

THE NUEVA CORONICA Y BUEN GOBIERNO

A NEW LOOK AT THE ROYAL LIBRARY'S PERUVIAN TREASURE

BY

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Shortly after the Inca state was toppled and its empire destroyed by the Spanish invasion and Conquest, Europeans began telling the story of the vanished New World civilization in histories and chronicles. Only a handful of indigenous Americans contributed to that literature, and the record left by one of them is preserved as one of the Royal Library's most precious holdings: The *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* [*The First New Chronicle and Good Government*] (Gl. kgl. Saml., 2232, 4°). The work is a 1200-page, fully illustrated treatise which was addressed to King Philip III of Spain in the hope of insuring imperial protection for native Andeans. The author was an unknown ethnic Andean named Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Guaman Poma prepared the only known manuscript copy of his text in the period 1613-1615; this priceless manuscript has been part of the Old Royal Collection since at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

When Professor Richard A. Pietschmann examined the work at the Royal Library and brought it to international attention in 1908, a whole new perspective on Andean culture and the Spanish Conquest of Peru came into being. Here was a document that told the indigenous side of the story of invasion and conquest and offered a knowledge of Andean institutions that most European chroniclers, and even some famous Peruvian-born writers like El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, could not duplicate. In 1936 the *Nueva coronica* became widely available through the publication of a facsimile edition.¹⁾ Since that time, the work has excited the popular as well as the scholarly imagination; the use of some of Guaman Poma's pictures to illustrate a calendar used as advertising for a Cuzco brewery exemplifies the popularizing trend in the Andean countries. Guaman Poma is clearly a Peruvian culture hero, and even the esoteric mysteries surrounding the manuscript stimulate the curiosity of the most casually interested.

The *Nueva corónica* represents all the dark secrets of a long-lost manuscript and a partially coded text in need of deciphering. Its history is easily a romantic one since the fate of the document in the first century and a half of its existence is unknown. The text contains, furthermore, hundreds of extensive passages in the author's native Quechua, the archaic features of which can be rendered intelligible only by rigorous philological and linguistic study. In addition, the 400 full-page drawings provide a fascinating pictorial record of both traditional and colonial Andean worlds. Completed just as the second half of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was being published in Spain, Guaman Poma's book was the historical prototype of those works of imagination supposedly penned by authors of exotic origin who opened lost horizons to the reader and lover of armchair-adventure. Yet the lost world retrieved by Guaman Poma had been a real one, and the clarity with which he outlined its contours makes the work today a continuing and unique source of insight into pre-Columbian Andean culture. At the same time, it affords one of the most comprehensive views on European colonial institutions offered by a representative of one of the vanquished societies during the critical century that followed the Spanish Conquest.

Apart from the documentary value of the work as historical and anthropological source, my own interest in Guaman Poma's writing has been concerned with the *Nueva corónica* as an artistic and literary text. Until the last decade, even Guaman Poma's most serious scholars had considered the work to be the product of an illiterate and ignorant aborigine. Quite to the contrary, the careful examination of the text in the light of the standard conventions of Western literature of the period revealed Guaman Poma's knowledgeable adherence to, and creative manipulation of, the most well-established European literary modes: the satiric dialogue, the sermon, the epistle, the biography, the historical narration (see the bibliography: Adorno, 1974a). In addition, Guaman Poma's extensive utilization of both Andean and Western Christian iconography provides yet another means for „reading“ his text and for understanding his ideas about the relationship of indigenous and foreign cultures as they were expressed through visual art (Adorno, 1979a-b). The *Nueva corónica* was clearly an artistically conceived text, and the analysis of its creative modes adds another dimension to our understanding of the cross-fertilization of widely disparate cultures.

Almost nothing is known about the author Guaman Poma except that which can be gleaned from his own writings. No extensive external documentation exists on the matter of his biography or even his local ethnic

origin. This obscure Peruvian chronicler was probably born shortly after the Conquest in 1532-33, and lived at least until 1615. While he called himself a prince, he did not identify himself with the Inca lineage. Instead, he represented one of the many diverse ethnic groups which had been conquered by the Incas, the *Yarobilcas* of *Allauca Huanoco*, from which he claimed an aristocratic heritage. As an *indio ladino* or ethnic Andean literate in Castilian, Guaman Poma made reading and writing his stock in trade long before he turned to writing on his own behalf. In the 1560's, for example, he served as amanuensis and interpreter for the Church inspector Cristóbal de Albornoz who destroyed the nativist movement of *Taki Unquy* in Guaman Poma's home province of Lucanas-Soras (280).

The historical background against which the *Nueva corónica* was written was an increasingly desperate one from the viewpoint of Guaman Poma and his people. The eighty years of his own life coincided with the period that marked the large-scale and definitive disintegration of highland Andean society:²⁾ Following the Spanish invasion of 1532, the next forty years brought the destruction of the Inca polity and included the civil wars among the Spanish *conquistadores* from 1541 to 1548 and the tenure of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo during the period 1569-1581. The latter undertook the wholesale resettlement of the native population and destroyed the last Inca government in exile in 1571. The greatest permanent changes in the indigenous way of life occurred through the institution of *encomienda*, which usurped indigenous control of the land and entitled the Spanish holder of the title to the exaction of tribute and personal service in the native districts. The *reducciones* or reurbanization campaigns, begun by Toledo, established the municipalities which made vast reserves of forced native labor available to illegal exploitation by colonial administrators.

As the traditional social organization of native Andean society was dismantled, all distinction of class was irrevocably lost; by the 1570's, Peruvian society had been transformed into an undifferentiated mass. Members of the indigenous lordly classes could occupy positions of importance only by virtue of colonial appointment, not on the sole basis of inherited rank. One such office was that of administrator of the native settlements of the *corregimiento* or municipal district, and Guaman Poma himself claimed to have occupied such a post (6, 809). It was, however, Guaman Poma's self-proclaimed status as author which he emphasized in his encyclopedic epistle to the King. It is clear that, for this Andean, writing represented an attempt at social intervention in an environment where traditional models were no longer available.

The literary work conceived by Guaman Poma was to be both history and utopian treatise: a "new chronicle" of ancient and modern events in the Andes and the crystallization of ideas about "good government" that would combine Inca social and economic organization with European religious culture and technical achievements. Guaman Poma called his book a „new“ chronicle because he knowingly contradicted many established sources on matters of Inca and Conquest political history in order to effectively forward certain accepted European juridical arguments about the rights of native Andeans to hegemony over their own territories. He framed his outcry against injustice and his formal plans for imperial reform on the basis of his concern over three sources of native suffering. The first was the gradual extinction of the Indian race through miscegenation, abusive treatment from the colonists, and disease. The second was the genocidal character of the massive deportations of forced indigenous labor to the mercury and silver mines at Potosí and Huancavilca (524-533[bis], 1045-1057). The final calamity which he catalogued with bitterness was the witch-hunting, idol-burning campaigns of Francisco de Avila in Huarochirí, which terrorized the native citizenry and ruthlessly confiscated their properties. To unmask the viciousness of Spanish priests and colonial administrators and to defend the cultural and historical dignity of his race were the literary tasks to which Guaman Poma applied himself. Thus, the features of chronicle, catechism, and social satire come together in the *Nueva corónica* and render inadequate any single generic classification that might be proposed.

The historical value of the work, however, rests not upon the destination or conclusions to which its author would lead his royal reader. The things that he would show him along the way are, instead, the source of the importance of Guaman Poma's book. There is no better way to demonstrate the variety of information involved than to sample a few of Guaman Poma's extraordinary pictures. Since the author tells his story in drawings as well as in writing, the hundreds of pictures lend a fundamental creative and communicative dimension to the verbal text. In fact, since the visual narrations precede and introduce the written discussion which accompanies them, they must be viewed as the very foundation upon which the written text rests. The exquisite line drawings measure, on the average, 12×18 cm, and they are rendered in the same ink used to transcribe the written text. Captions and titles are variously given in Quechua and Castilian, according to the nature of the specific subject matter. Quite consistently, they offer information not found in the verbal discussion. Artistically, these pictures are less naive than the casual pe-

CONQUISTA
 CORTALELACAVESAA
 ATAGVALPAINGA VMA TACVCHV



muro a Inca Atahualpa
 con la ayuda de los españoles

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The Spanish Conquest: The Inca Atahualpa is executed by Pizarro's troops (390).

rusal supposes; the sophisticated manipulation of Western religious iconography and the highly expressive quality of human subjects alone should dispel any notions of a „primitive“, uncontrolled articulation. From a documentary point of view, these pictures cover the gamut and range of historical and anthropological subject matter; the illustrations cited and reproduced here typify Guaman Poma's visual treatment of traditional and colonial phenomena.

With regard to the traditional Andean way of life, Guaman Poma's pictures document a comprehensive view of the agricultural cycle and its coordination with the ritual calendar, the division of labor by sex and age, and the various ethnic groups which had been incorporated into the Inca empire (Murra, 1961:35). In the calendar, the month of December is depicted as the time of planting potatoes and *oca*, both important staples in the highland diet (1165). The harvesting and storage of the potato crop are shown for June and July respectively (1147, 1150). November, the time of irrigating the fields, is shown and described in Quechua as the month of irrigating the corn, as a time of hot, dry weather and the season of carrying the dead in processions (1162).

Cultural practices both in and beyond the imperial capital of Cuzco are represented; for example, the burial rites and festival dances of the various regions are systematically portrayed. A picture of the traditional Inca burial shows the Inca's entourage engaging in ceremonial drinking after the sovereign's remains had been deposited in the stone vault (287). Similar rites practiced in the four subdivisions of the kingdom (*Chinchay Suyo*, *Colla Suyo*, *Ande Suyo*, *Conde Suyo*) are also shown. Here a funerary procession typical of *Chinchay Suyo*, the area of Guaman Poma's declared origin, features the *aya* or deceased, the *yquima* or widow, and the *pucullo* or burial vault (289). Among the representations of the traditional dances and songs of the divisions of the realm are those of the *Ande Suyo*, where the natives dance the *Caya*, *caya* or so-called dance of the enemy women to the accompaniment of the *pipo* or flute (322). The festival of *Colla Suyo* depicts a very different scene, with the men playing a certain type of flute and the women beating a drum accompaniment (324). Here, the song that Guaman Poma transcribes to accompany the picture is given in the Aymara language (325).

Guaman Poma also presents the reader with visual descriptions of the entire hierarchy of Inca society, from the Inca himself to the humblest citizen. The first Inca, Manco Capac, is shown in his royal regalia, including the earplugs denotative of Inca lineage and the *masca paycha* or red wool fringe which was worn on the forehead as an important im-

ENTIERO. DE CHINCHAI SVIOS



Inca times: The ritual life of the pre-Columbian past is exemplified in the depiction of the burial rites of the *Chinchay Suyu* (289).

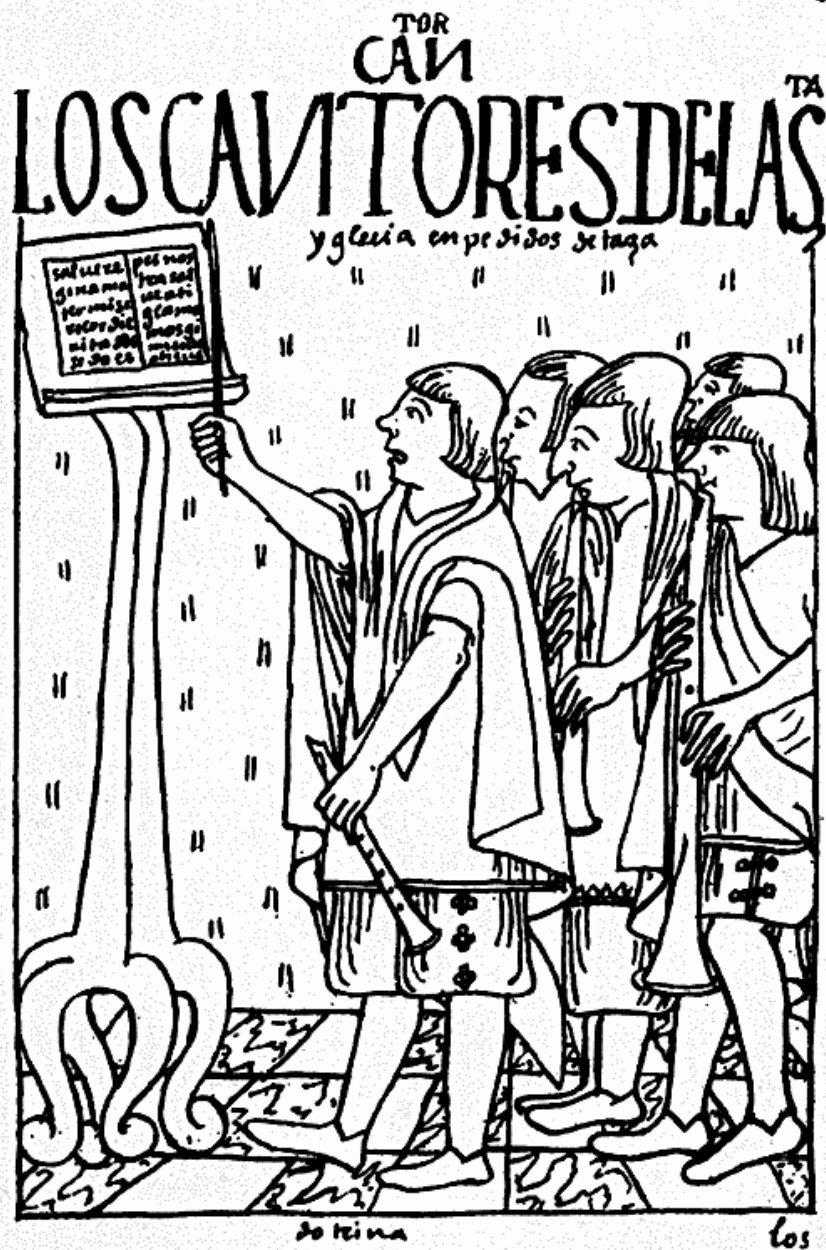
perial marker (86). The *Tauantin Suyu quipoc* or chief accountant and treasurer of the realm is depicted with a *kipu*, the device of knotted and colored cords used to record statistical information (360). Among the peasant classes, the economic activity of each age group is given; here, an *auaco uarmi* or weaver, a woman of thirty years, works at the tree-anchored loom which is still commonly seen in the Andes today (215). In other representations, even the tasks of small children are portrayed, such as that showing a female child of five years carrying a vessel for her mother (229).

Finally, there are hundreds of drawings that depict events in Peru from the time of the Spaniards' arrival. The history of the Conquest is told in pictures that poignantly commemorate episodes such as the execution of Atahualpa Inca and the capture of the last disenfranchised sovereign, the boy Inca Tupac Amaru (390, 449). The establishment of the colony is marked by drawings that depict the ruthless abuse of the natives by the Spanish priests, which is typical of Guaman Poma's renderings of the relations between the victors and the vanquished (647). On a more optimistic note, the author/artist idealizes the prospect of an Indo-Christian state when he envisions a choir of indigenous Andeans, in synthetic native and European costume, singing a *salve regina* (666). The bitterness of the colonial experience and visions of a utopian Andean world-to-be dominate the expressive and imaginative pictures of the Good Government. All in all, the pictorial text offers a view of the kingdom found and transformed by the Spaniards in all its cultural dimensions.

The Bibliographical Investigation of the Ms., 1977

The opportunity afforded to the present author to examine the Copenhagen manuscript and related materials has resulted in new information and some new questions about Guaman Poma's writing. The investigation raised questions about the possibility of a chapter missing from the manuscript, revealed textual discrepancies between it and the Paris facsimile edition, and pointed to the existence of modern copies of the ms. which, if found, could possibly resolve occasional difficulties in the reading. A new inventory of such issues would in itself be a bibliographical curiosity were it not for the ever greater role that the *Nueva corónica* plays in modern scholarship.

The condition of the Copenhagen manuscript is remarkably good, particularly in light of its travels long and short over the last 360 years. The work is executed in quarto size on a very high quality European



The Colony: Blending Andean and European culture, an idealized Indian choir sings a *salve regina* (666).

paper; its watermark is found, here as in most quarto books, in the back fold. Consistent throughout all 1200 pages, this manufacturer's trademark consists of a Latin cross superimposed upon a shield under which the initials AA and sometimes IA appear.³) The physical evidence of the paper somewhat qualifies Guaman Poma's continual protestations of abject poverty, for it clearly shows that he had access to the finest of writing materials in impressive quantity! The book, measuring 14.5×20.5 cm in its outer dimensions and consisting of 23 to 25 unusually large signatures or gatherings of 12 to 16 sheets apiece, is presently bound in leather.⁴) This binding dates from the period 1848-1863, according to the emblem of the Danish King Frederick VII which appears on the spine of the book. At least one previous binding is indicated by the visible differentiation of the separate signatures which were not recut for the extant binding.⁵) The chased edges, that is, the repeated pattern stamped into the gilt that protects the book's edges, suggest that that earlier binding had been done in the seventeenth century when that particular technique of finishing books was widely used.⁶) Whether Guaman Poma himself had his manuscript bound cannot be ascertained from the physical evidence. However, the great deterioration of the outer folios indicates that this version of the work was unprotected by binding during an unspecified period of intensive use and handling.

Guaman Poma refers once to the original version of his work (1074), which means that this copy is a reworked or finished draft of an earlier text. The genesis of the book's original composition may well date from around 1585, because the name of Pope Gregory XIII is the last to be entered in Guaman Poma's chapter on Papal history (47). Since the Peruvian chronicler was well informed in ecclesiastical matters, it seems unlikely that he would have failed to present an up-to-date chronology of the Catholic Popes in his original draft. It is probable that he simply copied the chapter over, without emendation, when he drafted the final version. Nevertheless, the precise dating of the Copenhagen manuscript remains elusive. There is no textual evidence to affirm Pietschmann's assertion that the whole draft was set down in 1613 nor to corroborate Porras' contention that the *Nueva corónica* was written before 1600, and the *Buen gobierno* in 1613, when the first part was copied over and added to the 1613 text.⁷) What is more likely is that the present version was made and emended over a few years' time, being completed after the conclusion of the tenure of the Viceroy Mendoza, the Marqués de Montesclaros, in 1615; that year coincides with the latest historical references given in the work (470).

Because this is a final rendition of an earlier work, the contemporary reader is privy only to the process of textual revision, not that of initial creation. Therefore, while the precise stages of the growth of the original work cannot be traced, the author's general procedure in preparing this final version can be observed and commented upon. First of all, it is necessary to point out that, in spite of numerous additions and changes in this draft, all are the work of a single individual. Even the use of an ornamental scriptural style in various passages provides no evidence of a change in hand (4, 5, 982, 984).⁸⁾ Guaman Poma's customary drafting procedure is revealed by his use of a single color of ink and its shading into another color as a new ink source was utilized; the inks employed were variously brown and black with several shades in between due to color mixing. His method of composition was to first draw a whole series of pictures for a given chapter or part of a chapter, and then to fill in the titles and captions at the same time as he transcribed the accompanying page of writing.⁹⁾ The catchwords and page numbers were added later, as evidenced by the use of another shade of ink and a wider-than-usual pen stroke.

The addition of new folios to the already sewn signatures signal important textual additions.¹⁰⁾ In one case, the addition is the simple correction of an oversight; Guaman Poma had originally omitted the sixth Viceroy of Peru, Don Fernando de Torres, from his list of the first several Viceroys and so he later added a portrait and biography of Don Fernando and corrected the numbering in the portraits of his successors (n. n. in the original; 465-466 in the facs.). Other additions of new folios, however, reflect the author's growing obsession with certain themes and his desire to stress their importance to the Spanish King. These texts consist of the incorporation of two folios into the chapter that presents the author's imaginary dialogue with King Philip (ff. 962b, 962c in the ms., numbered as pp. 962a, 962c, 962d, 962a[bis] in the facs.), one folio that extends the discussion of the Potosí mines and reiterates Guaman Poma's claims to an aristocratic heritage (n. n. in the ms. or facs.; it follows p. 1057), and a final addition of 18 folios which narrates the author's trip to Lima to deliver his manuscript while recounting the atrocities of the Avila extirpation of idolatries campaign (1094-1128 in ms. and facs.).

There are also many additions to already-completed manuscript pages which take the form of picture captions, marginal notations at the bottom of the page, and passages superimposed on the characteristic flourish used by the author to signal the conclusion of a given discussion.¹¹⁾ Most of these emendations are simply elaborations on the earlier presentation,

although some are specific changes that alter the original meaning. For example, the author frequently changes the titles of his own and his father's rank from *cacique* or ethnic lord to *capac*, which he translates to Castilian as „prince“. He also adds notes that link his mother to the lineage of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui.¹²⁾ Whether Guaman Poma viewed his editorial efforts as substantive or merely formal, he was clearly attempting to convey the idea of noble social status in the terms that the Spanish monarch could appreciate and understand.

The modern practice of pagination, not foliation, was followed by Guaman Poma, and one of his revisions in numeration raises an important question.¹³⁾ The pages originally numbered 986–1083 were changed to read 996–1093 and two consecutive pages are now numbered 985 and 996, with no intervening pages to separate them. The catchword at the bottom of p. 985, which originally corresponded to the title of the following page (*todas*, for *todas las ciudades*), was later changed to *capitulo* or chapter. What this new catchword refers to is not known, for there is no evidence of pages having been added or removed from this place in the manuscript. The possibility of the existence of ten intended but missing pages, as well as Guaman Poma's reference to other of his writings (904), heightens interest in the report that additional Guaman Poma manuscript materials might have been found in Peru several years ago.¹⁴⁾

Alterations in the original manuscript after its completion have been mostly due to the efforts to preserve it. First, binding took a heavy toll on the ms., because many of the marginal additions that Guaman Poma had made as he edited were truncated when the page edges were evenly cut in the process of binding.¹⁵⁾ The loss is regrettable insofar as those emendations probably best reflect the author's final thoughts on topics that had been of active concern to him over the previous decades. In addition, the modern application of transparent silk paper, a restorative procedure no longer used, accelerated the decomposition process in the areas of the ms. where it was employed for reinforcement. That is, the holes eaten into the paper through the corrosive effect of ink acid could be protected, but their growth not arrested, by the application of the gummed covering. These reinforcements had been added during the 1920's to the areas of marked deterioration which were the heavily inked, boldface lettering of the titles of the *Nueva coronica* drawings. The upper part of both sides of the folios are thus the location of greatest illegibility in the manuscript.

The Modern History of the Manuscript

The modern history of the *Nueva corónica* began in 1908 with Dr. Pietschmann's location of the manuscript in the Old Royal Collection where it had been duly catalogued since 1785.¹⁶⁾ The manuscript then accompanied Dr. Pietschmann to the University of Göttingen and remained there for several years while he made preparations for his own edition of the work. The ms. was recalled to Copenhagen briefly in 1913 when it was photographed for the North American scholar of the Mayas, Dr. William Edmund Gates; it was subsequently returned to Dr. Pietschmann in Göttingen. Dr. Pietschmann's work was unfortunately incomplete when he died in 1923, and his handwritten transcription of the text was reportedly finished by Prof. Alphonse Hilka and then sent to the Americanist scholar, Dr. Georg Frederici of Ahrensburg.¹⁷⁾ Dr. Frederici was apparently unable to undertake the editorial project, so the manuscript was returned to Copenhagen in 1924.

In 1925, Dr. William Thalbitzer, the Danish scholar and Eskimo ethnologist, volunteered his scholarly services to prepare the edition, but he did not meet with success in soliciting the sponsorship of a private foundation.¹⁸⁾ In 1927, the manuscript was again sent to Germany, to Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann who planned to finish Pietschmann's projected edition at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg.¹⁹⁾ Those plans did not materialize; thus, the ms. was definitively returned to the Royal Library in 1930. In that same year, negotiations were completed with the Institute of Ethnology in Paris under the directorship of Professor Paul Rivet to produce a facsimile edition; photographic negatives of the original were prepared in Copenhagen and delivered to Paris for eventual publication.²⁰⁾

The correspondence between Prof. Rivet and the Royal Library reveal certain editorial problems encountered in the preparation of the facsimile and announce the existence of modern copies of the manuscript. The sections most difficult to read in the facsimile edition are the lines of written text found on the opposite side of a folio featuring a drawing title or headline. In some cases, there are lacunae in the boldface titles themselves. The reason for textual obscurity in the reproduction is the ink acid deterioration and the blurred effect caused by the transparent restorations. The photographic negatives of those pages were thus unclear, so Prof. Rivet requested that the Royal Library review the photographic proofs in comparison with the original and make the necessary clarifications and corrections. The Library replied that to do so was im-

possible, since the photos accurately reproduced the manuscript's own deterioration and subsequent illegibility.²¹⁾ The Copenhagen atelier experimented with the production of color plates, but there was no significant improvement in the copy.²²⁾

The apparent result in the production of the facsimile edition was the emendation of the photographic negatives by the Paris studio itself, without access to the original text. Under those circumstances, the attempt to clarify faint outlines inevitably produced many minor changes in the script and some drawings. These alterations have been observed through this investigator's comparative examination of the facsimile against the Copenhagen manuscript. While the quality of the Paris facsimile overall is excellent, there are nevertheless passages in which the text of the original has been distorted.²³⁾

Unfortunately, the current state of the deterioration of the original manuscript does not make possible the clear correction of the troublesome passages. To correct the reading of the original, access to either of the two twentieth-century copies of the ms. would be most helpful. Both Dr. Pietschmann's handwritten transcription and the set of photographic negatives of the ms. made for Dr. Gates for the purpose of a donation to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University were executed early after the discovery of the ms., before it had been much handled and prior to the restoration work.²⁴⁾ Preliminary inquiries by the present investigator, however, have failed to uncover the whereabouts of either copy.²⁵⁾ Although the value of the Gates-Peabody negatives is questionable due to their age and some damage in transit,²⁶⁾ the original transcription made by Dr. Pietschmann might resolve many textual difficulties.

To date, the Paris facsimile, published in 1936 and reprinted in 1968, is the landmark edition. Transcriptions of the entire text have appeared (Posnansky, 1944; Bustíos Gálvez, 1956-66), and many popular selections and anthologies have been produced. No edition exists that adequately translates the Quechua text or provides the critical apparatus needed to make the work a more effective research tool.²⁷⁾

The Road from Lima to Copenhagen

When Guaman Poma finished his manuscript in 1615, his intention was to send it to the King of Spain not only to have the monarch read it, but to have it published as well. The author's avowed purpose was to persuade the King to sponsor the book's printing in order that it could be utilized as a handbook to colonial officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, in

dealing with the native Peruvian population (7). To that end, Guaman Poma followed the full complement of printing conventions in the preparation of his ms., imitating the practices of type-set books in every detail from running heads to catchword; even the notation on the title page of the work is a page tally for the future printer. That is, the terms „579 fojas“ and „146 pliegos“ are differing calculations of the tally; the former figure represents 1158 pages, and the latter, the author's final (though mistaken) total of 1168 pages. The discrepancy of ten pages again points to the prospect of a chapter planned for, then withdrawn.

The important questions of whether the book reached the King of Spain or was ever printed cannot be definitively answered at this time. No printed copy of the text has been found, and there are no extraneous markings on the ms. to suggest that this particular copy was ever handled by a printer. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the manuscript passed through the Viceregal court at Lima, because the historical treatise written by a friar, who had served as a page at the court of the Marqués de Montesclaros from 1607 to 1615, follows Guaman Poma's uncommon version of ancient history.²⁸⁾ There is no documentation available to support the contention that the manuscript actually arrived at the Spanish royal court in Madrid. The Old Royal Collection, however, contains several works addressed to the Spanish kings of the period; if a single source could be substantiated for these and Guaman Poma's materials, then their procurement at court would be reasonable. Even the presence in Copenhagen of the Marqués de Montesclaros' report to the King, as the former left the Viceroyalty in 1615, does not confirm a direct route from Peru to Spain to Denmark, because a number of copies of that document (Gl. kgl. Saml., 589, 2^o) have appeared in a variety of places.²⁹⁾

The arrival of the *Nueva corónica* manuscript in Copenhagen, however, makes passage through unspecified channels in Spain quite likely. The mysteries of that itinerary remain where Porrás left them. He speculated that the manuscript was brought to Denmark in 1662 by the Danish diplomat Cornelius Pedersen Lerche, who had bought part of the library of the Conde Duque de Olivares.³⁰⁾ Yet this conjecture has not been substantiated by known documentation.³¹⁾ Furthermore, there were many other collectors of Spanish books and incunabula in seventeenth-century Denmark who might have been responsible for the acquisition, such as Jørgen Reedtz and Laurids Ulfeldt.³²⁾ The addition of their names to the list of potential donors underscores the fact that avenues of acquisition of the Guaman Poma manuscript were various. The variety of Hispanic holdings in the Royal Library, and particularly the recent scholarship

on the Spanish Inquisition done there, attest to the long-term Scandinavian interest in Spanish materials.³³⁾

The Importance of the Nueva corónica Today

Guaman Poma's long-lost manuscript has been described as a source of „basic information about Andean institutions available nowhere else“³⁴⁾ Its documentary value has been demonstrated by its extensive use in fundamental studies of Andean economic organization (Murra, 1955), prehistoric civilizations (Tello, 1942), Inca law (Varallanos, 1946), and even the Andean system of weights and measures (Mendizábal Lo-sack, 1971). The work has also provided an invaluable source for the study of symbolic Andean values (Wachtel, 1971a; Ossio, 1973, 1977) and the indigenous view of colonial affairs (Adorno, 1978a; Klaiber, 1976). As a text utilizing Quechua within a half century of its original transcription, the chronicle offers a unique source for the study of the linguistic development of that Andean language and its dialectical differentiation. The accompanying bibliography is a testimony to the forms of interest, both scholarly and popular, that the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* has inspired within the past few decades.

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NOTES

(1) Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (*Codex péruvien illustré*) (1936; rpt. Paris: L'Institut d'Ethnologie 1968). All citations of the text will follow the pagination of the facsimile edition and will consist of parenthetical references to page number only. For other editions and works written about the *Nueva corónica* see the bibliography pp. 22-26. - (2) The following discussion is based on George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians*, 2 (1946), pp. 331-410, and John Howland Rowe, "The Inca under Spanish Colonial Institutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 37 (1957), pp. 155-190. - (3) This watermark is very similar to a type produced in Genoa, Italy, Spain, and France during the late sixteenth century, acc. C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, (1907; rpt. Amsterdam, 1968), ed. Allan Stevenson, III, p. 332. - (4) The area covered by writing and

drawing in the original is generally 12 × 18 cm; thus, their reproduction in the facsimile measures approx. .3-.5 cm short of the original dimensions. – (5) Ms. Kirsten Weber, the Royal Library, personal communication. – (6) Geoffrey Ashall Glaister, *Glossary of the Book* (London: George Allan, 1960), p. 155. – (7) Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *El cronista indio Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala* (Lima, 1948), pp. 9-10. – (8) Dr. Tue Gad, the Royal Library, personal communication. – (9) The procedure is vividly exemplified on pp. 862-877 of the manuscript where a series of drawings is done in black ink and the accompanying script is entered in brown-black shades that eventually become a uniform brown. – (10) The pagination in the facsimile edition is frequently at variance with the original, due to the modern editorial attempt to recreate numbers partially cut off in the binding of the original and to interpret Guaman Poma's often revised and garbled numbering. – (11) These additions are found in the following chapters: *Historia pontifical* (34-47), *Vecita general* (193-234), *Los meses del año* (237-241), *Buen gobierno* (436-473), *Españoles* (533[bis]-541), *Padres* (625-677), *Negros* (710-711), *Tratos* (713, 717), *Principales* (739-759), *Yndios* (843-896, 907) and *Ciudades* (997-1000, 1073-1074). (12) Pietschmann noted one change from *cacique prencipal* to prince in „Renseignements sommaires,” p. viii of the Paris edition. This change is found on several occasions (5, 11, 20, 166) as well as is the addition of the word *principe* [prince] or *ex[celentisi]mo s[en]ior* [excellent lord] (title page, 14, 17). The appellation *Curi Ocllo* [literally, the necklace of gold] is added to his mother's name (14) and she becomes, through textual emendation, the daughter of the tenth Inca (15, 111). Late in the manuscript, these appellations and affiliations form part of the initial redaction (738, 933, 1098).

(13) Less notable changes are the duplication of two series of numbers without any later attempt to correct them; pp. 154-155 and 524-533 are consecutively repeated without emendation. The last chapter of the book, *Los meses del año*, was renumbered from 1094-1132 to 1130-1168 in order to compensate for the addition of the autobiographical chapter, *Camina el autor*. – (14) Edmundo Guillén Guillén, „El cronista don Felipe Guaman Poma y los manuscritos hallados en el pueblo de Chiara,” *Amaru* (Lima), no. 10 (1969), pp. 89-92. – (15) The truncation of lines of script at the side and bottom margins which occurs in the original is exactly reflected in the Paris facsimile. – (16) Jon Erichsen, the Director of the Royal Library at the time, catalogued the entire collection of the library: *Catalogus Manuscriptorum / Bibliothecae Regiae / Scriptus et Ordinatus Annis 1784-86*. – (17) Kongelige Biblioteks arkiv, *Journalsager*, no. 2854. Letters from Dr. Fick to Dr. Lange, dated 26 January 1924 and 25 February 1924. (18) *Journalsager*, no. 4271. Letter from Drs. Lange, Wm. Thalbitzer, and Carl S. Petersen to the Directors of the Carlsberg Foundation, June, 1925. – (19) *Journalsager*, no. 4271. Letter from Dr. Ferdinand Hestermann to the Royal Library, dated 7 March 1930; letter from A. G. Antze of the Völkerkunde Museum to the Royal Library, dated 12 April 1930. – (20) *Journalsager*, no. 4271. Letter from Prof. Rivet to the Director of the Royal Library, dated 7 June 1930. – (21) *Journalsager*, no. 4271. Letter from Prof. Rivet to the Director of the Royal Library, dated 12 February 1931; letter from the Director of the Royal Library to Prof. Rivet, dated 21 February 1931. (22) *Journalsager*, no. 2854. Letter from Dr. Paludan of the Royal Library to Prof.

Rivet, dated 21 October 1931. – (23) Varied amounts of re-etching appear in the early part of the ms., approx. pp. 190-425, and in its final added chapter *Camina el autor*, pp. 1094-1128. The general heaviness of the lines in the drawings of the facsimile suggest that they have been universally retraced in the reproduction. In some cases, specific changes in the iconography can be identified, as in the features of the Christian devil and the Andean *guaca* or idol (246, 272). – (24) Kongelige Biblioteks arkiv, Journalsager, no. 2854. Postscriptum from Dr. Paludan to Prof. Rivet, dated 23 October 1931. Dr. Gates had acknowledged receipt of 567-570 photographic negatives, 2 ms. pages per negative, 18 × 24 cm in size, produced white on black by the Wiedermann method, acc. Journalsager, no. 2854, letter from Dr. Gates to the Director of the Royal Library, dated 25 October 1913.

(25) Dr. Antonio Rodríguez-Buckingham, former Librarian of the Peabody Museum, personal communication, Aug. 9, 1977; Ms. Mary Mallory, Public Services Librarian, Peabody Museum, personal communication, Sept. 1, 1977. Also, a catalogue of the Gates collection materials sold at public auction yielded no traces of the Guaman Poma photos. *Catalogue of the Wm. Edmond Gates Collection, sold by the American Art Association, April 9-11, 1924*. Dr. Pietschmann's papers might best be searched for at the University of Göttingen, the Völkerkunde Museum in Hamburg, and among the papers of Dr. Frederick Hestermann of Jena. – (26) Journalsager, no. 2854. Letter from Dr. Gates to the Director of the Royal Library, dated 25 October 1913. – (27) Such an edition is presently in preparation, co-edited by Prof. John V. Murra, Cornell University, and the present writer; Prof. George L. Urioste, University of Nevada, is preparing the textual analysis and translation of the Quechua passages. – (28) Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del Nueva Mundo Piru*, ed. Warren L. Cook (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1957), pp. xxxix, lxxv. – (29) Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las relaciones de los virreyes del Perú* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1959), pp. 67-70. – (30) Porras Barrenechea, p. 8. – (31) While Lerche had been a noted collector of Spanish and Moorish manuscripts, the printed catalogue of his library sold at public auction after his death reveals no trace of the manuscript in question. *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, ed. Povl Engelstoft and Svend Dahl (København, 1938), XIV, pp. 268-269; *Catalogus selectissimorum librorum omnium facultatum et linguarum, nobilissimi et illustrissimi Dni. b. m. Cornelii Lerke* (Hafniae, 1682). – (32) E. C. Werlauff, *Historiske Efterretninger om det Store kongelige Bibliothek i Kiøbenhavn*, 2nd. ed., (Kjøbenhavn, 1844), p. 96. – (33) Gustav Henningsen, „D. G. Moldenhawers samlinger til en spansk inkvisitions-historie“, *Fund og Forskning*, 22 (1975-76), pp. 121-176. (34) John V. Murra, „Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory“, *Latin American Research Review*, 5:1 (1970), p. 6.

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