Colonialism, Cohabitation, and Charismatic Llamas:
Representations of Animals in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno

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COLONIALISM, COHABITATION, AND CHARISMATIC LLAMAS:

REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS IN FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA'S EL PRIMER NUEVA CORÓNICA Y BUEN GOBIERNO

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COLONIALISM, COHABITATION, AND CHARISMATIC LLAMAS:

REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS IN FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA'S EL PRIMER NUEVA CORÓNICA Y BUEN GOBIERNO

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with a

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by

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Thank you to Sam, Charlie, and Sanran, for being my home away from home. And to my family, for all their unconditional support, advice, and patience. Thank you believing in me and giving me the confidence to keep moving forward.
This thesis analyzes the role of animals, specifically llamas, in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, a manuscript that dates to 1615-16, and was hand-written and illustrated by the Andean author Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Through the lens of animal studies, I analyze the manner in which Poma represented llamas to convey greater ideas surrounding the nature of colonial life under the Spanish empire, as well as the nostalgic remembrance of Inca practices before the conquest.

My study focuses on three of the *Corónica’s* drawings: “The second age of the world: Noah,” and how its reinterpretation of the eponymous biblical narrative expanded it to include the Andean world; “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom,” and its representation of early modern anxieties over corruption and *mestizaje*; and “Feast of the Inkas: *wariqsa*, dance; *arawi*, song of the Inka. He sings with his red llama,” and its illustration of the connections between llamas, their environments, and the legacy of the Inca Empire through ritual space. Ultimately, I propose that llamas in the *Corónica* must be understood as active historical agents and visual representatives of Andeanness.
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Dedicada a la memoria de mis abuelos Jaime y Ernesto, y a mi tío Diego, quienes me enseñaron desde pequeña a apreciar a los animales en nuestras vidas.

A mis padres, Jorge y Chelo, y a mi hermano Pablo, por su paciencia infinita, y por aguantarme todas mis retahílas acerca de este proyecto.
INTRODUCTION

VISUALIZING LLAMAS

It is with animals that history is made.
—Erica Fudge, *Centering Animals in Latin American History*

We try to make visible what was once invisible or what is so taken for granted that we never even consider it.
—Margo DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*

Consider how difficult it can be to harmonize with someone. Singing requires a balance, an understanding of the other while making your voice complement theirs. A melody is the result of an encounter, an agreement between two or more parties. A singing choir needs a conductor to bring everyone together, as each member relies on both the conductor and the other members to guide them, to direct the flow of voices. But what if your conductor was trying to make you harmonize with a llama?

Such a situation is presented in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s illustration “Feast of the Inkas: wariqsa, dance; arawi, song of the Inka. He sings with his red llama,” (Figure 1), in which the Sapa Inca sings with a llama as the crowd behind him accompanies them. This enigmatic image is part of *El primer nueva corónica del buen gobierno*, a manuscript that dates to 1615-16, and was hand-written and illustrated by Poma.¹ The book spans almost 1,200 pages of

descriptions and observations that detail the history and practices of the Andean peoples prior to the Spanish conquest of Cuzco, as well as Poma’s observations and opinions of life under the colonial administration during the early 1600s. “He sings with his red llama” is one of almost four hundred illustrations, but it is one that raises the question of how the two beings can communicate with one another. The Sapa Inca is clearly gesturing towards the llama, and the two inscriptions next to each of their faces, “y.y.” and “.y.y.” are similar enough that, presumably, they understand or mimic each other. These two figures recognize one another and converse through song.

“He sings with his red llama” needs its non-human animal protagonist to function narratively. There would be no encounter, no cultural significance, if the llama were not there. Despite this knowledge, animals in Poma’s work are rarely considered in their role as active participants of the events he depicted. By referencing the growing field of animal studies, this thesis seeks to focus on animals, specifically llamas, as historical entities in the construction of Poma’s El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno and the version of Andean history and realities it depicts.

The field of animal studies (sometimes referred to as human-animal studies) is a relatively recent interdisciplinary field that has risen in prominence during the last decade. Stemming from the recognition of the ties between the human and non-human worlds, animal studies focus on animals, how humans interact with them, and how both come to exist within human societies. According to Margo DeMello, the field of animal studies centers non-human
animal behaviors, emotions, and mental processes as a way to understand their relationships to humans.  

The increased attention given to animal studies in the recent years speaks to a greater awareness in academia of the ways in which human societies are shaped and molded by a variety of factors. This awareness has led to the application of human animal studies within the fields of sociology and anthropology, among other disciplines in the social sciences. Within the context of historical research, animal studies has led to attempts to create animal histories that have tried to provide non-human animal perspectives to go alongside human records. Though often a complicated endeavor based on our reliance on written records, these animal histories allow us, as Erica Fudge argued, to challenge the assumptions that have shaped humanist history.

In the context of art history, the field of animal studies has led scholars to rethink animal representations, depictions of the animal body, and the histories of production that underlie material culture. Acknowledging and studying materiality calls for the awareness of the way in which objects were acquired, produced, shaped, and distributed. In a similar manner to how historians have reckoned with the invisibility of labor in material history, animal studies provide a lens through which we can examine the cultures of exchanges that depended on animal bodies for materials, transportation, and more.

Inevitably, the field of animal studies demands that we consider questions of animal agency and consciousness. Animal studies, as Kari Weil suggested, focuses and seeks to report

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3 Ibid., 20–24.
on subjects that cannot speak in the same way humans do.⁶ The question of speech in relation to understanding is at the core of centuries-old debates that would eventually shape animal studies. Concerns over animals’ ability to reason despite their inability to communicate linguistically with humans gave way to Enlightenment era discussions on the relationships between humans and animals. In 1637, the subject of speech inspired René Descartes to question the very possibility that animals could have a form of consciousness, a “reasonable soul,” leading him to conclude that they must be automatons.⁷ Both Thomas Hobbes and John Locke contended that animals were incapable of reasoning and having a greater abstraction of thought.⁸ Others, like David Hume and Michel de Montaigne, questioned the very nature of these debates, with Montaigne retorting that “we understand them no more than they us.”⁹ Centuries later, Jacques Derrida would revisit these conversations and texts in his address “The Animal That Therefore I am (More to Follow),” shifting the focus from speaking and understanding, to animals’ ability to respond and not just react.¹⁰ Due to the manner in which Derrida both responded to and evaded the trappings of earlier discussions on the nature of human-animal interactions, his text is considered one of the foundational pillars of contemporary animal studies.

Animals have shaped the ways in which human societies have been built around the world. Yet, perhaps in part due to the “animal question” featuring heavily in European Enlightenment discourse, discussions of animal histories and animal studies have mostly focused on Western European contexts. Outside of Europe, a few texts have looked towards Latin American contexts through the lens of animal studies. These include Abel Alves’ *The Animals of Spain*, and Martha Few’s and Zeb Tortorici’s edited volume, *Centering Animals in Latin American History*. Alves’ text discussed animals within the unique context of the Spanish empire between 1492 and 1826. As such, while centering Spain’s imperial perspective, Alves’ book considers how colonial endeavors changed different territories’ discourses with respect to understandings of animals and human-animal interactions. *Centering Animals in Latin American History* for its part proposed viewing animals as historical factors, highlighting the encounters between animals and humans unique to this context. Citing the edited volumes *Relaciones hombre-fauna: Una zona interdisciplinaria de estudio* and *Rostros culturales de la fauna: Las relaciones entre los humanos y los animales en el contexto colombiano* as precedents for their book, Tortorici and Few argued that most texts that have touched on animals have done so without focusing on the animals themselves. *Centering Animals in Latin American History* ultimately sought to foreground Latin American contexts, concentrating on the ways in which animals were used and how they interacted with in the past.

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14 Ibid., 19.
Considering that the colonial era had a drastic effect on understandings of the world and its inhabitants, this thesis will provide an art historical study of Poma’s *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* through the lens of animal studies. The *Corónica* is a massive volume, and its many pages and almost four hundred illustrations are invaluable resources for Andean studies. Studied extensively by scholars such as Rolena Adorno (responsible for the *Corónica*’s transcription), Juan Ossio, and Thomas Cummins, the *Corónica* has been used as a literary and culturally relevant source. Adorno in particular has written extensively on the *Corónica*’s position as a colonial text, its sources, its Andean author, and its relationship to postcolonial discourses on resistance and adaptation.  

The *Corónica* has been analyzed through a variety of disciplines, including literature, history, linguistics, and art history, among others. The work of scholars like Ossio and Adorno has extensively explored the context behind the creation of the *Corónica* and its historical value as a primary document written by an Andean author within a Spanish colonial structure. While existing scholarship on the contents of the *Corónica* is crucial for this thesis, the focus of this project is on the images as the primary objects of study, acknowledging their ability to communicate information separately from and despite the text. In other words, this thesis foregrounds three of Poma’s drawings, understanding them as more than mere accompaniments to the *Corónica*’s text.

The three images I analyze in this thesis showcase the many animals that participate in Poma’s project and the depth of information that can be gained from positioning them as active 

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historical agents and social participants. Animals in the *Corónica* have not been studied extensively, though there is a precedent for their study in Velia Mendoza España’s and Raúl Valadez Azúa’s article on Poma’s depictions of dogs. That essay focuses on pre-contact South American dog breeds and uses the illustrations to categorize and identify the canines, understanding them as domestic creatures within Andean societies prior to the Spanish arrival. Españ and Azúa position their investigation as a survey of all the images of dogs in the *Corónica* within a historical and biological framework. In contrast, this thesis stems from an art historical reading of the *Corónica*’s images by highlighting the case study of the llama through three specific instances. Rather than providing a survey, I seek to highlight the importance of the llama as a species within the *Corónica* as a historical object, and what that might reveal with regards to llamas’ roles in the historical context of the Andes.

This text centers the visibility of llamas, and their capacity to act as observers, participants, and symbols of the Andean reality. Through the archaeological and anthropological research of scholars such as Jane Wheeler, Daniel W. Gade, Penelope Z. Dransart, Denise Arnold, and Juan de Dios Yapita, we have plenty of evidence to suggest that llamas shaped the lives and societies of pre-Hispanic Andeans, especially during the times of the Inca empire. Jorge A. Flores Ochoa’s extensive research into pastoral practices in the Andes paved the way

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for researchers to understand the social, cultural, and economic relationships between the Andean peoples and llamas. His work on the relationship between pastoralism, music, and ritual spaces highlights the many roles and interactions that shaped herding practices in the Andes, both at the time of his studies and in the past.18 Dransart’s work on the material culture of Andean pastoralism, and Yapita and Arnold’s work on the songs of Bolivian herding communities both stem from the legacy of Flores Ochoa’s ethnographic undertakings.19 In the realm of art history specifically, Adam Herring’s Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca has also foregrounded the importance of llamas in creating a visuality of the Incan empire, one that the Spanish encountered and disrupted upon their arrival.20 Based on my chosen images and the aforementioned scholars’ work, I have divided this thesis into three chapters centered on how Poma portrays llamas as participants in societies trying to contend with massive religious, social, and historical restructuring.

The first chapter focuses on the figure of the llama in Noah’s Ark (Figure 2) and its role within a global rethinking of Christianity. This chapter will investigate Poma’s background as an author, the purported goal of the Corónica as a didactive text and will introduce the question of readability as it pertains to images. Furthermore, by studying the llama’s inclusion, I propose that we can perceive how the animal body can be mobilized as the representative of the Andes in images that sought to mediate the colonial realities through religion.

19 Arnold and Yapita, River of Fleece, River of Song; Dransart, Earth, Water, Fleece and Fabric: An Ethnography and Archaeology of Andean Cameld Herding.
The second chapter continues this concept of the llama as a representation of the Andean societies, now reconsidered within colonial social structures. Through the illustration of “One of the many thieves of this kingdom” (Figure 3), this chapter touches upon the relationship between horses and llamas as the representative animals of the Spanish conquest and Andean identity respectively. Furthermore, this chapter considers how the link between these two animals visually manifests in the figure of the corrupt *mestizo*, and how animals speak to Poma’s anxieties over *mestizaje* and the loss of Inca heritage.

Chapter 3 centers the introductory image of the *wariqsa arawi* festival, and its depiction of a sacrificial singing llama (Figure 1). This chapter explores the linguistic importance of the visibility and audibility of the llama’s body, its connections to the Andean landscape, and its role in Andean cosmologies. By doing so, this chapter analyzes the relationship between the llama’s body and the ritual space in relation to its ability to observe and speak to others. Finally, this chapter addresses the importance of preservation and loss within the *Corónica*, and how the memory of singing to and with llamas related to the massive changes that colonialism brought to Andean societies.

This project highlights a very small fraction of the animals in the *Corónica* by focusing on some of its most active and charismatic participants. Llamas are curious creatures, and their importance in the culture, economy, and history of the Andean region is undeniable. They are personable animals that emote and communicate with those around them. In its efforts to document and memorialize, the *Corónica* captures these multi-faceted beings in their many roles. And though we might not be able to fully understand these illustrated llamas, perhaps we can try to sing with them.
CHAPTER 1

AN UNNAMED TRANSATLANTIC STOWAWAY

A full-page illustration shows a bearded man—identified textually as Noah—kneeling with his hands held up in prayer (Figure 2). He is in the middle of the page and superimposed onto a profile view of a rectangular vessel labeled as an ark. The geometric boat floats on a body of water marked by a series of wavy lines. At the top of the page, a grand title “EL SEGVNDO MUNDO, DE NOE (The Second World, of Noah)” hovers above a cloudy sky from which pours rain in short, undulating streams. The script from the verso of the page bleeds into the illustration adding to the overall chaos of the surging water, as the diluvio or deluge takes over the scene.

Noah wears a simple robe with hints of classical influences in the form of its soft folds. His jagged hands are held up to the sky and his open mouth indicates that he is delivering a prayer. Noah’s only companions are shown in the eight windows that flank his body, four on each side. Each window houses an animal, and all are left unlabeled, but we can deduce that these eight animals are a pig, a horse, a bull, and a lion on the left, and a ram, a chicken, a llama, and a goat on the right. In this chapter, I will analyze the role of these unlabeled animals, specifically the llama, in relation to the greater cosmological proposal that underlies the Corónica as a colonial object. By considering Poma’s simultaneous challenges to and compromises with his audience, I will argue that we can perceive the llama as an introduction to and visual representative for the Andes.
The decision to abstain from inscriptions is unusual within the instructional project that the *Corónica* proposes. Text in the *Corónica* is descriptive and informative, aiming to instruct its audience in the traditions and realities of the Andean peoples. Poma aimed to convince the Spanish king and other readers of the merits of the Indigenous peoples of the Andes by teaching them about the Andean context.\(^{21}\) By portraying them as capable, faithful, and loyal to the king, Poma gave weight to the history and lived realities of these populations. In his opening letter to the reader, Poma highlighted how the *Corónica* was crafted by Indigenous hands so that priests and others could better understand the Andeans. Poma argued that by knowing more about them, the Spanish administration and priests could better convey their Catholic teachings.\(^{22}\) To do so, however, necessitated that the colonial system recognize and respect their existing practices.

Poma’s persuasive goal is stated outright at the beginning of the *Corónica*. The manuscript has a set format, where a subject is introduced with a title and an illustration, then followed by a textual description of the introduced subject that often includes details that the images do not represent. The text overall has an authoritative instructional tone, while the illustrations take more liberties with what they explain. This results in the drawings being more ambiguous than the text in the details they include, with numerous aspects often left unlabeled or unacknowledged. This pictorial strategy defies the literary didactive format that the *Corónica* champions by leaving some figures and depictions up for interpretation (and by extension, for possible misinterpretation). Poma’s chosen inclusions and exclusions in the biblical narratives that make up the early chapters of the *Corónica* manifest this existential ambiguity, a characteristic that predominantly informs the presence of Noah’s llama companion.

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\(^{22}\) Ibid., 11.
Poma appealed to his selected audience through his use of familiar religious subjects. At the same time, he included small subversions to more traditional representations of these same scenes. Poma’s use of biblical figures primed his readers to engage with the unknown and unfamiliar in the later chapters through his early introduction of new and unexpected elements in his illustrations. For example, the unlabeled llama in Noah’s Ark does not interrupt the narrative or affect the associated description due to its exclusively illustrative existence. What its presence does do is act as a gentle entryway for Poma’s more challenging disruptions to his Spanish audience’s knowledge of the Andean context and history.

In order to assess the role of the singular llama within the Ark, it is important to first unravel why Poma began his narrative through the retelling of biblical scenes that would have been familiar to his European audience. The perpetuation of the Spanish Empire was deeply linked with religion, and its colonial project was guided by the continued subjugation of conquered peoples. Within the strict social hierarchies imposed by the colonial system, the institution of the Catholic Church promoted conversion while offering one of the few options for Indigenous peoples to enter the rigid social structures of the Spanish Americas. According to Ralph Bauer, the very existence of the Indigenous chronicles was grounded on an existing system of indoctrination, as it was through Catholic missionaries that said chroniclers were trained and published. In Poma’s case, he learned how to read and write through his half-brother Martin de Ayala, a mestizo and a missionary who espoused a moral ideal of Christian life.

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24 Ibid.
Poma’s role as a chronicler is one that remained deeply enthralled with religious institutions. Prior to the Corónica, Poma worked on another manuscript with Fray Martín de Murúa. The Códice Murúa was written by Murúa and illustrated by Poma, and it is considered one of the first illustrated chronicles of the history of Peru. Based on the existing parallels between the Corónica and the Códice Murúa, Juan Ossio has suggested that Poma and Murúa were conducting their projects simultaneously. Even though Poma is critical of Murúa in the Corónica, there is ample evidence that this early collaboration influenced the format and the outlook presented in the Corónica. The connection between the two texts extends to the point that they were both addressed to the king of Spain, Philip III, who likely never received or saw either.

Within the context of the Hispanic colonies, religion acted as an imposed common language. It provided Poma and other Indigenous chroniclers with a number of references that their mostly Spanish audience could readily identify. Their common religious instruction and patronage inherently informed the nature of Poma’s and Murúa’s texts, giving them the advantage of a shared ideological basis. Poma’s Corónica is therefore built upon his training and extant visual and textual vocabulary that he then mobilized to establish an ideological common ground between him and his audience. It is through setting up a mutual understanding that Poma was then able to pursue his more persuasive goals. It is in this vein of thought that Rolena

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Adorno has suggested that Poma’s *Corónica* argued for a sovereign Andean state through its connection to a universal Christian Empire led by the Spanish Crown. By using the recognition and moral weight of religion, Poma was able to sharpen and better direct his criticisms of what he depicted as a corrupt and sinful colonial administration. As Adorno writes, Poma “criticize[d] the local practices of the colonial institutions of the church and state but he [did] not reject the theoretical principles of “good government” on which they [were] founded.”

The *Corónica*’s use of religious themes, references, and language represent Poma’s desire to retain part of the colonial status quo, but they do not entirely comply with existing patterns of use. There are subtle instances of resistance inserted throughout the *Corónica*, alongside Poma’s more explicit critiques. However, said critiques are part of the latter chapters, where Poma describes the colonial system. Instead, the earlier sections of the *Corónica*’s thirty-seven chapters, consist of descriptions of historical or cultural subjects relevant to the Andean peoples. After the first chapter’s introduction to the book, and the second’s acknowledgements of God’s and Martín de Ayala’s influence in its creation, the third chapter begins Poma’s larger historical project by recounting the “first ages of the world.” This consists of Poma’s retelling of the biblical narratives of Adam, Eve, and their descendants, Noah and the flood, Abraham and his descendants, King David, and the birth of Jesus Christ, each labeled as a separate “age.” After the fourth chapter, in which the *Corónica* retells the history of the Popes up until that point, the rest of the text is grounded in the Andean context.

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30 Ibid., 121–22.
The early chapters of the *Corónica* present narratives that Poma’s audience would have been familiar with as an entryway for new information. Yet, he sought to create an awareness of a greater Catholic world, one that was actively contending with the difficulties of rationalizing why the Americas were not mentioned in the biblical text. David W. Gade wrote that theologians, such as José de Acosta, were actively grappling with the apparent absence of the Americas in world-affecting biblical narratives. Gade argued that Acosta was in part concerned with trying to explain why animals from the Americas were not mentioned among those in Noah’s ark. Poma addressed those questions directly by referencing the Andean world in his illustrations of an “Old World” where it was previously absent.

Fernando Amaya Farías has argued that Poma sought to mediate the religious separation between Andean and Judeo-Christian traditions in his role as a chronicler. According to Amaya, Poma did this in the *Corónica* by writing a version of history that would demonstrate how the same creator God was present in both societies despite their differences. One of the earliest images in the *Corónica* is Poma’s illustration of Adam and Eve and their children (Figure 4). This is the opening illustration for the aforementioned section where Poma detailed the early ages of the world. In the drawing, Adam is shown on the left plowing the land, while Eve sits on the right holding their two children. Both the adult figures wear makeshift fur outfits and are clearly labeled with their names. In the background, two mountains are visible. There are two chickens accompanying the human figures: a rooster between Adam’s legs and a hen that stands between him and Eve. Flying between the two figures is also a pair of unidentified birds.

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stylized sun and moon with faces loom over the two figures in the sky. Notably, the animals that accompany Adam and Eve are not marked as geographically significant, with the presence of chickens in the Andes predating the Spanish arrival, and the flying birds lacking any distinguishing features.34

The general configuration of “The first age of the world” presents the figures of Adam and Eve within a simple background with sparse accoutrements. Despite the small quantity of details, Poma still managed to insert small references to his Andean background. Researchers Carlos González Vargas, Hugo Rosati Aguerre, and Francisco Sánchez Cabello have argued that Guaman Poma’s illustrations follow an established compositional scheme in accordance with Andean Indigenous traditions.35 In the case of “The first age of the world,” the upper area of the drawing depicts a divine world (represented by the sun and moon), while the lower aspect concerns the earthly realms (represented by Adam and Eve). Furthermore, a second division along the vertical axis creates a contrast between masculinity on the left (depicted through Adam’s connection to the sun and the rooster), and femininity on the right (through Eve’s connection to the moon, the hen, and her children).36

The format that González, Rosati, and Sánchez identified is partially preserved in the image that Amaya chose as a compositional parallel to the “The first age of the world,” “The first age of the Indians, Vari Vira Cocha Runa” (Figure 5). “The first age of the Indians” opens chapter 5 and begins Poma’s detailed accounts of the history of the Andean world. This latter

36 Ibid.
illustration shows another pair of male and female figures using the same type of plow as Adam did to work the land. There are a few noticeable differences, including the absence of the moon, the lack of children and birds, and the material their outfits are made from. Yet, Amaya contended that Poma still positioned the two scenarios in parallel, deviating only in the instances where context demanded that he do so. With respect to the moon’s absence, Amaya proposed that this was reflective of a time when the Andean peoples would still be faithful to a creator God despite not having the sun to illuminate them.37 However, the similarities between the two images are as apparent as are their differences, with the main action of the male figure plowing the land being central to both. The two male figures also share the same position, facial expression, wavy hair, and beard. Furthermore, the backgrounds of the two images have the same mountainous terrain, despite the two narratives’ disparate settings. Said background is likely the reason why Adorno gave “The first age of the world” the full title of “The first age of the world: Adam and Eve, in an Andean landscape.”38

“The first age of the world” and its uniquely Andean characteristics update the religious narrative to fit the awareness of a greater world that characterized the Early Modern era. As such, Poma’s settings and figures follow his greater belief in a universal Christian history. According to Amaya, Poma’s project of linking histories relied on a narrative of a global biblical universe that included Andean history. Amaya argued that the story of Noah’s Ark and the deluge are uniquely suited to further Poma’s arguments.39 Noah’s myth tells of how God was planning to punish humanity through a great deluge, but tasked Noah with creating an ark to house his

38 Guaman Poma de Ayala, El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 22 [22].
family and a reproductive pair of every animal. By doing this, God charged Noah with the repopulation of the Earth, with both humans and animals. Noah’s narrative is one of rebirth, of a new start for humanity after a devastating cleansing. It is also a second Creation of sorts, one that followed the same populating spirit as Adam and Eve.

Amaya asserted that Poma used Noah to reinterpret and adapt Indigenous myths concerning the inception of humanity. This theological connection extends to Poma’s text, as he describes the legacy of the deluge by writing “About the children of Noah [Title]: Concerning these children of Noah, one of them was brought by God to the Indies. Others say that he was born to Adam himself. Those Indians multiplied, and because God knows all and because he is powerful, he could have these Indian people [living] separately [in the Americas.]” Poma’s description identifies the people living in the Americas as direct descendants from the main biblical figures he illustrated. Even though Poma did not fully disclose who truly begot the people of the Americas, his worldview and the Corónica’s agenda rely on the acceptance that there was a common ancestry and a greater uniting truth. According to Amaya, by linking different peoples through this shared ancestry, Poma could argue for the possibility of a joint salvation under the same God.

The entire narrative of Noah’s Ark is repurposed for the sake of Poma’s greater argument. Every figure in Poma’s illustration was carefully selected and depicted to fit this revisionist structure. As is the case throughout the entirety of the Corónica, the illustration

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40 Ibid. Note that the myths Amaya refers to here are those compiled in stories from Huarochirí, and his text referenced Francisco de Avila’s transcriptions from 17th century, later translated by José María Arguedas (into Spanish, 1966), and Gerald Taylor (into French, 1995).
41 Guaman Poma de Ayala, El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 25 [25].
precedes any lengthier description or argument. While they frequently present brief labels (and, sometimes, a few descriptive words), the illustrations are not as narratively detailed as the text. Instead, the drawings open interpretative possibilities by inserting additional unexplained elements. Such is the case for the animals included in the ark in “The Second Age of the World,” especially the llama. The animals included in Poma’s depiction of the ark are mostly domesticated, with the notable exception of the lion. Most of them are also associated with images of “the Old World,” and were brought over with the arrival of the Europeans to the Americas. While the reasoning behind Poma’s organization of the animals is unclear, the animals in the four left quadrants are overall larger. The horse and the lion are linked to heraldic imagery, with the horse additionally carrying deep associations within Spanish conquest narratives. The right side’s animals are all smaller, but directly associated with consumable products (wool, meat, and milk, among others). Each non-human animal is differentiated from the others, but the llama is the only animal that seems aware of a greater event taking place. In fact, the llama’s gaze stands out, as it seems to be looking directly at Noah’s praying figure.

The llama’s awareness speaks to how this animal was greatly valued in Andean cultures. In his discussion of perceptions of animals in the Spanish empire, Abel Alves wrote that llamas were domesticated and used for resources before the Incas, and they retained a level of importance due to their association with sacred rituals. He also referred to them as “a fellow sentient inhabitant of the world,” one that was only separate from humans based on the resources

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43 For Noah’s Ark, the labels highlight the deluge, the ark, and Noah, but there is also a short description at the bottom explaining how God “inflated” the waters for punishment.

they provided. As the only Andean animal included in Noah’s Ark, the llama’s cultural significance comes to the foreground as the de facto representative of the Americas. Just like the shared tools and landscapes that accompany Adam, Eve, and the first Andean peoples, the llama becomes an illustrative link for Poma’s ideologically united Christian world.

The llama’s survival in the Americas speaks directly to Poma’s claim that the people in the Indies could have been descended from Noah. After all, if Noah was charged with saving all the animals, he must have saved camelids too. The llama’s inclusion also addresses its spiritual importance as highlighted by Alves and manifested throughout the Corónica. Out of the fourteen illustrations that depict camelids in the Corónica, five of them (Figure 1 and Figure 6-9) showcase camelids within religious rituals. Out of those, four (Figure 1 and Figure 6-8) take place during state ceremonies and festivals. Llamas were sacrificed within these settings, directly linking their bodily forms to sacred experiences.

Despite the importance of camelids in Andean contexts, Alves argued that Spanish records struggled to distinguish between their different types. Instead, they opted to use the terms carneros and (to a lesser extent) “las ovejas de la tierra” (the sheep of the land) to refer to alpacas, llamas, guanacos, and vicuñas. These two terms alternatively connected camelids with male rams and sheep, both types of grazing pack animals associated with sacrifices and religion. Notable instances of the word carnero appear in the sacrifice of Isaac and analogies that link

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46 Ibid.
shepherding to devotion and the figure of Christ.\textsuperscript{48} Pastoral ideals connected camelids and bovids, relating them to resources, religious life, and conceptual understandings of land and territories. Their importance is likely the reason why these animals were awarded a spot in Poma’s Ark. Said linguistic connection could also explain why Poma’s depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac does not include the ram that was to replace Isaac at the altar (Figure 10). Including an “Old World” \textit{carnero} could have obscured the connectivity that Poma was aiming for, particularly considering how this scene is labeled as taking place in Jerusalem despite presenting the same background landscape as both the illustration of “The first age of the world” and “The first age of the Indians” (Figure 4 and Figure 5).

The connection between sheep, rams, and camelids functions as a linguistic interpretative tool. Even though there are clear differences between types of camelids and bovids and the resources they produce, they are united by a translating process that swept over their distinguishing characteristics.\textsuperscript{49} In the context of a colonial contact zone, the generalizing use of the term \textit{carnero} speaks to the prioritization of the transference of meaning over the valuation of cultural specificity. There is a violence to this linguistic choice, as translation must erase part of a word’s significance for the purposes of communication. Language theorist Henri Meschonnic suggested that translating can shift meaning when “interpretation goes as far as erasing the

\textsuperscript{48} I use the term ram here in reference to its biblical use within the context of the sacrifice of Isaac, as used in Casiodoro De Reina, \textit{Las Sagradas Escrituras}, ed. Russell Martin Stengal (Bogota: Colombia Para Cristo, 1996), Gen. 22:7-8, 11-13. This biblical translation dates to 1569 and will provide the basis for my translation. Within this narrative, the term \textit{cordero} (male lamb) is also used.

\textsuperscript{49} See Gade, “Llamas and Alpacas as ‘Sheep’ in the Colonial Andes: Zoogeography Meets Eurocentrism.” For a careful consideration of the Spanish labeling practices for camelids and their distinctions from sheep.
meaning of words, or rather signifiers, leaving only the signified.” Under this guideline, the Spanish language made camelids’ identities subservient to those of their bovid counterparts.

Poma blended his use of the term *carnero* and the term *llama*. His inconsistent labeling practices turned llamas into ambiguous beings that refuse a clear identification. The identification of “llama” as pertaining to the camelid in Noah’s Ark arises from a comparative examination of other images, though there are admittedly no clear visual distinctions between Poma’s illustrations of llamas and alpacas. Most of Poma’s illustrations of llamas can be identified as such based on their roles as pack animals or sacrificial beings. In contrast to llamas, alpacas were valued for their wool, and there is only one instance of a labeled alpaca within the *Códice Murúa* (Figure 11). Comparatively, the *Códice Murúa* alpaca is much smaller than other camelids, to the extent that it can be lifted. Based on said attributes, the camelid in Noah’s Ark can be presumed to be a llama.

Poma’s images of sacrificial llamas (Figure 1 and Figure 6-8) are consistently labeled as *carneros*, though there is one exception with the image of the singing llama (Figure 1). Notably, the singing llama directly addresses the nature of language and sound, and benefits from retaining the specific Quechua term over its Spanish translation (a subject that will be further addressed in Chapter 3). These naming conventions speak to Poma’s impulse to compromise with his audience, even as he directly challenges their ideas by changing the participants and settings of biblical narratives. In turn, the Andean landscape that accompanies Adam and Eve, and the lone llama in Noah’s Ark become Poma’s emissaries. They become the carriers of

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language and the messengers of identity. Thus, the llama remains unidentified, for at this stage it is not an individual, but a symbol of Andeanness in the context of a universal beginning.
There is an unusual transaction taking place between four figures. A man, who is leading a horse and a llama to the left, hands over a bag to a horned humanoid creature. His foot is tentatively lifted, pointing in the opposite direction than his torso and head. He is contorted between two different positions, caught between two different actions.

Poma’s “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom,” as he titles the image, contains two pairs of figures: two are humanoids, and two are non-human animals (Figure 3). The separation between them is blurred by their expressions, interactions, and the horned demon’s combination of human and animal traits. This chapter will analyze the relationships between these different beings, and the ways in which their presences articulate social anxieties surrounding the preservation of identity in the context of colonial concerns over lineages.

This illustration is part of Poma’s “Considerations” chapter, where he described the different realities of the colonial Andes. Among Poma’s meditations on the abuse felt by the Andeans and the different inhabitants of the colonies, the “Consideration” of thieves is where he reflected upon the proliferation of mestizos—individuals of mixed heritage—and what he perceived as the rampant corruption among the Andean peoples. For the purpose of understanding Poma’s text, corruption refers to the concept and term corromper in the Spanish language. According to the Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española, the 1611 dictionary of the
Spanish language written by Sebastián de Covarrubias, the term *corromper* refers to the idea of contaminating, destroying, and corrupting.⁵¹ According to Covarrubias, *corromper* could be applied to a great number of situations, ranging from the corruption of “buenas costumbres” (good manners), meats, maidens who were no longer virginal, sickness, and rotten things.⁵² Following Covarrubias’ definition, to be *corrupto* or corrupted is to be ruined socially, morally, or biologically. In the case of the maiden, the implication is that she is ruined in all these ways.

Though Poma does not directly use the term *corromper* in his “Consideration of the many thieves,” the concept of *cruptción*, or corruption, underlies the way he approached his social commentary. Poma began his consideration of the Andeans’ corruption by writing that “now there are great thieves that force [the doors], and loot and steal from the Indians like the Spanish and worse than the Black people.”⁵³ This phrase establishes a clear before and after, where Poma frames the corruption of the Andeans as a direct consequence of the arrival non-Andean Others. This framework cast the Spanish as the models for stealing, and Black people as inherently amoral, in juxtaposition with the idyllic memory of the past. Poma lamented the state of colonial life when he argued that his contemporaries were “lazy,” complaining that as Andean women became “loose,” the Indigenous bloodlines would end, and mestizos would multiply. The *Corónica* is disparaging in its judgement of people of different ethnicities and genders, arguing that as women lost themselves, they would become “great whores that birth mestizos.”⁵⁴ Whether Poma meant his comment to refer to the women’s supposed promiscuity, or their actual occupation as sex workers is unclear, but neither denies his misogynistic distaste. Implicit in his

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⁵¹ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de La Lengua Castellana, o Española* (L. Sanchez, 1611), 242.
⁵² Ibid., 243.
⁵⁴ Ibid.
denunciation is the idea that mestizos represented the moral and biological corruption of his society and its legacy.

The *Corónica* reveals Poma’s anxiety over the way in which the colonies enabled miscegenation. In this manner, Poma shared the Spanish administration’s concerns over the compartmentalization of different peoples. Pablo Rodríguez Jiménez has argued that concerns over the preservation of Spanish bloodlines were based in part on the relative lack of Spanish women present during the first decade of the colonial period, and the sexual interactions between Spanish men and Indigenous women.\(^{55}\) The continued proliferation of these unions, consensual or not, led to an increase in the mestizo population. To some reformers, this implicitly represented a denial of Catholic morals and institutions (particularly marriage), with some colonial governors even financially punishing those Spaniards who refused to bring their Spanish wives with them when they embarked for the Americas.\(^{56}\)

During the earlier parts of the sixteenth century, unions between Spaniards and native women from the Americas were rarely sanctioned by the Catholic church. It was later, closer to the mid to late sixteenth century, that these unions became official, leading to the legitimization of mestizo lineages in both New Spain and the Andes.\(^{57}\) While some mestizos were able to attain social status through colonial institutions, many would struggle to be recognized in a society that sought to simultaneously deny both their Indigenous and European connections.\(^{58}\) Those that managed to gain some form of social recognition, such as Garcilaso de La Vega, el Inca, were

\(^{56}\) Ibid.
\(^{57}\) Ibid., 285–86.
\(^{58}\) Ibid., 287.
often trained under religious orders. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Poma’s half-brother, Martin de Ayala, was among those educated mestizos.

In his illustrations for the Corónica, Poma carefully selected certain attributes to act as markers of identity or “type” for his singular human figure. This act of mediating identities can be seen in other illustrations, including the way in which Poma distinguished between an Andean person from a Spanish person in “The royal overseer beats his native porter” (Figure 12). This illustration divides the composition vertically, separating the titular Spanish overseer and the Andean porter. In the left side of the composition, a bearded man sits atop a donkey. He wears a hat, a long-sleeved shirt with a buttoned vest, and a ruff. A cape, a common garment in Spanish dress, is draped over his body. The man on the left is characterized by European attributes, with his beard and garments acting as identity markers. In contrast, the two human figures on the right are dressed in tunics and wear their straight hair short, with bangs. Unlike the overseer, the two figures on the right do not have beards and are in close contact with a llama. From the title we can assume they are the Andean workers that the overseer is attempting to punish. In this illustration, the three human figures are distinguished as “Spanish” or “Andean” based on their clothing, physical appearances, and the animals they are associated with.

Unlike the figures in “The royal overseer beats his native porter,” the man in “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” showcases both Spanish and Andean attributes. He shares the same haircut as the Andean workers in “The royal overseer beats his native porter,” and his face is beardless. However, his clothes are more similar in style to those of the overseer,

59 Ibid.
60 Francisco de Sousa Congosto, Introducción a la historia de la indumentaria en España, Colección Fundamentos 231 (Madrid: Istmo, 2007), 271.
as he wears a shirt with an intricate pattern, a lace collar, and a pair of patterned breeches or greguescos. Even though the man’s physical appearance would seem to correspond with Poma’s depictions of Andean men, his clothes make him appear to be Spanish. Furthermore, unlike the porters and the overseer, the eponymous thief is physically linked to both a horse and a llama, two non-human animals that subtly stand in for Spanish and Andean realities respectively.

The thief’s characteristics, his connection to these two animals, and Poma’s accompanying text mark him as one living the hybrid identity of a mestizo. The two animals can be read as representatives of both Spain and the Andean colonies, that are then visually tied together by the thief as he holds the two ropes in one hand. This interaction characterizes this image as a product of the Spanish colonial reality, where this trio of figures manifest both the natural realities of colonial life, and Poma’s anxieties over the social and moral changes of his homeland.

Abel Alves has argued that the Spanish concerns over biological lineages were applicable to both human and non-human animals.61 Alves claimed that the term casta was used in the Spanish colonial context to describe the lineages of dogs, horses, and people, with concerns over “blood purity” or limpieza de sangre guiding their reproduction.62 Horses in particular were directly linked to what it meant to be Spanish or of European descent in the American context. Despite diverging claims that question their actual use in the battlefield, horses have become part of the mythology generated around the Spanish conquests in the Americas.63 Graham R. B.

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I would like to thank Kailey Fairchild for bringing this aspect of the term casta to my attention.
Cunningham asserted that “For, after God, we owed the victory to the horses” was a common phrase in contemporary records of the Spanish conquests.\textsuperscript{64} In his \textit{Historia general del Perú} Garcilaso de la Vega, claimed that Perú, his homeland, was won “a la Gineta,” or on horseback, with \textit{gineta} being a type of saddle with short stirrups that was thought to have Arab origins.\textsuperscript{65}

The horse in “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” is depicted marching forward while holding its neck upright. It appears stiff, and almost sculptural in its posture. Its hooves are noticeably more detailed than any of the other figures’ feet, with four distinct dots marking the nails used for each horseshoe. The horse’s mouth is meticulously rendered to depict the folds of its upper lip. Its coat is carefully shaded, with small tufts of hair on its forehead and hooves having particularly lively textures. In the context of the Spanish Americas, a horse’s coat was associated with its value, as an ideal horse was to have a good coat, mouth, and character.\textsuperscript{66} Specific terms related to the color of their coats, such as \textit{Bayo} (cream colored) and \textit{Colorido} (bay) were used to distinguish between them.\textsuperscript{67} Unlike the generalizing term \textit{carnero}, which was used for different bovines and camelids as discussed in Chapter 1, horse terminology was highly specific and varied.

In direct contrast to the horse, the llama in “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” is pushed to the background and to the right side. Most of its body is covered by the marching horse, with only its neck, head, and front legs remaining visible. Unlike the horse’s more detailed harness, the llama is tied directly with the rope that the thief is using to haul it.

\textsuperscript{64} Cunningham, \textit{The Horses of the Conquest}, 11.
\textsuperscript{65} Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, \textit{Historia General Del Perú} (Madrid: Rodríguez Blanco, 1722), 439; Cunningham, \textit{The Horses of the Conquest}, 18–19.
\textsuperscript{66} Cunningham, \textit{The Horses of the Conquest}, 121–22.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 120–22.
Even though it is being pulled, the llama remains stationary, with both its feet on the ground. In direct opposition to the docile and obedient horse, the llama refuses to move as it stares at the smiling demon.

Despite its background position in the illustration, llamas and other camelids were as valued by Andeans and the Inca as horses were by the Spanish, if not more. In colonial contexts the two different species were often linked to one another. Adam Herring has suggested that in areas were neither llamas nor horses were common, native artists would conflate the two as “prestigious animals sustained at great expense.”68 Where they were more common, llamas and other camelids were selectively bred for specific qualities. Alpacas were bred for their coats, the fibers of which were used to make textiles, while llamas were kept as pack animals, and used for military needs and sacrifices. Llamas of pure color were specifically used for ritual sacrifices.69 Breeding llamas and alpacas for selective traits was a common practice and Quechua classification systems divided up specimens based on their coats’ qualities.70 These correspond to an extent to contemporary llamas and alpacas, but archeologist Jane Wheeler has argued that the preconquest era involved even more heavily regulated selective breeding efforts. Wheeler’s investigation of a group of alpaca mummies found in El Yaral revealed highly uniform fleeces, with little variation in either coloration or diameter.71 The quality of these mummies’ fibers matched those of contemporary alpacas and greatly surpassed those of contemporary llamas. Yet, based on the way these animals were buried, Wheeler suggested that these mummies were sacrificed in part because they were culled for their inadequate coats. As Wheeler argued, this

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68 Herring, Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca, 36.
70 Ibid., 834.
71 Ibid., 838.
would mean that there were likely other specimens with even better coats that were kept for breeding purposes.\textsuperscript{72}

The El Yaral mummies were selectively bred hybrid specimens that shared traits and roles with both llamas and alpacas. Their existence speaks to the Andean breeders’ knowledge and valuation of these animals, but the fact that they are no longer extant hybrids reveals the widespread environmental changes that took place with the arrival of the Spanish. After the conquest of Cuzco in 1532, European livestock was distributed across the Andean landscape, and llamas were relegated to the higher altitudes where the European species could not survive.\textsuperscript{73} During the Spanish conquest, animals were used as a form of imperial control and domination in a similar manner to how the Incas once used llamas for this same purpose.

Herring has argued that, for Andeans, llamas were “creatures of empire and instruments of cultural power.”\textsuperscript{74} During the times of the Incan empire, llamas were used extensively to facilitate trade and military campaigns throughout the Andean territories. Due to their ability to adapt to different territories and their sturdiness as pack animals, llamas enabled the Incas to expand their empire from modern day Chile to Ecuador.\textsuperscript{75} Once established in the conquered territories, llamas reinforced Incan authority, acting as reminders of their presence and trade networks.\textsuperscript{76} As all llamas technically belonged to the Incan state, they also served to manifest an

\textsuperscript{74} Herring, Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca, 18.
\textsuperscript{76} Herring, Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca, 37.
imperial interpretation of property that united llamas, land, and access to water under one authority.77

Both llamas and horses acted as imperial manifestations of control, and both were involved in the processes of overtaking local leaders. Both types of animals also exemplified the importance of mobility in exertions of power, as llamas and horses were both used to move resources and people throughout different territories. Movement defined the use of these animals in the pre-conquest and colonial eras, an attribute clearly illustrated by Poma’s forward marching horse. It is even more striking, then, that the llama refuses to move in its recognition of the demonic figure.

In the context of “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom,” the demonic figure is the physical manifestation of the corrupt existence of the mestizo. This drawing presents a literal deal with the devil for individual gain in direct affront to Poma’s idyllic view of the past and religious moral code. If the mestizo’s appearance and connection to the two non-human animals visualize his physical and biological corruption, the demon is there to showcase how this quality extends to his moral and religious being.

Furthermore, as a parallel to the mestizo thief, the demon can be interpreted as hybridity made monstrous. According to Homi Bhabha, hybridity is a cultural characteristic that manifests in the “in-between” spaces in colonial and postcolonial contexts.78 This is to say that hybridity can be understood to represent a state of negotiation and translation that takes place

between two cultures. Though Bhabha presents the term “hybrid” in terms of culture, in the context of “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” I propose that it be understood in terms of biological existence too. Understanding the presence of the *mestizo* thief, the horse, the llama, and their relationships to ongoing concerns surrounding lineages and the preservation of “purity” could explain the uncanny presence of the demon in this otherwise believable scene.

Siv Kristoffersen claimed that demons are often depicted as hybrids. In this state, they sport combinations of different species in order to mark them as beings that cannot be found in nature. Poma’s demon has feline like claws on its hands, and its feet have the talons of birds of prey. Though most of the demon’s body is obscured by the horse, its spine remains visible. A series of spikes descends from the demon’s neck and down its spine, culminating in a bell hanging near its tailbone. The demon’s face sports a significantly hooked nose, and a pointed chin. Its head is adorned by a pair of curved horns and sheep-like pointed ears. The demon has curly hair, with a small wavy tuft hanging over its forehead in a manner similar to the horse’s. Its face has dramatic wrinkles around its sharply toothed smile, possibly suggesting that its skin is furless.

Unlike other human and non-human animal lineages that represent natural possibilities and (to an extent) possible origin points, the demon’s body manifests an unnatural and monstrous hybrid that defies natural norms and expectations. Onno Oerlemans has described hybridity as a question of “not just about beings or identities that are in some way mixed, [but] it is also about

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the struggle to imagine and represent them, how to bring them forth."⁸⁰ While the thief’s existence as a mestizo can be explained and understood, the demon’s existence is one of excess, of attributes unnaturally piled up on one body: it is a hybrid that should never be.

“One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” can be understood as a visual representation of anxieties surrounding both moral and biological “purity.” The two figures coded as hybrids are cast in a morally negative light, while the two animals are being forced to follow their paths. The different stances that the animals take in these circumstances, however, can be linked back to Poma’s position with regards to questions of lineages and castas. While he did share the casta anxiety of the Spanish ruling class, his worries were explicitly with the preservation and celebration of Indigenous, particularly Incan, lineages.⁸¹ I propose that herein lies the reason why the llama remains immobile—and markedly skeptical in its gaze toward the hybrid demon—while the horse, the man, and the demon move forward.

The four figures in “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom” are connected through their actions and gazes. The llama and horse are physically tied to the thief, who is in turn regarding the demon. The horse, thief, and demon all move towards the left, which is where the horse directs its gaze. The llama, on the other hand, stares directly at the demon, seemingly aware of the transaction taking place. Jacques Derrida suggested that we tend to differentiate between animals and persons based on their awarenesses of their state of being as manifested through the way each directs their gazes and recognizes the gazes of others.⁸²

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⁸¹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 929 [943].
That Therefore I am (More to Follow),” Derrida pondered what it means to be recognized and to be capable of recognizing another through sight. Derrida argued that animals can “look at [us], clothed or naked, and in a word, without a word, address [us].” What Derrida described is the multistage process of recognizing the self through the gaze of another, when he observed that he “[saw him]self naked under the gaze of a cat.” Nakedness in this context is the condition that engenders shame, an affective realization that Derrida connects to being “human.” To be ashamed of being seen, one must first recognize another’s gaze as conscious. In this manner, the affective nature of recognition challenges the assumption of a strict separation between animality and humanity within the parameters of consciousness. Derrida concluded that it is impossible to ignore an animal’s consciousness once they address you through their gaze.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, llamas were seen as having sentience, and being held in high regards despite not being seen as equals to humans. In the case of the llama in “One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom,” I argue that it is this situational recognition that allows it to stand its ground. As a representative of Andeanness, the llama’s moral stance and awareness distinguishes it from the mindless horse and the corrupt mestizo thief. As the one aspect of this drawing that acts as a reminder of Poma’s idealized view of Incan society, the llama can retain the values that Poma argued were lost with the Spanish arrival. The llama that

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83 Ibid., 381.
84 Ibid., 382.
85 Ibid., 380. “I see myself naked under the gaze of a cat.”
86 Ibid., 374.
87 Ibid., 383.
refuses to move is therefore the only incorruptible being in the image, the only one to escape the worries over the possible perverting effects of hybridity.

“One of many thieves” is an image that ponders and visualizes the multifaceted nature of corruption, and how it can manifest physically and spiritually in the colonial Andes. It is also the stereotyping diagnosis of this condition upon all mestizos, to the extent that they drag others with them. There is, however, one final aspect to consider in this image, and that is the role that text plays in the central transaction. Despite Poma’s disparaging comments against mestizos and Spaniards in his consideración, the interaction between the demon and the man is not written in Spanish. Rather, the agreement between the two humanoid figures is communicated in small inscriptions written in Quechua. While this chapter has mostly focused on the visualization of hybridity and purity, the linguistic element reinforces the importance of the llama’s response in contrast to the horse’s nonchalant demeanor. Implicit in the differences in their reactions is the possibility that the llama understands and disapproves of what it is hearing.

The ability to respond and recognize language is one that has shaped how we understand animal selfhood and sentience. Fundamentally, what writers such as Michel de Montaigne argue, and Derrida later champions, is the idea that animals have “a capacity to respond,” even if they do not do so within the constraints of human language. The following chapter looks more into this question of communicating with llamas, their ability to respond, and to be responded to. Specifically, Chapter 3 looks at the linguistics and meanings behind how a llama could be heard in the context of a ritual space.

A crowd has gathered for a grand event (Figure 1). Countless bodies are assembled, so many that their heads become small semicircles as they become abstracted in the distance. Though the landscape they stand upon gives the vaguest sense of a horizon line, the sea of heads suggests a vastness that extends beyond the scope of the illustration, beyond the scope of the book, even. We are left to imagine how many more participants there could be. Guiding this crowd is the central figure in the composition, a man dressed in a lavishly decorated tunic. He wears a decorated headband, woven sandals, and two pairs of bands with tassels that wrap around below his knees and above his ankles. Around his shoulders is a cloak that flows behind him, in stark contrast to the stiffness of his tunic. Unlike most of the participants, this central figure is considerably more adorned than everyone else, the patterns on his clothes the most detailed and complex.

The man is focused on a singular llama that stands upright and stares at the gathering. Its cropped body forms a column that parallels the left frame of the composition. Keeping the llama in place is a rope that is tied limply around its muzzle. The rope is tied to a stake with a circular top, binding the llama to the ground. Everyone seems captivated by the llama as the central figure gestures towards it. Next to his lips, a small inscription states “.y.y.” Surprisingly, the llama responds through closed lips with its own “y.y,”
On the page following the enigmatic illustration of the “Feast of the Inkas: wariqsa, dance; arawi, song of the Inka. He sings with his red llama,” Poma transcribed the lyrics that would have been sung during this particular festival, the wariqsa arawi.\(^90\) The wariqsa arawi was a yearly Inca festival that took place in the main square of Cuzco.\(^91\) Poma described this event as guided by sound, where the Inca leader, the Sapa Inca, would be joined by his retinue (the coyas and ñustas, or wives and daughters, queens and princesses, respectively) in following the animal’s lead. According to Poma, the initial song would follow the llama’s tone and rhythm, where the Inca would say “‘Y, y, y’ … like the llama he [says] ‘yn.’ To which the coyas and ñustas would reply. Singing loudly and softly.”\(^92\) The first of several songs, the wariqsa arawi was a song of thanks, remembrance, and absence, that would segue into the haylli, a song of triumph, and continue into several song passages on water, pain, and separation.\(^93\)

In his analysis of Poma’s wariqsa arawi, Bruce Mannheim termed Poma’s description of this festival as a “generic account” where the proceedings are described through the performances that would take place.\(^94\) This is to say that rather than an anecdotal recounting of a specific festival, Poma’s wariqsa arawi describes the type of festival through its proceedings. This procedure followed a series of different songs consisting of a call and response system between the festivals’ attendants. Starting with the first song, the people gathered begin with

\(^90\) Note that Poma alternatively refers to this festival as Uaricza or Varicza. The term wariqsa is used in Rolena Adorno’s transcription of the text. Guaman Poma de Ayala, El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 319 [321].


\(^92\) Guaman Poma de Ayala, El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 319 [321].


\(^94\) Ibid., 213.
their “y-y-y-y” as a representation of the sounds made by llamas and rivers. The Inca would then sing, and the coya and ñustas would respond by singing and repeating the words wariqsa and arawi. According to Mannheim, it was the women’s response that categorized and named the initial song, a format shared by those that followed. The last song Poma included speaks of the pain of separation and lost love. Presumably, all of these were sung at and with the llama.

Mannheim suggested that the wariqsa arawi was meant to be an instructional guide of the festival’s regular proceedings inscribed within the Corónica’s greater framework. In this sense, Mannheim argued that the Corónica presents a guide for performing the festival, allowing the ritual space to act as a justification for why certain actions that might seem unusual (i.e., having a crowd emotionally sing to a llama), can be read as procedural. Mannheim concluded his analysis by posing the question of why the Inca would sing “a song of despairing love” to the llama.

In accordance with the rest of the Corónica, “He sings with his red llama” is meant as a didactic accompaniment to Poma’s description of the corresponding ritual. In response to Mannheim’s possibly unanswerable question, this chapter will look at “He sings with his red llama” as a simulacrum of both the festival and its participants. In other words, this chapter will propose that “He sings with his red llama” can be read as a nostalgic, fictional, and generic reenactment of the cultural legacy of the wariqsa awari festival. By acknowledging the limitations of the illustrative medium within the constraints of the Corónica as a book, this

95 Ibid., 219.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid., 223–24, 227.
98 Ibid., 217, 227.
99 Ibid., 227.
100 Ibid.
chapter will consider the llama as the carrier of color and sound within the construction and enactment of the ritual space. Recognizing the llama’s connection to Andean cosmologies, I propose that “He sings with his red llama” is a meditation on preservation and loss. While we might not know why the Inca would sing of despairing love, perhaps we can see why Poma memorialized their song of loss.

The connection between llamas and the Andean landscape has existed since pre-Hispanic times. Llamas were widely distributed throughout the Andean regions as the primary herding animal in great part due to their utility as burden animals. Unlike alpacas, who are more delicate and had more specialized uses, llamas were distributed and bred by the Inca empire throughout the Andes. While llamas were important prior to the Incas’ massive imperial project saw llamas recast as part of a greater imperial network. Herds of llamas were reminders of the Inca’s control over the Andean territories.

Llamas were one of several natural resources that manifested Inca control. R. Tom Zuidema has suggested that llamas belonged to the same category of “property” that understood land and access to water as things to be owned and defended. In “He sings with his red llama” and the wariqsa arawi festival, water and llamas are deeply connected through their sonorous qualities. In addition to Mannheim’s interpretation of the “y-y-y-y” as the shared sound of llamas and rivers, Denise Y. Arnold and Juan de Dios Yapita have also referred to the same syllables as

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102 Ibid., 234; Herring, Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca, 18.
103 Herring, Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca, 18.
the sound of the water in irrigation canals. Besides sharing the same sounds, the singing llama is chosen in part due to its connection to the visibility of water. Emblazoned on its neck are the terms *puca llama*. The term *puca* or *puka* is a term alternatively translated as red, or reddish brown, and it is used in this illustration to label the specific type of coat that llamas had to have for the *wariqsa arawi*. Among the songs that Poma included in his description of “He sings to his red llama” is a song that refers to a type of algae, *murqutu*, that grows in rivers and streams. According to Mannheim, the *murqutu*’s color can be described through the same term *puka*, linguistically linking the llama’s coat to the coloration of flowing bodies of water.\textsuperscript{106}

Color, sound, and the natural world all came together in the body of the ritualistic llama. Though the llama’s body acted as the catalyst for the ritual experience, it was through sound and emotions that the ritual space became activated. Arnold and Yapita have argued that llamas are inherently musical and emotional beings, a characteristic that would often be mobilized in ritual spaces. For instance, they cite how making a llama “weep” would be used in certain rituals to bring about rain.\textsuperscript{107} In another of Poma’s illustrations, “The tenth month, October; *Uma Raymi Killa*, month of the principal feast,” a llama is shown tied in front of a crowd in a similar fashion to the singing llama (Figure 7). However, rather than singing, this crowd is crying to call forth the rain. The role of the black *carnero* in this image is to “help them cry.” Though the black llama does not weep, its “assistance” allows for the collective experience that was meant to summon water.

\textsuperscript{106} Mannheim, “What Kind of Text Is Guaman Poma’s Warikza Arawi?,” 221.
\textsuperscript{107} Arnold and Yapita, *River of Fleece, River of Song*, 16.
Like “weeping,” singing was a way to engage with the llamas’ connections to Andean cosmologies. Though manifested differently, some contemporary herding practices in the Andes still uphold the traditional importance of singing to the animals. Arnold and Yapita have suggested that these traditions were able to remain, and are still influencing modern herding, due to the Europeans’ ignorance when it came to Andean camelids.\(^\text{108}\) Arnold’s and Yapita’s study into modern animal songs was conducted in Qaqachaka, Bolivia, a region that was formerly part of the Inca empire. Acknowledging the centuries that have passed since the Spanish conquest, Arnold and Yapita contend that contemporary herding practices in this region, including singing to the animals, retain Inca influences.\(^\text{109}\) When the modern songs speak to animals’ mythical origins in the landscape and watering places, or their connections to celestial beings, they build upon historical traditions that have been passed down through generations.\(^\text{110}\) As Arnold and Yapita argued, the songs allow people, specifically older women, “to remember and reproduce multiple aspects of the delicate Andean eco-system.”\(^\text{111}\)

In their study, Arnold and Yapita identified twelve distinct types of llama songs, a number they link to the amount of natural fleece colors found on their fur coats.\(^\text{112}\) Under Inca rule, color was a fundamental characteristic in the ritualistic sacrifices of llamas. Llamas of specific colors were sacrificed for different deities, creating a breeding demand for animals of “pure color.” Jane Wheeler has suggested that shrines had established herd breeding systems created to supply the white, red-brown, and black llamas needed for the rituals.\(^\text{113}\) Breeding for

\(^\text{108}\) Ibid., 14–16.
\(^\text{109}\) Ibid., 15.
\(^\text{110}\) Ibid., 22.
\(^\text{111}\) Ibid., 23.
\(^\text{112}\) Ibid., 147.
“pure” colored llamas was a multi-step process, as all animals were bred for certain desired traits (notably their fleece), and then carefully selected and bred for their color. Ritual llamas were part of a small subsect of animals that could only exist through meticulously constructed and regulated breeding systems that flourished under Inca control.\(^\text{114}\)

Noting the importance of color for the purposes of sacrifices, Poma’s choice of medium for the \textit{Corónica}, ink on paper, presented a unique challenge to the way color could manifest. Among the very few instances where color is noted in the \textit{Corónica}, five of them correspond to illustrations of llamas. Four of these are placed in the context of ritual sacrifices, with three of them labeled \textit{carnero negro} or “black ram,” (including the llama partaking in the weeping ritual, Figure 7), while the other one is the singing \textit{puka llama} or “red-brown” llama. Unlike the black llamas, the \textit{puka} llama is allowed to retain its Quechua name and adjective, foregrounding the importance of the Indigenous language and sound for the accompanying songs.

Scholars have argued that the connections between fleece and water extend to the linguistic similarities between the terms \textit{jawi}, “fleece,” and \textit{jawira}, “river.”\(^\text{115}\) As Poma’s “He sings to his red llama” and its accompanying lyrics demonstrate, sound, just like color, binds the llama to the flowing water in its lived environment. However, this awareness of the llama’s visibility and audibility is not applicable to the rest of the \textit{Corónica}’s illustrations. Even though llamas are arguably the most significant animal in the \textit{Corónica}, they only appear in fourteen illustrations.\(^\text{116}\) It is telling, then, that Poma only chose to highlight their color when placing them in a ritual setting. This emphasis on the visible body of the ritual llama is further manifested in

\(^{114}\) I would like to thank Dr. Adam Herring for bringing up the logistics of breeding to my attention.
\(^{115}\) Arnold and Yapita, \textit{River of Fleece, River of Song}, 168, 196.
\(^{116}\) There is an argument to be made that birds appear more frequently than llamas. However, most of their depictions relegate them to background details and features of the landscape more than active characters or figures.
the case of the singing llama, the only one of these animals that is observed by others within the illustration. Elsewhere in the Corónica, llamas, including those accompanying Noah and the mestizo thief, were observers of the actions of others. Their questioning gazes were directed at those around them. Even the black llama at the Uma Raymi Killa stares one-sidedly, as the crying crowd divert their eyes. The singing llama, in contrast, commands the crowd’s gazes. Even though the center of the composition is occupied by the Sapa Inca, the crowd’s collective scrutiny points to the singing llama’s pivotal role for the wariqsa arawi.

The centrality of the singing llama is a rare instance where the animal body in the Corónica is individualized and set to stand apart from a group of others. This is particularly noticeable because llamas are herding and pack animals. Through centuries of domesticating practices, llamas were “designed” to be kept in groups under human supervision. Indeed, herds of llamas cannot exist outside of captivity.117 Even though llamas are understood as domesticated pack animals, the collective identity of llama herds is determined and maintained by human intervention.

The Corónica portrays both llama herds and individual llamas. The former manifest mostly in the backgrounds of other images, where they are meant to illustrate the role or characteristics of the accompanying human figures. Some examples of this configuration are presented in Poma’s section on the census, where each image and description corresponds to a specific demographic within Andean society. In the case of the maqt’a, (twelve-year-old youths), part of their role within the community is to watch over the llama herd, leading to their inclusion within the image (Figure 13).118 Surprisingly, even when relegated to the background, the llamas

in the herd that accompany the maqt'a are differentiated from one another. Although their bodies are technically the same, their expressions and actions vary. While one llama looks upward, another grazes, and the third stares straight ahead. Even in this illustrated herd, each llama stands out as a separate entity.

Unlike the individuals that make up the herds of llamas, the crowd of people witnessing the singing llama are just that—a crowd. Moreover, this group of people is so large that they are abstracted into becoming part of the landscape. The juxtaposition between the singing llama portrayed as an individual with a voice and the herd of people speaks to the manner in which the ritual space transforms its participants in its reshaping of normative interactions. Only the Sapa Inca is allowed to retain his personhood, but not as the most powerful figure in the image. Rather, he is recast as the mediator between the individualized llama and the depersonalized people. He becomes the liminal figure that must act as the conductor of the ritual space. Unlike the others around him, the Sapa Inca retains his voice, but only because he can speak the language of the only “individual” in the image—the llama—by imitating its call: “y.y.”

“He sings to his red llama” captures the activation of the ritual space and consequent reorientation of social roles. According to Catherine Bell, ritual spaces and ritualization construct and make use of power relations. Said relations, Bell suggested, manifest through the act of participating in the ritual itself. The ritual space engenders a system of power relations built upon the careful control of seemingly “instinctive” social dynamics, while simultaneously empowering those who might initially appear to be subsumed by them. The ritual space can lead to a reversal of expected or established roles, temporarily flipping who is actually in

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120 Ibid., 206–7.
control.\textsuperscript{121} Though I have argued that the singing llama is an active participant and agent that captivates its audience with its words, this does not deny its role as a sacrificial being. In fact, its ability to be observed and heard is entirely contingent upon its eventual sacrifice.

Llamas in the \textit{Corónica} are emotive, enigmatic, and charming. Their presence in Poma’s illustrations reveal the importance they had in understandings of Andean societies before and during the colonial period. They were local, conscious beings that embodied both Andean ecologies and ideologies. However, they were fundamentally misunderstood by the European colonizers. Poma worked on the \textit{Corónica} until around the year 1615, almost 85 years after the conquest of Cuzco in 1532. By this point in time, the original llama and alpaca herds that the Inca nourished, and conquistadors witnessed, had massively decreased. As the Spanish enacted their colonizing project, and diseases ravaged the human population in the Andes, the massive loss of life and the disintegration of social structures inevitably disrupted the carefully constructed herding systems.\textsuperscript{122} According to Wheeler, not only were the animals lost, but so was the rearing and breeding knowledge that had been orally transmitted for generations.\textsuperscript{123} At the time when the \textit{Corónica} was made, Poma’s powerful singing llama was but a nostalgic impossibility; its abilities to transcend its body and embody the Andean cosmology were only a memory, lost like the history that Poma so thoroughly sought to preserve. Even the genetic reality of the \textit{puca llama}, reliant upon selective and controlling breeding practices, could not be recaptured.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 207.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 468–69.
Upon first impression, the *wariqsa arawi* section seems to fundamentally oppose the *Corónica*’s purported didactic and encyclopedic purposes. Its heavy use of Quechua and culturally specific references would have demanded a lot from Poma’s primarily Spanish audience. Unlike the early biblical images (like Noah’s Ark), and those illustrating the colonial realities (like “One of many thieves”), the *wariqsa arawi* leaves the realm of that which a Spanish audience could have possibly been familiar with. Under the standards that shaped other sections of the book, the *wariqsa arawi* and its accompanying image are almost unreadable. Yet, in Poma’s partial translations of the song lyrics and his sparse descriptions, Mannheim suggested that the *wariqsa arawi* can be read as a guide, akin to a narrative of ritual behavior.¹²⁴ Not entirely dissimilar from an illustrated manual, the *wariqsa arawi* tries to teach its reader how to enact part of the ritual. However, because of the effects of colonialism on the social, environmental, and cultural realities of the Andean regions, any attempted reenactment would have been incomplete.

The *Corónica* was a text that sought to inform and bring about social and political change. But it was also a way to preserve that which was lost or had changed since the arrival of the Spanish. The singing llama is a nostalgic memento of the complexities of Inca and Andean cosmologies, of the way that nature shaped them, and the role of people in preserving them. While investigations such as Arnold’s and Yapita’s demonstrate that certain regions have managed to retain certain traditions, the widespread ceremonial importance of the *wariqsa arawi* with its large, abstracted crowds and specially bred llamas, harkens back to the time of widespread imperial control and influence from the Inca empire. By the time Poma wrote and

illustrated the *Corónica*, the times of the powerful singing llamas that could command crowds were gone. Yet, in his drawings and text, he could see them sing anew.
CONCLUSION

AN ALERT GAZE AND A MELANCHOLIC VOICE

Elle marche le cou tendu, sa jolie petite tête en avant, ses grands et beaux yeux noirs, au regard doux et mélancolique, largement ouverts.

She walks with her neck outstretched, her pretty little head forward, her large and beautiful black eyes, soft and melancholic, are wide open.

—Pierre Duviols, “Une Petite Chronique Retrouvée: Errores, Ritos, Supersticiones y Ceremonias de Los Yndios de La Prouincia de Chinchaycocha y Otras Del Piru”

In 1974, Pierre Duviols described llamas as sensitive and delicate animals that lacked any sort of timidity. However, as beasts of burden, llamas’ temperaments would seem to oppose their role as working animals. Duviols claimed that in order to appease working llamas, people would put a veil on their heads so they could not see the load they were carrying. In this way, llamas would be willing to work while avoiding the associated “humiliation.” Duviols wrote that llamas move at their own tempo, refusing to advance or cooperate if they are whipped or hit (as can be seen in Poma’s illustration of the cruel royal overseer, Figure 12). To know llamas is to recognize the way they move through the world, their stubbornness, and their keen awareness.

126 Ibid., 295–96.
of their own beauty and dignity. To know and to love a llama is to treat it with respect. To respect and protect a llama is to hide its labor and its body from itself.

Duviols’ passage shows the strange position that individual llamas held in Andean societies. On the one hand, llamas are described as critical and aware of their surroundings, particularly in relation to the way they are capable of recognition through vision. There is also the undeniable level of affection that existed for these animals, bordering on a type of tenderness that transcended the animal-human divide. Duviols wrote that, for long journeys, Inca men were not allowed to travel with llamas without their spouses. Implicit in this claim is the possibility that some Inca men would be willing to abandon their human social structures because they loved their llamas so much. On the other hand, people are in a position where they could simply stop the llama from viewing its own body, effectively intercepting its ability to recognize itself and feel shame for its labor. If the llama cannot see, then the llama cannot know.

This emphasis on vision speaks to the importance of the gaze in processing information. In Jacques Derrida’s consideration of animal sentience, consciousness depends upon recognition of the self and of others. Derrida grounded this point on the idea that what makes us human is our awareness of our own nudity and shame in the face of scrutiny. The unconscious animal, Derrida argued, is naked without knowing it.

Under Derrida’s parameters, Duviols’ llama presents an interesting quandary. Duviols argued that the llama would feel shame upon observing its own body. But its embarrassment is

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127 Ibid., 296.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
not based on its nudity, it is based on its labor. Duviols’ llama feels ashamed of its practical role within human society. Yet, the veil frees the llama from the potential embarrassment. In being clothed, Duviols’ llama can return to its carefree ways of moving through the world as it pleases, with its head held high. Though Derrida identified the need to dress oneself as one of the properties of being human, Duviols’ llama demands clothing.\textsuperscript{131} While it cannot dress itself, the llama can only carry out its duty satisfactorily once it dons a veil. It is “a fellow sentient inhabitant of this world,” as Abel Alves put it, but one that must be necessarily distinguished because of its utility for human societies and economies.\textsuperscript{132}

Within Andean societies, llamas occupied a fuzzy liminal space between humans and non-human animals. Poma’s illustrations certainly demonstrate that llamas, unlike animals brought over by the Spanish, participated, and responded to every situation they were put into. Simply put, llamas in the \textit{Corónica} emote under circumstances that no other animal reacts to. Llamas also notice things that others do not. From the llama observing Noah praying (Figure 2), the llama’s relentless scrutiny of the demon (Figure 3), culminating in the only image that gave the llama a voice of its own (Figure 1), the three images I foregrounded in this thesis all manifest the importance of the llamas’ gaze. In their assessment of the situations, these three llamas are placed in a position not dissimilar to the readers, often staring at the focal point of any given composition. Their positions on the sidelines speak to their involvement in a wide range of scenarios. However, their cropped bodies and their captivity in these three images reveal that, despite their awareness, llamas are not in control of the societies they live in. Rather, they are

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{132} Alves, \textit{The Animals of Spain: An Introduction to Imperial Perceptions and Human Interaction with Other Animals, 1492-1826}, 2011, 13:104.
herded and moved along by people. Even the singing llama, though it has a voice, is only allowed the power to captivate the crowd in the context of the ritual space and through the intervention of the Sapa Inca.

The Spanish colonial administrations might have obfuscated the role and lives of llamas in Andean society, but they were not able to fully erase them. As Poma’s drawings reveal, the memory of llamas’ past importance persisted, even as their contemporary selves shifted, and adapted to the colonial impositions. Poma used llamas to illustrate a joint religious world, colonial anxieties over *mestizaje*, and the manifestations of ritual spaces. However, he also included them as actors in daily life, and in relation to people’s livelihoods. All of these llamas, regardless of the scenarios they are placed in, keep their eyes wide open, endlessly observing and reacting to what happens around them.

The three case studies brought forth in this thesis are but a small fraction of all the images of llamas and other animals in the *Corónica*. In each of these three images, the presence of llamas and other animals are critical for understanding the circumstances that Poma chose to illustrate. Though at times they might make the images less readable, Poma’s llamas contribute to the significance of any scene they are in. In a document as complex and multifaceted as the *Corónica*, they stand out due to their curious expressions, unflinching gazes, and participatory presence. To ignore them would be to veil away key participants in the history and culture of the Andes. Rather, as readers, we can try to engage with these memorializing images, and perhaps even come to harmonize with them as they sing their songs.
Figure 1. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Fiesta de los Yngas: wariqsa, baile; arawi, canción del Ynga. Canta con su llama roja (Feast of the Inkas: wariqsa, dance; arawi, song of the Inka. He sings with his red llama),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 318 [320]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “La segunda edad del mundo: Noé (The second age of the world: Noah),” in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, page 24 [24]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 3. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Uno de muchos ladrones que prosperan en este reino. "Vas a robar bien. Yo te voy a ayudar", promete el demonio. "Aquí tienes cien monedas de plata", responde el ladrón (One of the many thieves who prosper in this kingdom. "You will rob well. I'm going to help you," the devil promises. "Here are one hundred silver coins," responds the thief),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 928 [942]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 4. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “La primera edad del mundo: Adán y Eva, en un paisaje andino (The first age of the world: Adam and Eve, in an Andean landscape),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 22 [22]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 5. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “La primera edad de los indios, Vari Vira Cocha Runa (The first age of the Indians, Vari Vira Cocha Runa),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 48 [48]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 6. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “El tercer mes, marzo; Pacha Puquy Killa, mes de la maduración de la tierra (The third month, March; Pacha Puquy Killa, month of the maturation of the soil),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 240 [242]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 7. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “El décimo mes, octubre; Uma Raymi Killa, mes del festejo principal (The tenth month, October; Uma Raymi Killa, month of the principal feast),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 254 [256]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 8. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Ídolos y waqas de los Collasuyos, Uilca Nota (Idols and waqas of the Qullasuyus, Uilca Nota),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 270 [272]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 9. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “Los andinos sacrifican una llama de acuerdo con las leyes antiguas de idolatría (Native Andeans sacrifice a llama according to the ancient laws of idolatry),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 880 [894]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 10. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “La tercera edad del mundo: Abrahám, a punto de sacrificar a su hijo Isaac (The third age of the world: Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac),” in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, page 26 [26]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 11. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, untitled illustration from the Códice Murúa: Historia y Genealogía de los reyes Incas del Perú del Padre Mercenario Fray Martín de Murúa, c. 1590. Ink and watercolor on paper, page 103v. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 12. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “El mayordomo maltrata a su cargador andino (The royal overseer beats his native porter),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 524 [538]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Figure 13. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “La sexta "calle" o grupo de edad, maqt’a, joven de doce años (The sixth "street" or age group, maqt’a, youth of twelve years),” in El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615, page 204 [206]. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
ABBREVIATIONS


Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. *Tesoro de La Lengua Castellana, o Española* L. Sanchez, 1611.


