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## REVIEW ESSAYS

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### COLONIAL ANDEAN TEXTS IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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**The First New Chronicle and Good Government, Abridged.** By Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Selected, translated, and annotated by David Frye. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006. Pp. 376. \$37.95 cloth, \$13.95 paper.

**Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru, Abridged.** By El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Translated by Harold V. Livermore. Edited, with an introduction, by Karen Spalding. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006. Pp. 232. \$45.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.

**The History of the Incas.** By Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. Translated and edited by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith. Introduction by Brian S. Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. Pp. 266. \$19.95 paper.

**An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru.** By Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Translated, introduced, and annotated by Ralph Bauer. Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2005. Pp. 166. \$21.95 paper.

**History of How the Spaniards Arrived in Peru.** By Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Dual-language edition. Translated, with an introduction, by Catherine Julien. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006. Pp. 2006. \$45.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.

**Titu Cusi: A 16th Century Account of the Conquest.** By Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Introduction, Spanish modernization, English

translation, and notes by Nicole Delia Legnani. Prologue by Frank Salomon. Cambridge, MA: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, 2005. Pp. 218. \$24.95 paper.

In Andean countries, the Incas are still held up today as ideal rulers who developed a state that successfully provided for the needs of its population across a vast empire. After all, it is almost impossible not to look back longingly at a government that let no one go hungry, ensured justice, and exemplified moral behavior. There is little doubt that El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was responsible for giving form to this image and for carefully crafting it in a powerful narrative. After four hundred years, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (1609) enjoys the status of a classic and has been the constant object of studies that continue to shed light on the sophisticated thought and artful construction of Garcilaso's text. This work was first translated into English in 1688, but the standard English translation is that published in 1966 by Harold V. Livermore and reissued in 1987. Karen Spalding has taken this acclaimed translation of both *Royal Commentaries* and its less-often-read second part, *General History of Peru*, to produce an outstanding abridged version of the complete work aimed at undergraduate students but that is also appropriate for a learned general audience curious about Peru's Inca past and the Spanish conquest.

Spalding offers a careful selection of text reorganized into new thematic chapters under headings such as "Inca Society," "The Organization and Festivals of the Incas," "The Expedition to Peru and the Capture of the Inca," "Rebellion against the New Laws," and so on. Each selection begins by referencing the original book and chapter of Garcilaso's work, allowing readers to easily find the source (either in Livermore's original translation or in any Spanish edition). When necessary, before or between selections, Spalding adds a few explanatory lines that help the flow of the narrative. The text has some footnotes and is preceded by three maps. At a little more than two hundred pages, this is an excellent introduction to a classic of Latin American letters.

One key aspect of this edition is the incorporation of the second part of *Royal Commentaries* as an integral piece of Garcilaso's work rather than as a corollary. The second part was finished in 1612 and submitted to civil and religious officials for review. It was during this review that it was renamed *General History of Peru* as a condition for its approval. As Spalding explains in her introduction, Spanish officials tried to dissociate the comparisons that Garcilaso intended between the history of the Incas and the history of Spanish deeds in Inca lands. By editing both parts together and giving them equal space, Spalding enables readers to see how Garcilaso argued that the Inca leaders prepared Andean people for the arrival of Christianity and that this possibility was tragically destroyed by the

greed and lack of virtue of the conquistadores, who destroyed the social and economic basis of Inca society.

Spalding's succinct introduction follows Garcilaso from his life as a member of the first generation of privileged mestizos in Cuzco to his comfortable existence in Spain, where support from his Spanish family enabled him to devote himself to study and writing. Over his lifetime, Garcilaso's homeland experienced the turmoil of war with the Spaniards, native resistance, and a relatively peaceful period of transformation under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who set up the colonial system that ended any hope of Inca leadership in their former dominions. Spalding justly highlights the challenge that Garcilaso faced in telling a story that called into question the prevailing view that Inca society was inferior and that pointed to serious Spanish shortcomings during the conquest and colonial administration. Garcilaso's strategy was to claim a unique insight into Inca culture from his command of the native language, Quechua, and his exposure to Inca oral history as a youth. Over the years, he also became familiar with methods of textual exegesis used by Renaissance humanists and wrote *Royal Commentaries* with the deceivingly simple premise of correcting and commenting on previous historical narratives. In fact, *Royal Commentaries* is an outstanding example of how carefully constructed narrative authority and authenticity were used to argue, convincingly and in elegant prose, that the destruction of the Inca dynasty, along with the social and economic organization of its empire, ran counter to the effective conversion of the Inca people and the interests of the Spanish Crown.

Although a generally positive view of the Incas persists in Peru today, contemporary scholars have harshly criticized Garcilaso as a historian. Spalding describes the charges made by well-known historians such as John H. Rowe and John Hemming, who accuse Garcilaso of distorting facts and producing a fictitious story. Similarly, the Peruvian historian María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, author of the widely read *Historia del Tahuantinsuyo* (History of the Inca Realm) is no friend of Garcilaso and complains, among other things, that his portrayal of the Incas deliberately ignored or concealed their warlike nature and the violent policies that they imposed on many cultures in the Andean world. Although any reader soon realizes that *Royal Commentaries* is not an impartial narrative, Spalding, a historian herself, warns against reading Garcilaso with expectations set in modern notions of history. She argues—and I agree—that *Royal Commentaries* and *History of Peru* “stand up well by contemporary standards” (xxvi). Garcilaso did not see his job as a researcher who puts together facts to produce a neutral narrative. The tradition Garcilaso followed understood history to be made up of exemplary narratives that offered readers moral lessons based on past events. Accordingly, devices such as the incorporation of imagined speeches by historical characters, a common practice in the European historical tradition, must be appreci-

ated on their own terms. At the same time, Garcilaso also used narrative forms and symbolic resonances to incorporate Inca imagery throughout his text. This Andean dimension of his work not only adds to the complexity of the text itself but also requires us to rethink how we understand the text as a work of history in Western terms.

Before Garcilaso succeeded in creating a long-lasting and influential image of the Incas through his *Royal Commentaries*, there were many texts (published and unpublished) that offered both positive and negative interpretations of the Incas' past. In fact, it is widely accepted that Garcilaso was a master at using all available sources to support his views. Among those from whom Garcilaso quoted extensively was Pedro de Cieza de León. Garcilaso had great admiration for Cieza's *Chronicle of Peru* (1553), although he only knew its first part. He went so far as to incorporate the entire chapter 38 of Cieza's book into his own history because, in Garcilaso's opinion, Cieza succinctly summarized his own thinking that the Incas were ideal kings who fulfilled the traditional characteristics of mirror-for-princes literature. An opposite image of the Incas as tyrants was fully developed in *The History of the Incas* (finished in 1572) by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who wrote his text under the auspices of Francisco de Toledo. Although Garcilaso did not seem to have known Sarmiento's text, he was well aware of negative representations of the Incas because of the important role that these played in justifications of the conquest.

The excellent new edition and translation of Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* prepared by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith replaces Clements Markham's 1907 translation as the standard English version of this important text. Although the translators admit to liberties (e.g., shortened sentences, added punctuation) for the sake of a more accessible text, they achieve their goal without compromising the meaning of the original work. In fact, similar editing is also necessary if Spanish editions hope to reach readers who are not specialists. Bauer and Smith offer a clear and heavily annotated text accompanied by reproductions of drawings from the 1613 chronicle of the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa and photographs of sites in and around Cuzco. Several appendixes, maps, a glossary, and the reproduction of a few pages of the manuscript also make this edition a formidable tool both for academics and for anyone curious about the Andean past.

One caveat to my positive assessment of this new edition is the decision to omit chapters 2 through 5 of the original. The editors justify this omission by stating that the chapters were not part of Sarmiento's process of verification with the indigenous leaders of Cuzco and "contain little information on the history of the Incas" (xiv). Interested scholars and specialists are urged to consult any Spanish edition for these chapters. I find this to be an unfortunate decision, because those four short chapters are relevant to the story that follows in several ways, and because it seems

counter to the goal of reaching an audience that may be as interested in the Andean region and its peoples as in Inca history. As in many texts of the period that discuss Amerindian history, such as *History of the New World* (1653) by Bernabé Cobo, Sarmiento first locates the Incas in relation to world history by discussing the geography and population of the Americas. Despite the excruciating detail given to determining space and time coordinates for the Incas within the classical and biblical traditions, these chapters deserve attention for the sake of comparative readings with other Andean chronicles. In these chapters, Sarmiento also explains and illustrates his historical methodology, and his standard of proof based on authority and the confirmation of hypotheses. This helps us appreciate his challenges in confronting a history that relied on oral tradition and how he responded to this difficulty. In addition, Sarmiento's rational conclusions regarding the origins of the inhabitants of Peru serve as an explicit contrast to the Inca "fables" that he then relates in chapter 6.

Brian S. Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster's introduction is excellent for understanding what makes Sarmiento's history stand out among colonial Andean texts and why we should be interested in a piece of literature written to further a clearly defined political agenda. The introduction makes the case that a key motivation for writing *History of the Incas* was the criticism generated by Bartolomé de Las Casas's questioning of the legitimacy of conquest. Bauer and Decoster provide a particularly useful chronology of the research and writing of Sarmiento's history. They also comment on several painted cloths that were created to accompany the text and offer hypotheses that explain the likely subject matter and purpose of these paintings. A final section of the introduction treats the relationship of *History of the Incas* to other colonial Andean texts, examining the information that each work provides and the sources that they may have shared.

This edition calls attention to the most unusual "Verification of the History" with which Sarmiento concludes his text (207–212). The verification certifies that, over two days, most of the text was read out loud in Quechua to representatives of the twelve royal lineages of Cuzco. According to the document, the forty-two witnesses listed questioned a few names and locations mentioned in the history, and then declared the text to be true and consistent with what they knew from their ancestors. Bauer and Decoster offer a balanced assessment of this peculiar event. On the one hand, verification by the authorized voices of the Inca oral tradition gives the text a unique historical value for reconstructing the Inca past. I would add that the fact that Sarmiento felt the need to create a single, linear, and verifiable narrative out of different lineages and their stories reveals his desire to shape the Inca past into a more Western version of history. On the other hand, it is also clear that Sarmiento's text was written to document the supposed long-lasting history of tyranny by the Incas, and that little questioning was expected from a public reading organized under the auspices

of Viceroy Toledo, who was anxious to rubber-stamp his version of Inca history.

What precisely did Sarmiento ask these Inca elders, some of whom were born before the Spaniards' arrival and were now sworn to tell the truth in the name of the Christian god and the cross? The verification says that the "sum and substance" of the account was read to the elders through a translator (210–211). This leads me to suspect a more limited verification of the text than either Sarmiento or the editors seem to envision: that the forty-two elders were questioned about issues of Inca lineage and their recollections of each Inca's deeds according to oral tradition but heard little or nothing from Sarmiento's narrative depicting the Incas as tyrants and crooks who took pleasure in violating natural laws. For those interested in reconstructing specific aspects of the Inca past, this type of verification by the keepers of the culture is very significant. However, I believe our assumptions about the nature of this verification may influence our overall reading of the work and merit further consideration.

Sarmiento's *History of the Incas* is noteworthy, and indeed was made possible, because the author participated in the General Inspection of Peru carried out between 1570 and 1573 by Viceroy Toledo. This experience provided Sarmiento with access to Inca society and the context to create a coherent version of its history. Part of a more comprehensive work that is now missing, *History of the Incas* covers the Incas' mythical origins through 1533 and was written to provide historical justification for the right of the Spanish Crown to possess the kingdom of Peru and, thus, discredit any claim to the rights of Inca dynasty by Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was resisting the Spaniards from a hideout north of Cuzco. Soon after his arrival in Peru in late 1569, Francisco de Toledo realized that he had to counter the campaign of Bartolomé de Las Casas to restore sovereignty to the native lords of the Andes. For many years, most notably in his 1564 *Treatise of Twelve Doubts*, Las Casas denounced the conquest and Spanish rule over the New World as illegitimate. He argued that Spaniards had the right to evangelize but not to take away Inca land, which he demanded be restored to its legitimate lords. His ideas circulated among Dominican friars in Peru and were part of a broader current that was critical of Spanish treatment of the indigenous population. Toledo would go on to implement a significant reform of the colonial system and its social and economic structures, but he also saw the need to win the ideological battle over the interpretation of the Incas' past. The man for that job was Sarmiento, a well-educated, recently appointed royal cosmographer who took part in the general inspection of the land.

After hearing the general inspection's reports from ethnic groups conquered by the Incas, Toledo understood that the most effective way to argue against Las Casas's ideas was to write a history in which the Incas had never truly become natural lords of the land but rather had consistently

imposed a tyrannical form of government during a period of dominance that lasted 968 years (according to Sarmiento's calculations). Retelling the history of the Incas in such a fashion had the added advantage of reinforcing one of the justifications for conquest expressed by Francisco de Vitoria in his *Relectio de Indis* (1539), which carefully examined the question of Spain's dominion over the New World. While Vitoria discarded justifications such as the native peoples' sins and a papal designation of the Spanish Crown as temporal monarch of the world, he argued that dominion was legitimate to end tyranny and harm to innocent people. Sarmiento constructed his portrayal of the Incas to match this definition and to contrast the Incas with natural lords in every possible way. *History of the Incas* reads as a sequence of biographies in which, one by one, each Inca is depicted as a tyrant and immoral. The only discernible difference between them is the specific form of wrongdoing highlighted.

In his final chapter, Sarmiento summarizes his work by saying about the Incas: "[W]hat must be noted above all, in order to understand the terrible inclinations of these tyrants and their horrible avarice and tyranny, is [that] they were not satisfied with being evil tyrants over the natives. They also proceeded like this against their own sons, brothers, relatives, and own blood, and against their own laws and statutes. They were the most terrible and persistent oath-breaking tyrants [possessed by] a kind of unheard-of inhumanity" (203). Despite evident political objectives, and no doubt because of his privileged access to firsthand information, Sarmiento provides unique clues to the Inca past. Details such as the makeup of the various lineages or the location of each Inca's mummy have been of significant value to scholars. Bauer and Smith clearly appreciate this historiographical aspect of the text. Indeed, their decision to augment the text with photographs of sites mentioned by Sarmiento further reinforces the author's status as an authority grounded in primary sources. A fruitful reading of *History of the Incas* both appreciates Sarmiento's significant contributions to our knowledge and understanding of Andean history and takes his political agenda into consideration.

Toward the end of his text, Sarmiento states that, according to his investigations, there was not then "in these kingdoms any person from the lineage of the Incas who can claim a right to the succession of the Incaship of this kingdom of Peru, either by being native or legitimate lord." He proceeds to explain that Huayna Capac, the last Inca to govern the empire before the fight between Atahualpa and Huáscar, had only two surviving sons—Paullu Topa, later named Don Cristóbal Paullu, and Manco Inca—but they were "bastards" and would not have been heirs to the Inca "even according to their laws" (205). Furthermore, Sarmiento calls Manco Inca a traitor to the Spanish king and explains that his son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, "who is now rebelling in the Andes, . . . is not a legitimate son of Manco Inca; rather, [he is] a bastard and apostate." Titu Cusi could not be an heir

because his father, Manco Inca, was not an heir. In conclusion, Sarmiento declares that "Your Majesty and your successors" who liberated the land from the tyranny of the Incas "have the most just and legitimate title to these parts of the Indies" (205). By the time Sarmiento finished his text in 1572, Titu Cusi Yupanqui had already died; however, this passage illustrates Sarmiento's preoccupation with repudiating any possible recognition of a continuing Inca dynasty and his determination to crush hopes for the restoration of land to the natives, as proposed by Las Casas.

While Sarmiento was accompanying Toledo in his general inspection, Titu Cusi Yupanqui produced a narrative about his father, Manco Inca, and his relationship with the Spaniards. Manco Inca had been recognized as heir to the Inca dynasty in 1533 with the approval of Francisco Pizarro, who thought he would be an easy figure to control from behind the scenes. Instead, three years later, Manco Inca laid siege to Cuzco and Lima and carried out the most significant act of resistance of the period of conquest and colonization. Unable to defeat the Spanish forces and take over Cuzco, he retreated to the eastern slopes of the Andes, where the geography of the tropical lowlands protected him. He chose an area known as Vilcabamba, where he founded a settlement and maintained an Inca government of sorts in exile until his assassination in 1545, harassing the Spaniards all the while. It seems that he was succeeded by his son Sayre Tupa, who was lured by the Spanish authorities to abandon Vilcabamba in 1557. He was granted land and other means to sustain a comfortable life in the Cuzco area, but he died in 1560, perhaps from foul play. Titu Cusi spent a few years of his early youth in Cuzco, then lived in Vilcabamba from around 1542, when he was about ten years old. On the death of his brother Sayre Tupa, circa 1560, he became the Inca leader in Vilcabamba. We now have three recent editions, and three new English translations, of the account that Titu Cusi produced in 1570 about his father's life, in collaboration with the Augustinian missionary Marcos García and the mestizo scribe Martín Pando.

For those who are new to colonial Andean texts and in need of a quick grasp of the text by Titu Cusi, I would recommend Ralph Bauer's edition and translation. Bauer's goal of striking a "balance between remaining as close to the original as possible while rendering it in idiomatic English" (50) is fully accomplished in my view. Bauer's translation makes for very comfortable reading. Those who are primarily interested in the story line will not miss whatever it omits or alters for the sake of accessible and fluent prose. There are some isolated instances of misreading or of somewhat confusing passages, but these do not affect the meaning in any significant way. For instance, when the Spaniards want to depart after having enriched themselves, Manco Inca tells them that they should stay to enjoy the land and his company while sending messengers to report their deeds in detail. Bauer then adds that Manco "wanted to keep them



in this country a while longer so that they could inform their own country adequately about this" (73). This reason does not appear in the Spanish original, in which Manco's welcome and his ability to be a perfect host to the Spaniards is the central message of the text. A few other translations are odd choices, such as "painted rags" (116) for *paños pintados*, the expression used by Titu Cusi to refer to paper from a native's perspective. In this case, other translators better convey the original meaning with translations such as "painted sheets" (Julien, 119) or "painted clothes" (Legnani, 171). At the same time, it is obvious that a great deal of work went into Bauer's successful translation, including both a scrupulous deciphering of the original and a smooth idiomatic English rendition. Moreover, Bauer adds a good number of endnotes and a glossary of Quechua and Spanish terms that address key historical and linguistic aspects of the text.

Bauer's lengthy introduction moves easily from the general historical background to a detailed discussion of the text that draws on multidisciplinary Andean scholarship. He gives special attention to the hybrid nature of the text, explains why and how he thinks the account came to be, and points out how Spanish and Andean rhetorical practices are interwoven throughout the text. I found his discussion of the ideas of Inca legitimacy for succession to power particularly useful for understanding the arguments that Titu Cusi made about himself and his father as the heirs of the Inca realm. The contrast between Titu Cusi's argument for legitimacy and Sarmiento's very different interpretation of the same issue is particularly interesting. Bauer perceptively describes Titu Cusi's account as a "pragmatic attempt at intercultural diplomacy," in which he made a "calculated use of everything he had learned about Spanish culture without becoming unfaithful to his own culture" (18).

Even though Nicole Delia Legnani and Catherine Julien both offer bilingual editions of Titu Cusi's narrative, each takes a different approach. Legnani's Spanish text is a modernization, whereas Julien offers a transcription that closely follows the Spanish original and adds punctuation when deemed necessary, but otherwise leaves the text with its sixteenth-century spellings. Legnani presents the Spanish text first, followed by the English translation, while Julien places the Spanish original and its English translation on facing pages. Both English translations have many notes. Legnani favors endnotes, whereas Julien prefers footnotes. Julien also includes several maps and an English translation of a short report by Titu Cusi from a few years prior to the main text. Legnani uses italics in both the Spanish and English versions when Titu Cusi speaks in the first person, a decision that I find distracts too much from the actual text.

Legnani's introduction starts with a review of previous editions of Titu Cusi's narrative, and then provides in-depth discussions of two key aspects: (1) the relationship of the narrative to Inca ritual and Spanish legal writing and (2) the narrative as a tool for empowering the new Inca center

in Vilcabamba. This introduction originated as an undergraduate thesis and demonstrates a thorough reading of the scholarship on Titu Cusi, which allows Legnani to treat key issues of the narrative with considerable detail and sophistication. It is also the reason that Legnani decided to add a sort of introduction to the introduction (titled "A Necessary Contextualization") to provide the historical background expected in an edition destined for a broad audience.

Although Legnani does a careful job in using a coherent set of rules for modern spelling in Spanish and in considering how to handle Quechua and Aymara words to produce what she calls the "first modernization" of the text (6), she could have done more to make it accessible to modern readers. In particular, a different treatment of punctuation would have improved the text's readability in both Spanish and English. The English translation closely follows Legnani's Spanish version, but it has a number of misreadings, confusing passages, and errors, some of which seem to have been generated by the weak punctuation of the Spanish version. A passage recounting the massacre that took place in Cajamarca during the capture of Atahualpa by Francisco Pizarro and his comrades is a case in point. Legnani translates the text as follows: "And as the Indians screamed, with swords they were killed by the horsemen, with muskets, as one who kills sheep, with no resistance given by ten thousand, two hundred who could not escape" (136). In the Spanish version, in contrast, only two hundred Indians survive the attack and ten thousand were killed; as such, the episode becomes a massacre of great proportions.

Julien's introduction points out how the portrayal of Atahualpa's capture as the decisive event in the Indians' defeat has relegated the siege of Cuzco by Manco Inca to a less prominent role in the historical imagination. Julien believes that Spanish and Inca narratives of both events have not been fully considered. She sees Titu Cusi, who embodied the continuation of resistance to Spanish rule in Vilcabamba and was recognized during his lifetime by Spaniards and Inca descendants as the heir to the Inca dynasty, as a "forgotten Inca" (xxv), overlooked by modern historians. To explain how that happened, Julien comments on several aspects that contributed, on the one hand, to establishing Atahualpa's death as the defining moment in the conquest of Peru, and on the other hand, to the absence of any mention of Titu Cusi in crucial texts on Andean culture, such as those by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and El Inca Garcilaso, despite the fact that both authors must have known about his role.

For future courses that include Titu Cusi's narrative, I am most likely to choose Julien's edition as a textbook because of the combination of a transcription that is as close as possible to the original and a facing English translation that makes the content of the narrative clear to students. However, I would certainly not discourage anyone from using either of the other editions, and I would highly recommend all three introductions as

required reading. It is nevertheless important to recognize and point out the passages in each edition where the translation is misleading. In Julien's case, there are few such mistranslations, but they do change the meaning of the original. One example is the passage in which Manco Inca becomes aware that his brother, Pascac, will try to kill him, for which Manco surprises Pascac first, stabbing him with a dagger. According to Julien's translation, Manco Inca killed Pascac and "also finished off the Spaniard who had given him the news" (89). The Spanish original instead states that Manco stabbed Pascac, and that the Spaniard—who is presented in the lines before as Manco's servant—then finished off Pascac. It would not have made sense for Manco to kill the servant who had just performed a great service by warning him of his brother's murderous intentions.

If there is one daunting proposition in the world of Andean colonial literature, it has to be the selection of text, translation, and annotation of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *First New Chronicle and Good Government*. We should all be happy that David Frye was willing to take on this challenge to successfully produce a well-thought-out and accessible (though this will never be easy) version of this most unique book. To appreciate this new edition, one ought to begin by looking at the images of Guaman Poma's manuscript on the Web site of the Danish Royal Library. It consists of almost four hundred drawings (many with text incorporated) and around eight hundred pages of text written in an idiosyncratic Spanish that draws heavily on spoken Quechua and includes barely any meaningful punctuation. Nevertheless, Frye manages to provide a good synthesis of the work and an excellent translation that strikes a balance between being overly literal (which would have paralyzed the reader) and too far removed from the original (as was the case with the only other abridged translation, published by Christopher Dilke in 1978).

Frye's excellent introduction convincingly pulls together all that is known about Guaman Poma's life to explain how he ended up producing this work, which he intended to send to the Spanish king. Succinctly described by Frye, Guaman Poma's goal was to "present a persuasive argument for maximum Indian autonomy under royal—but not necessarily colonial—rule" (xxv). To make this argument, Guaman Poma elaborated a narrative of Peru's past and present that denounces the situation of the indigenous population under Spanish domination. Yet, as Frye reminds us, Guaman Poma did not claim to represent or identify with the indigenous population as a whole; instead, he spoke from a position of privilege, as an "author and prince" who looks down on the Indian commoner. Indeed, according to his narrative, Guaman Poma's father was the very first ambassador from Atahualpa to greet the Spaniards upon their arrival in the new land.

The valuable new English editions of these important Andean texts will be welcomed by many teachers from multiple disciplines and will

soon become the first taste of Andean literature of the colonial period for future generations of scholars. We should celebrate and be grateful for all the effort that underlies these works and take them as inspiration for continuing to edit, both in Spanish and English, more works from the rich corpus of colonial Andean texts that have not reached the broad audience that they deserve.