Introduction

One of the most unusual, extensive, and unique documents created during the colonial era, was a work entitled: El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno i.e., “The First New Chronicle and Good Government.”¹ The work was written and illustrated by Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala.² This paper will describe in part its history, contents, creator, and scholarship. The goal of this paper is to pique readers’ interest so that they will want to view the digital or the print version, and learn more about this book and its creator. Both the original and the digital facsimile are each significant works worthy of serious study and scholarship. Guáman’s life is also worthy of research, as he represents a native Peruvian who lived during the Spanish colonial regime and who offers a unique perspective on his life therein. His life and personal circumstances that led to his creative work can be considered as interesting as his book.

Time line

Guáman started his book around the year 1600 and finished it most likely in early 1615. In February, 1615, Guáman wrote (from Santiago de Chiapo, in the Lucanus province) to King Phillip II of Spain that he had just finished a “chronicle or general history.”³ He added that he

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was willing to send his work to the king on request. He also created a final copy of the book, possibly between 1612 and early 1616.

**Features**

Guáman’s work is a heavy, bound manuscript, but conceptually is a book of almost 1200 pages, including nearly 800 pages of text and 398 drawings, all created by Guáman Poma. Guáman himself referred to it as a book and a chronicle. The book is presented in the Spanish tradition of the crónicas de indias (histories of America). Guáman used many writing strategies of Spanish new world historiography. The book blends many literary genres with artistic genres and other historical representations. The literary genres include the historical chronicle, the epistle, and the sermon,” i.e., Catholic moral discourses. Other literary genres include the carta relatoria, (“responsive, externally motivated testimony”) and the relación (reports that fulfilled official obligatory functions). The juridical definition of relación is a brief, succinct

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4 Ibid.


6 Frye, Introduction, xxi; Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, p. 4 of cover.


8 Ralph Bauer, ““EnCountering,”” Colonial Latin American Indian Chronicles,” American Indian Quarterly 25, no. 2 (Spring 2001), 275.

9 Bauer, ““EnCountering,”” 276 (3).


12 Adorno, Writing, 7, 8. 13 Adorno, Writing, 9.
report made publicly to a judge, orally or in writing, about the facts of a certain case. The artistic genres include portraiture and genre scenes, ("painting of scenes from everyday life").

The book also blends global and Andean histories, with eyewitness accounts (Guáman’s own and his informants’), satirical interludes, policy recommendations, and personal exhortations directed at readers. Because Guáman’s book consists of several genres, it might seem “a hopeless mishmash” to hypothetical Spanish readers, but scholar David Frye believes it follows a clear, elaborate structure. Both text and image are used as rhetorical tools throughout the book. One scholar wrote that Guáman wove the Andean dynasties into “a Christian model of universal history” and presented the Inkas simply as the most recent dynasty, one that succeeded the Yaravíllca dynasty, instead of the first and only great Andean dynasty.

**Languages**

Guáman’s book was written in multiple languages, including Spanish and several native Andean languages such as Quechua and Aymara. Quechua was one of Guáman’s native languages. Scholars believe Guáman spoke perhaps three dialects of Quechua and two or three of Aru (related to Aymara). One scholar identified Guáman’s use of three Quechua dialects, one

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19 Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 16.

associated with the Inka, one spoken by Spaniards, and a third based on Spanish morphemes and Quechua syntax.  

Contents

Guáman’s book has three distinct parts: 1. The *Nueva Corónica* [i.e. New Chronicle], which contains Andean history and themes. It is also a story of ancient Peru from the biblical Creation to the Inka Huayna Capac’s reign.  

The book includes a chronicle of the Inkas and their consorts, the laws and classification of people by age, a calendar, sacrificial and mortuary rituals, punishments, and accounts of festivals, officials, and palaces. It also contains information about the social, economic, and political administration of an enormous pre-Columbian empire.  

2. Colonial history, including Poma’s account of the Spanish conquest of Peru that covers the Spaniard’s first arrival in Peru through the Spaniard’s post-conquest civil wars.  

3. The *Buen Gobierno* [i.e. Good government consists of the latter two-thirds of the book and is an exhaustive, synchronic “description of life in the Peruvian viceroyalty.” It consists of an account of daily events that Poma claimed he saw or witnessed. In this section of the book Guáman apparently used historical truth as a literal account of events that actually happened.” He portrays scenes in the manner of a judicial proceeding in a courtroom. For example, he includes facts about the Indians’ forced labor, such as their work in the mines.

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25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.
Guáman’s book also presents a detailed view of the religious organization of the Inka Empire.\textsuperscript{28} It reflects Andean cultures and lifestyles, and what was most likely important to the indigenous people: land, the Andean ethnic groups, cultures, languages, methods of communication, along with social and economic positions. It also reflects the importance of social and economic position to the Spaniards that imposed rule on the Andeans. The work reveals how the Andean social hierarchy changed due to Spanish colonial rule and how those changes negatively affected Andeans. For example, the book reflects a variety of scenes, such as artwork showing indigenous people’s punishments for various “offenses,” and even their untimely deaths. For example, Guáman drew a picture of a man and woman being stoned as a punishment for adultery, and of the Inka prince Tupac Amaru’s execution.\textsuperscript{29} Scholars claim that Guáman seemed to take pleasure in showing in his artwork the types of physical punishment the Spaniards inflicted on the Indians\textsuperscript{30} Scholar Rolena Adorno believed Guáman’s intent was to relate “the horrors of Spanish dominance” to the king, not to record historical data.\textsuperscript{31}

In his book, Guáman expressed his wish that it would be published, that Philip III would have it printed to memorialize the “great ancient lords of Peru.”\textsuperscript{32} Guáman used modern...

\textsuperscript{27} Adorno, \textit{Writing}, 15.


\textsuperscript{29} “The Inka’s Punishment for Adultery” (1615) 1980:308, Plate 16, in Adorno, \textit{Writing}, 110; Adorno, \textit{His Illustrated Chronicle}, 35.


\textsuperscript{31} Review of Adorno’s \textit{Writing}, in \textit{Americas}, 63.

pagination instead of the traditional foliation. Guáman’s book wasn’t published till 300 years after his death. Several editions have been printed since it was published.

**Guáman Releases His Book**

“It is unclear whether the *Nueva corónica* ever reached its intended audience, Spanish King Phillip III.” Guáman wrote an autobiographical chapter known as “Camina el autor” at the end of his book in which he described his dangerous journey over snow-covered mountains from Lucanas to Lima to deliver the work [most likely to the vice regal court in Lima] and his son abandoning him enroute. Evidence suggests that the book circulated at the Lima court,” possibly delivered by Guáman. A sentence on one of the last pages of the work implies it was presented to an unnamed recipient at the court in Lima: “In the City of the Kings of Lima, royal court and head of Peru, it was presented to …” Also, a Franciscan friar named Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba worked as a page at viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna’s court from 1607 to 1615. Salinas y Córdoba later wrote a history of Peru that contained versions similar to Guáman’s, and some textual similarities. Thus, it is quite possible that Salinas y Córdoba either read part of Guáman’s book or received second-hand accounts of its contents.

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37 Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 17.
38 Ibid.
Guáman’s Background

Guáman was a full-blooded native Andean from southern Peru who claimed he was born after the Inkas fell.\(^{39}\) His birth was most likely between the mid-1530s and mid-1550s, in the city or Huamanga or the Lucanas province (the latter is about 100 miles south of Huamanga).\(^{40}\) A scholar believes he was born sometime after the conquest in Huamanga, and died some time after 1615.\(^{41}\) He lived most of his life in the Huamanga and Arequipa regions.\(^{42}\)

Guáman claimed paternal descendance from the former kings of Yarovillca (who were part of the dynasty that preceded the Inkas).\(^{43}\) He said his father was Guáman Mallqui de Ayala, a prominent person in Peruvian Yarovillca culture. His father was from a non-Inka noble family from Huáncuco that had served as mitmaqkuna. These were groups sent with special privileges by the Inka to perform royal service by settling permanently in newly conquered areas.\(^{44}\) His ancestors resettled in Huamanga, in the fifteenth century.\(^{45}\)

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\(^{40}\) *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 27 (Both Huamanga and the Lucanas areas are located today in the Department of Ayacucho); Frye, *Introduction*, xi.


\(^{43}\) Wachtel, *The Vision*, 162 (Yarovillca was a region of Huancu) ; Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 16).

\(^{44}\) Brokaw, “The Poetics,” 116; Bauer, “‘EnCountering,’ 2.

Guáman claimed heritage on his mother’s side: his mother was Cud Ocllo, the daughter of Topa Inka Yupanqui, the tenth of the twelve Inka Emperors. He also claimed heritage as “the son and grandson of men” who served in important positions under the Inka lords of Tawantinsuyu. Guáman referred to himself in his book as “Author…and Capac apo” (Capac apo means prince). Capac status was given to male descendants of Manco Inka. Guáman’s name is Quechua: waman puma, or Falcon Puma i.e. “waman, the king of birds” and “puma, the king of beasts.” Guáman also called himself an Andean noble. He seems to prefer to avoid the Spanish-imposed label, ‘Indian,’ and he sees the Indian commoners as his people, but does not see himself as one of them. He shows a paternalistic attitude towards them, as would any Spanish friar. For example, in contrast to the apparent “gender complementarity” in the Andean culture, Guáman reflects a Spanish attitude of honor and unilateral descent through males and insisted that indigenous women be kept safe from the “depraved lust of Spanish men.”

Scholars believe that priests taught Guáman literacy and Christianity. Guáman claimed that he learned to read and write from a mestizo priest and half-brother he called Padre Martín de Ayala. Scholars also believe Guáman gained further education through contact with a Mercedarian Friar Martín de Murúa, who served as a rural priest in Indian pueblos and

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46 Wachtel, *The Vision*, 163; Bauer, “‘EnCountering,’ 2.

47 Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 16.

48 Frye, Introduction, xxvi.


50 Frye, Introduction, vii, xxvi.

51 Frye, Introduction, xxvi.

52 Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 426.

53 Bauer, “‘EnCountering,’ 277 (3).
chronicled Indian history. Guáman served as an assistant to Murúa as well as other priests and officials in the colonial administration of the viceroyalty. For example, Guáman interpreted for a priest during a church inspection tour to “extirpate idolatries” among Quechuan-speaking natives.

Guáman had an artistic apprenticeship that was most likely under Murúa’s direction. Scholars have found similarities in Murúa’s and Guáman’s writings, especially in Inka history and their drawings. This has led scholars to believe that Guáman must have worked with Murúa, perhaps as an illustrator as well as a translator and informant. At some point, Guáman fell out with Murúa, and later used the friar as a model to show the priests’ abuses against Andeans. Scholars believe Guáman’s time with Murúa gave him access to published works about the Spanish conquest and world history that Guáman used as models and foils for the New Chronicle, along with training in European line drawing styles he used on Andean subjects.

For most of Guáman’s adult life, he worked as a low-ranking Indian administrator in Lucanas, his home province. In the late 1560s, he worked as a church inspector’s assistant in the Lucanas area. In 1594, Guáman worked in the city of Huamanga as an interpreter for a Spanish judge who was in charge of legitimizing land titles. Guáman settled in the Luncanas

54 “Guáman Poma de Ayala, Felipe,” Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009; Frye, Introduction, x.
57 Frye, Introduction, x, xi.
58 Bauer, “‘EnCountering,’ 277, 278 (4-5).
59 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 27.
60 Frye, Introduction, xi.
area after 1600. Guáman Poma’s life story shows “the challenges…in the early colonial period for members of the first generation of ethnic Andeans born in Peru after the Spanish conquest.”

The challenges and precariousness of this situation that required a number of adjustments and skills can be summed up in a chapter title in one of Adorno’s books: “Mediating Among Many Worlds.” Guáman seemed to be a man who lived in several cultures, as he grew up in the Colonial era; as an indigenous person, he had learned the Quechua language and culture, assimilated to the Spanish [Christian] religion, Castilian language, and Hispanicized customs.

In a sense, he could be seen as a human bridge between at minimum, two very different cultures and worldviews.

**Guáman’s Reasons For Writing The Book**

Scholars believe that Guáman wrote his book for the following reasons: One, to “retell the history of the Spanish invasion and conquest of Peru.” Also, to give King Philip III of Spain a comprehensive “history” of Peru from the beginning of time to the Inka’s reign. “The first two-thirds of the book is an attempt to convince the king of the nobility and sophistication of Andean civilization.” Guáman tried to portray Peru as a valid ‘kingdom’ of the Spanish Empire with as many rights and privileges as any other kingdom therein, and thus Spaniards lacked rights to colonize in Peru and treat the Indians as their subjects. Guáman tried to show

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61 Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 27.


64 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 145.


that Spanish colonial status imposed on Peru was based on incorrect historiography. He felt he needed to rewrite history to counter the Spanish and Creole chroniclers whose intent was to justify the conquest and the colonial regime. The conquest histories excluded pre-Columbian history such as that found in the khipus which contained vital information about the Andean peoples. Andean khipus originated in the pre-Columbian period and were colored knotted cords or strings used to record different types of information during the pre-Columbian and colonial periods. For example, the Inka’s secretary used khipus to record dynastic and statistical information.

In his book, Guáman claimed that his role was to translate from one medium to another. He also claimed his role was to interpret the testimony of ancient Andean texts. Guáman insisted that before the Spanish conquest, America had a legitimate history that was recorded in another language. Guáman (along with the Spanish chroniclers) wrote that the Indians were already taught Christianity by St. Bartholomew, one of Christ’s apostles. Guáman claimed that St. Bartholomew had discovered Peru during the Inka Sinchi Roca’s reign, and that the Indians became Christians long before the Spaniards arrived. It appears that Guáman portrays the natives as peaceful and willing to receive the Christian gospel from St. Bartholomew. He infers

70 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 26.
71 Adorno, Writing, 7.
from this that the Indians had voluntarily accepted Spanish rule and thus the conquest was not needed. This would also weaken the argument for Spanish evangelization in Peru.

Guáman’s second reason for the book was: To tell the King about the negative effects of Spanish colonization on Andean society, culture, and population. Such negative effects included the unraveling of Andean social hierarchies due to colonial exploitation in which Andeans were forced to perform life-threatening work for Spaniards, such as mining. As a result, a number of Andeans escaped to cities to avoid hard labor and became prostitutes and rogues. One of the biggest threats Guáman saw according to Adorno, was “the rapid growth of the mestizo (mixed race) population,” which did not have to pay tribute, and the declining Andean population, along with violence and diseases. In short, the book is also a protest against Spanish [colonial] rule in the Andes. In the Buen Gobierno, Guáman referred to Peru and to Andean society as “a world turned upside down.” Guáman’s book documents the Andean viewpoint of the struggle to maintain a disappearing Andean order.

Guáman’s third reason for his book was: To seek Spanish colonial government reform to save Andean people from the destructive forces of Spanish colonization. Guáman was mainly concerned about the colonial regime under Francisco Toledo’s reign as viceroy (1569-1581).

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73 Frye, Introduction, xxv, xxvi ; Bauer, "‘EnCountering,' 286 (8).
74 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 16.
75 Adorno, Writing, p. 4 of cover.
77 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 40.
78 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, p. 4 of cover.
79 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 28.
Toledo’s reign enriched unscrupulous provincial authorities and Spanish intruders while ordinary Indian workers were sent to their death in the mines.\textsuperscript{80}

Fourth, Guáman wanted to argue for maximum Indian autonomy under royal (but not necessarily colonial) rule.\textsuperscript{81} Other scholars say Guáman also wanted to resist foreign rule, return to Andean government, and lobby for land restitution.\textsuperscript{82} In short, the book covers the many “issues at stake in the clash and convergence of Inka and Spanish cultures [after] the conquest.”\textsuperscript{83}

**The Circumstances Under Which Guáman Wrote the Book**

From 1594 to 1600, Guáman Poma represented his family in a land dispute, claiming the lands of Chiara in the valley of Chupas, near the city of Huamanga.\textsuperscript{84} In 1586, the viceroy conceded the lands to a group of mitmaq (and also an ethnic group) from Chachapoyas in return for their services to the Crown.\textsuperscript{85} Under the new regime, land values had soared near Huamanga, thus, making the Chupas valley worth reclaiming. Unfortunately, Guáman and his family made claims too late; newer elites had crowded out their claims and ridiculed their pretensions.\textsuperscript{86}

Guáman had apparently inflated his social status, both orally and in writing. At the time of the legal dispute, Guáman identified himself “as both member of the local native elite i.e., local lord or cacique principal; cacique was a title for indigenous leaders of noble descent.”\textsuperscript{87} He

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{80} Frye, Introduction, xxi.
\item\textsuperscript{81} Frye, Introduction, xxv.
\item\textsuperscript{82} Adorno, *Writing*, 5.
\item\textsuperscript{83} “Guáman Poma de Ayala, Felipe,” *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2009.
\item\textsuperscript{84} “Guáman Poma de Ayala, Felipe,” *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2009 ; Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 37.
\item\textsuperscript{85} Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 6 ; Adorno, “Native Writer,” 154.
\item\textsuperscript{86} Frye, Introduction, xi.
\item\textsuperscript{87} Adorno, “Native Writer,” 144; Frye, Glossary, 362.
\end{itemize}
also called himself an appointee of the Spanish colonial government.”

Also, in his book, Guáman elevated his existing position from cacique to prince; this shows he felt the need to enhance his traditional inherited status. The inflated titles…he used…“correspond to the development of his literary pursuit in the face of his judicial defeat.”

One scholar claimed it was common for people to invent ad hoc genealogies in that era of great upheaval in Andean society. It seemed that people often assumed alien identities to obtain rights, privileges, and offices from the Spanish authorities.

Between 1594 and 1600, Guáman won and lost the case several times. But he was eventually accused of misrepresenting his nobility and his claim. He was charged with being a ‘poor Indian’ of evil intent, a man named Lázaro who had tried “to obtain privileges and offices through deceit and unjustly usurped the title of cacique.”

Also, Guáman was charged with securing a royal order to have the Chachapoyas’ land surveyed under false pretenses and was absent on the survey date. Guáman was punished by a public whipping (200 lashes); all of his property was confiscated, and he was exiled from Huamanga for two years. Guáman was also held liable for court costs. Adorno wrote that according to the sixteenth-century legal code in

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88 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 144.
89 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 144, 145.
91 Frye, Introduction, xii.
93 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 156.
Castile, “committing false actions and misrepresenting the truth…[were] some of the ‘greatest evils man can commit,’ and death or banishment was an appropriate punishment.96

One of Adorno’s most critical claims about the case is that Guáman’s legal defense referred to one of Guáman’s ancestors as a ‘yanacona’ i.e., an outsider. ‘Yanaconas’ were Andeans detached from their ayllu affiliations (kin units in native Andean society) and lived in the service of Europeans.97 Adorno implied that this might have turned the case against Poma, even though he had insisted in an earlier trial that the Chachapoya’s ancestors had arrived in the area after Guáman’s had.98 During the second part of the sixteenth century, the mitmaqkunas’ status declined, and they became labeled as ‘forasteros’ i.e. ‘newcomers’ or ‘outsiders’ in the Spanish colonial system, probably because they had served under the Inka.99 As a result, various indigenous groups rivaled each other for land possession, which had been in dispute since the Inka conquests.100 Guáman’s case also shows that “land-tenure cases were [one of] the most hotly contested [in] the colonial judicial system, and the rising value of land and the shrinking assets of indigenous communities provoked bitter disputes.”101

Scholars do not know where Guáman went after he lost the case, but guessed that he stayed in Lucanas and nearby areas.102 His exile might have inspired him to create his book and also to work on behalf of other indigenous people involved in judicial suits.103
Guáman went from a position of collaboration with the Spanish colonial regime as church assistant and minor worker in local civil administration to a critic, exposing colonial abuses and excesses. For example, he was in favor of Andeans and native rule and against Inkas and colonialism. He was also anticlerical and disapproved of the civil and religious colonial officers’ greed. Guáman’s “example shows how social roles and identities could evolve in the course of one person’s lifetime when it coincided with the establishment and consolidation of the Spanish colonial regime.”

The Book’s Additional History

Guáman’s book was perhaps acquired in the 1700s by the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Denmark, and is still housed therein. Scholars believe it was acquired by a northern European diplomat. A potential donor of Guáman’s book to the Library could have been Cornelius Pedersen Lerche, Danish ambassador to Spain 1650-1655 and 1658-1662. It is possible that Lerche acquired the book in Spain between 1650 and 1662. It is certain that Lerche owned documents acquired from the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares, statesman and principal minister of Spanish king Philip IV (1621-1665). A scholar believes Lerche brought the book Denmark in 1662. A previous director of the Royal Library believed the book was perhaps

104 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 146.
106 Adorno, “Native Writer,” 142.
109 Adorno and Boserup, New Studies, 19, 21.
110 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 18.
acquired during the reign of King Frederick III (1648-1670) but most likely was acquired before then.\footnote{Adorno and Boserup, \textit{New Studies}, 20.}

Daniel Gotthilf Moldenhawer, director of the Royal Library from 1788 to 1823 had discovered the book in the library more than a century earlier than Pietschmann and had hoped to publish parts of it. Harald Ilsoe (a previous director, Royal Library) found Guáman’s book mentioned in a diary of August Hennings, a German civil servant who visited Copenhagen in 1802. Parts of his diary were published in 1934.\footnote{Adorno and Boserup, \textit{New Studies}, 21, 22.} Moldenhawer believed the book had been bought from a Spanish ambassador’s the library.\footnote{Adorno and Boserup, \textit{New Studies}, 22.}


\footnote{Frye, Introduction, xxvii.}
1980, John Murra and Rolena Adorno created the first scholarly transcription and Jorge Urioste created a Quechua textual analysis and translations.\(^{117}\)

**The Uniqueness of Guáman’s Book**

Guáman’s book could be the only one of its kind and size that combined several unique and possibly unlikely features: It was written and illustrated by an indigenous Andean who was fortunate enough to become literate. While there were other literate natives in Peru, they might have been in the minority among the indigenous population there. Literacy most likely developed among the Andeans due to the Spaniards’ influence. Even so, it seems noteworthy for indigenous people to become literate, as the Andeans had an oral as opposed to a literate tradition. Guáman said that he was not a scribe nor a scholar.\(^{118}\) Fewer people might have had opportunities to cultivate artistic talent in painting and drawing as did Guáman. His artwork could be viewed as an extension of indigenous traditions of visual recordings, i.e., pictures or figures that represented concepts and events that were widely practiced among various peoples in ancient America. It seems remarkable for such a person as Guáman to both start and finish a document so large, with so many genres and base it on both literate and non-literate sources and to direct it to a Spanish king (which seems presumptuous), and for it to end up in a European library.

Compared to the few native Andeans of that era whose testimonies or writings are known (such as Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, and El Inka Garcilaso de la Vega), Guáman’s work is the only one that is a direct, extensive, commentary on Andean native life in the Spanish viceroyalty.\(^{119}\) The book provides a native perspective on the

\(^{117}\) Bauer, ‘‘EnCountering,’ 283 (7).

\(^{118}\) Adorno, *Writing*, Notes, 146.
effect of Spanish colonization on Andean people and their race, culture, ethnic group, and socio-economic levels. Guáman’s book is also unique because it provides a consistent, comprehensive perspective of a native Andean and his rich, in-depth viewpoint of life in a specific southern Andean locale over at least thirty years. Yet Guáman was selective in what he revealed in his book about Andean life. Guáman’s goals in describing Andean life are very different from those of the [colonial regime] and its “extirpators of idolatry” for whom he worked earlier in his life and whose works he used to write the Nueva Coronica. The friars described Inca religion in order to destroy it; Guáman denounces Indian “idolatry” but per scholar Tom Cummins, Guáman avoids describing Andean culture in ways that would give friars (such as Murúa) greater license to abuse indigenous communities. For example, Guáman does not explain the mnemonic use of objects to recall Inca history. Andean khipus could be examples of such objects.

Guáman’s book was based on personal or familiar concerns. It is the only chronicle that mentions the reportedly prominent role of Guáman’s father, grandfather, and ancestors in Peru’s history and government. Guáman’s book was a “probanza de méritos” i.e. “proof of merit.” This term referred to records of people’s acts of service (usually military deeds) for which they expected recompense or status from the king. But Guáman’s book was different than other such

121 Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 40.
123 Frye, Introduction, xxv.
125 Frye, Introduction, xxiii.
126 Adorno, *Writing*, Notes, 146. The term “probanza de méritos” was coined by scholar John Murra.
“petitions typically written by conquistadores and other Europeans.”\textsuperscript{127} Instead, Guáman based his book on his own claimed personal effort and sacrifices with the goal of writing his book. El Inka Garcilaso and other mestizo and indigenous chroniclers did the same.\textsuperscript{128} Guáman’s approach is unique from his Spanish contemporaries who would have written chronicles, histories, and official reports as separate genres. In contrast, Guáman used several different models and genres in one book.\textsuperscript{129}

**The Significance of Guáman’s Book**

Guáman’s book is significant for several reasons. One, it has been labeled as the “first and only [illustrated] Peruvian codex.”\textsuperscript{130} The term “codex” is defined as a “manuscript book, especially of Scripture, early literature, or ancient mythological or historical annals.”\textsuperscript{131} The codex label is significant because it implies the book is rare and historically valuable. Also, Guáman’s book is one of the oldest and most extensive surviving historical “documents” about Peru from the conquest through the colonial period. It holds value as an artifact, an art collection, and a manuscript, all in one rich historical source. Its two formats (text and artwork) could be equally important. The book is also significant because of Guáman’s expressiveness in art and text.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{128} Adorno, *Writing*, Notes, 146-147.

\textsuperscript{129} Frye, Introduction, xxi.

\textsuperscript{130} Gheerbrant, Introduction to “The Incas,” xxx.


\textsuperscript{132} Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 40.
The book is significant as a written work because it was based largely on khipus. Guáman lacked written sources of Peruvian history. He clearly revealed in his book that his most important information sources were the khipus, along with the oral accounts of elderly Indians. Khipus were said to be sources of information for many works written during the colonial period. Guáman also relied on eyewitnesses and reports in several languages.

The book is significant because it documents Guáman’s own role as a social activist and mentor, by describing his teaching other Andeans to read and write and to “advocate for their rights by making legal claims and filing petitions with colonial authorities.” One of his best-known drawings was of an Andean commoner telling his grievances while numbering them on the fingers of one hand, while an Andean lord dressed in European clothing, sits at a desk, and writes a letter of complaint that would later be sent to the colonial authorities. Guáman recommended in his book many times that Andean elites be allowed to attain European literacy. He understood the potential power of writing in colonial society for recording laws and other legal actions, and for documenting abuses. The topic of literacy in Guáman’s book is important because it shows Guáman’s willingness to accept certain useful traditions and practices from the Spaniards not only for himself, but attempt to share them with native Andeans.

136 Adorno, Writing, 146; Frye, Introduction, 7.
137 Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 39.
138 Ibid.
The Book’s Importance As A Subject Of Scholarship; Its Use by Historians and Other Scholars

Guáman’s book is also significant as a subject of scholarship. It is an important contribution to Latin American and Peruvian history studies, and literature, and has great longstanding value, especially to students and historians of the colonial period. One scholar claimed that Guáman’s artwork is one of the best-known aspects of his book to many students of Latin America. Scholars have highlighted and explained the book’s most unique and salient features such as its status as a historical document and cultural object. As a result, it seems that scholars have successfully validated the work as an important source of historical, cultural, and pictorial information about the Andean peoples from a native perspective.

Scholars have also studied and analyzed Guáman’s book and interpreted a number of its aspects, including the following: the book’s nature, origin, its probable temporary locations and stewards over time (after its creator relinquished possession), along with its ultimate steward (the Royal Library of Denmark); its creator, the creator’s background, and the reasons for its creation; its contents, topical coverage, and varieties of possible research topics. The book has something of interest for almost any academic viewpoint; it is so rich in research topic material that it has prompted serious study from many disciplines and many points of view. Some of the topics explored by scholars include: Acculturation; anthropology; arithmetic; art; calligraphy; codicology; ethnology; history; literature; languages; law and legal issues; physical and psychological abuse; politics; and alternative forms of recording information, such as via the khipus. Examples of other research topics explored by scholars in reference to Guáman’s book

139 Adorno, Writing, p. 4 of cover.
140 Frye, Introduction, xxiii.
141 Adorno and Boserup, “New studies,” 5-6.
include: His artistic vocation in the Spanish ecclesiastical context; the aesthetics of his visual and written work, along with his calligraphy; and his written Spanish, which was influenced by Quechua language phonology and syntax.\textsuperscript{142} Other research topics include: Guáman as the great precursor of universal education despite race, age, or sex; and a great preacher of social justice.\textsuperscript{143} Scholar Galen Brokaw claims that khipus, used as a recording device, had semiotic uses in addition to mnemonic uses. Other scholars claim that khipus can encode detailed information, including narratives.\textsuperscript{144}

Rolena Adorno is a reputed international scholar on Guáman’s book, and wrote a dissertation on it. The subtitle of her dissertation, “A Lost Chapter in the History of Latin American Letters” emphasizes her belief in the book as an important contribution to Latin American history.\textsuperscript{145} Adorno stated that her research on Guáman’s book was a response to the dismissive attitude of Spanish American literary history writers and critics towards the few Native American writers who comprised the first generation of Latin American writers.\textsuperscript{146}

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\textsuperscript{143} Juan José Vega, \textit{Guáman Poma: El Precursor} (Lima : Derrama Magisterial, 1998), 9, 10. Vega compiled an extensive bibliography (p. 142-174) on both versions of Guáman’s book and scholarship on it.
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\textsuperscript{144} Brokaw, “The Poetics,” 111-112.
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\textsuperscript{146} Adorno, \textit{Writing}, 3.
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the latter writers as socially and politically marginalized in their own lifetimes. She believed their traditional oral cultures did not prepare them to write in European languages. In addition, the writers’ own personal motives and political interests often distorted their accounts of ancient history, as were the “historical” works of European chroniclers (priests, clerks, and soldiers) in past generations. Adorno implies that this was also the case for Guáman. Adorno explained that during Guáman’s era, fiction, ad history, and oratory were somewhat intertwined. “Fiction could mask itself as history,” and historiography exchanged for oratory. Historiography was also associated with rhetorical and poetic arts and its ‘fictive’ nature was commonly recognized. Truth was not necessarily equated with facts, and several types of ‘truth’ played roles in history. Some scholars have responded negatively to this practice. Adorno stated that at least one scholar has pointed out factual errors in Guáman’s historical and geographical accounts in his book, and literature historians and other critics have denigrated Guáman’s work. Furthermore, Adorno implied that Guáman’s book appeared to include a narration of historical events, but was a means for him to make a case for the Andean peoples’ rights. For example, he masked his intent to persuade by presenting assertions as if they were factual statements; and used historical narration to hide his engagement in polemic. For example, he related as so-called historical events the first Andeans’ appearance in the Indies, along with the provenance of their ethnic and racial stock, as well as the imperial Inka’s origin; yet he seldom admitted that these

147 Adorno, Writing, 3, 5.
148 Adorno, Writing, 142.
149 Adorno, Writing, 14.
150 Adorno, Writing, 147.
151 Adorno, Writing, 15.
issues were in “passionate debate.” Adorno claimed that his story about his ancestors meeting Pizarro was fiction. Adorno also claimed that Guáman manipulated other texts for his own use. He agreed with ideas in some texts, such as Las Casas’ statement that the conquest was unjust, and rejected other ideas, such as Las Casas’ claim that evangelization was a just reason for colonial domination.

Adorno claimed that prior to her book entitled Guáman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru (published in 1988) Guáman’s book had been “studied almost exclusively as a documentary source of information,” but she believed Guáman intended it to be literature. She studied the book as literature and its relationship to society. Adorno found that Guáman used several literary devices in his book.

Adorno showed in her book how Guáman protested historical facts and literary forms (biography, chronicle, and relación). She argued that these genres failed to consider the Amerindian perspective. Adorno believed that Guáman criticized these genres because he felt they were unable to fully represent social reality or serve just causes. In short, Guáman


\[153\] Adorno, Writing, 14.

\[154\] Adorno, Writing, 24.

\[155\] Adorno, Writing, p. 4 of cover.

\[156\] Adorno, Writing, 10.

\[157\] Adorno, Writing, p. 4 of cover.

\[158\] Adorno, Writing, 10.
provided a comprehensive critique of the colonialist discourse of history, religion, and political theory.\textsuperscript{159}

Guáman seems to imply that no point of productive contact existed between Andean and European cultures, as each remained separate, and mutual understanding seemed impossible. Adorno views Guáman as a lone figure who presents himself as a hero in an interchange in which his opponent does not understand the stakes of the challenge or the terms of engagement.\textsuperscript{160} This viewpoint crystallizes the width, depth, and breadth of the gulf that Guáman apparently saw between the Andean and the Spanish cultures.

Adorno’s study of Guáman’s book provides new understanding about the challenges of crossing cultural and linguistic barriers and also of the artistic, cultural, and literary life of colonized ethnic Americans [in that period].\textsuperscript{161} “Adorno broadens our concept of the complexity of colonial society.”\textsuperscript{162}

In another work on Guáman’s “language of history,” Adorno claimed that Guáman used pictorial text as a forum to reconcile the contradictions between Western and Andean ideas of history and so frees himself from constraints imposed by European historiography.\textsuperscript{163} In short,

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\textsuperscript{159} Adorno, \textit{Writing}, p. 4 of cover.

\textsuperscript{160} Adorno, \textit{Writing}, 12.

\textsuperscript{161} Adorno, \textit{Writing}, p. 4 of cover.

\textsuperscript{162} Review of Adorno’s \textit{Writing}, in \textit{Americas}, 63.

\textsuperscript{163} Adorno, Introduction, \textit{From Oral To Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles Of The Early Colonial Period}, edited by Roleno Adorno, Foreign And Comparative Studies, Latin American Series, no. 4 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1982), 5.

\textsuperscript{164} Review of Adorno’s \textit{Writing}, in \textit{Americas}, 63.
}
pictures offer more freedom than language with its many constraints. Guáman used drawings to emphasis his points.\textsuperscript{164}

Adorno believed Guáman was influenced by Andean and Spanish traditions. The purpose of visual art in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain was to instruct and persuade; likewise, Andean culture used pictures to indoctrinate and inform. Apparently, artwork in both cultures was a tool of evangelization as was the sermonic literature that informed much of Guáman’s rhetoric.\textsuperscript{165}

Adorno and other scholars have studied Guáman’s artwork and provided some interesting and thought-provoking analyses. Adorno argued that graphic images appear to be objective and neutral [and] that they were powerful by imperative, not argument. Guáman’s drawings in his work provide the text with “deeper meaning that eludes words.”\textsuperscript{166} Adorno also believed that in Guáman’s book, “…The voice of the social reformer surpasses all others.”\textsuperscript{167} Guáman’s drawings of Indians using the Spanish legal system, and his advocacy for Andeans’ literacy illustrate this point.

Adorno analyzed the spatial and structural logic of Guáman’s drawings and their Andean roots. For example, she stressed that in all of Guáman’s drawings, right and left are defined from the viewpoint of those people in the drawing, or from the drawing itself, as if it were looking out at the viewer.\textsuperscript{168} Also, in his drawings, the ‘place of honor’ is towards the top right (viewer’s

\textsuperscript{164} Review of Adorno’s \textit{Writing}, in \textit{Americas}, 63.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} Frye, Introduction, xxiii.
left) and the subjected i.e., lower position is towards the bottom left (viewer’s right).\(^{169}\) Balance, synthesis, and justice are found at the center or the center top. For example, Guáman criticized the colonial regime by drawing a corrupt colonial official on the left side of the scene i.e., the position of degradation, and proof that “the world is upside down.”\(^{170}\)

Mercedes López Baralt has studied Guáman’s artwork from an anthropological perspective regarding spatial division and observed that right, left, lower and upper are associated with the masculine and the dominant (the sun); and these were in opposition to the feminine, subordinate, and lower side (the moon). Similar to what Adorno has recognized, right and left are inverted from the viewer’s perspective, because Andean drawing privileged the picture’s perspective instead of the viewer’s perspective. The oppositions of right and left, upper and lower, center and periphery as used in Guáman’s geography, reflect his ethical judgments. For example, Peru, shown at the top, is associated with ethically superior qualities, while Spain, shown on the bottom, is shown as inferior. Bauer argued that the volume of Guáman’s artwork often places the written text in a secondary role of commentary on the visual and calligraphic images.\(^{171}\)

Other scholars have noticed European influences in Guáman’s artwork, and claim that Guáman used European notions of space, composition, and figural representation throughout the book but drew with simple lines, flattening and abstracting his forms in a way that is strongly tied to the geometric abstraction [or style] that decorates Inka textiles and ceramics. His artwork

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\(^{169}\) Frye, Introduction, xxv.

\(^{170}\) Ibid.

\(^{171}\) Bauer, “EnCountering,” 294, 295 (12, 13).

\(^{172}\) “Guáman Poma de Ayala, Felipe,” Encyclopædia Britannica 2009.
also incorporated complex Inka metaphysical and social concepts. Guáman’s *Map of the Kingdom of the Indies*, for example, uses European mapping techniques but imposes on these the Inka model of the universe in which the world is divided into four parts through the use of intersecting diagonal lines. Guáman also put Cuzco, the capital of the Inka empire (but not of colonial Peru), at the map’s center.

In one of her more recent books, Adorno described a number of external documents that have been found in the twentieth century that provide information about Guáman that supports his claims about some of his roles and activities. New research [most likely in the 1990s] allowed scholars to rethink the chronology and itinerary of Guáman’s activities and draw conclusions about the interaction between his work and his life. For example, documents have revealed information about Guáman’s work as an informant, interpreter, witness, and advocate for Indians, along with his land dispute, his book, and his ties to Murúa. Also, some documents led Adorno to believe that the Chachapoyas could have been those who accused Guáman of false identity as the sole way to discredit him, as he was a tenacious and well-prepared representative for his family in the case.

Adorno and Boserup stressed Guáman’s realization of his work as a treatise on good government, as one of many works written on Spanish imperial reforms. Adorno believed that

173 Ibid.
175 Review of Adorno’s *Writing*, in *Americas*, 63.
177 Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 426.
Guáman’s objective was to advocate for governmental reform, not to replace it.\textsuperscript{179} For example, he wanted the government to relieve the natives of the required labor and tribute demands.\textsuperscript{180} He may have realized that the Spanish government was to remain in Peru indefinitely, and a review of his life and activities makes it apparent that he and his Andean contemporaries learned to work within the Spanish colonial regime.

**The Digital Edition**

Guáman’s book was digitized in 2000-2001 as a project sponsored by the Digital Research Center of the Royal Library. It was digitized in order to preserve it and make it accessible. Before it was digitized, the book for many years was practically inaccessible to scholars.\textsuperscript{181} The digital facsimile of the document was published in 2001 and is available on the Internet.\textsuperscript{182} Adorno [still at Yale at that time] agreed to act as scholarly consultant to the digital project. As the project progressed, Adorno and her research assistants Fernanda Macchi and John Charles contributed a number of very important enhancements to the website including: an introductory essay with a review of recent scholarship about Guáman and his manuscript, a new table of contents of the entire manuscript, and a descriptive table of all 398 drawings.\textsuperscript{183}

The website of Guáman’s book has the digitized version of the entire document i.e. a facsimile of each page (including both text and drawings) from the document. All of the pictures can be enlarged or reduced in size on the screen. The layout is effective; the artwork is placed

\textsuperscript{179} Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 40.

\textsuperscript{180} Adorno and Boserup, *New Studies*, 9.

\textsuperscript{181} Adorno, *His Illustrated Chronicle*, 6.


\textsuperscript{183} “About the Project” section of The Guáman Poma Website.
The digital edition of Guáman’s document is as significant a research source as the original document. Just as the translation of Guáman’s original document encouraged scholarship, the availability of the digital version introduced a new phase in the scholarship of Guáman’s document. A scholar claimed that because of the digital edition and Adorno’s work at diffusing the edition, “a new and more advanced era of reading the Nueva Corónica has begun.”

To illustrate, scholars have studied the digital edition and developed a number of new and interesting theories about the book. The digital edition makes it possible to come very close to working with the original version because the digital version allows researchers to explore the document in more detail.

**Use of The Digital Edition By Historians and Other Scholars**

Other scholars have in recent years added their praise for the quality of Guáman’s book. Adorno has reconstructed Guáman’s procedures in creating his book. This process involved studying watermarks, calligraphy, various types and sizes of letters, ink color, ink stains, positions of drawings in relation to text, textual corrections, additions, changes, notes at the bottom of many pages, folio number changes, the order, sewing, and binding of quires, and sheets added, removed, or replaced. As a result, Adorno has recognized and praised the book for

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184 The Guáman Poma Website.


its coherent content, complete information, convincing arguments, and harmonious form and structure.\textsuperscript{188}

The digital version of the book enables much clearer reading and viewing than the 1936 facsimile edition and even the original book because the digital technology allows readers to see details in the text and artwork that would be barely visible or even obscured in the original version.\textsuperscript{189} Also, the resolution of detail in the digital version is superior to that seen by directly looking at the original document.\textsuperscript{190} For example, on closer look at the drawings, they appear to be much more artistic and delicate than in previously printed reproductions.\textsuperscript{191}

Adorno and Boserup claim that studying the book apart from its original form explains recent sensational claims that Guáman was not the creator of the work; or, that he was a prominent member of a team that created the work.\textsuperscript{192} The goal of Adorno’s and Boserup’s book was to describe the manuscript’s technical features such as its watermarks and the organization of its sheets and quires.\textsuperscript{193} These analyses resulted from the digital project which brought forth questions about the history and construction of the manuscript, and in turn resulted in more studies and new findings and interpretations, including more precise answers to codicological questions raised earlier.\textsuperscript{194} New research supports Adorno’s and Boserup’s thesis, which

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\item Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 432.
\item Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 424.
\item Adorno, His Illustrated Chronicle, 13.
\item Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 424.
\item Adorno and Boserup, New Studies, 5.
\item Adorno and Boserup, New Studies, 6.
\item Codicology is “the study of manuscripts as cultural artifacts for historical purposes,” Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, Codicology, http://www.search.eb.com/mwu/popup?va=codicology (Accessed August 1, 2009). It is also the “study of a codex,” a handwritten book, and is concerned “chiefly with the book as a physical object” i.e., the methods in which a book is put together and the skills needed” along with “the materials used to
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originally was claimed by German anthropologist Richard Pietschmann in 1908, and then by other scholars, that the manuscript was the work of one person.\textsuperscript{195} Also, Adorno claims that Guáman’s reference to the original version of his book affirms that the “autograph document” was a clean copy of the final version of the book.\textsuperscript{196}

The textual and codicological analysis of Guáman’s book makes it plain that he treated the \textit{Buen Gobierno} with growing importance. For example, that part of the book shows the importance of the first chapter and the historical, strategic role that Guáman gave to the viceroy Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, marquis of Montesclaros.\textsuperscript{197} The Guáman Poma Website includes a document prepared at the end of Mendoza y Luna’s term as viceroy of Peru (1607-1615). His document includes criticisms of and proposals for colonial government reform that were very similar to those written in Guáman’s book.\textsuperscript{198}

Frye’s translation of Guáman’s book was based mainly on the digital facsimile. Frye’s aim was to make the book “accessible to a broad-English-speaking audience.”\textsuperscript{199} Scholar Bruce Mannheim claimed the text was based on oral models for Spanish that follows Quechua patterns of rhetorical organization, making it difficult for modern Spanish-speaking readers.\textsuperscript{200} As a result, Frye believes that readers should treat the text as a transcript of an oral performance.\textsuperscript{201}

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\item Adorno and Boserup, \textit{New Studies}, 6 ; Bauer, “‘EnCountering!’,” 274 (2).
\item Adorno, \textit{His Illustrated Chronicle}, 20.
\item Adorno and Boserup, \textit{New Studies}, 8.
\item Petrocchi, “The Illustrated Codex,” 425.
\item Frye, Introduction, xxvii.
\item Ibid.
\item Frye, Introduction, xxviii.
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Frye’s abridged edition of Guáman’s book offers a clear, descriptive version that can enhance readers’ understanding of the book’s message and contents. Frye noted that throughout Guáman’s book, he repeated the statement “no hay remedio” i.e. ‘There is no remedy.’ Frye claims that Guáman implied there must be a remedy, and that his book is a call to action. Indeed, Guáman’s act of writing the book could be seen as a form of resisting the colonial regime, just as one scholar viewed Yupanqui’s work. The title of Adorno’s book, Guáman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru, reflects a similar attitude. Yet both of these attitudes could run counter to Bauer, who claims that Guáman’s book is not “a literature of resistance in a protonationalist sense”; that it is not a rejection of Spanish sovereignty over the American territories and a cry for Peruvian autonomy. Bauer claims that such an idea would not have appealed to King Phillip III. Bauer points out that Guáman worked within the imperial context and included his ideas in seventeenth-century debates about varying ideas of empire that arose during the Spanish colonial period.

A conference on Guáman’s and Murúa’s visual and written work was held at the Newberry Library, April 2002. One scholar suggested that the digital version be used to assist researchers as they simultaneously reviewed the conference papers.


204 Adorno, Writing.

205 Bauer, “EnCountering,” 280 (5).

The amount and quality of research on Guáman and his book also underscores the significance of Guáman’s personal characteristics, yet raises some pertinent questions for us as readers. Should we be dismayed at Guáman’s reported falsifying his name, inflating his social status, and using his political savvy to learn and understand the Spanish colonial system well enough to “work the system” to his own advantage? The scholarly tradition is to look beyond the surface to the depth of a work and of its creator and his motives. Perhaps just as impressive as Guáman’s book is Guáman himself—his personal qualities of willingness, determination to create a great work, to convey messages he felt were important about his people, the Andeans. His vision and organizational abilities to plan and create from beginning to completion a magnificent work in a written medium different from his own oral traditions. His persistence and intellectual abilities to gather oral and non-textual histories and translate them to written word. His artistic abilities to draw images in both Andean and European styles and cleverness to use symbolism that required critical thinking by readers in order to understand and correctly interpret the images. Portions of his artwork that seem to possess a level of authenticity that more accurately reflects the status of the Andean people than the written histories created by the Spaniards and by himself. His language skills i.e. his ability to use several languages in one book. His strong voice about his own country and own people’s history that might otherwise have been left untold. His apparent deep commitment to preserve a record about the Andean people in the face of their disappearing culture and social structure, even though parts of his record apparently contain fictional accounts. His level of commitment must have sustained him through the years of hard work to create his book. After studying his book and his life, it is possible to imagine him thinking: “I must record my people’s history, no matter how difficult the task.”
In conclusion, Guáman’s book is clearly seen by scholars as an important contribution to Latin American history, literature, culture, and art, along with many other topics, whether in the original print edition or the digital edition. Guáman’s book is also considered a major contribution to Peru and the Andean groups, as well as to the Spanish colonial period. The notoriety and importance of his book has grown over time as scholars have increased their understanding of its content, characteristics, and meaning. The number, depth, and quality of the studies about the digital edition and the print edition underscore the significance of Guáman’s intellectual and artistic achievements. The book has intrigued scholars from many different disciplines who have mined its rich depths of subject coverage. Now the digital edition has made possible the opportunities to study the construction and creation of the book itself.

Finally, as a member of three distinct worlds i.e. the oral, textual, and artistic, and the Andean and Spanish cultures, Guáman holds status as a communicator of ideas, events, and opinions to what then was a narrow, targeted audience in Spanish King Phillip III. Now Guáman’s work of pre-Columbian and colonial “history” has been catapulted into the digital age, especially now that the work is available in print and online and has a worldwide audience, now enabled to view and study interpretations of an ancient world, the Andean society before and after it was “turned upside down.”  

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