists such as Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 15-17 and 55-58; Brading 164; MacCormack 247 and 316-317; Ossio 191-195).

their authority over the area. The author attempts to walk a fine line in his treatment of the history of the Andes by using his connection to the Cuzco and provincial elites in his favor while largely denigrating the Inca Empire itself.

The first example of Guaman Poma's new perspective is his discussion of pre-Inca history in which he traces the lineage of his region back to a son of Noah who settled in the Andes after the Great Flood of the Bible (24-25 [24-25]). Forging such a connection between the New World and the Old World was an inspired step for the development of his overall argument because it gave his people a connection with the Spanish by giving them a similar origin, demonstrating pre-Christian worship of the Christian God, and attempting to answer one of the greatest questions posed by the discovery of the Americas: how the indigenous populations came to live there.

By establishing a similar origin for the Andeans Guaman Poma could attempt to further deny the charges that his people were inherently deficient because of their race. Far from being stigmatized as in modern society, racism and racist stereotypes were extremely common and can be found in most of the Spanish chronicles of the era. If the Spanish needed to justify their superiority (and in turn their right to subjugate or exterminate the indigenous populations of the Americas) the most effective means of doing so was to denigrate the races they encountered. Regardless of the preferred "evidence" for such beliefs, the foundation for them was Aristotle's concept of natural slaves (Brading 80; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 27-28). If the Spanish could prove that the Amerindians were natural slaves according to classical philosophy then they could remain in the Americas unchallenged (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 28). The argument for racial inferiority remained a strong one for centuries, and even those Spanish who defended the Indians primarily argued in terms of different levels of inferiority. Thus, to the majority of

Europeans the indigenous peoples were obviously inferior, but the real debatable points were how inferior they were and what were the subsequent ramifications of this classification on the colonial system. By arguing for a common ancestor, inherent racial inferiority became an unfounded and arguably unscriptural viewpoint. The pro-conquest Spanish apologists were quick to adopt environmental causal agents (such as climatology, also known as the “milieu theory”) to confirm the idea of environmentally-induced inferiority as opposed to inherent inferiority (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 50, 137). However, Guaman Poma’s claim to descent from Noah serves several other effective purposes.

While racial inferiority served as a justification for the conquest, this belief was never as universally accepted and effective as the religious arguments. The superiority of Catholic Christianity and inferiority of all other sects and religions were not points open for debate in Counterreformation era Spain. Thus, arguments firmly based on Catholic doctrine provided pro-conquest apologists with their most effective arguments against their anti-conquest opponents. Arguing for the total withdrawal of the Spanish presence in the Americas could be considered tantamount to treason, but to argue that missionaries should be withdrawn would have been inconceivable. Evangelization was not an option, it was the primary reason that the Americas were given to the Spanish by Papal bull in the first place (Brading 79).²² What was debatable was the method used; however, all methods required Spanish presence in the New World and thus provided an avenue of justification for the colonial system. That does not mean that evangelization was simply a political tool used to gain more power, even if that is how it frequently functioned in a state that blended religious and secular power structures to such a high degree. The Christianization of all nonbelievers was a staple in Christian doctrine from the beginning of the religion and was sincerely believed to be of primary importance by Spanish

²² See also Greenblatt 66 and Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 33.

society at large. This sincerity of belief is exactly what provided religious arguments for the colonization of the Americas with their power. The Spanish were required by virtue of their faith and papal decree to evangelize the pagans, and this meant that Spanish missionary presence was necessary in the New World. Furthermore, the “violent nature” of the indigenous populations meant that the missionaries needed protection in the form of Spanish soldiers who needed places to live, support, and ports for resupply. In addition to this level of Spanish presence, many apologists argued that the Spanish had the right to conquer any society that was hostile to the spread of the Christian religion (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 159). Thus, religious arguments were readily employed to justify not only evangelization, but also the conquest and colonization of the Indians.

Within this context Guaman Poma’s claim that the Andeans descended from Noah provides a counter argument to the previously mentioned justifications for conquest. The author used his version of pre-Inca Andean history to claim that prior to the conquest of the Andes by the pagan Inca Empire, all Andeans had actually worshiped the God of the Spanish and had done so since Noah’s son arrived after the flood. By arguing that only the Inca were responsible for the collapse into paganism, Guaman Poma permitted the Spanish to maintain a certain level of their sense of justification for the conquest (the destruction of a pagan empire responsible for all the negative characteristics of Andean society and the restoration of the true religion) (Pease XXII) while at the same time arguing that the Spanish no longer had justification for a continued political presence in Peru because the Andeans were no longer forced to follow the pagan Inca religion. This argument served to explain the negative and “demonic” components of Andean culture that had been described by previous chronicles and glorify the past of the pre-Inca cultures with which Guaman Poma associated himself.

The author further attempts to justify his authority in the eyes of his readers by seeking to integrate the Andean world with the Old World. Many European philosophers and theologians had already attempted to achieve this same goal with varying results. The Europeans were extremely preoccupied with the best way in which to incorporate this New World into the Christian religion when the source of all Christian knowledge, the Bible, made no references to the Western Hemisphere (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 18-20). His claim that one of Noah's sons was responsible for the peopling of the Americas (the Andes in particular) is one of the many ways in which Guaman Poma demonstrates not only a knowledge of Spanish and European questions about the New World, but also a desire to equalize the New and Old Worlds. The author was naturally more concerned with equalizing the Andean nobility with the European nobility, and his previously mentioned arguments sought to provide racial and religious equality. This process of equalization demonstrates most clearly the new perspective that Guaman Poma offers as a member of the provincial elite.

The Andean author's knowledge of chronicles and European preoccupations concerning the New World is apparent in his manipulation of common arguments in an attempt to present his new perspective on indigenous Andean history, the conquest, and the colonial period. As an Andean, his perspective naturally differs from those offered by Spanish, *criollo*, or *mestizo* chroniclers, and as a member of the provincial elite, his perspective also differs from the chronicles that offer the perspectives of the *cuzqueño* elite. Guaman Poma's provincial perspective offers modern historians a key insight into the conflicting accounts collected by the numerous chroniclers of the period because it demonstrates the extreme subjectivity of historical documentation and interpretation in the post-conquest era based on geographic origin and social status.

Furthermore, the author's personal experiences shaped his interpretations and writings in a way that also makes his work unique among the chronicles with which he was familiar. Unlike some other indigenous chroniclers, Guaman Poma was educated by Spanish missionaries from a young age and spent his youth interpreting for the *visitadores* that sought to exterminate traditional Andean religious practices, particularly Cristóbal de Albornoz (MacCormack 318).²³ This exposure to the ruthless process of searching for and destroying all remnants of a long-standing religion had a profound impact on the Andean chronicler's manuscript and personal beliefs. In *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Guaman Poma presents an image of himself that is thoroughly Christianized. Such a complete acceptance of Christianity is hardly a surprise considering his work with the extirpators and his knowledge of previous Spanish chronicles. Such knowledge and experiences would surely have demonstrated to him both the futility and danger of openly denying or criticizing the Christian religion. He even goes so far as to denigrate the pagan Andeans and the European Protestants for their evil ways (Guaman Poma 545, 874-882 [559, 888-896]). His extreme and frequent attempts to demonstrate his loyalty to Christianity and to the Spanish monarchy both appear to be overcompensating for an underlying discontentment with both Spanish institutions. Although he criticizes the Catholic Church quite openly in the *Buen gobierno* section of his manuscript, he is careful to demonstrate that he strictly adheres to Catholic doctrine, but simply disagrees with how the servants of the Church behave. His familiarity with the consequences for disloyal Christians surely prevented him from going further; the author's true religious beliefs remain hidden by the necessity of appearing orthodox in that period.

The author's disenchantment with the Spanish colonial system, leading to his scathing criticism of it in his manuscript, is also a product of his personal experiences. For many years,

²³ See also Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 27, 33 and Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* xlv.

Guaman Poma fought successfully against the Chachapoyas for the right to what each declared to be their ancestral lands from pre-Inca times (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 30- 32). However, Guaman Poma eventually lost the litigation and was exiled from his province for ten years (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 30, 32). While the specifics of this process can only be found in legal documents,²⁴ a section of the manuscript describes many of the negative aspects of colonial society that he saw during his exile. His disgust with the state of colonial administration and justice motivated him to write his manuscript, a final appeal for justice to the king. However, the despair found in the some parts of the manuscript demonstrates that Guaman Poma actually had little hope that the manuscript would be published or that the political and religious injustices in the colonies would ever be rectified by the king or pope.

The unique nature of Guaman Poma's chronicle is not only based on his perspective and experiences, but also on his stated goals for writing the manuscript. The Andean chronicler intended his work to be read and accepted by the king, published on his order, and disseminated throughout Peru (to Spanish civil and religious authorities and likely to literate Andeans) as an instruction manual for fixing colonial Peruvian society. While the work was primarily written for King Felipe III—a necessary step if the manuscript were to be published eventually—the author also incorporated messages written for others who would be reading the manuscript once it was published. For this reason, the chronicle contains ample information on political, civil, legal, and social matters for civil authorities; religious and ethical matters for religious authorities; and more covert messages for the Andeans. While all of the information directed at the Spanish readers could be incorporated openly, Guaman Poma needed to disguise the content directed at the Andean readers. He incorporated these messages using literary and artistic techniques, including the following examples: his frequent use of indigenous Andean languages would have

²⁴ See *Expediente Prado Tello: Legal actions, c. 1560-1640*. Private collection, Lima. *The Guaman Poma Website*.

been unintelligible to most Spanish and indigenous readers but would have been an important technique for increasing his authority on indigenous matters, and many of the illustrations that fill the work contain visual messages discernable primarily to Andean readers familiar with the concepts of *hanan* and *hurin* (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 91). This subterfuge was necessary because Guaman Poma felt the need to appear entirely acculturated in the eyes of the Spanish readers, but did not want to be seen as such by the indigenous readers. Guaman Poma had to walk a fine line of acculturation so that his claims to authority would be accepted by both the Spanish and Andean readers of his chronicle.

The manuscript is primarily directed at the king of Spain simply because this was Guaman Poma's final appeal for justice for both himself and his people. He knew that appealing to the Andeans would accomplish little if the manuscript were not accepted and published by the king. Despite the rebukes of colonial Spanish intervention in Peru that appear throughout the chronicle, the author always sought to praise the king and the pope and distance them from the blame for the problems he described. He primarily laid this blame at the feet of the local civil and religious authorities in order to avoid openly rebuking the king.

However, one can find passages in the manuscript that are less respectful and that lay more blame at the feet of the king. These passages represent more sincere expressions of outrage than can be found in most of the manuscript, perhaps due to the indignation that welled up in the author as he described the injustices he saw. The reader can perceive many of the author's feelings—hope, outrage, indignation, nostalgia, pity, and despair—throughout the manuscript. The emotions that he seeks to invoke in his readers allow sporadic glimpses into the real beliefs of the author. The most telling and obvious of all these glimpses comes near the end of the chronicle when Guaman Poma reveals his despair and hopelessness as he alludes to his belief

that the king and the pope will continue to be apathetic to the condition of the indigenous populations of their colonies: “no ay Dios y no ay rrey. Está en Roma y Castilla para los pobres y castigallo, ay justicia. Y para los rricos, no ay justicia” (1126 [1136]). Through this statement, the reader can determine that the author believes that the king and pope are responsible for the injustices in Peru, not because they participated in unjust acts, but because they have not used their power to stop such abuses.

Guaman Poma’s message for the Spanish is clear throughout the manuscript: the Spanish conquest and control of the Andes was and is unjustified. The entire manuscript seeks to counter the pro-conquest arguments of his day and to propose a more acceptable and profitable alternative that would benefit both societies. His primary arguments against the perpetuation of the colonial system of his day can be most easily divided into political and religious arguments.

However, the manuscript also contains covert messages for any Andean readers that might have obtained a copy after the chronicle was published by the king and disseminated throughout the colonies. Even though this objective was never accomplished, Guaman Poma did prepare for such a possibility. His manuscript was not meant to only rebuke the Spanish and offer them solutions, but to also describe to Andeans how society should be. The chronicler had very specific ideas about the natural order of society and the proper ways to respect and value their indigenous past while operating beneath the control of the Spanish invaders.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SUBVERSION

Pro-Spanish Overtones

Guaman Poma's extensive use of literary and artistic techniques and his inclusion of various levels of messages for his different readers are not surprising considering what he has set out to accomplish: demolish the reasoning used to perpetuate Spanish political and religious authority in the colonies while appearing to be pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic. Considering the time in which he was writing (the days of the Inquisition, diabolism, and the Counterreformation), his success or failure in disguising his true beliefs was certainly a matter of life and death. Therefore, he laces his work with flattery, praise, and loyalty to the crown and the church. Many of his most scathing arguments carry disclaimers absolving the most powerful from any blame. This allows him to harshly reprimand the average colonist and cleric without offending the highest authorities.

The circumstances surrounding the writing of the manuscript and the time in which Guaman Poma was writing all had a major impact on the end result. Modern scholars must thoroughly analyze the chronicle to determine which of the pro-Spanish beliefs that the author expresses are real and which are false. The Andean chronicler appears to have sincerely respected certain characteristics of Spanish culture and religion. He certainly worked closely with the colonial religious authorities during his youth, and perhaps was a hispanophile who gradually became disenchanted with the abuses that surrounded him. Indeed, the manuscript itself gives the impression of an increasing level of disenchantment and despair. The tone of the beginning of the chronicle is much more hopeful than the end of the manuscript, and if Guaman

Poma really did write it over twenty or thirty years, his progressive disenchantment should be apparent.

The hierarchy of the Spanish culture, being similar to that of the Andes, seems to have been acceptable to Guaman Poma. However, the fact that the indigenous nobility was not treated with the same respect as Spanish nobility was a serious defect in the eyes of the author:

Cada uno en su rreyno son propetarios lexítimos, poseedores, no por el rrey cino por Dios y por justicia de Dios: Hizo el mundo y la tierra y plantó en ellas cada cimiente, el español en Castilla, el yndio en las Yndias, el negro en Guynea. Y ancí como los yndios no tengan ydúlatra y tengan cristiandad y capilla, aunque sea dos yndios, cada año se truequen por alcalde de canpo porque ayga en ellos Dios y la justicia y rrey, que entra propetario y lexítimo señor. Porque es *Ynga* y rrey, que otro español ni padre no tiene que entrar porque el *Ynga* era propetario y lexítimo rrey. (Guaman Poma 915 [929])²⁵

Furthermore, the chronicler praises Spanish standards of morality, but rebukes their hypocrisy in following their own standards. These positive characteristics of the Spanish seem to have appealed to Guaman Poma, and were likely sincere since he encourages his Andean readers to also demonstrate such qualities. Yet, the Spanish colonists' inability to follow their own standards and ideals negates the value of the Spaniards as examples of civilized men.

Since an open rebuke of political matters was more acceptable than in religious matters, determining the true religious beliefs of Guaman Poma is quite difficult. His negative view of Spanish colonial administration is clear, but the sincerity of his belief in Christianity is hidden behind the necessary subterfuge of pro-Catholic rhetoric. Perhaps because of his education by missionaries or his work as interpreter for Fray Cristóbal de Albornoz, Guaman Poma appears to be quite orthodox in his religious beliefs (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* xlv and liv). The author's defense of orthodox Catholicism even leads him to denigrate the Protestant Reformation in Europe and praise the work of the Counterreformation. Whether Guaman Poma was actually

²⁵ See related passages on pages 657 and 958 [671 and 972] of the manuscript.

sincere in his pro-Catholic rhetoric or simply realized that religion would never have been negotiable with the Spanish is a matter of pure speculation. However, the Catholic Church did not escape his series of rebukes in the *Buen gobierno*. Again, the author's criticisms do not originate from a dislike of the ideals professed by Catholicism, but from the inability of the majority of the missionaries and clerics to uphold these ideals.

Anti-Spanish Undertones

The chronicle contains many examples of praises for Spanish religious and cultural ideals, such as divine right, morality, and charity. However, the double standard employed by secular and religious Spanish colonists and authorities in their dealings with native populations was a primary source of Guaman Poma's disillusionment with colonial Peruvian society. While the Spanish believed that their ideals made them superior to the other civilizations with which they had contact, the Andean author bemoaned their inability to follow such ideals. Not only does the author believe that the Spanish did not prove themselves any better than the "barbarians" they sought to replace, but he also describes a much more charitable and less hypocritical pre-conquest Andean society. In his opinion, the immorality of the Spanish conquistadors, colonists, and clerics actually destroyed traditional Andean morality and replaced it with Spanish immorality: "Cómo en este rreyno auía ubedencia de los yndios y cristiandad en todo el rreyno lo qual no las tenía los gentiles de España ni cristianos rromanos ni los judíos ni los moros y turcos, franseses, ynglecis ni los yndios de Gran Chino ni de México ni otra generación del mundo, cino son estos yndios del Pirú" (Guaman Poma 876 [890]). Despite his own acculturation, Guaman Poma denies the value of Spanish characteristics and upholds the value of pre-Hispanic Andean cultures both in the text and more subtly in the drawings.

Finding anti-Spanish textual references are not difficult whatsoever as much of the chronicle focuses on the injustices and abuses in Peru under the Spanish. However, these rebukes are not the only evidence that Guaman Poma had underlying hostilities toward the Spanish. The close contact between the two civilizations created cultural and racial mixes which the author describes as having only the negative characteristics of both: “Y en esto tiene la culpa y pecado su padre, maldición de Dios, hijo en el mundo de mala fama, mestizo y cholo, mulato, zanhigo” (526 [540]).²⁶ The chronicler describes many examples of the decay of traditional Andean values and morality through close contact with immoral Spanish colonists. Guaman Poma claims that from the beginning the Spanish only had bad intentions: “Cómo los primeros españoles conquistó la tierra...sólo a fin de rrobar y hurtar. Con los dichos españoles no se metieron por seruir a su Magestad” (395 [397]). As Césaire states,

colonization...dehumanizes even the most civilized man; that colonial activity, colonial enterprise, colonial conquest, which is based on contempt for the native and justified by that contempt, inevitably tends to change him who undertakes it; that the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as *an animal*, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform *himself* into an animal. (41)

When discussing how to remedy the terrible circumstances in Peru, Guaman Poma states that a complete segregation of the indigenous populations from the Spanish colonists is the only means of preventing further moral decay (Ossio 206). As long as the two cultures are in contact, the immorality of the colonists would continue to contaminate the Indians, but a segregated society would allow his people to return to the higher level of morality of the pre-Hispanic era.

Furthermore, the approximately 400 drawings in the manuscript also contain hidden references to Andean superiority. While modern artwork is not so rigidly defined in terms of more and less important positions on a canvas, artwork of the colonial period had a particular

²⁶ See related passages on pages 506, 520, 526, 532, 525, 528-30, 533, 566 and 1128 [510, 524, 530, 536, 539, 542-544, 547, 580 and 1138].

hierarchy of positions. Each quadrant of a canvas had a perceived importance, and the images that an artist drew or painted in those quadrants conveyed an additional meaning.²⁷ Positions of prominence were reserved for the most important images and messages. Guaman Poma, perhaps through his close association with Murúa's manuscript, demonstrates a high level of familiarity with this artistic practice. In all of his drawings related to only Spanish subject matter, he follows this practice perfectly, arranging all the images according to their importance. However, one finds certain deviations from the Spanish perspective when both Spanish and Andean images appear in the same drawings. Instead of placing the Spanish images in positions of higher prominence, as a Spanish artist would likely do, in order to denote higher Spanish authority and importance, the chronicler instead tends to give equal importance to the Andean and Spanish images or to give the positions of prominence to the Andean images (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 87, 93). Scholars can determine that this is no mere coincidence or mistake because of the author's clear ability to follow this practice when dealing with only Andean or only Spanish images based on an analysis of the 265 drawings that lend themselves to an analysis of spatial contrasts (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 92). One of the particularly telling drawings is the *Pontifical mundo* (Plate 1), which depicts the Indies in the superior (*hanan*, or upper) position and Spain in the inferior (*hurin*, or lower) position (Guaman Poma 42 [42]). Despite giving positions of prominence to Catholic images, none of the images in the manuscript depict Spaniards in positions of prominence over Andeans when the subject matter concerns

²⁷ For a more profound analysis of the spatial hierarchy of colonial period art, see the section entitled "The Symbolic Values of Pictorial Space" (pages 89-119) of Chapter 4 in *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* by Rolena Adorno.

political dominance (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 105).²⁸ Additionally, in her analysis of the calendars in the chronicle, Cox finds that Guaman Poma’s drawings demonstrate a clear divergence from the European worldview (131). Therefore, his artistic practices in the drawings provide firm evidence of his belief in Andean superiority, despite his praises and flattery of the Spanish.



Plate 1: Drawing 16 *Pontifical mundo* with the caption: “PONTIFICAL MVNDO / las Yndias del Pirú en lo alto de España / Cuzco / Castilla en lo auajo de las Yndias / Castilla” (Guaman Poma 42 [42])

Although the chronicler himself appears to be highly acculturated and pro-Spanish on the surface, further analysis of both the textual and artistic content of his manuscript reveals that his pro-Spanish messages are simply a necessary façade that serves to make his rebukes of the Spanish colonial system more palatable for his Spanish readers. Guaman Poma reveals hidden hostilities toward the Spanish in his discussions of their moral defects, their contamination of the Andean culture, and his warnings against racial mixing. The first lines of Aimé Césaire’s *Discourse on Colonialism* echo Guaman Poma’s

primary complaints against the Spanish: “A civilization that proves incapable of solving the

²⁸ The exceptions to this statement are the drawings that depict the author and the king which show the author in the position of subservience. For example, the title page of the manuscript shows Guaman Poma beneath King Felipe III, and both of them beneath the pope (0 [0]).

problems it creates is a decadent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization. A civilization that uses its principles for trickery and deceit is a dying civilization” (31). Furthermore, his drawings demonstrate his belief in Andean superiority. His arguments against Spanish superiority (Guaman Poma 876 [890]; *Writing and Resistance* 5), warnings against racial mixing and acculturation, and his constant reinforcement of Andean superiority all serve as tools which the author uses to protect and restore traditional Andean culture and values. Guaman Poma fears the obliteration of his people and his culture through *mestizaje*:

Y acimismo uido el dicho autor muy muchas yndias putas cargadas de mesticillos y de mulatos, todos con faldelines y butines, escofietas. Aunque son casadas, andan con españoles y negros. Y ancí otros no se quieren casarse con yndio ni quiere salir de la dicha ciudad por no dejar la putiría. Y están lleenos [*sic*] de yndios en las dichas rrancherías de la dicha ciudad y no ay rremedio. Y hazen ofensa en el seruicio de Dios, nuestro señor, y de su Magestad. Y ancí no multiplican los dichos yndios en este rreyno. (1128 [1138])²⁹

The Andean chronicler hopes that he can save them from extinction by providing a chronicle that preserves much of his culture and by reinforcing its superiority. According to MacCormack, “A time of terrible change and upheaval was thus also a time to remember ancestors and origins, and thereby to recreate a collective identity” (95). Guaman Poma’s recreation of the Andean past in his chronicle serves as his attempt to recreate a positive collective identity for Andeans after the changes and upheaval of the conquest. The goal of his writing is not only to counter pro-conquest and colonization arguments posed by Spanish writers, but also to restore Andean society to its former glory, and his emphasis on the superiority of his people and culture are tools for accomplishing this goal by renewing a sense of pride in his people.

²⁹ See related passages on pages 520, 526, 532, 525, 528-30, 533 and 566 [524, 530, 536, 539, 542-544, 547 and 580])

Social Dynamics

Throughout his criticism of Spanish colonial society, Guaman Poma introduces the readers to his concepts of social dynamics and the natural order as opposed to the typical Spanish views and practices on these issues. The Renaissance led many Europeans to believe in the inherent superiority of European culture to the extent that whatever was different was considered not only to be inferior, but against the “natural order of things.” Such beliefs are hardly unique to the Europeans of that or any other time period; however, the early modern era gave the Europeans a new technological ability to impose these beliefs on many of the “inferior” societies they discovered. In European society a hierarchy of social classes existed as it has in most cultures, and in the minds of Europeans a similar hierarchy also existed concerning all nations and cultures. Each nation typically believed itself to be superior to all others, and the Spanish believed themselves to be not only superior to the pagan nations they discovered, but also to other European nations because of their privileged role as defenders of the faith under the leadership of the Catholic kings (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 40-44).

In the Americas such concepts also existed as the Inca, for example, considered themselves to be superior to the other cultures of the Andes region. According to Moseley,

the term ‘Inca’ refers only to a small group of kindred, less than 40,000 individuals, who built a great Andean state by force of arms, and who ruled as the realm’s governing nobility. The head of this royal family was the head of state, and at the height of the empire his dominion extended over ten million people or more. These individuals were Inca *subjects*, but they were *not* Incas because this was a closed ethnic body. (9)

Guaman Poma’s background as a provincial noble whose family ruled the region until the Inca conquered them and placed themselves in authority over the provincial nobles undoubtedly contributed to his views on the relationships between nations and the nobles of those nations. If the provincial nobility did indeed support the Spanish from the moment of their arrival as the

author states, their motivation was likely the restoration of autonomous rule of their regions. However, the Spanish had no intention of recognizing the indigenous nobility to the extent that the Inca had, and especially not the provincial nobles. The Andean chronicler finds this disrespect for nobility a particularly upsetting aspect of the colonial period. The Spanish belief that the lowest Spaniard was inherently of a higher social class than the highest Indian reveals a further example of Spanish hypocrisy from the perspective of the Andean author (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 44). Guaman Poma attempts to negate these ethnocentric beliefs by demonstrating the basic equality between the Andeans and Europeans in terms of culture, race, and nation.

In order to firmly establish his claims to authority and restore traditional Andean social customs, Guaman Poma must first demonstrate the value of his culture to the Spanish. His two methods for accomplishing this correspond to the two major parts of his manuscript. In the *Nueva corónica*, the author seeks to demonstrate his culture's accomplishments and eliminate the Spanish arguments for classifying them as barbarians. This was not an easy task in light of what Said characterizes as "a highly inflated sense of Western exclusivity in cultural accomplishment" and "a tremendously limited, almost hysterically antagonistic view of the rest of the world" (*Culture and Imperialism* 37). In the *Buen gobierno*, he attempts to show the Spanish that their own culture is not as superior as they believe by showing their injustices, abuses, and immorality as demonstrated in Peru (Guaman Poma 876 [890]; Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 5). Thus, on one hand he tries to raise the Spanish opinion of Andean culture, and on the other hand he tries to lower the Spanish opinion of Spanish culture. According to Adorno, Guaman Poma "aims not only to revise the historical record, but also to deny the Europeans' racist charges of Andean cultural inferiority" (*Writing and Resistance* 30). As with many of his other arguments, the

author praises traditional Andean culture, blames any negative pre-Hispanic characteristics on the pagan Inca, and blames the moral and cultural contamination brought by the Spanish colonists for any negative post-conquest characteristics. One example of his attempts to equalize the two cultures is his discussion of the Lutheran “heretics” (545, 832 [559, 846]). Guaman Poma uses the religious division in Europe to demonstrate that “corrupting” religious influences existed as much in Europe as in the Americas. In the mind of the Andean chronicler, if he could equalize the two cultures then the arguments about whether the Andeans were civilized or barbaric would be nullified. However, the author did not fully realize that, like the superiority of the Christian religion, Spanish superiority was not open for debate.

In addition to his attempts to establish cultural equality, Guaman Poma also sought to demonstrate the equality of the Andean and European races. If the two nations’ cultures were equal, then it follows that the races were also equal. Guaman Poma argues that the differences between their cultural accomplishments do not mean that one is superior to the other, but that both can be equal while achieving that equality in different ways. His argument does not rest completely on the abilities of both races, but he also gives the races a common ancestor by tracing the roots of the indigenous Andeans back to Noah, a reminder that according to the Bible all races have a common ancestor. This does not mean that Guaman Poma believed in total racial equality, however. Instead, the author argues for equality between the Spanish and Andeans, but supports the inferiority of other races such as the African slaves that the Spanish brought with them to Peru (Ossio 217-220). To recast Guaman Poma as a precursor to modern egalitarian movements would be far from accurate. The chronicler frequently declares the dangers of racial mixing and the benefits of establishing a society segregated on the basis of race: “ningún becino, comendero de yndios, ni entrase ni español ni mestizo ni mulato ni negro en sus pueblo ni tierras

ni en sus término, cino que fuesen a las ciudades a ueuir ellos” (446 [448]).³⁰ However, recasting him as a racist would be equally erroneous. As Ossio states, “No creo que se pueda decir que Guaman Poma sea un racista...pues él no discrimina sobre la base de diferencias biológicas. Pensamos que más correcto sería definir su visión del orden social como de orientación endogámica y jerárquica” (Ossio 218). He does not deny the Aristotelian idea that some men are born to lead and others to serve, nor does he deny that some races are meant to serve. On the contrary, Guaman Poma seeks to return to the pre-Hispanic fixed social hierarchy of the Andes (1168 [1178]). All he seeks to accomplish is to establish equality between the Spanish colonists and the indigenous Andean populations, particularly those of his own background.

His motivations for establishing equality between the Andeans and the Spanish on so many levels include decreasing Spanish abuses of the Indians, restoring traditional Andean morality, and preserving pre-Hispanic indigenous culture. After suffering through decades of corrupt and abusive Spanish occupation in Peru, the author came to believe that the only solutions involved separating the Spanish from the Indians. One of his solutions was the previously-mentioned racial segregation, but this was only part of his overall goal. Beyond racial equality, Guaman Poma refers frequently to an idea of equality between nations that was based primarily on the European idea of divine right.

The European belief in the inherent, God-given right of royalty to rule based on birthright derives from a Christian concept of the sovereignty of God in which those who rule were ordained to such a position from birth because God willed it to be so. Guaman Poma uses this idea in order to justify the existence and right to autonomous rule of the indigenous civilizations: “Y acá aués de conzederar y acauar con esto. Que no ay comendero ni señor de la tierra cino son

³⁰ See related passages on pages 520, 526, 532, 525, 528-30, 533, 566 and 1128 [524, 530, 536, 539, 542-544, 547, 580 and 1138].

nosotros propietarios legítimos de la tierra por derecho de Dios y de la justicia y leyes. Quitando al rey que tiene derecho, no hay otro español. Todos son extranjeros, *mitimays*, en nuestra tierra en nuestro mando y señorío que Dios nos dio” (958 [972]).³¹ If God really is sovereign, then, according to the author’s argument, the rulers of all nations were chosen by God to rule over their people, not just Christian rulers (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 26-27). Similar arguments had already been the subject of discussion in the universities in Spain for decades by the time Guaman Poma took advantage of them (Brading 79). The chronicler argues that the rulers and nobility of the Andes were ordained by God to their elite positions and that no man, regardless of his motives or intentions, has the right to remove them from their positions of power.

As previously demonstrated, the author argues that all of the Andeans, as the natural residents of the region, have been ordained by God to sole dominion of the Andes. God decided that the Indians would be in control of the Americas, he chose them to be the original inhabitants, to be born there, and to develop extensive civilizations; any person who hindered the indigenous peoples’ fulfillment of God’s plan for them to have dominion in the Americas was attempting to supersede His perfect will. For Guaman Poma, as for the Europeans, the right of birth represented the will of God, and the author employs this belief well in his arguments for the end of the colonial administration of the Americas.

The divine right of the Andean nobility to rule and the divine right of the Andeans to the control of their God-given lands are the author’s attempts to demonstrate the inherent equality between nations. Europeans had long considered non-Christian nations to be inferior to the Christian nations (and in Spain’s view, the Catholic nations), and that merely being non-Christian meant that such nations were “barbaric” and in need of Christian domination (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 33). Only one nation known to the Europeans at the time met the criteria

³¹ See related passages on pages 657 and 915 [671 and 929].

necessary to be a barbaric nation outside of Christian control: China (Brading 188; MacCormack 267). The Indians were not fortunate enough to fall into this category and, thus, were the victims of a war of conquest justified in religious terms. The Spanish viewed themselves as the divinely-appointed liberators of the Americas, destined to put an end to the barbaric practices of the heathen and rule over them. Guaman Poma counters such arguments skillfully by attempting to demonstrate the inherent right to autonomous rule of every nation. In the European mind, the pagan nations could not be included in the same system of divine right as Christian nations because they could not conceive of a reason why God would not prefer a Christian to rule instead of a pagan. Guaman Poma attempts to negate such arguments by relying solely on the concepts of the sovereignty of God and His will manifested through birthright. Thus, God in His sovereign will mandated that the Andeans should have dominion over the Andes as their birthright, just as the Israelites were given the Promised Land, Canaan, as their birthright.

The author's aptitude for employing this argument so skillfully is likely the result of education by and work for missionaries. Guaman Poma even attempts to address the one aspect of the argument for sovereignty that the Spanish could use to justify the conquest: God's sovereignty as manifested in the outcome of the conquest. Medieval concepts of trial by combat demonstrate the European idea that God's will is always accomplished, particularly in battle situations. Thus, the Spanish viewed their unlikely victories over the indigenous empires as proof of God's blessing on the whole enterprise. That a handful of vastly outnumbered Spanish could defeat the extensive armies of the Aztecs or Incas was evidence of God's intervention in favor of the conquistadors. Additionally, stories of miraculous events and visions all provided evidence that the Spanish conquistadors were only acting in accordance with God's divine will. To the

Spanish chroniclers and those who read of such events, no doubt could exist over their right to rule over the pagan indigenous populations.

However, Guaman Poma counters these arguments by replacing the Spanish with the Andeans in the role of beneficiary of these miracles. The author already argued that the Andeans surrendered peacefully to Spanish rule and that they had traditionally been followers of the Christian God before the advent of the pagan Incas: “Todo su trabajo era adorar a Dios” (Guaman Poma 50 [50]).³² Along the lines of this same argument, the chronicler now seeks to demonstrate that the miracles performed in the aid of the Spanish were really meant to prevent further bloodshed and save more Indians from death (Guaman Poma 400-405 [402-407]). He even interprets one miracle (the Inca warriors’ inability to burn an Inca palace converted into a Christian church) as proof of the pre-Hispanic Christianity of the Andeans: “En ese tienpo era señal de Dios questaua ya fixa la Santa Yglecia en el rreyno” (Guaman Poma 401 [403]). Since the Indians had already surrendered before the conquest and desired to return to the true religion of pre-Inca times, the conquest was an unnecessarily violent act on the part of the Spanish that resulted in resistance from the Indians. Thus, the miracles were examples of God’s attempts to end the conquest so that the Spanish could accomplish His objective for them: the restoration of the Christian religion among the Andeans (Pease XXII). In this way, Guaman Poma does not need to attempt to deny these occurrences or defame the character of the writers who documented these accounts from eyewitnesses. The author instead uses them as his own tools for supporting his own arguments that the initial Spanish presence for the restoration of Christianity was necessary, but that a continued presence only further worsens an already unnecessarily destructive situation.

³² See related passages on pages 80, 87, 119 and 401 [80, 87, 119 and 403].

The dynamics of equality found in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* extend into the social sphere, as well. Guaman Poma establishes his family's high social standing throughout the manuscript in an attempt to justify his claims to belong to a class of pre-Hispanic political and social elites. His noble standing derives from his ancestors who, according to his accounts, were provincial rulers before the advent of the Inca Empire and nobles after the Inca took control of the region. In an attempt to further increase his family's prestige, the author also details their positions of power after the Inca conquest. As will be demonstrated, Guaman Poma bemoaned the poor treatment of the indigenous nobility, Inca and provincial alike. Although he promotes the provincial nobility much more throughout the manuscript, he knew that the Spanish were hardly likely to recognize the status of the provincial nobility and ignore the claims of the Inca nobility, regardless of his attempts to demonstrate that the provincial nobility was more deserving of recognition. However, by linking his family to the nobility of both pre-Inca and Inca times, the author not only increases his credibility as a chronicler, but also ensures that his family will enjoy the benefits of noble status if either one of the classifications of elites is recognized.

While his discussion of social hierarchies in the manuscript is partially motivated by the author's own desires for advancement and recognition, he is also greatly concerned with the decay of traditional Andean social norms visible in Peruvian society in the colonial period. Guaman Poma's own personal experiences play a large role in his discussions related to social classes and the respect due the elites. Modern scholars know from outside sources that Guaman Poma fought successfully against the Chachapoyas living in the region of Guamanga for control of what he considered to be his ancestral lands. However, years later the decision was reversed and Guaman Poma was accused of being a poor Indian who only pretended to be of elite

standing. The court decided in favor of the Chachapoyas and Guaman Poma was banished from the region. As Ossio concludes, the possibility of the Andean author being from a poor background is quite low considering his education and work experience (171-172). The author was likely an Indian of means from a family of means who was indeed falsely charged by the Chachapoyas.

Guaman Poma's remarks regarding social order reveal him to be quite traditional in both an Andean and a European sense. As mentioned previously, the author discusses at great length the concepts of divine right and the birthright of the nobility. Likely coming from an elite background himself, the chronicler is intensely aware that he and the other nobles are not being treated with respect by both Spanish colonists and Indians. His legal disputes with the Chachapoyas are a symptom of what the author considers to be one of the greatest problems in Peruvian society: the breakdown of social order. To the author, the Spanish are entirely to blame for this breakdown because of their treatment of the Indian nobility. From the time of the conquest the Spanish conquistadors and colonists, mostly from the lower classes of Spanish society, treated the Indians of all classes with the same disdain. During the colonial period the many levels of social standing that existed in Andean society before the conquest were all unified into one inferior class of people to be dominated by all levels of Spanish society.

For Guaman Poma, such a situation was directly against the European idea of divine right and the will of God. Those whom God placed in elite positions could not simply be removed by human beings, especially not those of lower social standing within their own society. The author does not at all believe in the creation of an egalitarian society, and to characterize him as a believer in social equality would be a drastic misinterpretation of his arguments. Guaman Poma simply believes that the nobility of every nation should be equal—equality between nations, but

not within them. Throughout his manuscript the chronicler fights for the right of the indigenous nobility to be treated as nobles by all of the commoners, Spanish and Indian alike. Within a society, social inequality is not only acceptable to Guaman Poma, but is the natural way of things. Additionally, Guaman Poma had already established the Christianity of the pre-Inca nobility,³³ effectively bestowing on them the status of *crisiano viejo* used in Spanish classifications (Pease XLIII). Thus, to deny the divine right of the pre-Inca Andean indigenous elites is to deny the natural order of society as established by God.

Furthermore, the author demonstrates that the Spanish conquistadors have no respect for their own social order and in that way further contribute to the breakdown of Andean society. Guaman Poma discusses at length the treacherous wars of the conquistadors, the Indians role in fighting with the royal forces, and the blatant disobedience and disrespect of the *encomenderos* with respect to the New Laws (Guaman Poma 408-435 [410-437]). Peru's turbulent history in the first decades after the conquest was primarily the cause of belligerent conquistadors and colonists who resented any attempts by the crown to establish firm control over the colonies. The author establishes a connection between the attitudes and actions of the Spanish colonists and the decay of social order in the indigenous cultures of Peru. Guaman Poma rightfully questions the benefits of exalting Spanish culture and teaching the Amerindians to live like the Spanish if the majority of the Spanish that the indigenous peoples see are bad examples of the very values that they want the Indians to learn. When a poor Indian sees Spanish commoners mistreating Andean elites, the Indian naturally learns that such elites are not actually worthy of the respect they demand. Thus, Guaman Poma proposes that the only means of restoring the former social hierarchies and norms within Andean society is to segregate the Indians and Spanish as much as

³³ See pages 50, 80, 87, 119 and 401 [50, 80, 87, 119 and 403] for more descriptions of pre-Hispanic Christianity in the Andes.

possible. In this way, traditional Andean nobles will rule over the Indians in a fully functional Indian state that exists separate from the Spanish colonists yet still under Spanish control.

Since the manuscript was apparently never read by the king of Spain, one cannot determine precisely how effective the author's arguments would have been. Guaman Poma attacks the many pro-conquest arguments of his day with varying skill throughout his manuscript in an attempt to provide an alternative to the perspectives so frequently offered by Spanish writers. The Andean author's use of Spanish philosophies in order to counter the arguments they used to justify their actions since the discovery of the New World is both a strength and a weakness of the manuscript, as is his use of Spanish. Guaman Poma had to write in Spanish and communicate with the Spanish colonizers on their own terms because of the limitations of his day and the ethnocentrism of his target readers. In order to find a voice within a colonial system that sought to silence the voices of those it dominated, Guaman Poma went to great lengths to use his knowledge of Spanish culture, theology, and philosophy against the colonizers.

However, the weaknesses of the manuscript also derive from this necessity to operate within a system of which the author could never actually be a part. One of the weaknesses of the manuscript is the chronicler's frequent inability to communicate clearly in the language of the colonial power. This linguistic failing further weakens Guaman Poma's arguments which sometimes suffer from the limits to the Andean's understanding of Spanish and European society and culture. From the standpoint of modern scholars, the constraints placed on the indigenous chronicler force him to alter his account in ways that undermine academic attempts to reconstruct pre-Hispanic and pre-Inca Andean history. The chronicler's attempts to adapt his arguments to function within the oppressive system of the colonizers do provide important insights into the writer's understanding of the system in which he lived, as well as his understanding of the

European worldview from which the Spanish conquerors came. Yet, scholars can only wonder about how different *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* would be if the author had the liberty to write the manuscript as he chose instead of having to alter it to suit the demands of the Spanish colonial system.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL RESTORATION

Sacrifice

Guaman Poma, as a descendant of pre-Inca and Inca nobles, argues for highly stratified society within a state. For him, nobility is a birthright regardless of the “superiority” or “inferiority” of the society in which the nobles rule; therefore, regaining his elite status through the reestablishment of the natural order is a primary theme of his writings. Throughout his chronicle, although primarily in the section on good government, Guaman Poma establishes a series of sacrifice and reclamation arguments in an attempt to restore his homeland and his people to their former status. The author demonstrates his ability to compromise by being willing to change certain aspects of Andean culture and by yielding to a limited degree of Spanish authority. He sacrifices the Andeans’ true history, religion, and political autonomy in order to reclaim their previous social order, values, justice, possessions, and control of their culture and future.

The previous chapter discussed Guaman Poma’s beliefs regarding the correct social order and the appropriate way to apply this order to Peru and create an indigenous Andean state under minimal Spanish control. By compromising and permitting royal authority over the Andes, the author demonstrates that his motivation behind these reclamations is to create a semiautonomous, commonwealth-like, indigenous state in the Andes that will be ruled by the pre-Inca Andean nobility who will be subject directly to the Spanish monarchy (Lienhard 148). Even the manuscript itself represents the compromise between the Andean world and the Spanish world which Guaman Poma felt he had to reach in order to disseminate his message within the colonial system. The author adopts a highly acculturated identity and alters what could

be considered key components of Andean culture (history and religion) in his attempts to reform Spanish colonial rule. His willingness to compromise by making changes to his culture demonstrates the extent to which the Andean chronicler would go in his desperate efforts to improve the circumstances in which his people lived. His recommendations entail highly detailed plans for the creation of a successful society and government in the Andes. Furthermore, if the reclamation of an Andean state is successful, Guaman Poma's compromises will not be permanent: as soon as they are able to establish a successful Andean state, they can begin to reclaim those things that he sacrificed.

One of the most notable compromises that Guaman Poma makes in his manuscript is his previously-discussed alteration of Andean history with the intention of making it more suitable for both his arguments and the Spanish readers. The author's obvious pride in traditional Andean culture surely made such a compromise a difficult one. The ethnohistories of most cultures, if not all, tend to be factually unreliable if not completely contrary to reality. While modern archaeology certainly does not support the historical accounts of Guaman Poma, neither does it support the ethnohistories of the Inca or other ethnicities of the Andes. In all of his historical accounts, particularly those related to pre-Hispanic Andean history, Guaman Poma deviates significantly from other recorded Andean ethnohistories. His accounts do not only vary from those of the Incas, but also those of the provincial inhabitants of the territories which eventually became part of Tahuantinsuyu. Thus, his accounts of the historical events leading up to his time were not the result of differences between the central or peripheral ethnohistories. Nor are his accounts the result of a more historically accurate representation of Andean history, as previously mentioned. Both of these details demonstrate that Guaman Poma's history of the Andes is probably not a simple retelling of stories passed down to him from previous generations

as is more common with actual ethnohistories. Instead, his accounts of Andean history are examples of the compromises he felt were necessary in order to reclaim other aspects of Andean culture and relieve the oppression of the colonial system.

In order to achieve his objectives, Guaman Poma knew that he had to gain the king's favor in his manuscript and maintain that favor throughout. His goals always in mind, the author began his chronicle by altering Andean history to fit within the confines of the Judeo-Christian historical chronology. This chronological re-conceptualization not only allowed him to make Andean history more understandable to Christian readers, but also gave him the necessary framework for establishing links between the New World and the Old World, particularly through Noah. In order to demonstrate his ancestor's worth, he also makes use of the "noble savage" arguments used by writers such as Bartolomé de las Casas (Brading 65-66). He creates a history of his people that shows them to have been simple but pious people from the start, eventually reaching a high level of civilization before the Incas conquered them. All of these changes result in an account of Andean history that is notably Europeanized and contrary to other sources (both Spanish and indigenous) of Andean ethnohistorical information. Even though many chroniclers of the period attempted to Europeanize and Christianize Andean history, Guaman Poma's version differs from many of these in the historical details he includes and in his methodology for accomplishing this goal.

Within the framework of this more European-friendly version of history, Guaman Poma radically alters the religious makeup of his culture. According to Cervantes, "By the middle of the sixteenth century [...] A negative, demonic view of Amerindian cultures had triumphed and its influence was seen to descend like a thick fog upon every statement officially and unofficially made on the subject" (8). For this reason, in Guaman Poma's manuscript any non-Christian

aspects of Andean history and culture are either removed or blamed on the influence of the Incas. Additionally, the author incorporated many Christian elements into his accounts, including the previously-mentioned connection with the Biblical story of Noah. Instead of worshipping a pagan Viracocha, Inti or another provincial deity, Guaman Poma declares that the Andeans, as descendents of Noah, traditionally worshipped the one true God of the Bible (whom he said was called Viracocha) despite not having access to the religious documents that the Israelites eventually had.³⁴ Furthermore, the evangelization of the Andes by San Bartolomé represents another way in which the author attempts to Christianize Andean history, and is a component of Andean history that various other chronicles attributed to various apostles (Guaman Poma 92-93, 1080 [92-93, 1090]). All of these means of Christianizing Andean history were Guaman Poma's attempts to make his manuscript more acceptable to his Spanish readers while simultaneously providing "historical data" to support his arguments.

Finally, Guaman Poma sacrificed complete political independence in an attempt to gain partial autonomy for his people. Such a sacrifice is hardly a difficult one considering the low probability of the Indians ever gaining true independence again. The riches of Peru, the mines at Potosí in particular, guaranteed a Spanish presence in the region for many years to come. The author was already familiar with the civil war fought between the conquistadors and the royal forces in Peru shortly after the conquest. If the Spanish monarchs would not allow other Spanish colonists independent control of the colony, they were not likely to allow the indigenous populations any independence either.

In recognition of these facts, Guaman Poma does not argue for independence for the Andeans, but instead argues for the segregation of the Indians and Spanish into separate colonies

³⁴ For Guaman Poma's account of Noah, see pages 24-25 [24-25]. For more statements regarding the Christian nature of the pre-Hispanic Andes, see pages 50, 80, 87, 119 and 401 [24-25, 50, 80, 87, 119 and 403].

(Ossio 206). Each colony would report to the king, but the Indians would be granted the ability to reestablish pre-conquest forms of government and administration which would work for the benefit of the Spanish king. The author knew that complete independence was an impossible dream; partial autonomy, however, seemed to be a more acceptable option for both the Spanish and the Indians. Yet, considering the typical Spanish view of the Amerindians as being lazy, unproductive, and intellectually inferior, one can hardly expect the king to have agreed to such a proposal even if he had read the manuscript. Guaman Poma did attempt to counter such misconceptions by supplying what he purported to be the truth and historical facts to support his arguments. The king would not likely have accepted a proposal that decreased the power and authority of the crown in a region already fraught with instability. Furthermore, the Spanish viewed their attempts to acculturate the Indians to the Spanish way of life as a component of their God-given mission of evangelization. Under such circumstances, the dream of partial autonomy was a fleeting and unrealistic proposal. The importance of this proposal for the modern scholar is that it demonstrates that Guaman Poma was willing to sacrifice even the dream of complete independence if it meant the possibility of less Spanish domination and the reestablishment of pre-Hispanic Andean political structures. The magnitude of the loss of the aspects of the indigenous Andean cultures that the author was willing to sacrifice in his chronicle demonstrates his desperation for some relief from Spanish oppression during the colonial period.

The reader must always remember that Guaman Poma's manuscript, while purporting to be half historical (*El primer nueva corónica*) and half political (*Buen gobierno*) in nature, was written as a result of the author's political and social motivations. The manuscript is not primarily documentary, although some of the ethnological information has been substantiated by modern archaeologists and anthropologist, but instead the chronicle is primarily an activist work

seeking to provoke changes in society, as were many chronicles of the period. Since King Felipe III never published or disseminated Guaman Poma's manuscript, one can only speculate as to the effects the chronicle might have had in the Spanish colonies were the author's wishes fulfilled. The effects of the sacrifices Guaman Poma made in his work are nonexistent from the standpoint of history. Had the work been published, the results of any one these sacrifices in history, religion, and politics might have been profound. However, today the profundity of the work lies in the visible effects that the colonial system had on the author and his writings.

Reclamation

Guaman Poma made the previously-mentioned concessions because he wanted to reclaim certain characteristics of pre-Columbian Andean society that he believed to be more important. The aspects of traditional Andean society that the author wished to reclaim include the natural social order, Andean values, justice, possessions, control over their own destiny, and the former glory of their civilization. The sacrifices he was willing to make seem few in comparison with the many components of pre-Hispanic Andean culture that he attempted to reclaim. However, one must note that Guaman Poma's ultimate goal was not the restoration of a few individual components of traditional society, but a nearly complete restoration of pre-Columbian Andean society.

Social order is a principle theme of the chronicle, particularly the divine right of nobility. The restoration of the pre-Hispanic social order is of utmost importance for Guaman Poma, not only for his own personal advancement, but also for his vision of a better Peru. The manuscript includes many references to the author's noble lineage and the divine right of his family and of other Andean elites despite the conquest by the Spanish. As previously discussed, his justification for the divine right of the Indians to rule Peru derives from a blend of religious and

geographical arguments. For the chronicler, the fact that the Andeans were the original inhabitants of the region signifies that God ordained them to have control over that area. The author further substantiates this claim by stating that the land was much more productive when the Indians were in charge than during the colonial period: “Digo a vuestra Magestad que en aquel tienpo auía un rrey y principales. Descansadamente seruía al rrey y sacaua oro y plata y seruía en sementeras y ganados y sustentaua fortalezas. Aunque tenía muchas mugeres un pueblecillo, el más chico tenía mil soldados; otro pueblo, cinquenta mil y cien mil. Y ancí entre ellos tenían guerra y fortaleza” (Guaman Poma 962 [976]).³⁵ According to Guaman Poma, restoring the pre-Hispanic social order would not only improve the plight of the Indians, but also would result in a much more profitable colony for the king.

In addition to the restoration of the nobility, the author sought a complete restoration of pre-Columbian social hierarchies. Guaman Poma describes these social classes at great length in his chronicle, attempting to demonstrate both the value of this system and the need to return to it. His primary argument for returning to the traditional hierarchy is based on the idea of a universal natural order. This concept was extremely important to the Spanish and other Europeans, who used it frequently to justify their conquests (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 1). The author proposes that the previous social order in the Andes was based on the universal natural order more than the colonial order was. After the conquest, the Spanish did not frequently differentiate between Indians based on social standing, gender, and age. The Amerindians simply occupied an inferior position in colonial society based on the fact that they were not Spanish. Guaman Poma seeks to reverse this colonial trend and restore the previous social order through arguments that such a reversal would be more moral and profitable.

³⁵ See also pages 964-966 [982-984].

However, social values are not the only ones that the author seeks to restore; he also writes a great deal about the necessity of restoring the moral values that existed before the corruption and moral decay seen in Peru during the colonial period. The previously discussed moral problems that Guaman Poma attributed to Spanish influence are prime examples of his desire to restore the morality of pre-Hispanic times. As long as the Spanish continue to be poor Christian examples, the author believes that moral decay will continue. He does not appear to have much faith in a sudden increase in Spanish morality after witnessing the immorality of the Spanish since their arrival in Peru.

Guaman Poma's two-part solution to the moral issues of his day includes the creation of an Indian colony separate from the Spanish, and the continued instruction of Christian missionaries. He proposes more ecclesiastical oversight of missionaries not only by Rome, but also at the local level because of the lack of Christian education and the corruption of many of the missionaries that were assigned the task: "Y ancí no dan cuenta a su señoría arzoobispo, a los obispos, cabildos, sede bacante ni a los comisarios generales ni a su bicario o probisor de todo ello. Pasan trabajo los dichos padres y los dichos yndios pobres deste rreyno y no se les paga y no ay rremedio ni ay justicia en los pobres deste rreyno" (Guaman Poma 677 [691]).³⁶ The moral decay among the Indians is another justification for Guaman Poma's arguments for a separate Indian colony. The author attempts to appeal to the king's piety by describing the terribly immoral circumstances found in the Andes in the hope that the monarch's conscience will make him more sympathetic to the author's arguments.

Throughout the chronicle Guaman Poma particularly condemns the immorality of the Spanish with respect to their victimization of the Indians, especially their tendency to simply take whatever they wanted. The author proposed a just but impractical (from the perspective of

³⁶ See also pages 473 and 889 [477 and 903].

the Spanish) solution to this problem: the Spanish would return everything they stole to the legitimate owners, particularly the Indian nobles who had been stripped of their possessions: “Y ancí deuen bolbérsele las dichas tierras, corrales y pastos y sementeras los dichos españoles a los dichos yndios” (Guaman Poma 526 [540]).³⁷ This idea was hardly new considering Las Casas had already proposed a program of restitution nearly fifty years before Guaman Poma completed his manuscript (MacCormack 241). However, the Andean author even goes so far as to warn the Spanish of their likely condemnation in Hell if they did not repent and make reparations for their thievery: “Y, porque no os uenga el castigo de Dios, rrestituyd honrra y hazienda de buestros prógimos. Aunque os metáys en el decierto y rreligión, ci no rrestituýs y pagáys lo que deuéys, serés condenados al ynfierno” (Guaman Poma 1077 [1087]). Considering the difficulty of enacting such a program, the already uneasy relationship between the crown and the *encomenderos*, and the property the author himself would gain, restoring the possessions of the Indians would likely never have been accepted by the king. In the 1540s the monarchy had already proven itself too weak to enforce the New Laws and end the *encomienda* system (Brading 45). The power of the *encomenderos* ensured that, even at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, a program of such magnitude would have destabilized the Peruvian viceroyalty entirely, likely sparking another war.

However, Guaman Poma’s purpose for proposing the restoration of Indian possessions, as well as the restoration of social order and Andean values, is the restoration of justice. The author believed that the level of injustice found in colonial Peru was a consequence of breaking with traditional Andean social norms, and that the restoration of these norms would restore the justice of pre-conquest eras. As one might expect, the part of the manuscript entitled *Buen gobierno* concentrates primarily on the obvious injustices of the colonial system and the best

³⁷ See also pages 528, 559 and 1076-1077 [532, 573 and 1086-1087]).

methods to reestablish justice. Guaman Poma proposes a three-part plan for restoring justice in colonial Peru: segregate the non-Andeans from the indigenous Andeans, restore pre-conquest social and state hierarchies, and develop a system of oversight for civil and religious authorities.

As always, Guaman Poma lays most of the blame for the decay of Andean values at the feet of the immoral Spanish colonists, clerics, and civil authorities. Despite the pagan religion of the Inca, the author creates a contrast between the pagan but primarily just Incas and the Christian but primarily unjust Spanish. The victims of both conquerors are, of course, the provincial Andeans who had been followers of the true God and enjoyed a just society before the advent of the Inca and Spanish. The most direct solution to the problem is to remove the agents of injustice and immorality: the Spanish conquerors. Thus, Guaman Poma proposes once again that the best solution for both the Spanish and the Andeans for the reestablishment of a more just society is to segregate the foreign colonists from the indigenous populations. Naturally a power vacuum would ensue if no system of authority or social hierarchy were to be established once the Spanish were moved to a separate region. The most sensible solution according to Guaman Poma is to reestablish the traditional Andean social order and system of authority.

However, the author conceded some Spanish authority for the indigenous colony, as well as requesting more missionaries to aid the Indians in their “return” to the Christian faith of pre-Inca times. The author could not deny that Catholic priests and missionaries had also contributed to the increase in immorality found in colonial Peru, so he proposed the third component of his solution: oversight(Guaman Poma 473 [477]).³⁸ To the modern reader, oversight seems like such an obvious component of any system of authority, but the means of communication of the colonial period made it a much more difficult task. The colonial civil and religious authorities did have some oversight, particularly the *visitas* that occurred periodically in order to ensure that

³⁸ See related passages on pages 657, 677 and 889 [671, 691 and 903].

the colonies were being governed correctly. However, the *visitas* were infrequent and many of the rural civil and religious authorities were without much oversight between the official *visitas*. This situation led to an extensive amount of corruption and injustice of which the Indians were the victims. This corruption and injustice was rampant throughout the colonial period and was even criticized late in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in many of the works of the Peruvian *indigenismo* literary movement by authors such as Ciro Alegría, José María Arguedas, José Carlos Mariátegui, and Clorina Matto de Turner.

The isolated nature of many of the Andean villages permitted the authorities to have unchecked power in their small dominions, and Guaman Poma proposes that the only answer is more oversight, particularly direct royal oversight. One of the signs that the author perhaps did not have a thorough understanding of the Spanish systems of authority is his frequent requests that the king have more direct authority: “Sacra Católica Real Magestad: Digo que sólo vuestra Magestad deue mandar con el poder y señorío y rrey, monarca, Sacra Católica Real Magestad del mundo, no otro nenguno” (Guaman Poma 978 [1996]). The chronicler appears to have maintained a belief in the benevolence and competence of the king of Spain throughout the chronicle, but bemoaned the extent of separation between the king and the colonies that resulted in the injustices the Andean witnessed. Guaman Poma believed the king to be the personification of Catholic Spain’s cultural, political, and religious ideals, just as the pope represented Catholic Europe’s ideals. Thus, the decay of these ideals that could be seen in the successive layers of colonial administration could only be the result of delegation to lesser and lesser authorities. More oversight, particularly more direct oversight by the king or those closest to him was the simplest solution to such a situation.

After the conquest, the indigenous populations of the Americas lost not only their lands, political freedom, and religion, but also their freedom for self-determination. The Spanish conquistadors, and later the colonists and colonial authorities, dominated the Indians of all social classes and attempted to force them to acculturate to the Spanish way of life. This forced acculturation took place in both secular and religious spheres as Indian populations were relocated into centralized towns and missions. Within these *reducciones*, the native populations could be controlled more easily and Spanish culture, lifestyle, and religion could be more easily enforced. In this way, many indigenous populations of the Americas lost vital aspects of their traditional cultures. With the loss of autonomy and culture came an inability to control their own destiny as Spanish attempts to acculturate the indigenous populations began to transform Andean cultures.

Guaman Poma witnessed this acculturation firsthand and was himself a substantially acculturated indigenous Andean. His knowledge of spoken and written Spanish, acceptance of Christianity, use of Spanish and Indian names, work with Spanish religious authorities, and familiarity with Spanish writings all demonstrate a certain level of acculturation. Determining the exact level can be quite difficult as the author attempts to portray himself as highly acculturated throughout the manuscript. However, his criticism of the Spanish and his disillusionment with the colonial system can lead one to believe that, at least by the time he finished his chronicle, Guaman Poma no longer valued Spanish culture to a high degree. Likely the chronicler simply used his knowledge of Spanish culture as a tool to make his message more understandable and acceptable to his Spanish readers.

This disillusionment with the Spanish administration of the colonies and the injustices and corruption found in the colonies lead Guaman Poma to reject the superiority of the Spanish.

Instead, the author frequently denounces the flaws of the Spanish and praises the wisdom of traditional Andean culture. While the chronicler concedes that Spanish culture might function better in Spain than it does in the colonies, he argues for the restoration of many forms of indigenous culture. With the return to a more indigenous manifestation of Andean culture, the segregation of Andean and non-Andean residents of Peru, and the restoration of Andean social and political traditions, the indigenous populations would regain control of their own cultures, and subsequently, their own destinies.

Certain passages of the chronicle dealing with the pre-conquest Andes or describing the horrible conditions of the post-conquest Andes eventually take on a very nostalgic tone. Guaman Poma attempts to awaken within the reader the same sense of longing for the past that he himself feels when describing previous eras. His despair over the present circumstances and his nostalgic desire to restore the Andeans to their former condition results in another goal of the manuscript: to restore the former pride and glory that the Andeans had.

In the passages throughout his manuscript that relate to cultural self-determination and the restoration of certain aspects of pre-Hispanic Andean culture, the chronicler seeks to demonstrate the value of his culture. One of the purposes of these passages is to make Andean culture more acceptable and admirable in the eyes of the Spanish readers; the other purpose is to restore the sense of pride in their culture that the Andeans had before the colonial period. Guaman Poma attempts to achieve this goal by demonstrating the value of cultural traditions as well as by describing the achievements of the Andean cultures. According to the author, one of the reasons that the Andeans no longer observed Andean values or recognized Andean social norms was because they no longer had the same pride in their culture that they possessed before the conquest. Guaman Poma's focus on the positive aspects of the indigenous Andean

civilizations and their traditions demonstrates his intention to restore the pride and glory of the pre-Hispanic Andes.

After analyzing the aspects of Andean society which Guaman Poma sought to reclaim, the reader discovers one very important fact about the author's motivation: he was willing to sacrifice even some of the most important components of his people's culture in order to alleviate their suffering. Far from being a self-serving opportunist, this discovery demonstrates a very selfless quality of the author. Undoubtedly a desire to restore his elite status played a large role in his motivation for writing the chronicle, but the suffering he saw and experienced drove him to write a manuscript with the ultimate goal of ending the unjust and oppressive colonial system that caused such suffering.

The Creation of an Indigenous Andean State

The previously mentioned goals of Guaman Poma's manuscript all underscore the need for a separate colony for indigenous Andeans. The only solution to the many problems of the colonial period in Peru and the only means of restoring order, values, justice, self-determination, and cultural pride for the Andeans was the creation of this colony. Naturally, the author knew that complete independence would be an impossible goal, but partial autonomy was a drastic improvement over the oppressive colonial system already in place. Guaman Poma bemoaned the injustices of the colonial system in Peru and proposed that the only solution to the victimization of the Indians was to separate them from the Spanish. Legally the Indians were the vassals of the king of Spain (Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* 33-34), so to the Andean author the proposed indigenous colony would be no less of a Spanish colony than Peru already was.

The justifications for his proposal take the form of moral, religious, political, and financial arguments. The moral arguments are based on the immorality of the Spanish colonists,

including greed, promiscuity, pride, and theft, and the Indian's need for insulation from such unchristian examples. By removing the Spanish oppressors, the Andeans would no longer be victimized or influenced by them. The religious arguments are related to the moral arguments in that Guaman Poma argues that the immorality of the Spanish colonists negatively affects the religious views and practices of the Andeans: "Mira qué cristiandad desta obediencia y amor que auía entre los yndios. Esta pulicía y ley de cristiandad se lo an quitado los dichos padres y corregidores, comenderos. Antes auía de ser enseñado más humildad y caridad y amor del seruicio de Dios y de su Magestad en todo este rreyno. Agora está perdido el mundo y en este rreyno" (Guaman Poma 876 [890]). The author argues that the hypocrisy of the colonists demonstrates to the Andeans that even the Spanish do not take their religion seriously because they do not follow it. Guaman Poma does not argue for a return to pre-Hispanic religion, but instead claims that the Indians would become much better Christians without the negative influences of the Spanish colonists. Similarly, the author suggests that the indigenous colony would be much more loyal to the king of Spain if the Spanish colonists were removed. The manuscript alludes to this argument as it frequently refers to the treachery of the conquistadors and colonists in Peru from the beginning of the conquest through the colonial period. The belligerent attitude of the Spanish colonists, particularly the descendants of the conquistadors, toward the king of Spain and any of his attempts to exercise his royal authority in the Viceroyalty of Peru were the only proof Guaman Poma needed to substantiate his claims. The Andean chronicler refers principally to the wars between the conquistadors and to the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in opposition to the New Laws of 1542 which jeopardized the status and holdings of the *encomenderos* (Brading 45). The author proposed that contact with such treacherous people could only lead to disloyalty among the indigenous populations as well, and

that the Andeans had proven themselves loyal by taking the side of the king in all of the recent conflicts. Finally, Guaman Poma attempts to make his proposed colony more acceptable by touting its profitability. Declaring that the native lords know how to better utilize the land and are not as corrupt as the Spanish officials, the author indicates that the indigenous colony will provide much more revenue for the Spanish treasury than under the Spanish colonial administration, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.³⁹ Through all of these arguments, the Andean author seeks to establish definitively the need for a separate indigenous colony independent of all Spanish authority except the king of Spain himself.

Not only does he propose such a semi-autonomous indigenous Andean state, but the author also goes so far as to describe the nature of this state. Guaman Poma writes a blueprint for the creation of a just, profitable indigenous colony governed by indigenous leaders who answer primarily to the king instead of layers of colonial bureaucracy. Justifying his proposal with his own personal authority as chronicler which he cultivates throughout the manuscript and his previously mentioned arguments for the restoration of some aspects of Andean culture, the author describes several main points related to the creation of such a state. The major components of his guide to an indigenous colony include population control, the restoration of the Andean nobility, and education.

The concept of population control as described by Guaman Poma in his manuscript includes a series of repopulation strategies for increasing the indigenous Andean population that diminished so much from disease, war, and hardship during and after the conquest. Moseley states, “Medical historians leave little doubt that Old World infectious diseases, particularly smallpox, worked decisively to Castilian advantage in the conquest of Latin America by swiftly eradicating millions of opponents and occasioning social upheaval in the wake of demographic

³⁹ See pages 962 and 964-966 [976 and 982-984].

devastation” (11). The decline of the indigenous Andean population naturally led to changes in traditional Andean culture, an occurrence that Guaman Poma wished to reverse. One of his suggestions includes racial purity enforced by segregation in what the modern reader might find reminiscent of the policy of apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa. Guaman Poma considers all of the negative characteristics of the indigenous Andean population to have been caused by outside influences—first the Inca, then the Spanish, then the African slaves and mixed races. By removing the foreign colonists from the proposed indigenous colony, Guaman Poma believed that the negative influences would be gone, the victimization of the Indians would end, and traditional values would return. This separation between the races would prevent further cultural contamination of the already altered indigenous Andean cultures.

Furthermore, Guaman Poma also supports a strict ban on racial mixing because he believes most people of mixed races to embody the negative traits of each. As previously demonstrated, the author discusses at length the inherent immorality and inferiority of mixed races of all sorts and proposes that such relationships be outlawed.⁴⁰ Despite his extreme dislike of racial mixing, Guaman Poma does hold one *mestizo* in high regard: his half-brother. Far from changing his mind about the inherent inferiority of the *mestizos*, however, Guaman Poma simply claims that his own brother is but an exception (Adorno, *Illustrated Chronicle* 31). After all, Diego de Almagro II (“*el Mozo*”), whose forces assassinated the Marques Francisco Pizarro in the wars between the conquistadors, was himself a *mestizo*.⁴¹ In order to justify his dislike of *mestizos* and *mulatos*, Guaman Poma relies heavily on anecdotal evidence in the form of stories

⁴⁰See pages 520, 526, 532, 525, 528-530, 533, 566 and 1128 [524, 530, 536, 539, 542-544, 547, 580, and 1138] in the manuscript.

⁴¹ Diego de Almagro II, son of the conquistador Diego de Almagro, was a key figure in the wars between the conquistadors. As revenge for his father’s death, he led a coup against Pizarro that eventually led to Almagro’s death in 1542. Guaman Poma describes Diego de Almagro II as a *mestizo* frequently. For examples, see pages 32 and 412-413 [32 and 414-415].

of their bad behavior. One example of this is the account of the *mestizo teniente* who stole “una botija de manteca muy deresada con agua de azahar” so he could give it as a present to the *corregidor* (Guaman Poma 518 [522]).⁴² He panders to the preexisting feelings of the Spanish who also despised racial mixing, but his explanation differs dramatically from the typical Spanish explanations for the inferiority of mixed races. The Spanish also disliked racial mixing and believe the offspring of such relationships to be inferior, not because they embodied the negative characteristics of both parents, but because the Spanish blood was contaminated by the blood of inferior races. Guaman Poma, an Andean, could not adhere to such a belief, especially since he puts a quite an effort into demonstrating the racial equality of the Spanish and Andeans. However, he could use the prejudices of the Spanish and attempt to convert them into supporters of his own argument, which is exactly what he tried to do in this section.

However, Guaman Poma’s reasons for supporting racial purity have much more to do with maintaining the integrity of Andean culture, preventing further injustice, and increasing the indigenous population than with racial prejudice. Smallpox had already killed many in the Andes, including Inca Huayna Capac, by the time Pizarro and his conquistadors arrived. For Guaman Poma and his dream of a restored indigenous Andean society, repopulation was a key factor in making such a dream a reality. The author knew that a continued presence of non-Andeans in the Andean communities would only result in increased victimization of and intermarriage with the Indian population, both of which discouraged an increase in the indigenous population (Guaman Poma 539, 1128 [553, 1138]). Thus, Guaman Poma proposes racial segregation, tight control over the Spanish and African populations, and encouraged growth of the indigenous populations.

⁴² For more anti-*mestizo* passages, see pages 520, 526, 532, 525, 528-530, 533, 566 and 1128 [524, 530, 536, 539, 542-544, 547, 580, and 1138].

A common theme throughout the manuscript, Guaman Poma takes advantage of every opportunity to recommend the restoration of the Andean nobility to their elite positions. The previously discussed divine right arguments used by the author also function in conjunction with his proposal that an indigenous colony would be more loyal to the king of Spain. When the Spanish conquistadors and subsequent colonists denied the elite status of the Andeans who deserved that status according to their birthrights, the Spanish denied the ultimate sovereignty of God's will in choosing leaders. Thus, continued denial of the divine right of the Andean nobility could only lead to questioning of the divine right of the Spanish nobility and the king himself.

Furthermore, restoring the Andean nobility could only be more profitable for the colony and the king, according to the chronicler. The Andean elites were accustomed to governing the indigenous populations and prescribing tasks to be carried out for the good of the state. Andean nobles had long been governing their regions in both a profitable and just manner using many of the techniques that the Spanish borrowed from the Inca, as the author demonstrates throughout his manuscript, particularly in part of his imaginary dialogue with the king (964-966 [982-984]).⁴³ Guaman Poma argues that when the Spanish relocated Indian populations, they disrupted the profitability of the traditional Andean system of labor. The residents of each region were familiar with their roles and lands and had become experts at reaping the optimum level of production. The Spanish colonists were unfamiliar with the geography, topography, and climate of the lands they came to own upon settling in Peru. Guaman Poma attempts to persuade the king that restoring the position, authority, and lands of the Andean elites would create a colony that would be more profitable and loyal thanks to the governance of the indigenous nobles.

The final proposal for the creation of an indigenous Andean colony in Peru is the creation of a more extensive, reliable education system. The author describes this proposal by saying,

⁴³ See related passages on pages 762, 820-821 and 962 [776, 873-874 and 976].

“Todas las niñas aprendan la doctrina en su casa como cristiana y los niños de seys años estén en la doctrina” (979 [997]). Education of the Amerindian populations was frequently lacking throughout the colonies (Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 53-54). This situation was the result of the mixed desires of the conquerors: on one hand they valued the Christianization of the indigenous populations, but on the other they could exploit these populations much more easily if the Amerindians were not educated or acculturated (Greenblatt 108-109).⁴⁴ However, complete acculturation by the indigenous populations to the Spanish way of life, while considered desirable, was at the same time discouraged because of the significance such examples would have for the colonial system that sought to exploit them as inferior races. The appeal for better education for the indigenous Andeans was naturally framed in a religious context. Education was still primarily the realm of the church throughout Europe and the European colonies of the New World. Guaman Poma argues that the Andeans will never be good Christians and invulnerable to pagan superstitions unless they received adequate instruction by missionaries and clerics:

An de tener obligación de sauer acristianarse en este rreyno, bautisallo en parte y lugares adonde no ayga saserdote o algún español que sea cin ynterés para bautisalle a los niños y echalle agua porque no se uayan al ynfierno, linbo. Y a de perseuerar de que no le puede echalle agua de Dios su padre, cino fuere otro yndio. Es muy justo y nesarario, forso en este rreyno que lo aprenda en la doctrina en la yglecia para que todos aprenda. (839 [853])⁴⁵

The Papal Bull of 1493 granted the Spanish all of the lands discovered in the New World with the stipulation that the inhabitants of those lands be Christianized (Brading 79; Greenblatt 66).

The Andean chronicler alludes to the fact that the Spanish cannot fulfill this obligation if they are not properly educating the native inhabitants. Thus, by not properly educating the indigenous

⁴⁴ The Spanish were not immune to acculturation themselves. For a review of some Spaniards who acculturated to the indigenous lifestyle, see pages 195-196 of Todorov's *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*.

⁴⁵ See related passages on pages 971 and 979 [989 and 997].

populations, the Spanish are negating one of the primary justifications for their presence in the Americas.

While the missionaries and clerics were supposed to be educating the indigenous populations in Peru, the author, himself a beneficiary of Spanish education, states that most of the Indians knew little of Christianity, Spanish, or reading and writing. One of the most interesting correlations that the Andean chronicler makes is that which exists between education and victimization. Guaman Poma knew that unless the indigenous Andeans received a good education, they would continue to be the victims of Spanish colonists, administrators, and clerics. The ignorance of the Indians concerning the language, writing system, laws, and religious doctrine of their conquerors was a principal weakness of which many of the Spanish took advantage in order to further victimize them.

Guaman Poma's solution to the ignorance of his people concerning the culture and religion of their conquerors and the colonial system in which they lived was the enforced education of native populations by the clerics whose job it was to educate them. The author notes that the principal reason that the clerics were taking advantage of the Andeans was because of the lack of oversight in many of the towns and villages in Peru: "Que tengan en cada pueblo un yndio ladino cristiano y, si pudiere, que sean todos ellos cristianos y ladinos para uedor de los padres y corregidores, comenderos, de los caciques y de los yndios mandoncillos de los dichos pueblos porque no rroben y uellaqueen" (Guaman Poma 889 [903]).⁴⁶ This failure to hold the secular and religious colonial authorities accountable led to rampant corruption within the colonial system and victimization of the indigenous populations. However, this situation could be remedied by educating the Indians so they could become literate in their own languages and

⁴⁶ See related passages on pages 657 and 677 [671 and 691].

Spanish and knowledgeable about the secular and religious systems of their conquerors, and by establishing an authority structure to oversee that the clerics fulfill their responsibilities.

Guaman Poma demonstrates the extensive amount of thought and study that his manuscript represents in his proposal for an indigenous Andean colony in Peru. His use of Spanish might be different from the standard Spanish of the time and his understanding of European thought might at times be limited, but the Andean chronicler shows his literary and rhetorical abilities throughout his manuscript. Although the author never expressly defines his goals in a point-by-point fashion, he establishes a framework for his arguments and justifies them throughout his chronicle. Considering the size of his manuscript and the period of time over which he claims to have written it, such a complex system of argumentation as found in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* is an admirable accomplishment. All of the arguments, justifications, compromises, and evidence scattered throughout the manuscript lead to the revelation of the author's primary goal: creating an indigenous Andean state. Although Guaman Poma recognized the futility of attempting to justify complete independence or a complete restoration of pre-Columbian indigenous cultures, the author reveals that the principal motivation for writing his manuscript is a desire to improve the plight of his people who live within an oppressive colonial system.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPORTANCE OF GUAMAN POMA FOR THE MODERN READER

Colonialism, Imperialism, and Globalization

Although the colonial period in continental Spanish America ended in the early Nineteenth Century for most countries as independence movements led to the national period, global colonialism lasted much longer. Even in modern times one can see the vestiges and ramifications of European colonialism throughout the world. Furthermore, in many ways colonialism was simply replaced by the imperialism of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Pagden, *Lords of All the World* 6). In the words of Mignolo, “modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin” (*The Darker Side of the Renaissance* 452). No longer was the source of imperialism Europe alone, but nations outside of Europe, such as the United States in the Americas and Japan in Asia, became powerful forces of imperialism throughout the world. The advent of the Monroe Doctrine effectively limited European involvement in the Americas, but US involvement increased dramatically in the subsequent years. More recently, national imperialism has waned in the face of globalization and the subsequent “corporate imperialism.” Instead of nations exerting control over other nations (although such things still occur frequently), multinational corporations now exert more power in developing nations that need foreign investments. In this new circumstance, however, little has changed from the imperial era; the nations with the most international influence are still the European countries, the United States, and Japan, and many of the most powerful international corporations originate from these countries.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ One of the changes since the imperial era is the international influence of formerly colonized countries such as China and India.

The dynamics of the relationships between nations has changed very little over the centuries. Nations still struggle for dominance, superiority, prosperity, and power at the expense of less powerful nations. Further analysis of the writings of previous eras can lead to breakthroughs in philosophical thought as well as leading to a better understanding of human history and the human condition, and the colonial period is no exception. As Bhabha states, “it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history—subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement—that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking” (246). Colonial literature provides key insights into the thoughts and motivations of both the colonizer and the colonized during one of the most significant eras of history. The unfortunate aspects of the period, both intentional and unintentional, provide dire warnings of the consequences of cultural misunderstandings. As globalization increases, different cultures come into contact with each other much more frequently than in previous eras, making cultural understanding a much more valuable quality than ever before.

Colonial literature provides the modern reader with constant reminders of the dangers of ethnocentrism and cultural insensitivity, both for the colonizer and the colonized. The insights into previous eras of history afforded by the chronicles are invaluable for scholars. However, these timeless lessons in intercultural contact provide today and will continue to provide invaluable aid when encountering an “other,” or that which is different. Otherness and difference during the colonial period had to be classified as superior or inferior in the colonial European mind. In modern times, one must learn a key lesson in understanding that the colonial period teaches: difference is simply difference and is neither superior nor inferior. A sad aspect of the human condition has always been the difficulty humankind has with accepting and understanding difference. Although the colonial period lies centuries in the past, the influences and effects of

the era are still felt today and many of the lessons have yet to be learned. Until difference is acceptable, ethnocentrism lies in the past, and control over other people is considered reprehensible, colonial literature will still be a valuable source of information that can lead to the betterment of humankind.

Although one can no longer talk of slaves or colonized peoples as current conditions throughout most of the world, similar problems still exist in the form of economic slavery and oppression. The themes and arguments of colonial discourse were only slightly altered in the era of imperialism as many of the same issues continued to exist. These same issues exist today, just in different manifestations, and they will continue to exist. As Said states, “how we formulate the past shapes our understanding and views of the present” (*Culture and Imperialism* 4).

Colonialism has had an unquantifiable influence on the trajectory of culture and reason throughout the modern era. The tendency towards some type of colonialism will be a quality against which humans will continue to struggle for the foreseeable future.

Subalternism and Colonial Literature

The term “subaltern” designates anyone who is outside of the current hegemonic power structure. In essence, the subaltern is a society’s powerless and voiceless. Although the term can be applied to various peoples from various eras and who exemplify varying degrees of the subaltern condition, the subaltern is nowhere better exemplified over such an extensive period of time as in the case of the conquered, oppressed, victimized, and marginalized Amerindians. In many cases they lost their freedom, culture, lands, history, traditions, languages, and voices. From the point of conquest through modern times, the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas have often been treated as strangers in their own ancestral lands. They have been silenced through violence, apathy, and disregard whenever they have attempted to have a voice or to

resist oppression. As a result, the colonizers who wrote most of the literature that exists concerning these cultures were able to distort, demonize, and ostracize the Amerindians with little possibility of being contradicted.

Guaman Poma offers the modern reader an invaluable case study in the effects of colonialism on the colonized population. Unfortunately, many such examples are lost to time because of the oppression of the colonial system which prevented many indigenous Americans from having a voice. In the midst of the oppressive Spanish colonial system, the works of indigenous writers such as Guaman Poma demonstrate the strong will of the subaltern to be heard despite insurmountable obstacles. His voice may be altered by the forced acculturation of the Amerindians by the conquerors and the restrictions of colonial society, but the indigenous Andean identity of Guaman Poma and his unique Andean perspective on the colonial society that surrounded him are the most timeless qualities of his manuscript. The difficulties the author had in writing his manuscript in Spanish and appealing to Spanish readers are testimonies to the value that he placed on having a voice. Guaman Poma's fight to change the colonial system demonstrates the idea that "it is the colonized man who wants to move forward, and the colonizer who holds things back" (Césaire 46). The manuscript also represents the author's own search for personal and cultural identity, a characteristic of the work that is particularly important to modern scholars as Bhabha indicates:

What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself. (2)

Guaman Poma, a *ladino*, epitomizes this concept of in-between spaces because he lived between the Hispanic and Andean worlds of his time. In the words of Victoria Cox, “Guaman Poma es el testigo del choque entre las dos culturas” (10). Furthermore, the inner conflict of Guaman Poma is evident in the dichotomous views he demonstrates: “Guaman Poma was anti-Inca but pro-Andean, anticlerical but pro-Catholic” (Adorno, *Writing and Resistance* 5). As Adorno states, “on one hand, Guaman Poma desires to promote the restoration of order in society and he perceives a certain potential for doing so. On the other, his despair paints a terrifying picture of the colonial experience that contradicts and overwhelms the reformer’s zeal” (*Writing and Resistance* 130). Sadly, the despair the author allows the reader to see at the end of his manuscript (“Es señal que no ay Dios y no ay rrey. Está en Roma y Castilla”) over the unlikelihood of change appears to have been well-founded (Guaman Poma 1126 [1136]). While one cannot know if the king read Guaman Poma’s manuscript, it went unpublished and was lost until the early Twentieth Century, and the changes in colonial society that the author so desperately desired were not accepted. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* and the life of its author demonstrate the difficulties of the subaltern in finding a voice and being heard. Guaman Poma’s manuscript is evidence that the author created a voice for himself, but modern scholarship reveals that this voice was never heard. His manuscript and those of other indigenous writers during the colonial period whose works were also left unpublished condemn the closed-mindedness and oppressiveness of the Spanish colonial system. Guaman Poma’s life and chronicle provide a warning for contemporary society that values such as egalitarianism, liberty, and freedom of expression only exist if they are equally available to all. As with colonial societies, contemporary societies will not be judged by future generations based upon their treatment of elites, but based upon their treatment of subalterns.

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