

Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz
**The *corregidor* as dragon and the
encomendero as lion**

Symbolic language to depict antisocial behavior in Guaman
Poma's Andean colonial world

Abstract: With his *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno* Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca. 1535–post 1616), the best known Andean early-17th century author of indigenous descent, created a comprehensive and complex work about the indigenous past and the colonial present of his time. Colonial language data and information in an Amerindian language, interpreted from within the writer's framework as well as parting from Andean and European traditions, can be used to better understand the author's objectives for employing a certain text genre and language. This paper gives a sociolinguistic and ethno-historical analysis of Guaman Poma's work. Guaman Poma uses animal imagery of wild beasts in order to portray colonial society. Certain functionaries are likened to animals which threaten the indigenous people. The critical author presents these menaces in two sections of his work: in a critique of the administration which contains an illustration that links wild animals and functionaries directly and explicitly, and through prayers seeking protection from these same threats. Making use of symbolic language, textual and visual imagery, Guaman Poma associates uncivilized elements of nature with the barbaric behavior of the authorities. Nature and culture have always been closely linked in the Andes, and Guaman Poma makes extensive traditional and at the same time creative use of this connection. I argue that in doing so he creates a new colonial indigenous discourse and uses subversion in the repressive context of the time to call the attention of the reader to the social problems created by colonial rule, thereby making an innovative use of both his native language and Spanish traditions.

Keywords: Quechua, colonial indigenous discourse, animal imagery, colonial administration, symbolic language, Guaman Poma

DOI 10.1515/stuf-2014-0012

Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz: School of Arts and Humanities: Languages, Cultures and Religion, University of Stirling, FK9 4LA Stirling, Scotland.
E-mail: sabine-dedenbach-salazarsaenz@stir.ac.uk

1 Introduction

In this contribution I will study how Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an early 17th century author from Peru (Adorno 2008), uses his native and acquired languages to interpret the Spaniards' antisocial behavior. He goes beyond the literal usage of words, giving them complex and ambiguous figurative meanings. I will show how Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, through linguistic means, i.e. textual imagery, and visual image, relates the Spanish colonialists to barbarians and thereby reverses their own concept of alterity which sees the indigenous peoples as uncivilized and the Europeans as civilized. In order to do so, the author uses textual and visual images of animals as metaphors for those authorities that, through injustice and abuse of their power, threatened the indigenous people's personal lives and their social organization.¹

The richly illustrated chronicle, the *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno*, the *First New Chronicle and Good Government*, which describes both Peruvian Incaic history and the colonial present, was completed in 1615. Guaman Poma's work comprises his version of Andean history and provides a comprehensive and complex image of colonial society. Part of the latter is the *buen gobierno*, a book of recommendations how social and political life should be organized so as to improve the indigenous population's living conditions. The author (2001 [1615–1616]: 1, 5) directed his work to the King, but also thought that it would be beneficial to everyone living in or concerned with the Andes.² Although it is clear that

1 The Greeks denominated another group barbaric when they considered it to be less cultured than themselves. In their case the fundamental expression of alterity and their feeling of superiority was language. The Romans related the idea of the barbaric to ethnic inferiority. Later on, in European history, the religious dimension was added to this concept: Christians saw barbarians particularly in their unbelieving ancestors and, in the era of exploration and colonization, this conceptualization was applied to the indigenous peoples. In the case of the Spaniards, during and following the *reconquista* and the *conquista*, they defined themselves as civilized on the grounds of language, the complexity of social organization, the existence of writing, and, above all, religion. This is understandable when we look at their own background: Spain had just expelled the Moors, and orthodox Christians also felt threatened by the Reformation. In the New World, early colonial texts from Mexico and Peru in the context of Christianization show that the missionaries considered the indigenous population as inferior as far as their intellectual capacity, their character and their moral behavior was concerned. This negative judgment is reflected, for example, in the writings of the Jesuits who worked in the Andes: those who lack reason and good will are barbaric; their way of life and social organization is uncivilized, and only through Christianization can they be freed from barbarity (e.g. Gómez-Pablos 1999: 247–261). This belief was one of the key factors in the justification of conquest and colonization.

2 The book was only published in 1936, after the manuscript had been discovered by Richard Pietschmann (1851–1923) in the Royal Library at Copenhagen in 1908. Although we do not know

Guaman Poma had a personal agenda (portraying himself as descendant of Inca and provincial nobility, and expressing his resentment for injustices suffered), his detailed description of Peruvian society reflects many other sources which largely confirm his criticism. The Andean author is ethnographer, writer, illustrator; he is a historian of the Western world and the Andes. Portraying himself as a good Christian he criticizes indigenous ‘misbeliefs’, but also Spanish misbehavior. He is a documentarist of the colonial world, using explicit language to criticize bad customs and elaborate illustrations to present the reader with a visual impression. Although most of his work is written in Spanish (his own Andean version of it), there are numerous words, passages and even texts in indigenous languages, most of them in Quechua, the language of the Incas and Guaman Poma’s mother tongue. Moreover, besides concrete and explicit diction and illustrations, he uses textual imagery and metaphor³ as well as parody and satire. A combination of these linguistic resources, i.e. expressive and stylistic means, is also found in his critique of colonial functionaries.

In their comprehensive work on Guaman Poma, Adorno (e.g. 1991, ch. 3 and 5) and López-Baralt (1988, esp. 301–306) have shown how the author used established and recognized means of representation, in writing the text (e.g. the pattern of the sermon) and in the images he employed (e.g. Church conventions for the depiction of religious content), but that he applied them for his own purpose, his criticism of the living conditions created by the European masters in colonial

anything about the history of the manuscript, we can suppose that Guaman Poma intended to send it to the King (to whom he addresses a letter directly) and for it to be published. Considering the controversial and critical content, it is not surprising that he did not achieve these aims. It is also doubtful that he would have found an indigenous audience as only a few native people, mostly members of the social elites, knew how to read. Therefore, when I mention the ‘reader’, we have to be aware that this reader has to be seen as a somewhat optimistic construct. The question of the intended readers would merit a separate study. The complete work is now available on the Royal Library of Denmark’s website. Under the direction of Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup the original manuscript of more than a thousand pages has been reproduced. It is complemented by a transcription, essays about its history and content as well as a bibliography. Due to fortunate circumstances, Guaman Poma learned how to read and write and even worked for a high-ranking Spanish cleric. He writes explicitly about some of the readings on European culture which informed him, and this is reflected in the text itself and the content and form of the drawings (e.g. Adorno 1978; 1989: ch. 3; van de Guchte 1992; Holland 2008). Guaman Poma also refers to his Spanish and native consultants for his information on Andean history and culture (366–367 [368–369]). For a number of years a debate has been taking place as to the question if Guaman Poma is the author of the manuscript or someone else (see, for example, Albó 1998). Whilst I think that it is possible that Guaman Poma had the help of scribes and an illustrator (Holland 2008, esp. ch. 5), I consider him to be the author or ‘master-mind’ of the manuscript.

3 In this study I follow Baldick’s definitions (2008).

Peru. Thereby he inverted the conventions and thus his meaning often became subversive. In this paper I will show that Guaman Poma goes even further when he presents a very complex interpretation of the imposition of power, using different elements to do so, i.e. Spanish and Quechua texts as well as an illustration. Some of his observations are openly critical, but others are hidden in religious discourse. This creates a succinct and masked critique of the European(ized) society he lives in.

In order to produce this potentially multiple reading in his imagery Guaman Poma draws on both European and Andean motifs and meanings. As in so much of his work, the imagery can be seen as an intentional fusion of Old and New World concepts, based on the general knowledge of his time. These images are contextualized, on the one hand, in an Andean heritage he wishes to highlight, and they are, on the other, framed by European concepts as an effort to make the Spanish reader understand what he wants to convey.

Thus both traditions were consciously employed by him to appeal to both a Spanish and an Andean audience. Although he lived most of his life under the colonial regime and therefore in a world that had undergone some radical changes, the fact that he writes extensively about the past shows that he and his contemporaries were still familiar with or at least aware of Andean traditions (which, however, had of course started to become interrelated with European ones).

I would now like to examine in some detail the meanings related with the animals and will therefore look at European as well as Andean traditions. I will, by way of examples, study three spheres which contribute to the image of the colonial world Guaman wants to portray: the Andean world, colonial administration, and his use of Christianity.

2 Guaman Poma's Andean world: animals of the conceptual spheres of the primeval past and the lowlands

When we look at Andean wild beasts, these are assigned by Guaman Poma to the conceptual spheres of the primeval past and the lowlands (*andes*),⁴ removed both in time and space from contemporary colonial life in the highlands and therefore also identified as savage.

⁴ Guaman Poma (268 [270]). I use colonial orthography for the Quechua words I mention.

Thus Guaman Poma (50) assigns, among other beings, *serpientes [=] amaro ... ticles [=] otorongo ... poma [=] leon[,] atoc [=] sorra* ‘serpents [=] snake-serpent ... tigers [=] Andean jaguar ... puma [=] lion[,] Andean fox [=] fox’⁵ to the first generation of Indians.⁶ Serpents (*cierpientes, biburas, culebras*), tigers and lions still existed in the fourth of the world’s ages Guaman Poma presents: he describes how the serpents kill people and interprets their existence as God’s punishment for the evil that was left in the world (74), thus combining Andean and European worldviews.

Not only were wild beasts in the author’s time still found in the Antisuyo, the eastern rainforests (77), but the people of these regions (according to Guaman Poma war-like and cannibalistic) even adored the *otorongo* (269 [271], see Figure 1; for a photograph of the animal see Barrón & Balaguer 2005).

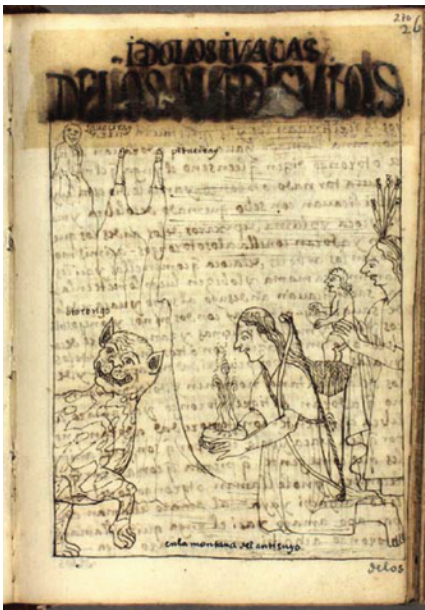


Fig. 1: Illustration 268 [270]

5 Clearly, here Guaman Poma ascribes one Amerindian animal to each animal with a European denomination, probably addressing natives as well as Spaniards.

6 All transcriptions and translations by SDS. From the Copenhagen Royal Library website facsimile. Abbreviations resolved and line breaks introduced to mark syntactic units, by SDS. Guaman Poma’s Spanish is, in orthography and grammar, influenced by his native Quechua tongue. For example, Quechua does not distinguish *e-i* and *o-u* because neither pair is phonemic in the language, and it does not mark gender grammatically.



Fig. 2: Illustration 153 [155]

In relating those wild animals to the past and the wilderness, Guaman Poma associates them with barbarity. Yet they also stand for courage in war, and men take on their names as a sign of distinction: in the age immediately before the Incas, great war-leaders had turned into certain animals during battle, for example into *leones y tigres y sorras* ‘lions and tigers and foxes’, and thus their descendants still called themselves *puma otorongo atoc ... colebra [=] machacuay[,] serpiente [=] amaro* ‘puma’, Andean jaguar, fox, ... snake, serpent [=] Andean mythical snake-dragon’, (Guaman Poma, 65; see Figure 2).

These examples show that Guaman Poma saw wild beasts as ambiguous. On the one hand, they represent the past and the lowlands, that is an uncivilized time and space. On the other hand, Inca warriors had to become like them in order to be victorious over the enemy of these regions, thus empowering themselves by using a ‘wild’ and ambiguous force – the strange, threatening characteristics of the barbarian are at the same time fascinating and can, in special circumstances, be related to one’s own society.

3 Guaman Poma's colonial administration: functionaries as animals

Guaman Poma also employs the image and metaphor of wild animals in his chapters on the colonial world. I will discuss this theme first as he develops it in a chapter on the threat which Spanish administration and influence poses to the indigenous population, and then as it recurs in Guaman Poma's own Christian prayers which he recommends in his *buen gobierno*.

In one of the chapters on the Spanish administration and its negative effects on the Andean population, Guaman Poma has an illustration (694 [708], Text 1) and an explanatory section (695 [709], Text 2) that equate certain animals to certain categories of civil and ecclesiastic functionaries; for example, the *corregidor* (the highest Spanish authority of a town or province) is presented as snake-dragon, the priest as fox.

In the illustration (Text 1) Guaman Poma shows an indigenous person in the centre, surrounded by a number of animals who are equated with certain functionaries of the colonial world. In the accompanying text the functionaries are explicitly compared with the animals. In most cases Guaman Poma uses the verb *ser* 'to be', and no additional comparative particle, i.e. he identifies the person with the animal via a metaphor, for example, *el encomendero lo temen porque es leon* 'they fear the encomendero because he is a lion', (695 [709]).

Whilst this illustration is clearly of satirical nature (cf. Adorno 1991: 164–166), it also evokes other, similar ones which are merely descriptive. In one of these images is the one in which Guaman Poma shows how he imagines the prison of Inca times (see ill. 302 [304], Figure 3).

Hereby Guaman Poma connects the functionaries-as-animals to physical danger: the animals supposedly devoured the guilty criminal. He also has an illustration where animals, surrounding a native individual, stand for bad omens (see ill. 281 [283], Figure 4), relating them to mental and spiritual danger: the animals overpowered and killed the 'ancient Indians' (282 [284]). But in both these cases the world is 'in order' because criminals and the 'pagan' Indians of the past can be said to be justly punished, whereas the threat to the indigenous population by the colonial powers is not justifiable and shows how the world has become turned upside down (Guaman Poma 409 [411]).

Taking a closer look at a few colonial functionaries, we will now see how Guaman Poma connected Andean and European characteristics and values, using the language of the 'oppressor'. Thereby he invited an indigenous and a Spanish audience to understand his critique of the system.

The *corregidor* was the highest Spanish functionary of a town or larger area, with the authority to issue directives to the Spanish and indigenous population.

<p>Poor Indians – Of six animals that eat [them] and whom they are afraid of, the poor Indians of this kingdom. Ama llapallayque llatanauaycho <All of you, do not strip me naked> For the love of God</p>	<p>Pobre de los indios – De seis animales que come que tememen [sic] los pobres de los yndios en este rreyno ama llapallayque llatanauaycho Por amor de diosrayco</p>
<p>‘magistrate –snake-dragon’ corregidor –sierpe</p>	<p>‘tiger – Spaniards of the inn’ tigre – espanoles del tambo</p>
<p>‘lion – landowner’ leon –encomendero</p>	<p>‘fox – parish priest’ zorra – padre de la dotrina</p>
<p>‘mouse – chief’ rratron – cacique principal</p>	<p>‘cat – notary’ gato – escriuano</p>

Text 1: Functionaries and other Spaniards/criollos as animals (Guaman Poma [708])

The *corregidor* – worse than a serpent-dragon

<p>That the mentioned Indians fear the mayor because he is worse than a dragon. He eats people because he eats their lives and their entrails, and he takes their belongings from them like a wild animal. He is more powerful than anybody and vanquishes everyone, and he takes everything away in this kingdom, and there is no remedy.</p>	<p>Que los dichos yndios temen del corregidor porque son peores que sierpes come gente porque le come la vida y las entranas y le quita hazienda como brabo animal puede mas que todos y a todos le uense y lo quita en este rreyno y no ay remedio</p>
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Text 2: The *corregidor* (Guaman Poma 695 [709])

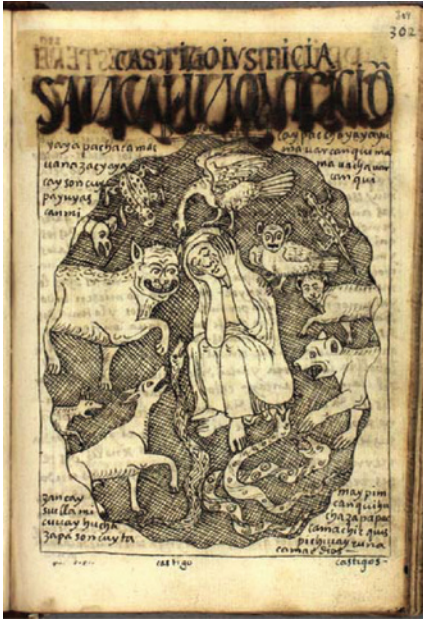


Fig. 3: Illustration 302 [304]



Fig. 4: Illustration 281 [283]

Not only was he responsible for civil administrative matters, but he also held the judicial power. This, of course, gave him considerable overall authority (Pietschmann 1980: 51–52.)

Guaman Poma refers to the *corregidores* as ‘worse than dragons’.⁷ The serpent, *sierpe*, or its synonym *serpiente*, was, of course, in the Christian tradition, related to evil, following the role it had in humankind’s expulsion from Paradise (see, e.g., Cobarruvias [1611] 1977 s.v. *serpiente*, 935). It was also used in the narratives of the lives of the saints, representing a mortal enemy and traitor (Baños Vallejo 1994: 145–146).

Guaman Poma’s illustration is definitely that of a European dragon, complete with scales, wings and a sharpened tongue. The meaning of a dragon was clear at the time: it was dangerous and represented the Devil; it had to be fought and eliminated. The most well-known image would certainly have been that of St George fighting against the dragon – illustrations in paintings and books were common and accessible at the time Guaman Poma lived.⁸

According to an early colonial document and Guaman Poma himself, in Andean belief serpents could be an omen of a harmful future event or even death (Instruccion [1567] 1985: 259; Guaman Poma 281–282 [283–284]).

The Spanish Jesuit and chronicler Bernabé Cobo (1580–1657)⁹ describes many different types of serpents, most of which are presented as dangerous to human beings (1956 [1653], tomo I, l. IX, cap. XXXIII–XLIV: 354–358). He also mentions a large serpent: *de linaje de dragones y serpientes, que los indios peruanos llaman amaro* ‘of the line of dragons and serpents, which the Peruvian Indians call *amaro* [mythical snake-dragon]’, (1956 [1653], cap. XXXVIII: 356, italics in the original). In his 1608 Quechua dictionary the colonial Jesuit and linguist González Holguín

⁷ See Guaman Poma’s description of the *corregidores* (487–515 [491–519]) where he criticizes their behavior in detail.

⁸ See, for example, architectural representations of the dragon in the *Bestiario Medieval* (2007) and Paolo Uccello’s painting of Saint George and the Dragon (2005 [c. 1460]).

⁹ The two authors I mention here (Cobo and González Holguín) were Jesuit priests and missionaries. I consider them reliable sources for my purpose because, despite of writing several decades after the conquest, they were conscientious about their own sources. Diego González Holguín (1552–1618) worked with indigenous consultants (1989 [1608]: 8: ‘Al christiano lector’; cf. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2008: 238–239); Cobo had the desire to describe the American world faithfully and relied on many written as well as oral sources (Hamilton 2008: 152). Therefore much of what they wrote about the indigenous animal world reflected the knowledge of their time – be it European or Andean or already mixed. We have to keep in mind that all Andean data and their perception are the result of some kind of ‘fusion’: in ‘reality’, through the colonial authors’ minds and/or through modern researchers’ interpretations. (These observations are, of course, just as valid with respect to the Asian-European and intra-European culture contact phenomena.)

has *amaru* as *serpiente grande sin alas* ‘a large serpent without wings’, (1989 s.v. *serpiente*, p. 669) and as *culebra muy grande dragon. Hatun amaru* ‘very large snake, dragon’, (s.v. *culebra*, p. 466; *hatun*, ‘big, large’), implying a mythic character of this animal. Both authors indicate that there was – apart from ‘natural’ serpents – a serpent-like mythical being in Andean belief, large and originally provenient from the past and the lowlands (see above), and therefore associated with particular strength.

Guaman Poma used the complex, fused metaphor of the serpent-dragon in order to make the characteristics of the *corregidor* understandable to a European as well as an Andean audience: he would be seen as an enemy and traitor, associated with the physical harm and death he might cause. At the same time he was a powerful representative of a foreign, ‘uncivilized’ space-time in the Andes and, as *amaru* and as dragon, a danger to the Andean people.

The *encomendero* as lion

<p>They fear the <i>encomendero</i> because he is a lion; when catching someone he does not pardon them, with those nails; and being the wildest animal he does not pardon the poor and he does not thank them, like a savage animal in this kingdom, and there is no remedy.</p>	<p>El <i>encomendero</i> lo temen porque es leon cogiendo no le perdona con aquillas unas y ser mas brabo animal no le perdona al pobre y no le agradese como feros animal en este rreyno y no ay rremedio</p>
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Text 3: The *encomendero* (Guaman Poma, 695 [709])¹⁰

The Spanish king ‘entrusted’ groups of the native population and even entire villages or areas to Spanish conquistadors, thus providing them with workforce. These *encomenderos*, in turn, were supposed to fulfill military tasks as well as protect the indigenous people of their *encomienda* and care for their physical and spiritual wellbeing (i.e. Christianize them). In practice, however, the *encomenderos* often exploited the people who were ‘entrusted’ to them. They would, for example, ask them to render personal services to them or they would even send them to work in the mines.¹¹

It is doubtful that anyone, including Guaman Poma, had ever seen a lion, but his illustration shows that he means the African lion which, as an important heraldic sign of towns and families reproduced in books, was certainly known in

¹⁰ See also Guaman Poma’s detailed description of the *encomendero* (547–559 [561–573]).

¹¹ Pietschmann (1980: 22–23); Konetzke (1965: 173–195); cf. Adorno (1978: 142).

the New World.¹² The lion is dangerous because of its physical force. In the European tradition it is a devourer of humans and the king of the animals (Baños Vallejo 1994: 140–141).

The lion as found in medieval sermons also has the characteristics of cleverness, sleeping with open eyes, i.e. it is always watchful, and it takes its victim by jumping at it (Sánchez Sánchez 1994: 915, Malaxecheverría ed. 1986: 23–28). It is easily conceivable that the knowledge about these traits was also transmitted through popular traditions and therefore well known in Guaman Poma's time.

Moreover Guaman Poma must also have related the Andean highland puma's characteristics¹³ with the lion's: as we can see in the prayers (see below), the puma is on the list of dangerous animals which precedes that of the functionaries. Other colonial authors confirm the puma's dangerous character. Cobo (1956 [1653], cap. LXX: 373) sees the puma (which he categorizes as lion) as a coward that eats livestock, but he also assigns it the trait of wildness, as does González Holguín (295): *Pumaranra. Salteador de caminos dado a robar o matar*, 'bandit, given to robbing and killing'.¹⁴

Thus Guaman Poma's portrayal of the *encomendero* as a lion is realistic: like the wild beast, the *encomendero* threatens the others', the less powerful ones' survival by taking their resources by force like a real predator.

Elsewhere in his work Guaman Poma describes the clergy in detail and only a few priests are portrayed in a positive manner (560–660 [574–674]). Guaman Poma alludes here to the parish priest who sexually abuses young indigenous women (e.g. 586 [600]), not unlike in the story where the fox poses as a young man

¹² See architectural representations of the lion in the *Bestiario Medieval* (2007) and a book illustration by Bonatti (1506, scan no. 13).

¹³ For a photograph see Puma ([2008]).

¹⁴ It has to be mentioned that in the Quechua Huarochirí Traditions (c 1608) the puma has also positive characteristics (Salomon & Urioste eds., 1991: ch. 2, p. 48). Positive traits of physical strength were apparently also transferred to human beings: *Pumayna. Fuerte como leon*, 'Like a puma. Strong as a lion' (González Holguín 294), also in the case of the jaguar: *Otoronco hina cinchi, otoronco hina runa. Hombre fuerte rezio* 'Like a jaguar, strong; a person like a jaguar. A strong, tough man' (González Holguín 265). Similarly, in the European context, Baños Vallejo (1994: 140–141) calls the attention to the fact that the lion, although a devourer of humans and king of the animals, was also seen as peaceful in the presence of man, subjugated to God's supernatural power. In the Andes, animated beings and all other components of nature are still being conceived of as potentially beneficial or threatening to humans, depending on how we behave towards them. The parallels in Western medieval and early modern thought show that categorizing all beings into good and evil is a relatively recent development, also in Western culture, and that, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Andean and European conceptions to this respect might not have been as distant from each other as is often supposed. This, of course, would have made a 'fusion' easier.

and seduces the girl into marriage, only to be in the end revealed as an animal (*Había una vez . . .* 1989: ‘Del zorro y de la joven’, pp. 31–34).

The parish priest as fox

<p>About the parish priest – the Indians fear him because he is cunning and he is a fox and he is a licentiate who knows more than the fox: to catch them and follow them and rob them of their belongings and wives and daughters, like the cunning and educated licentiate, the bachelors. This is why they call themselves educated; the good fox is a doctor and educated. And thus he destroys the poor Indians in this kingdom, and there is no remedy.</p>	<p>Del padre de la dotrina le temen los yndios porque son manosos y sorras¹⁵ y licinciados que sauen mas que la sorra</p> <p>de cogille y ciguille y rroballe sus haciendas y mugeres y hijas</p> <p>como manosos y letrado licinciados bachilleres por eso se llaman letrados el buen sorra es dotor y letrado y anci destrue en este rreyno a los pobres de los yndios y no ay remedio</p>
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Text 4: The parish priest (Guaman Poma, 695 [709])

Other colonial documentation confirms his views that the priests were often beneficiaries of the indigenous people’s work. The *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito*, for example, a detailed record of an official inspection, lists the work to be carried out for the priests and items given to them.¹⁶ Among these contributions were: food, construction materials, hundreds of animals (mainly sheep and llamas) and the corresponding herding services, production of clothing, messenger services as well as gifts of pieces of land. These contributed to the personal living expenses of the clergymen as well as to the construction and maintenance of the churches and services for these.

In the European tradition the fox is above all conceived of as astute, fraudulent and malicious (Picinelli 1976 [1694], vol. I: 431–433). The *Diccionario de Autoridades* has a description of its figurative meaning which reflects this image:

¹⁵ The feminine form is the older usage in Spanish (Cobarruvias 1977 [1611]: 429 s.v. çurra).

¹⁶ Questions and answers given as to “La ración que dan a los religiosos que los doctrinan” and “El precio a cómo valen las cosas de la ración de los religiosos”, in *Visita a Chucuito* (1964 [1567]: *passim*).



Fig. 5: Illustration 1135 [1145]

Zorra. Lllaman tambien al hombre astuto, y engañoso, que calladamente, y sin ruido busca su utilidad en lo que executa, y vá à lograr su intento . . . (1990 [1739, tomo VI] vol. 4: 570). [Fox. They also call this the clever and deceitful person, who, quietly and without noise, looks for his own advantage in what he carries out, and who will achieve his intention . . .].

In present-day oral tradition the Andean fox¹⁷ is an ambiguous being: trickster and loser at the same time; he often tries to deceive other animals or humans, but loses his struggles or bets.¹⁸ Cobo (1956 [1653], cap. XLV: 359) supports this allegorical description of the animal's bad character: the fox is a thief that can cause considerable damage in the herds, and Guaman Poma (see Figure 5) himself shows the fox in a field of maize plants. González Holguín (37 s.v. *atok*) likens the human thief to a fox, literally a *Çua atok runa*, o *çua hucucha*. *El ladron* 'thieving fox-person, or thieving mouse. The thief'.

Guaman Poma identifies some animals in which the indigenous population used to believe as omens: for example, hearing the fox meant that one had to die and would be carried away by the Devil (281–282 [283–284]).

¹⁷ For a photograph of the Andean fox see Zorro andino (2007).

¹⁸ See, for example, Payne (1984) for fox stories.

Thus Guaman Poma's metaphor of the priest as a fox, thievish and fraudulent, shows that his business interests are more important to himself than his spiritual obligations. And whilst meeting a priest should enable the parishioner's communication with God, the cleric as fox bodes ill and conjures up the Devil. Again, in portraying the parish priest as fox, Guaman Poma connects Andean and European conceptions of this animal.

The ethnic chief as mouse

<p>Of the principal chiefs who are common Indians ascending by themselves to become leaders and feigned chiefs; of ten Indians five make themselves principal chief; those are feared by the poor Indians because they are mice; they steal him his belongings during day and night; without anyone noticing it he steals and robs him; he asks for more than the tax due and gifts, baskets of fruit, silver [money], and other foods; and he spends that which belongs to the communities and of the community lands as much as he can, which means a larger amount than all the animals because during day and night he never stops; and there is no remedy for the poor Indians of this kingdom</p>	<p>De los caciques principales que se hazen de yndio bajo cacique y mandoncillos</p> <p>de dies yndios los cinco se hazen curaca principal destos temen los yndios pobres porque son rratones lo hurtan de dia y de noche sus haziendas</p> <p>cin que nadie lo cuenta hurta y lo rroba pide demas de la taza y ricachicos [presents] ysangas [baskets] fruta plata y otras comidas y le gasta de las comunidades y de sapci [community land] quanto puede</p> <p>que cinifica mayor que todos los animales</p> <p>porque de dia y de noche nunca para</p> <p>y no ay rremedio de los pobres yndios deste rreyno</p>
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Text 5: The ethnic chief (Guaman Poma, 695 [709])

The *cacique* was the indigenous chief or lord.¹⁹ This position included privileges comparable to those of the Spanish *hidalgo*. It was also a way to escape from paying tribute because *caciques*, unlike commoners, did not have to pay tax. Amongst the tasks of the *cacique* were the collection of tribute and the recruitment of indigenous labor. These were good motives for common people or lower-rank

¹⁹ In the colonial era there were different terms for the indigenous nobility: *cacique* (of Arawak origin), *principal*, *curaca* (Andean) etc. Their meaning varied according to regions and time periods. (Oberem 1985: 175–176). See also Guaman Poma's chapter on *principales* (741–791 [755–805]).

principales to pretend to be of a higher rank and abuse their power (Oberem 1985: 175–182). Guaman Poma himself gives examples of such leaders: he portrays a bad *principal* who exploits the Indians (e.g. 777 [791]) and he also denounces them for taking their people’s goods to the Spaniards creating the impression that they are theirs, the *principales*’, and not the people’s (791 [805]).

Guaman Poma compares these impostors to mice which were present in the Andes since pre-Hispanic times.²⁰ González Holguín (201 s.v. *huccucha*) has a figurative meaning of the mouse in his dictionary: a human being that steals is a thieving mouse: *Çua hucucha. El ladron que de floxo da en hurtar por no trabajar*, ‘Thievish mouse. The thief for whom it is enough to steal so as not to have to work’. Another characteristic of mice is that there are many of them, and that they eat up the grain in the field and the stored food (cf. Cobo’s detailed description of the mouse, 1956 [1653], cap. XXVIII: 350–352) – an apt image of the impostor *caciques* who ‘multiplied’ uncannily and could therefore be seen as gnawing away at the people’s economic basis.

The notary as cat

<p>The Indians fear the notary because he is a hunting cat; he lies in wait and makes an effort and doesn’t let the poor mouse move; like this he lies in wait for the poor Indian’s belongings until he takes hold of him; when taking hold of him, he doesn’t let him move and rushes to seize them; and there is no remedy for the poor Indians</p>	<p>Del escriuano le temen los yndios porque es gato cazador azecha y trauaja y lo coge y no le haze mene[a]r al pobre del rraton anci sus haciendas de los pobres yndios lo azecha hasta cogello en cogiendo no le haze menear y da priesa de cogersela y no ay remedio del pobre de los yndios</p>
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Text 6: The notary (Guaman Poma, 695 [709])

Escribanos were more than minute-keepers; rather their function was that of a notary. As literate persons they had a skill most people – Spaniards and indigenous persons – lacked: they were the ones who recorded important information; for example, they certified last wills, set up contracts and were responsible for the book-keeping of the community assets. They had to be neutral and without personal interest in the affairs they were in charge of. However, power over the written word gave them opportunities for manipulation, and obviously the temptation to succumb to corruption was great. (Oberem 1985: 190; Burns 2005; cf. also Guaman Poma 521–522 [525–526].)

²⁰ See, for example, Double Vessel with Mouse, 4th–8th century, Recuay (Peru) (2000–2011).

Guaman Poma describes the *escribano* as *gato*. Cats, imported by the Europeans, had quickly become part of native life. They are described as very useful by Cobo because they eliminate the mice and are therefore held in esteem by the indigenous people (1956 [1653], l. X, cap. X: 389–390).

There is also an Andean mountain cat, the *gato montés*, called *oscollo* in Quechua and mentioned by Cobo (1956 [1653], cap. XLV: 359), who describes these animals as *fieros y bravos* ‘savage and wild’, causing as much damage as the fox. Like a cat, the notary is useful in ‘cleaning up’, i.e. setting up written records. But it is also possible, especially when reading Guaman Poma’s description and looking at his depiction that he refers to the Andean mountain cat:²¹ the concept of the wild cat is apt when thinking of the power the literate notary had over the indigenous population.

Guaman Poma concludes with a summary in which he replaces the functionaries with the animals, thus completing the metaphor:

<p>Thus is it with the serpent, lion, tiger, fox, cat, mouse, these six animals that eat the poor Indian</p> <p>and don't let him move and skin him as they go along, and there is no way to move; and among these thieves the one and the other help and support each other; and if the principal chief defends that poor Indian, they all eat them and kill them; and thus the principal chief does not understand to use civil and criminal law-suits because they are mortal enemies in this kingdom</p>	<p>Y anci de la cierpe leon tigre sorra gato rraton destos seys animales que le come al pobre del yndio no le dexa menearse y le desuella en el medio y no ay menear y entre estos ladrones unos y otros entre ellos se ayudan y se faboresen y ci le defiende a este pobre yndio el cacique prencipal le comen todos ellos y le mata y aci el cacique prencipal no le conosca de causas ciuiles criminales porque son enemigos mortales en este rreyno</p>
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Text 7: The functionaries (Guaman Poma, 695 [709])

²¹ For photographs see ‘Profile’ – ‘Pictures’ in Andean Cat (1999–2011).

4 Guaman Poma's colonial Christianity: functionaries as animals

So far I have examined Guaman Poma's overt critique of the colonial regime, showing how he used Spanish words and the concepts they embedded. Thereby he would have stimulated Quechua speakers to also draw on the meanings the equivalent Quechua words would have evoked, which, in turn, would have rendered a 'Spanish' message a double, a 'Spanish-Andean' one. Guaman Poma does this in another section of his work: apart from the described kind of language use there is also a more succinct way in which he accuses the colonial masters and the system they have imposed. In his "buen gobierno" the author has a section with Christian prayers, all written in Quechua and without translation into Spanish (826–837 [840–851], see Texts 8 and 9), and it is here that we meet the threatening animals and functionaries again.

<u>serpientes machacguay amaro</u> uru runa canec ²² micocunamantauan hatalliuay	... Mother of God, protect me. [From] <u>serpents, vipers, amarus</u> [mythical <u>serpents</u>], worms that bite people and from those that eat people guard me.
diospa maman uacaychauay justiciacunamanta <u>corregidor</u> alguazil jueses pisquidores <u>padre comendero</u> <u>escriuano</u> mayordomo tiniente <u>tanbo uiracocha</u> runa llatanac suaaconamanta uacaychauay . . .	Mother of God, protect me. From judicial officers, <u>corregidores</u> , bailiffs, judges, investigators, <u>priests, encomenderos</u> , <u>notaries</u> , managers, deputy office-holders, <u>Spaniards of the</u> <u>tambos</u> , those who strip [us] naked, from thieves save me. . . .

Text 8: From Guaman Poma (835 [849]), prayer to the Virgin Mary (translation from Quechua by SDS)

²² The *curu* (variant of *uru*) insect is also one of the bad omens Guaman Poma describes earlier (281–282 [283–284]).

...	...
uacchay cuyac dios capac . . .	merciful God Almighty . . .
yma mana alli uaticaymanta	from whatever bad temptation,
mana alli muscoymanta	from bad dreams,
<u>serpientes machacuay</u>	<u>serpents, vipers,</u>
<u>poma otorongo</u>	<u>pumas, jaguars,</u>
uru runa micoc	worms that eat people
canicocunamanta	and from those that bite people
hatalluay	guard me.
justicias alguaziles	[From] judicial officers, bailiffs
<u>corregidor</u> <u>pesquicidor</u>	<u>corregidores</u> , investigators,
jueses <u>comenderos</u>	judges, <u>encomenderos</u> ,
uiracocha <u>padre</u>	Spaniards, <u>priests</u> ,
runa llatanaccunamanta	from those who strip people naked,
uacchachaccunamanta	from those who make them poor,
quispichuay – . . .	save me. . .

Text 9: From Guaman Poma (834 [848]), “Rezoz por sus ánimas” (translation from Quechua by SDS): The different underlining highlights the identification of certain animals with functionaries – consistent with his illustration in Text 1

In several of his Christian prayers, which with their lists of requests are modeled upon the litany, the devotee asks God, the Virgin or other Saints to protect him from various dangers. These include a number of wild beasts and animals as well as colonial functionaries – the enumerations are ordered consecutively: first a list of beasts, then one of functionaries. Whilst the attentive reader will find the functionaries depicted as so dangerous that one has to pray to be protected from them – which is bad enough –, this same reader will also remember that in an earlier section Guaman Poma had equated the functionaries with certain wild animals.

In the prayers, the list of wild animals that threaten people may certainly be taken as what it looks like: a list of dangerous animals to be protected from; but with the background knowledge of the earlier depiction of the functionaries as wild beasts, the enumeration of them and the preceding animal list in these prayers can also be understood as a symbol followed by the ‘real thing’, i.e. Guaman Poma draws on both spheres, that of threatening animals and of malicious functionaries and thus creates a complex interlaced image of barbarity and danger. Even some of the expressions Guaman Poma uses are identical in both instances: the Spaniards who use the *tambos* (rest-houses along the main roads) *no temen a dios ni a la justicia* ‘have no fear of God or justice’, (695 [709]) – the same wording is used in the prayers, although with respect to all kinds of evil persons (834 [848]). In the illustration the poor indigenous person exploited by all these figures around him says: *ama llapallayque llatanaycho por amor de dios-rayco* ‘all of you, do not strip me naked, for the love of God’, (694 [708], in Text 1)

– and the praying person asks to be protected from *runa llatanaccuna* ‘those who strip people naked’. This image implies nakedness in the material sense, resulting from new mechanisms of exploitation. At the same time it is a cultural nakedness, consequence of ‘the intrusion of foreigners into the colonial Andean space and the upheaval of its social order’, “la intrusión de forasteros en el espacio cultural andino y el trastorno de su orden social” (Adorno 1989: 191, transl. into English by SDS), a sign of the world turned upside down: *el mundo al rreues* ‘the world the other way round’, according to Guaman Poma (409 [411]). Adorno (1989: 215–222) argues that this reversion of the world, according to Guaman Poma, is mainly one of unjustified pretensions by Spanish and Andean individuals to be what they are not and that thereby they are responsible for the larger ‘cosmic’ disorders. I would like to add that, beyond this particular criticism, Guaman Poma shows the whole system as turned upside down, and that he does this by his complex use of language and literary devices.

5 ‘The world upside down’: the Spaniards as barbarians

When we examine the diction Guaman Poma chooses in his criticism, we notice (as mentioned above) that he compares the colonial functionaries to animals, using a metaphor with the verb ‘to be’, i.e. they are the animal and consequently their behavior and character is equated to that of the animal in question. In the prayers, this is complemented by a ‘simple’ listing with no explicit relation between functionaries and animals. By these literary means a categorization – which forms a complete allegory – becomes evident: the functionaries are anti-social, they are thieves and fraudsters; some of them are even worse, those who kill people by destroying them and their livelihood; they are un-Christian and wild animals. These character traits and ways of behavior set them outside society in spatial terms, i.e. the functionaries are not included in the group of those who live in civilization. The latter characteristics also set them outside the colonial present: they behave like those who lived in pre-Christian times because in those eras the world was full of wild animals. All this makes them into ‘barbarians’ and easily distinguishable ‘others’ (Text 10).²³ In this sense Guaman Poma fights back with the Spaniards’ own weapons: the ones who are barbarians for the

23 Cf. Adorno (1989: 191–205) for her discussion of Guaman Poma’s illustrations in the context of cultural space.

The functionaries	their behavior	their location in human society
they take away the goods that are necessary for life (thieving, robbing, exploiting)	anti-social – criminal	} outside civilized space and time
they destroy people's lives directly	anti-social – criminal	
they are unforgiving, faithless, fearless of the judicial powers	un-Christian	
they are wild animals	barbarian, uncivilized, outside human society	

Text 10: The functionaries as barbarians

Spaniards are the indigenous peoples; Guaman Poma, on the other hand, shows that the real barbarians are the colonial functionaries who abuse the system. As such the functionaries are related to both non-civilized spheres: threatening space and time, where and when the boundaries between humans and animals are not fixed.

Through the words and imagery from European as well as Andean traditions Guaman Poma makes use of the hybrid world of his time and creates a new discourse, combining the old with the new, addressing both, the Spaniards and the indigenous people. This shows the indigenous writer as a highly sophisticated and creative author who makes the upturned colonial world rhetorically and visually comprehensible, in different ways for different target groups.

As to these potential readers, most indigenous people were familiar with their own inherited cultural manifestations and they were also exposed to European-Christian discourse – through their personal contact with the Spaniards in daily and religious life as well as through the visual representations in architecture and paintings (present, for example, in churches). However, as it was a written text, if anybody ever had the opportunity to read it, the most likely persons would have been Spaniards, and they would only have been able to understand part of the animal metaphors and the implications behind their use.

Understanding the complexity of Guaman Poma's imagery would probably only have been possible for indigenous persons because they would have been able to find further layers of meaning – beyond the association of functionaries

with dangerous animals as an open critique of colonial reality – by fitting them into their own understanding of alterity and barbarity. Moreover, the prayer genre could also be read as a masked protest embedded in a religious text. In these complex ways Guaman Poma uses the dominant language, his native tongue and visual images to highlight the complexity of (his) language, far beyond any literal meanings. Thus the overt protest which is evident in the illustration and its accompanying Spanish text as well as in the parallel Quechua prayers becomes a subversive criticism because the colonizers' own genre of religious expression is used in a complementary way – inaudible and invisible to the outsider – to undermine the colonial regime.

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Note: A first version of this paper was presented at the inter-disciplinary workshop *Nature as Image and Resource in Colonial Spanish America*, organized by Fiona Clark at Queen's University, Belfast, in November 2008. I would like to thank my colleague Lindsey Crickmay for her careful reading and her stimulating critical comments.

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