

DESTABILIZING DIALOGUES: SELF, RELIGION, AND POLITICS OF
CONQUEST IN MANDEVILLE'S *TRAVELS* AND GUAMÁN POMA

A Thesis submitted to the faculty of
San Francisco State University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree

AS
36
2017
WLIT
.C43

Master of Arts

In

Comparative Literature

by

Elizabeth Chan Lee

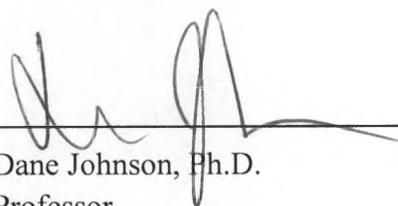
San Francisco, California

August 2017

Copyright by
Elizabeth Chan Lee
2017

CERTIFICATION OF APPROVAL

I certify that I have read *Destabilizing Dialogues: Self, Religion, and Politics of Conquest* in Mandeville's *Travels* and *Guamán Poma* by Elizabeth Chan Lee, and that in my opinion this work meets the criteria for approving a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree Master of Arts in Comparative Literature at San Francisco State University.



Dane Johnson, Ph.D.
Professor



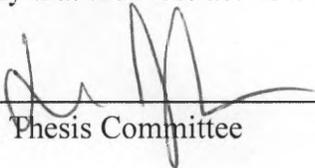
Shirin Khanmohamadi, Ph.D.
Associate Professor

DESTABILIZING DIALOGUES: SELF, RELIGION, AND POLITICS OF
CONQUEST IN MANDEVILLE'S *TRAVELS* AND GUAMÁN POMA

Elizabeth Chan Lee
San Francisco, California
2017

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1356) and Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno* [The First New Chronicle and Good Government, 1615] present religion and land as significantly entwined with how the Mandeville narrator and Guamán Poma de Ayala position themselves within their text and their respective societies. In the *Travels*, the narrator attempts to instill more religious piety among his Christian readers by presenting a fictional pilgrimage to the Holy Land and depictions of inhabitants in the Far East. In the *Corónica*, on the other hand, Guamán Poma de Ayala offers a revisionist history of the Indians and Incas, criticizes Spanish officials and priests, and advises King Philip III on what constitutes good governance. In this thesis, I will analyze how the Mandeville narrator and Guamán Poma de Ayala construct their textual authority. I will show that they both in some ways undermine their position and world perspective due to their relationship to those they represent in their work.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this thesis.



Chair, Thesis Committee

8/11/17

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Mapping Mandeville's Ambivalence in the Face of the Other	6
Chapter 2: Politics of Representation in Guamán Poma de Ayala	24
Conclusion	47

Introduction

The religious ideologies that spurred the Crusades of the Middle Ages and in part the Spanish conquests of the Americas present a question of identity that is intrinsically tied to land and therefore politics. In *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, composed during the mid-fourteenth century, a narrator claiming to be an English knight offers readers a virtual journey to the Holy Land, calling for European lords and knights to fulfill their Christian duty and seize this land from the Saracens. Yet this attempt to revive the Crusades constitutes only a small, though important, feature of the *Travels*. What appears to preoccupy the narrator even more than a pilgrimage to the Holy Land are the lack of faith of Christians and the diverse beings beyond Jerusalem in the East. Although the identity of the *Travels*' author remains anonymous, scholars have inferred that, while Mandeville may indeed have traveled as far as the Holy Land, it is unlikely that he ventured much further. Yet this is uncertain, for medieval literary conventions required that an author rework existing material rather than present original content (Moseley 12). Furthermore, existing scholarship has traced an abundance of books from which Mandeville drew upon in the creation of the *Travels* (Moseley 19). The text is consequently a product of Mandeville's compilation and reworking of various textual sources on the Holy Land and beyond, evidencing a fascination with inhabitants in the far East.

Mandeville's extensive depiction of the customs and peoples he encounters during his supposed travels to the East and his constant comparison of these peoples to European

Christians raise the question of what such an act reveals of the narrator's identity and world perspective. Mary Pratt's concept of the contact zone offers a helpful lens in considering how Mandeville the narrator presents his Others to Christian readers. According to Pratt, the contact zone involves "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (34). Additionally, Rocio Quispe-Agnoli sums up Jacques Lacan's theory after one has passed the "mirror stage": "el ser humano se encuentra en un estado de indiferenciación entre identidad y alteridad, hasta que descubre su imagen en el espejo y se reconoce como un individuo único y diferente de los demás, los cuales se constituyen entonces como los otros. El individuo occidental afirma así su identidad e inaugural su temor y rechazo hacia esta indiferenciación si es que se identifica demasiado con el otro" ("Yo y el Otro" 229) ["humans are in a state of lack of differentiation between identity and alterity, until they discover their image in the mirror and recognize themselves as a unique individual and different from the rest, who become the others. The Western individual affirms his/her identity and opens up his fear and rejection of this lack of differentiation if he identifies too much with the other"]¹. In the *Travels*, while Mandeville reveals differences between European Christians and those he encounters in the East, he also continuously emphasizes similarities between them, at times highlighting positive characteristics that are lacking amongst Christians. Consequently, in

certain parts of Mandeville's text, an idealized version of the what it means to be a European Christian appears to be reflected in the Other.

In *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno* [*The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, 1613], Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala too touches upon a similar issue, where colonial Peru is the contact zone and the representation of the Other plays a significant role in the construction of the self. Guamán Poma de Ayala was an Incan aristocrat from Lucanas. He claimed familial ties to the Yaru Willka dynasty in the Huánuco region, which was later conquered by the Incas, and his parents were major caciques for the Incas and later the Spanish (Adorno, "Waman Puma" 12-13). Guamán Poma de Ayala was extremely vocal about the Spaniards' abuses in Peru, filing grievances against them and eventually becoming exiled from his home province for stirring trouble (Adorno, "Waman Puma" 32). In his book, Guamán Poma de Ayala presents a revisionist history of the indigenous population in Peru and of the Spanish conquest, criticizes the Spaniards who abuse the indigenous population, and advises the Spanish King on the principles of good governance concerning Peru. In his twelve-hundred-page work, a third of which consists of pictorial representations, the author begins with a history of the Indians and Incas, then proceeds to a description of the Spanish conquest and colonial government in Peru, and finally addresses what it means to govern well. He ultimately concludes his book with a fictional dialogue with King Philip III and a description of his journey to Lima in 1615 to send his work to the King. Guamán Poma de Ayala's text failed to reach its reader, and little is known of what

happened after the book reached Spain. *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* was not discovered until 1908 at the Royal Library of Copehagen by Richard A. Pietschmann. However, Rolena Adorno asserts that the book has been in this library since at least 1785 (“Waman Puma” 12).

Having learned to read and write from his half-brother Martín de Ayala, a mestizo priest, Guamán Poma de Ayala not only appropriates the Spanish language but also Spanish customs and literary history. However, he was not fluent in Spanish, and while his work is primarily in Spanish, he also incorporates other indigenous languages such as Quechua to express himself. His self-portrayal and that of the native population is controlled and systematic; he first seeks to build his own credibility before his Spanish audience by periodically emphasizing his ruling status among the native population. He then depicts the Indian population as originally Christians and impressionable in order to render violence against them unnecessary. Such a move evidences his awareness of how Spaniards may perceive him, his writing, and his quest for a more just system for the indigenous population. This consciousness in turn also affects the manner in which he presents the wide range of individuals in Peruvian society, for as an Indian addressing a Spanish audience, he must work harder to establish his authority. In his chronicle, Guamán Poma de Ayala chooses to position himself within colonial Peru’s social structure to work towards obtaining justice for his people.

Consequently, Mandeville’s *Travels* and Guamán Poma de Ayala’s chronicle demonstrate how the construction of one’s identity and world perspective depends greatly

on the way they construct another's identity. They each choose to highlight similarities and differences with the various groups they depict at different junctures of the text to build an idealized version of themselves. While these two works differ in their social and historical circumstances, it is this difference that offers the possibility of a fruitful comparison. Both texts utilize religion as one of the primary ways of identification. In the *Travels*, Latin Christianity is used to differentiate oneself from those who follow other forms of Christianity or belief systems. It is also a way to assert one's superiority over other groups of people such as the Saracens, turning Christianity into a lens through which Europeans perceive their world. Similarly, Catholicism played an important role in the Spanish discourses surrounding the Spaniards' perceived superiority over the native population and their subsequent treatment of them². The analysis of such factors gives way to a better understanding of how Mandeville the narrator and the author of the *Corónica* utilize certain tools to define themselves, their place within their respective society, and their relationship to Others.

In this thesis, I explore the narrative purposes of these two works through an analysis of the way Mandeville the narrator and Guamán Poma de Ayala construct their textual authority, with each chapter focusing on a specific primary text. I argue that their descriptions of the Others and their social critiques result in a certain level of subversion of European notions of hierarchical structures of power and religious identities, at times blurring distinctions of identity between Europeans and non-Europeans.

Chapter 1: Mapping Mandeville's Ambivalence in the Face of the Other

Little is known of the narrator's identity³ in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*⁴ apart from what he presents of himself in the prologue and in certain parts of his book. He claims to be an English knight who embarked on a journey to the Holy Land and the Far East in 1332 and then proceeded to write down his recollections in 1366⁵. Despite this shortage of information, what can be gathered of his constructed identity in the *Travels* plays an important role in the way in which he develops his textual authority and narrative purpose, which in turn he challenges through unsettling depictions of those he encounters in the Far East.

Mandeville's position as a knight within the feudal structure of medieval England appears to dominate the prologue's discourse, where he begins formulating the purpose of his narrative. Befitting his social role, his primary concern seems to consist of fulfilling the Christian duty of reclaiming the Holy Land. He asserts, "This is the land that is promised to us as heritage . . . Each good Christian man who is able, and has the means, should set himself to conquer our inheritance, this land, and chase out therefrom those who are misbelievers. For we are called Christian men from Christ our Father; and if we be true children of Christ, we ought to lay claim to the heritage that our Father left to us, and win it out of strange men's hands" (44). His emphasis on being a "good" Christian and faithful followers of Christ not only constructs a dichotomy between self and Other—"misbelievers" and "strange men"—but it also challenges his Christian readers to reflect on their own devotion to God and their behavior in view of their faith.

Within the context of the waning fervor for the Crusades beyond the mid-13th century, Mandeville moreover problematizes Latin Christians' failures to reclaim their "inheritance" in view of the statement that they are favored by God. He claims,

But now pride, envy and covetousness have so inflamed the hearts of the lords of the world that they are more busy to disinherit their neighbours than to lay claim to or conquer their own rightful inheritance. And the common people, who would put their bodies and their goods in jeopardy to conquer our heritage, may do nothing without their lords. For an assembly of people without lords who can govern them is as a flock of sheep that have no shepherd, which part asunder and never known whither they should go. But if God would that their worldly lords were in accord, and with others of their common people would undertake this holy voyage over the sea, I believe that within a little time our true heritage before said should be recovered and put in the hands of the true heirs of Jesu Christ. (44)

Mandeville's criticism of the breakdown of the feudal structure, where lords are no longer organized for a noble cause—the Crusades—and instead occupy themselves with expanding their own riches at home, reveals the need to reestablish feudal order.

Religion, thus, becomes intertwined with sociopolitical order, a notion that is further emphasized by the metaphor of the need for a shepherd to lead the sheep. English lords, consequently, must stop their infighting in order to govern well and encourage Christian devotion from the general population. While such an objective does not necessarily

require a revival of the Crusades, the failure to obtain the Holy Land is a symptom of the problem that appears tied to Christian European identity. Consequently, a successful Crusade becomes a signal of a shift towards a more devoted Latin Christendom.

In light of this discourse, one would expect that what follows after Mandeville's prologue would conform to the goal of reclaiming the Holy Land. What Mandeville offers instead is a travelogue depicting the peoples he supposedly encounters on his way to Jerusalem and beyond, describing their appearances, customs, and beliefs and recounting other tales he has heard during these travels. He concludes his prologue by describing this intent:

And for as much as it is a long time past since there was any general passage over the sea into the Holy Land, and since men covet to hear that land spoken of, and divers countries thereabout, and have of that great pleasure and enjoyment, I, John Mandeville . . . have been a long time overseas, and have seen and gone through many kingdoms, lands, provinces and isles . . . shall describe a part of those things that are there, . . . and specifically for those who desire and intend to visit the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy places that are thereabout; and shall tell of the way that they shall go thither . . . (44-45)

Mandeville's objective, then, is not necessarily to critique the English lords in an attempt to resurrect the Crusades but, rather, to inform and entertain. He identifies not just a lack of will to fight for the Holy Land but also a deficiency in the amount of pilgrimages to

Jerusalem, which he seems intent on rectifying through the presentation of this virtual journey to the East. As a result, he also means to serve as a spiritual guide for his Christian readers, for he concludes his text with, "Wherefore I pray that all those who read (or hear this book read) will pray for me, and I shall pray for them. And to all those who say devoutly for me a *Pater Noster* and an *Aue*, so that God may forgive my sins, may God grant a share in my pilgrimage and all other good deeds that I have done or may do in time to come up to my life's end" (189). This direct call to readers to act in collaboration with the narrator provides the former with a role in this virtual pilgrimage and asks that they share in this experience.

Although Mandeville places great importance on the relationship between experience and truth, it is noteworthy that he also utilizes certain strategies including hearsay to achieve his goal of encouraging religious zeal. While he includes fantastical stories that speak to a medieval reader's imagination, more importantly his inclusion of the miracles he hears about serves to encourage Christian readers in their faith. These stories serve not only to amuse readers, but recounting miracles works as a form of instruction. Thus, at Mount Sinai when Mandeville encounters monks who will not divulge the details of a certain miracle, he says to them that "it was not fitting to keep close counsel and conceal God's grace and His miracle, and that they should publish it abroad and openly reveal it to excite men to devotion. And . . . moreover that they sinned greatly in concealing it . . . for the miracles God shows are tokens of His great might" (71). Devoutness and salvation appear to preoccupy Mandeville deeply, and miracles are

one method through which he can construct his role as a spiritual guide and persuade fellow Christians to become more faithful.

On the other hand, the gaze, which becomes Mandeville's primary strategy to encourage piety given the genre of his text, holds a more complex function in the narrative. It is through Mandeville's own supposed observations that he enacts his truth and constructs his textual authority. Shirin Khanmohamadi notes that eyewitnessing and test experience became important tools during the medieval period for the natural and human sciences (138). Fanny Moghaddassi additionally points out that Mandeville has reorganized the information collected from his numerous sources to mold it into thematized and well-ordered travel recollections, imbuing the *Travels* with an appearance of a scientific work that resembles the reference texts of his time (11). Mandeville molds the *Travels* in such a way that it resembles both an eyewitness account and a compendium of different territories beyond Europe. When he visits the Sultan of Babylon, he claims, "I should know the organization of his court pretty well, for I lived for a long time with the Sultan and was a soldier with him in his wars against the Bedoynes [Bedouin]. And he would have arranged a rich marriage for me with a great prince's daughter, and given me many great lordships if I had forsaken my faith and embraced theirs; but I did not want to"⁶ (59). By fighting in the Sultan's army, Mandeville becomes involved in the politics of "Babylon" and gains a better insight on the land and its people. He is not a mere observer; rather, he takes on an active role in the narrative, becoming a subject and building his credibility further. He goes even further

later on in the text by asserting his authority directly, claiming, “And so I’m not going to stop myself telling you things that I know are true because of those who are ignorant of them or will not believe them” (144-45). His tone becomes combative as he anticipates readers who may doubt the wondrous lands he describes, once again forming a direct connection among truth, observation, and experience.

Nevertheless, the gaze ultimately renders the *Travels* a troubling contemplation of self-identity when one is faced with Others who are at times startlingly similar to the self. One of Mandeville’s greatest fascinations in the *Travels* appears to be the kingdom of Cathay and the Khan, for of all the peoples he encounters in the Far East, he devotes the most time to describing them. Cathay’s riches and grandeur captivate Mandeville, as he marvels, “For truly under the firmament there is no lord so great nor so rich and powerful as the Great Khan of Tartary. Not even Prester John, Emperor of Greater and Lesser India, nor the Sultan of Babylon, nor the Emperor of Persia, nor anyone else, can be compared to him. Truly, it is a great pity he is not a Christian; nevertheless he will gladly hear men speak of God and allow Christian men to live in his empire” (144). What becomes disconcerting in this line of thought is the reason suggested for why the Khan should convert to Christianity. The question is no longer primarily one of whether the Khan’s beliefs match closely with the tenets of Latin Christianity, as seems to be the case when Mandeville speaks of converting the Saracens. Instead, the notion of Christian salvation takes on a more materialistic tone—one that places more emphasis on wealth and status in a medieval world perspective that tends to privilege religion and morality to

differentiate the self from those beyond its borders. Yet Mandeville does point to certain religious similarities between the people of Cathay and Christians: they “believe in the Mighty God who made the heavens and the earth; and when they went to threaten anyone, they say, ‘God knows I shall do you an evil turn’” (149). He also claims that two Khans were Christians, one of whom sought to conquer the Saracens. However, apropos of the people of Cathay, it is worth noting that their Christian salvation is not linked to any similarity that may be found between their beliefs and Latin Christianity. Their conversion is instead through force, for Mandeville asserts, “They say that their prophecies tell them that they will be defeated by a people using arrows, and that those people will convert them to their religion,” with Latin Christians being implied as the victor (159). Once again it is a question of land and conquest that takes over the discourse rather than one of morality and salvation.

Apart from the Khan’s riches, his well-organized court plays a foil to the chaotic state the lords in England, thus turning Cathay into a potential model for the English. Mandeville notes, “All the people of that land are marvelously obedient to their rulers, and they never fight among themselves; nor are they thieves and robbers, but each one of them loves and respects the others” (158). His observation is a subtle critique of the English lords he mentions in his prologue. These lords are so engrossed with fighting and stealing land from each other that their lack of cohesion, Mandeville asserts, explains why they have not defeated the Saracens and attained the Holy Land yet. Mandeville also uses the actions of the Khan to set an example for the English lords and knights who go

into battle. He describes the Khan's actions: "Being a good warrior he went boldly in front of all his men against his enemies, to give his followers an example and the will to fight" (147). Once again, Mandeville highlights the importance of leadership, alluding to the lack of it back in England. If English lords were to act so courageously, setting an example for the common people to follow, then controlling the Holy Land would no longer prove an issue. Furthermore, Mandeville appears to also praise Cathay's approach to fighting, but with certain caveats:

When they go to war, they behave in a very warlike and wise manner, and do all they can to win, and conquer their enemies . . . They slay anyone who flees in battle. When they besiege a castle or walled town, they promise the besieged such fair terms that it is a wonder to hear them; for they will grant whatever conditions they ask. But as soon as the besieged have capitulated, they slay them and cut off their ears and souse them in vinegar to make a dainty dish for their great lords.
(158)

What begins as a seemingly positive description of the Khan and his warriors—"warlike" and "wise" in war—quickly becomes questionable, as they are portrayed as cannibals who are ruthless and cunning. It is unclear what Mandeville's position is regarding this representation, and yet his final description of the warriors' customs of cutting off the enemy's ears and eating them rapidly becomes a differentiation point between Christians and the Other. If Christian readers are invited to view Cathay's political and social structure in a positive and even superior manner compared to that of England, then this

intrusion of cannibalism serves to restore Europe's superiority over the Other. The Khan and his warriors, as the Other, become subjects to imitate by English lords and their knights—if they want to reconquer their inheritance—but only to a certain extent. The Other, a reflection of certain characteristics that the self should aspire to, must contain a distinguishable element that ultimately differentiates it from Europeans, allowing the latter's identity a semblance of stability.

Yet perhaps one of the most destabilizing exchanges in the *Travels* occurs in the Holy Land with the Sultan, where Mandeville presents a Saracen instructing Christian readers on proper, virtuous behavior. Through this scene, Mandeville once again, as in the case of the Khan, disrupts social boundaries and threatens the belief that those who are neither European nor Christian are inferior. The Sultan offers Mandeville the following critique of Christian priests:

For your priests do not serve God properly by righteous living, as they should do. For they ought to give less learned men an example of how to live well, and they do the very opposite . . . [O]n holy days, when people should go to church to serve God, they go to the tavern and spend all the day—and perhaps all the night—in drinking and gluttony, like beasts without reason which do not know when they have had enough. And afterwards through drunkenness they fall to proud speeches, fighting and quarrelling, and swear the most important oaths falsely . . . (107)

He even goes as far as to give advice to the general Christian population:

You ought to be simple, meek and truthful, and ready to give charity and alms, as Christ was in whom you say you believe. But it is quite otherwise. For Christians are so proud, so envious, such great gluttons, so lecherous, and moreover so full of covetousness, that for a little silver they will sell their daughters, their sisters, even their own wives to men who want to lie with them. And everyone takes another's wife, and no one keeps his faith to another: and you so wickedly and evilly despise and break the law that Christ gave you. (107-08)

The Sultan denounces the immorality of the priests and those who claim to be Christians, counseling them to act more like Christ. By using him to condemn the sinful behavior of Christians, whether intentionally or not, Mandeville subverts European social beliefs of Christian superiority over Saracens, creating uncertainty with regards to Latin Christian identity. The Sultan's lengthy and specific discourse becomes unsettling due to the amount of knowledge he exhibits on the behavior of Europeans and on Christian beliefs. What becomes even more disquieting is the Sultan's comparison of certain Christians who frequent taverns instead of attending church to "beasts without reason," reflecting the way Europeans sometimes also perceived inhabitants beyond Christendom during the Middle Ages (107). By demonstrating an understanding of Christianity, the Sultan presents himself as more authoritative concerning Christianity than the corrupt Christian priests he censures. Moreover, unveiling thoughts that echo the way Christians at times view the Other also blurs lines of distinctions between self and the Other, attributing a

stronger sense of a breakdown of medieval European social order. Andrew Fleck offers a different perspective, contending that the similarities Mandeville records between Christianity and Islam are what renders the danger to Christian identity obsolete:

In Islam, Mandeville finds a sort of imperfect vision of his own set of truths and accommodates this flawed notion of Islam into his own world view by interpreting it as a corrupt version of a previously familiar object, Christianity . . . Islam acquires the intermediary status of being a ‘fraudulent new version of some previous experience,’ and as a result, the potential threat to a stable notion of Western Christianity is neutralized through assimilation. (391)

Even if Islam is interpreted as an imperfect outgrowth of Christianity, Fleck’s counterpoint nevertheless leaves open the debate implicated by this scene with the Sultan. Is it more important to identify oneself as Christian or is it better to serve God devoutly in one’s own way, without the need for a Christian identity, like the Saracens?

The exchange with the Sultan becomes even more destabilizing once the Sultan begins addressing the military campaigns for the Holy Land, bringing to the forefront the complicated question that plagues a significant portion of the *Travels*: How much does Christian salvation matter as opposed to devotion to God? The Sultan’s comments touch upon this issue when he addresses Mandeville:

Because of your evil living and your sins and not because of our strength God has given it [Holy Land] into our hands. And we well know that when you serve God

properly and well, and serve Him with good works, no man shall be able to stand against you. We know too by our prophecies that the Christians shall recover this land again in the time to come, when you serve your God well and devoutly.

(108)

This speech favoring Christians in the Crusades serves to reassert Christianity's position as the correct religion to follow despite their continual losses against the Saracens, legitimizing their claim to the Holy Land. It is also due to this necessity to reassure themselves of their favored Christian identity that Mandeville notes prior to this, "They [Saracens] say they well know from their prophecies that the law of Muhammad shall fail as the law of the Jews failed, and that the Christian law shall endure to the end of the world" (106). The multiple appeals to prophecy and higher powers, just as in the case of the Khan, present Christian readers with a reminder and reassurance that God has not forsaken them and will ultimately deliver the Holy Land to them. However, at the same time, Mandeville notes that Muslims "are devout and honest in their law, keeping well the commandments of the Koran, which God sent them by His Messenger Muhammad" (108). Under these circumstances, the Sultan's words become dangerous: they imply that it is because Muslims are closer to God than Christians that they possess the Holy Land. After all, Mandeville prefaces this conversation with remarks on the similarities between Christianity and Islam and the potential ease of converting Muslims. The overlapping of Christian and Islamic beliefs therefore implies that the behavior of Muslims might be more in line with Christianity than those who actually call themselves Christians, thus

undermining preconceived medieval notions of the Christian versus Muslim paradigm. This consequently generates uncertainty as to which faith is genuine and to whom the Holy Land truly belongs.

The description of the Saracens following this exchange between Mandeville and the Sultan, wherein the latter reveals shared characteristics between non-Europeans and their European counterparts, further disrupts the ways in which Europeans perceive the East. Mandeville writes, “These [Sultan’s lords] described to me all the manners of my country, and of other countries in Christendom as fully and as truly as if they had always lived in them . . . the Sultan sends some of his lords to different kingdoms and lands in the guise of merchants . . . and that these visit all realms in order to size up the manners of us Christian men” (108). In addition to his earlier claim that Islam and Christianity share many commonalities, here Mandeville goes further by suggesting that these merchants could easily be mistaken as Christians, since they could speak so adeptly of this faith and its customs, consequently implying the fluidity of identities despite their individual faiths.

Having rendered the religious and social identities of Christians and Saracens problematic, it becomes necessary to consider what this means for readers who embark on this fictional pilgrimage with Mandeville. Sebastian Sobceki offers a helpful point of departure through his Foucauldian reading of the text by focusing on the concept of transgression. He asserts, “The imaginary journey of transgression is paralleled by the process of reading through which the reader confronts the Other. Reading becomes the

psychological medium for the complex encounter with one's macrospatial world view" (331). Accordingly, the dialogue between Mandeville and the Sultan proves as destabilizing for the reader as for the author, subverting the purpose of taking the Christian reader through a pilgrimage. If the text "serves not merely to reveal *our* [Christian's] weaknesses, but also to illustrate *their* [the Other's] strength," by reading the *Travels*, no longer can Christian readers fully claim the superiority of their religion (Sobecki 336). Furthermore, they must face the possibility of being more similar to rather than different from the Other—a prospect that further disrupts their religious identity. It is in this context that Martin Camargo argues that Mandeville has structured the journey to the Holy Land in such a way that it echoes the uncertainties surrounding Latin Christian identity: "The multiple, uncompleted journeys toward Jerusalem and the studied circumscribing of the Holy Land mimic the spiritual distance separating sinful Christians from their true home at the world's center" (75). Moreover, because some Europeans were familiar with the route to the Holy Land, it is likely that some Christian readers understood that Mandeville was deliberately avoiding the most direct path to Jerusalem (75). In view of this, the concept of a virtual pilgrimage takes on a subversive element.

Ultimately, through the juxtaposition of the self and the Other, Mandeville poses a troubling question for readers: What does it mean to identify as Christian when one does not act as Christians should? Throughout his travels to the Far East, Mandeville offers readers a portrayal of non-Christian inhabitants whose devotion to their religion surpasses that of Europeans. Different groups highlight different virtues that are lacking among

European Christians, such as faithfulness, sacrifice, and goodness. The people in the land of Prester John “believe in God as Father, Son and Holy Ghost; they are a very devout people, faithful to each other, and there is neither fraud nor guile among them” (168). In the city of Calamy, Mandeville notes, “And truly they suffer so much pain and mortification of their bodies for love of that idol that hardly would any Christian man suffer half—nay, not a tenth—for love of Our Lord Jesus Christ” (126). Of the people in Bragman, he writes, “They are good folk, honest, and of good faith and good living according to the nature of their faith. And even if they are not Christian, nevertheless by natural instinct or law they live a commendable life, are folk of great virtue, fly away from all sin and vices and malice, and they keep the Ten Commandments well” (178). These various Others are used as a tool to highlight the deficient behavior of European Christians while problematically underscoring the former as a potential model to imitate. According to Norma Housley, Mandeville’s “reiterated praise for the Other complemented his deep unease about the Latin Christian world; his Utopia lay not in a past Golden Age or an imagined state of nature but in the present beyond the familiar” (430). What destabilizes European identity and superiority over the inhabitants outside of Christendom, then, is that through the genre of a travelogue, Mandeville’s discourse presents the latter as threats to the medieval Eurocentric world perspective. Fleck suggests that it is due to this subversive portrayal of them that Mandeville inserts the monstrous races into the *Travels*: “They are included in Christian cosmography because they provide an aesthetic contrast, as a clear sub-human other, to the reader’s sense of

self. The readers of the *Travels*, imagining themselves as occupying the cultural center of the world, require an other at the fringes of their world as a sort of balance to their perception” (385). In light of the vast similarities between the self and certain Others, Mandeville needs to somehow definitively distinguish the two, and beings such as those without heads and whose shoulders have eyes become a visual representation that completely alienates them from the European reader.

Nonetheless, even the intrusion of the monstrous races cannot displace the effects of Mandeville’s alarming discussion of Christian salvation. After describing the virtuous behavior of the people of Bragman, Mandeville remarks,

And even if these people do not have the articles of our faith, nevertheless I believe that because of their good faith that they have by nature, and their good intent, God loves them well and is well pleased by their manner of life . . . And even if there are many different religions and different beliefs in the world, still I believe God will always love those who love Him in truth and serve him meekly and truly . . . For we know not whom God loves nor whom He hates; and therefore when I pray for the dead and say my *De Profundis*, I say it for all Christian souls and also for all the souls who need praying. (180)

Not only does Mandeville’s commentary raise the question of whether Christianity is even necessary to attain salvation, but his connection between good behavior and nature at the very least equalizes Europeans and the Other in the eyes of God. Moreover, if the

people of Bragman are moral and faithful by nature, what would this signify for the nature of European Christians, who cannot seem to act in accordance to God's teachings? It becomes ironic, then, that Mandeville claims in his epilogue, "our Holy Father the Pope has ratified and supported my book in *all points*" (189; emphasis mine). While invoking the Pope's approval would certainly raise Mandeville's authority as a spiritual guide for his readers, this approval at the same time sanctions the destabilizing religious views he has presented. Even more ironic, however, is Mandeville's insertion of an incident at the Vale Perilous near the end of the *Travels*. The Vale Perilous is a dangerous place where only the most devout of Christians can pass unscathed, and Mandeville is one of the very few travelers who successfully passes through it alive (173). Such a deed constitutes not only a major test of his devotion to God but a miracle. Mandeville himself becomes part of a miracle, advancing his credibility even further before the eyes of his Christian readers.

Mandeville's *Travels* ultimately evidences the fragmentation of Latin Christianity's perspective of the world and its identity in relation to those beyond its borders. Despite Mandeville's use of the gaze to present his own truth in a self-assured manner throughout most of the text, he nevertheless exposes how social disorder in England has contributed in part to an ambivalent view of those in the Far East. Their strengths are highlighted and praised, and yet there is still a desire for differentiation that breaks down due to Mandeville's emphasis on similarity rather than difference. Consequently, although the *Travels* begins as a fictional pilgrimage to increase the

devotion of Christians, it concludes by inviting an opposing effect. Christian readers are left questioning not just their identity in association to Others but also the value of Christianity in achieving salvation.

Chapter 2: Politics of Representation in Guamán Poma de Ayala

Like Mandeville's *Travels*, Guamán Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno* [*The First New Chronicle and Good Government*] also proves to be disruptive to the European world perspective through his transculturated and Catholic revisionist history of Peru. In this case, the author counters contemporary Spanish discourses surrounding the indigenous population the Americas by defining his own identity and that of his people to improve their existence under Spanish rule. In this chapter, I explore the rhetorical strategies Guamán Poma de Ayala uses in his attempts to establish his textual authority before King Philip III and other Christian readers while subverting the social order of Spain and colonial Peru. As in the *Travels*, the *Corónica* evidences the interrelation between religion and politics of land, and it is in such a socio-political context that both Mandeville and Guamán Poma de Ayala utilize the depiction of different groups of people to highlight the behavioral shortcomings of those they criticize and to instill behavioral change.

Yet unlike the *Travels*, where the narrator Mandeville and his implied readers share a basic identity as European Christians, Guamán Poma de Ayala and the readers he addresses do not fall into such neat categories, as he signals during his opening of the text. While he ultimately meant to send his work to King Philip III, Guamán Poma de Ayala had a much broader goal in mind:

La dicha corónica es muy útil y prouechoso y es bueno para emienda de uida para los cristianos y enfieles y para confesarse los dichos yndios y emienda de sus uidas y herronía, ydúlatras y para sauer confesarlos a los dichos yndios los dichos saserdotes y para la emienda de los dichos comenderos de yndios y corregidores y padres y curas de las dichas dotrinas y de los dichos mineros y de los dichos caciques prencipales y demás yndios mandoncillos, yndios comunes y de otros españoles y personas. (1)⁷

[“This chronicle is very useful and beneficial; it will improve the life of Christians and pagans, help the Indians confess, improve their lives, correct their errors, idolatries and help the priests know how to take the confession of the Indians. It will help the *encomenderos* or grantees of Indians, district officials, priests, curates of Indian parishes, miners, major caciques, lesser Indian chiefs, common Indians, Spaniards and common people.” (3)⁸]

The author lists out various groups of people his work is targeted towards, ranging from Christians to non-believers, and Indians and Spaniards across multiple social classes. His inclusion of “enfieles” [“non-believers”] suggests an attempt to better integrate parts of the native population, who are perceived as idolaters, into the Spanish vision of the Americas—one that calls for the conversion of the Indians. The ambitious objectives laid out in this introduction mark Guamán Poma de Ayala’s determination to position himself as not only an adviser to the King of Spain on matters pertaining to colonial Peru but also to Indian and Spanish officials. Through the *Corónica*, he presents his own vision of

social order in colonial Peru, where Indians, Spaniards, and other groups have their specific hierarchical position and where Indian officials such as himself have more power.

Consequently, rather than a single prologue as in the *Travels*, a distinguishing feature of the *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno* is the series of introductions at the beginning of his text, giving it an almost fragmented character. Yet all these framing devices are linked by a common objective: to build Guamán Poma de Ayala's textual authority before a Spanish audience that had no compelling reason to pay attention to an indigenous writer. It is important, then, to note that his first and foremost appeal in these introductions is to God: "S[ANTÍCI]MA TRINIDAD, Dios Padre, Dios Hijo, Dios Espíritu Santo, un solo Dios uerdadero que crió y rredimió a los hombres y al mundo y su madre, la uirgen Santa María, y a todos los sanctos y sanctas y ángeles del cielo. Amén" (3) ["God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, one True God who created and redeemed men and the world and his mother, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints and angels of Heaven. Amen" (3)]. Through this prayer Guamán Poma de Ayala asks God for his aid and blessing in this endeavor, but more importantly it serves as an affirmation of his Christian faith. Such a declaration from the very beginning of his book plays an essential role in establishing his authority to serve as a spiritual guide for his readers.

After his appeal to God, Guamán Poma de Ayala appeals to the two figures of power essential to the objectives of his work: the Pope and King Philip III. Addressing these two individuals at the beginning of his chronicle allows him to construct different

elements of his textual authority. To the Pope, he writes, “le cirbo con esta poquita de obrecilla yntitulado *Primer corónica y bue[n] [goui]ern[o]* deste rreyno, que es serbicio de Dios y de vuestra Santidad, lo rreciba y pido y suplico me eche su bendición, la cual pedimos deste rreyno de las Yndias del Pirú” (4) [“I serve you with this little work titled First Chronicle and Good Government of this kingdom, which is a service to God and your Holiness; please accept it and give me your blessing, which we request from this kingdom of Peru of the Indies” (5)]. Just as Mandeville informs his readers that he has received the Pope’s blessing, giving his virtual pilgrimage and message much more weight, Guamán Poma de Ayala also attempts to increase his own standing as an author by invoking the highest authority after God: the Pope. Words like “poquita” [little] and “obrecilla” [little work] that are used in the diminutive form are a sign of false modesty that nevertheless serve to amplify the significance of an acceptance from the Pope.

While Guamán Poma de Ayala invokes the Pope to construct his power through a Spanish perspective, he also emphasizes his Andean authority through a fictional letter from his father Martin Guamán Mallque to King Philip III. Guamán Poma de Ayala first prefaces this letter by outlining his father’s ancestral ties and position in Incan society, emphasizing his family’s power and importance in the indigenous world in an attempt to increase the weight of his father’s endorsement of his book. In the letter itself, Martin Guamán Mallque supposedly tells the king:

[M]e a parecido hazer estima del ingenio y curiucidad por la gran auilidad del dicho mi hijo lexítimo, don Felipe *Guaman Poma* de Ayala, *capac*, ques

príncipe, y gouernador mayor de los yndios y demás caciques y prencipales y señor de ellos y administrador de todas las dichas comonidades y *sapci* y tiniente general del corregidor de la dicha buestra prouincia de los Lucanas, rreynos del Pirú . . . (5-6)

[“[I]t seems to me appropriate to emphasize the intelligence and expertise evidenced in the great ability of my legitimate son, Don Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, which means prince, and high governor of Indians and caciques, leaders, lord over them and administrator of all the communities and *sapsi* [community property], lieutenant general for your local official of the province of Lucana, kingdom of Peru . . .” (5-6)]

Martín Guaman Mallque lists out his son’s positions of power among the native population, calling him a prince of his people—a title that Guamán Poma de Ayala assigns to himself from the very beginning and throughout his text⁹. Such a title attempts to place him on a higher footing before the Spanish King. Yet this move also exposes the large gulf he must overcome to gain some sort of sway among his Spanish readers, for any power he holds lies strictly in the Andean sphere. His father’s entreaty to King Philip III exposes Guamán Poma de Ayala’s awareness of his vulnerable sociopolitical position, which is dependent on the Spanish colonists. Martín Guaman Mallque concludes his letter: “umilmente suplico a vuestra Magestad sea seruido de faboreser y hazer merced al dicho mi hijo don Felipe de Ayala y para todos mis nietos, para que su pretención baya adelante” (7) [“I humbly beg that your Majesty see fit to

favor my son Felipe de Ayala and for all my grandchildren, so that they might succeed” (6)]. It is due to this cognizance that Guamán Poma de Ayala then also self-assigns the title “Don” in this letter and throughout his book, since according to Rocio Quispe-Agnoli, this title was reserved for Spanish nobility (“Prácticas Indigenas” 421). Consequently, the combination of “don” and “príncipe” appeals to both Andean and European social structures of power, apportioning him some sense of authority in both worlds.

While one’s socio-political position plays a significant role in establishing textual authority, Guamán Poma de Ayala’s mastery of Spanish and Andean pictorial and writing conventions plays an even more important function in the text. Mary Pratt defines “a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them” as an autoethnographic text (35). Thus, she asserts that autoethnographic texts are a response or dialogue to the ethnographic texts where Europeans represent the Other, “involv[ing] a selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror” (35). In *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno*, the author takes advantage of and appropriates the conqueror’s written and visual conventions to insert himself within contemporary Spanish discourses of the Americas and develop his textual authority. The first pictograph of the chronicle, for example, which shows the Pope on the top left corner, the King in the middle right side of the page, and Guamán Poma de Ayala at the bottom right corner, would in the eyes of a Spanish reader depict the social hierarchy of each of these

figures. However, this image can also be interpreted in a manner that elevates the author's position, even though he appears at the very bottom of the picture in relation to the other two individuals. Adorno contends that "native Andean and conventional European icons can be combined in a pictorial construct to create syntactically complete statements that are intelligible to the viewer. Whether or not the symbolic values of coded imagery are fully apparent to the addressee, the iconicity of the visual image allows at least partial comprehension" ("On Pictorial Language" 53). Therefore, the Andean interpretation of Guamán Poma de Ayala's opening pictograph plays a subversive role in the text, sending a message that is indecipherable to Spaniards but nevertheless challenges the hierarchical structures between the conquerors and the conquered. From an Andean perspective, the first diagonal line drawn in this picture would be between the Pope and the author, leaving the Spanish King outside of this spiritual domain (Silvia Tieffemberg 216). According to Silvia Tieffemberg, "La exclusión de la corona de España del dominio espiritual es una constante a través de toda la obra: la cultura andina atiende, para Guamán Poma, a la forma más pura del cristiano, que—en cambio—ha sido olvidada por los españoles" (216) ["The exclusion of the Spanish crown from the spiritual domain is a constant throughout the text: the Andean culture, holds, for Guamán Poma, the purest form of Christianity, which—in turn—has been forgotten by the Spaniards"]. It is thus that Guamán Poma de Ayala later in the text continuously associates the native population with God and highlights their Christian devotion. Such a pictograph then, if fully understood, upends one of the reasons that Spaniards give for the

conquest—to convert the Indians—for it is they themselves who need to work on their faith.

Nevertheless, from a Spanish standpoint, this first visual complements the author's words to the King. Guamán Poma de Ayala writes of his literary endeavor:

Muchas ueses dudé, S[acra] C[atólica] R[eal] M[agestad], azeptar esta dicha ynpresa y muchas más después de auerla comensado me quise bolber atrás, jusgando por temeraria mi entención, no hallando supgeto en mi facultad para acauarla conforme a la que se deuía a unas historias cin escriptura nenguna, no más de por los *quipos* [cordeles con nudos] y memorias y rrelaciones de los yndios antigos de muy biejos y biejas sabios testigos de uista, para que dé fe de ellos, y que ualga por ello qualquier sentencia jusgada.

Y acá, cologado de de [*sic*] uarios descursos, pasé muchos días y años yndeterminando hasta que uencido de mí y tantos años, comienso deste rreyno, acabo de tan antiguo deseo, que fue cienpre buscar en la rudeza de mi ingenio y ciegos ojos y poco uer y poco sauer, y no ser letrado ni dotor ni lesenciado ni latino . . . (8)

[“Your Holy Catholic Majesty, I have hesitated for so many months before beginning this undertaking, and after I had started, I felt like abandoning it. I thought my plan was rash, and I did not find myself capable of carrying it out properly since it must be based on unwritten accounts, taken from the *quipos* or memorials and reports from ancient times remembered by wise old Indian men

and women, eyewitnesses, for reliable information that can withstand critical judgment.

Thus, suspended in my thoughts, I spent many days and years undecided until I started to write this history. Overcoming my fears, I begin with this kingdom, fulfilling my desire to always search in spite of my many failings, poverty of intellect, blindness, lack of knowledge, not being a man of letters, nor a doctor, nor a Latin scholar . . ." (7)]

The author highlights his lack of education and appears to express anxiety concerning his literary efforts. He tells the King about his hesitation to follow through on writing his text and about the difficulty of translating orality into writing. However, this introductory paragraph of his letter to Philip III conveys the opposite of its literal message, for Guamán Poma de Ayala's false humility exposes his familiarity with the Spanish writing conventions of his time. By presenting himself as a submissive figure who is unfit to write such a chronicle—even if that is not the case—he has placed himself in conversation with the literary tradition of the Spanish colonies, which favored such a writing convention. Despite claiming that he lacks the intellect and knowledge of an educated person, Guamán Poma de Ayala reveals his research efforts and grasp of the many languages spoken by the indigenous population. Additionally, Churampi Ramirez points out, "To define the Indian chronicler as a literate person would seem to confer authority upon him; thereby Guamán Poma de Ayala acquires a voice" (142). To be able to write a history that has thus stayed unwritten provides him with the power and

possibility of representing those without a voice and echoes his emphasis on his status as a leader of his people.

Furthermore, Guamán Poma de Ayala positions his work within the debates of his time concerning the Spanish conquest. Two discourses dominated during the late 16th and early 17th century. Guamán Poma de Ayala was greatly influenced by Bartolomé de las Casas, who wrote *Tratado de las doce dudas* [*Treatise on the Twelve Questions*], in which he argues that the native populations of the Americas were not natural slaves in the Aristotelian sense because they had not actively resisted religious conversion, and a lack of Christian faith was not sufficient cause to warrant a violent conquest or require labor tribute from them. The Dominicans also added that although these countries in the Americas were under the Spanish crown, they nevertheless retained their sovereignty¹⁰. On the other hand, the conquerors contended that the indigenous population were natural slaves because their governments were based on tyranny and their cultural practices were cruel (Bauer 282-83). It is in the context of these ongoing debates that Guamán Poma de Ayala appropriates the Spanish literary medium of New World historiography, *crónica de indias*, to represent the self and the Other (Bauer 278).

A crucial characteristic of the chronicle, through which Guamán Poma de Ayala advocates for the ideas of Las Casas, is the association between the indigenous population and Christianity. Utilizing the genre of the *crónica de indias*, Guamán Poma de Ayala rewrites the entire history of the indigenous population through a Christian lens. Of the first generation of Indians, he records, “del multiplico de los dichos españoles que

trajo Dios a este rreyno de las Yndias, los que salieron de la arca de Noé, deluuo. Después que multiplicó estos dichos por mandado de Dios, derramó en el mundo” (49) [“descendants of the Spaniards that God brought to this kingdom of the Indies, the ones who came from Noah’s ark after the Flood” (38)]. The double connection between the Indians with Noah and the Spaniards is essential to Guamán Poma de Ayala’s goal of a more just treatment of the indigenous population. By opting to link the Indians with Noah rather than Adam and Eve, he indicates that they remained faithful to God and therefore survived the flood. Moreover, stating that the Indians and Spaniards shared common ancestry blurs the lines of distinction between the self and the Other, challenging the notion that the natives are resistant to conversion and humanizing them at the same time; they are no longer an unknown.

The author goes even further by asserting that if the Indians have become corrupt, it is not their own fault but that of the Spaniards. He claims, “[H]ierran y mienten con la cudicia de la plata. No ciguen por la ley de Dios ni del [e]uangelio ni de la predicación. Y de los dichos españoles se enseñan los dichos yndios deste rreyno malos custu[m]bres y no obedesen a Dios ni a sus padres ni a sus madres y a los mayores ni a la justicia, como lo manda Dios” (61) [“[T]hey made errors and lied with greed for silver. They did not follow the law of God nor the gospel nor preaching. And the Spaniards taught the Indians of this kingdom bad habits and did not obey God nor their fathers and mothers nor their elders, nor justice, as God commands” (45)]. The problem that must be addressed, then, lies in the failure of the Spaniards who were sent to Peru to convert the indigenous

population and not the natives' lack of faith. Additionally, much later in the chronicle Guamán Poma de Ayala portrays the indigenous population as naïve and impressionable, further laying the blame on the Spaniards: “Las dichas yndias destos rreynos debotas [a la] cristiandad entran a los conuentos de monjas . . . Y se le enseñara cosa buena, las dichas señoras fueran santas pero enseñale cosa mala y a media noche enbía fuera por las calles y uen todo lo malo. Y ancí salen putas aprouadas, mejor que sus amas haraganes, mentirosas en este rreyno” (824 [838]¹¹) [“The female Indians of this kingdom, devoted to Christianity, enter the convents . . . And if you teach them well, these women are saints, but if you teach them wrong and at night they go out into the streets and see everything that is bad, and like this they become whores, better than their lazy mistresses, liars in this kingdom”]. Similarly, the male Indians are portrayed as devoted Christians even in the absence of priests to oversee their behavior (824 [838]). It is only until the appearance of the mother of the first Inca Manco Capac that the Indians are led astray and become idol worshipers. In every instance, Guamán Poma de Ayala portrays them as easily influenced, thus giving way to his argument that they do not require any sort of violence against them to achieve religious conversion¹².

Guamán Poma de Ayala's emphasis on religious conversion brings into focus one of the narrative functions of the chronicle: Just as the Spaniards can save the indigenous population by instructing them in Christianity, so too can the author save colonial Peru by instructing King Philip III on how to better govern it. As such, Guamán Poma de Ayala's address to King Philip and his criticism of the Spaniards who inflict abuse on the

indigenous population blur the sociopolitical boundaries between the native and the Spanish ruling classes. After having extensively detailed the wrongdoings of the Spanish officials and the plight of the Indians, he communicates to King Philip in one of the final sections of his work: “COMunicaré con vuestra Magestad sobre el servicio de Dios nuestro señor y sobre el servicio de vuestra corona rreal y aumento y bien de los yndios deste rreyno. Porque unos le enforma mentira y otros uerdades. Y otros con color de que vuestra Magestad le haga merced de obispado o deán, canónigo, prícidente, oydor y otros cargos y oficios” (962 [976]) [“I will communicate with your Majesty about the service to God and the service to your crown and of the Indians of this kingdom. Because one informs you falsehoods and other truths. And others in hopes that your Majesty will grant them bishopric, deanery, canon, president, judge, and other functions”]. Guamán Poma de Ayala sets up his conversation with King Philip in the same way that he structures the addresses to his Spanish Christian readers. He frames his discourse by first providing a narrative, such as the Indians’ strong devotion to God or vivid depictions of the offenses of Spanish officials, and then he utilizes these examples as lessons for his readers. In the same manner, Guamán Poma de Ayala takes over the role of informant and adviser to the King and readily dismisses the Spanish officials assigned by King Philip, citing their greed and incompetence. Yet Guamán Poma de Ayala goes beyond such an already subversive position when he counsels King Philip: “Sacra Católica Real Magestad, digo que en este rreyno se acauan los yndios y se an de acauar. Desde aquí de ueynte años no abrá yndio en este rreyno de que se cirua su corona rreal y defensa de nuestra santa fe

católica. Porque sin los yndios, vuestra Magestad no uale cosa porque se acuerde Castilla es Castilla por los yndios” (964 [982]) [“Your Holy Catholic Majesty, I say that in this kingdom, the Indians are perishing and they will all perish. In twenty years, there will be no Indians in this kingdom to serve your crown and defend our Catholic faith. Without the Indians, your Majesty has no worth, because remember that Castile is Castile because of the Indians”]. Not only does Guamán Poma de Ayala set himself up as indispensable to King Philip due to his knowledge and supposed honesty, but he also emphasizes the importance of the Indians for the well-being of Spain. While he did not condone the use of Indians as tribute labor, in this dialogue he highlights Spain’s economic dependency as a way to assert the need for the survival of the native population. Guamán Poma de Ayala’s audacity as a non-European to declare that the Spanish King has no worth without the Indians and to make a request of the King—one involving indigenous rights—is a rupture from the colonists’ behavioral expectations of the colonized, who are merely meant to further the economic power of the mother country. Hence, they do not have voice in any part of the colonial process. Yet it is also worth noting that consistent with Guamán Poma de Ayala’s religious rhetoric, he again demonstrates an embrace of Christianity by calling it “our” faith. His implication of a common goal in defending Christianity softens his subtle censure of the King. It also reveals Guamán Poma de Ayala’s understanding that while he cannot reverse Peru’s colonial status, appealing to a common religion humanizes the native population and opens the possibility that they will be treated more justly.

While the image of an indigenous figure instructing a European king undermines colonial social constructions, Guamán Poma de Ayala's principles of good governance work further to disrupt established Spanish notions of social hierarchy. Two overarching questions mark the dialogue with the King: (1) How can King Philip prevent more deaths of the natives? and (2) Who should oversee the native population? Even as Guamán Poma de Ayala appears to cede authority to the Spanish King by accepting Peru's colonized status, he however becomes the dominant figure in this fictional exchange, achieving it through his continuous orders to the King to ask certain questions and through his representation of the self and Others. Guamán Poma de Ayala persistently denigrates each nonindigenous and mixed race group in colonial Peru in an attempt to assert and elevate his own position as an Incan aristocrat before the King. He portrays the Spanish officials who manage the natives as abusive and dangerous to the latter's survival. These officials and the other Spaniards living in Peru are also represented as spurred by greed, and Guamán Poma de Ayala presents one of his most satirical depictions of them in his chronicle when he writes, "Lo que ymaginan los cristianos españoles teniendo muchos hijos: Procuran, ymaginan todo en plata, oro y tener rriquesas y están de día y de noche pensando marido y muger" (536 [550]) ["What Christian Spaniards imagine when they have many children: They imagine obtaining everything in silver, gold, and having riches, and a wife and husband spend all day and night thinking about it"]. What follows this criticism is a long and farcical dialogue between a husband and wife as they imagine their children begetting mestizo children to

be used as house servants. Thus, the family would not need to spend money buying black servants. The couple also deliberate the merits of their sons taking on clerical positions to acquire wealth—a discussion that is quickly objected to by the children themselves, who point out that Jesus Christ was the first and poorest priest. These Spaniards are condemned and ridiculed to the point where they cannot be taken seriously. The inclusion of such a caricature when Guamán Poma de Ayala typically resorts to expository or eyewitness accounts highlights the notion that at the root of the abuses against the Indians lies the greed of the Spaniards.

It is worth noting that the only Spaniards whom Guamán Poma de Ayala does not vilify are those residing in Castile. He presents the following description of them:

Cómo los dichos españoles y españolas que nacieron en Castilla son de mucha honrra y bien dotrinados. Tienen todo entero fe de cristiano y tienen esperanza y caridad, amor de prógimo y tiene justicia y letra de Dios. Y con ello guarda los dies mandamientos de Dios y de la santa madre yglecia y todas las buenas obras de misericordia. Y oyen el santo euangelio amorosos, caritatibos, umildes. Más quieren ser pobres que rricos y grandes trauajadores, amigo de todos. (543 [557])

[“The Spaniards born in Castile are very honorable and well taught. They have the entire Christian faith and have hope and charity, love of neighbors, and they have justice and word of God. And with that they follow the ten commandments of God and the holy church and all the good works of mercy. And they listen to the

holy gospel, charitable, humble. Moreover, they would rather be poor than rich and great workers; they are friends of all.”]

The move to differentiate Castilian Spaniards from those in Peru proves important not only because the author must not alienate the King by potentially suggesting that he too is part of the Spaniards he describes in an offensive manner. Rather, the foil of the Castilian Spaniards emphasizes Guamán Poma de Ayala’s idealism apropos of Castile, and it evidences how much hope he holds concerning King Philip’s goodwill. By appealing to Christian principles such as charity and justice, he reveals his longing that the natives will be treated more humanely once the King reads his chronicle.

However, the most disturbing Others for Guamán Poma de Ayala consist of the mestizos and criollos, whom he depicts in such a negative manner that it renders them unfit to interact with and oversee the native population. One of Guamán Poma de Ayala’s preoccupations in his chronicle involves the dying Indians, and he describes for the King the root of the issue: “[N]o multiplica porque todo lo mejor de las mugeres y donzellas lo toman los padres dotrinantes, comenderos, corregidores y españoles, mayordomos, tinientes, oficiales criados de ellos. Y ancí ay tantos mesticillos y mesticillas en este rreyno” (962 [976]) [“They do not multiply, because all the best women are taken by priests, *encomenderos* or grantees, district officials and Spaniards, butlers, lieutenants, and their officials. Thereby there are so many mestizo children in this kingdom”]. Having already illustrated the Spaniards’ abuses through the repetitive description of them stealing the natives’ lands, Guamán Poma de Ayala then proceeds towards a condemning

presentation of the mestizos: “[N]o se cirue vuestra Magestad de los mestisos cino rruydos y pleytos, mentiras, hurtos, enemigos de sus tíos” (978) [996] [“The mestizos do not serve your Majesty. They only cause uproar and fighting, deception, theft; they are enemies of their uncles”]. Yet despite this anti-miscegenation stance, it is ultimately the criollos who perhaps present an even greater threat in the author’s eye. Guamán Poma de Ayala offers the most derogatory portrayal of these people of Spanish descent who were born in the Americas:

Cómo los dichos criollos que se crían con la leche de las yndias o de negras o los dichos mestizos, mulatos, son brabos y soberbioso, haraganes, mentirosos, jugadores, auarientos, de poco caridad, miserable, tranposos, enemigo de los pobres yndios y de españoles. Y ancí son los criollos como mestizos, peor que mestizos, porque de ellos no se a parecido seruicio ni se a escrito que aya seruido a Dios y a su Magestad que se pueda escriuirse de ellos en este rreyno ni en toda Castilla. (539 [553])

[“The criollos are brought up by the milk of Indians or of blacks or the mestizos, mulattos; they are proud and arrogant, lazy, liars, players, greedy, lacking charity, miserable, mischievous, deceitful, enemies of the poor Indians and of the Spaniards. Therefore criollos are like mestizos, worse than mestizos, because they have not appeared to nor is there any record of them ever serving God and your Majesty that can be written about them in this kingdom nor in all of Castile.”]

Guamán Poma de Ayala compares criollos to mestizos and perceives them as even more lacking, implying that their Spanish blood is tainted by the “milk” of those that Spaniards believe are inferior to them. His insistence on their lack of productivity in favor of God and the King is also meant to render them useless to King Philip. Raquel Chang-Rodriguez maintains that this is a rhetorical device on the author’s part to assert his power before the King despite his inferior social status:

Displaying flaws of the criollos . . . allows Guaman Poma to prevent their participation in the buen gobierno—that is to say, in the implementation of the colonial reforms he is proposing to the Spanish monarch. The criollos, abusive and aggressive in the iconic representation, their character tainted by milk of questionable provenance suckled as babies, and marked by a litany of defects that Guaman Poma takes great care in enumerating, provide every reason to suspect and isolate them. Since, at best, their conduct lacks virtue, they are incapable of governing. (127)

Thus, by devoting a specific section of his chronicle to a specific Other in colonial Peru and by describing them in a precise manner that discredits them before King Philip, Guamán Poma de Ayala slowly and systematically works towards establishing himself as a candidate to rule over his own people.

Because one of Guamán Poma de Ayala’s aims is to protect his social position and power, he strives to keep distinct Spanish and Incan identities intact, differing from

Mandeville, who blurs the social and religious boundaries of Christians and Saracens. He denounces the following behavior of the Spanish and Indian officials:

Que los dichos corregidores y padres o españoles y caualleros y los dichos caciques prencipales, ciendo señor de título desde sus antepasados, se acienta en su mesa a comer y a conbidar y conuersar y beuer, jugar con personas figones y rruñanes y salteadores, ladrones, mentirosos, ganapanes y borrachos, judíos y moros y con gente baja, yndios *mitayos*. Y a estos dichos descubren sus secretos y tienen conuersación con estos mestizos y mulatos y negros. (506 [510])

[“The district officials and priests or Spaniards and gentlemen and the major caciques, being men with ancestral titles, sit at the table to eat, drink, and converse, gamble with buffoons, thieves, and drunkards, Jews and moors and with the inferior classes, half-breeds. And these latter people discover their secrets and have conversations with mestizos, mulattoes, and blacks.”]

Guamán Poma de Ayala calls for not only a separation of class but also one of race. In his vision of social hierarchy, those who are neither fully Spanish nor Indian are relegated to the bottom of society, and he implies that these “inferior” groups can only instigate trouble against the ruling class and social order. He privileges those who, like himself, have noble ancestry and hold high positions in colonial Peru. Thus, by upholding this Indian-Spanish dichotomy, he leaves one option: to have the upper Indian social class take charge of the native population. It is thus that he tells King Philip to place him in a

leadership role, claiming, “Que en ello serviré a Dios y a vuestra Magestad y bien de los yndios deste rreyno” (967 [985]) [“I will serve God and your Majesty and for the good of the Indians of this kingdom”]. In asserting the importance of such a move, Guamán Poma de Ayala once again repeats his dire prediction of the native population but also goes beyond it by asserting his own authority: “Que quien lo pierde todo sus bazallos yndios, lo pierde todo . . . Y yo soy príncipe. Soy por ellos y se se acaua quedará la tierra yermo y solitario la tierra” (970 [988]) [“He who loses all his Indian vassals loses everything . . . And I am their prince. I am [the prince] to them, and if they all perish, this land will become barren”]. The author has formulated his argument in a manner that insists on Spain’s dependency on the survival of the native population and therefore on his advice to the King. By guiding King Philip on how he should govern Peru, Guamán Poma de Ayala becomes symbolically the ruler of Peru and not just of a segment of the population. He threatens the prevalent image that natives are subservient to European colonists by using the King’s weakness—Spain’s dependency on its Indians subjects.

Nevertheless, despite this powerful fictional dialogue with King Philip, Guamán Poma de Ayala ultimately reverts to an inferior position in relation to his European counterpart. Near the conclusion of his exchange with the King, he presents the following anguished words: “Digo a Vuestra Sacra Católica Real Magestad, llorando y clamando, dando boses al cielo, pidiendo a Dios y a la Uirgen María y a todos los santos y santas, ángeles. Digo que a nosotros pobres nos enbía tantos castigos y malauenturas y destruciones Dios y vuestra Magestad no permita que nos acauemos y se despueble su

reyno" (980-81 [998-99]) ["I say to Your Holy Catholic Majesty, weeping and crying out, calling upon the heavens, asking God and the Virgin Mary, and all the saints and angels. I say that we poor [Indians] face so many punishments and misadventures and destructions. God and Your Majesty, do not let us perish and depopulate this kingdom"]. His tone as he finishes his recommendations becomes desperate and hopeless as he finally begs King Philip for leniency towards the native population. He carries this attitude through the final chapters of his chronicle, where he details his journey to Lima to send his book to the King. Such a despairing attitude is also evidenced in his final address to the Christian reader. Despite his efforts to assert his authority and instigate positive changes towards the Andean population, he ultimately advises the reader, "Y acá os ruego que os enfrenéys y ueáys cada uno de lo que soys. Si soys cauallero o Hidalgo, pareserés muy bien. Y si soys pichero o judío o moro, mestizo, molato como Dios te crió, nos hagáys de fuerza cauallero el cacique principal de linage a yndio pichero, nos hagáys señor, cino cada uno parese su natural como Dios le crió y mandó en el mundo" (1168 [1178]) ["I beg you that each of you confront who you are. If you are a nobleman or Hidalgo, then you are well off. But if you are a low-class Indian or Jewish or Moor, or mestizo, or mulatto, as God created you, do not force yourself to become a nobleman, or turn a low-class Indian into a major cacique. Rather, one should appear as how God created them and sent them to the world"]. While Guamán Poma de Ayala's words could be interpreted as an attempt to reassert his status as an Incan aristocrat one final time with this reminder of his identity, they also imply a sense of lost hope. He appears to be aware

of his powerless position in relation to the Spaniards. As subversive as Guamán Poma de Ayala's chronicle is to the Spanish audience, no amount of appeals to God and Christianity can change the status of the natives in colonial Peru. Thus, his transgressive exchange with the King and the rest of his text become merely a chronicle, one that ultimately never reached its intended reader.

Conclusion

The Mandeville narrator and Guamán Poma de Ayala both use religion to position themselves with and against Others to shape their identity and express their vision of the world. While Mandeville reveals a desire to reestablish social order and Christian piety, Guamán Poma de Ayala uses religion as a vehicle to accomplish a different aim: to curtail the Spaniards' abuses towards the indigenous population in Peru. In the *Travels*, Mandeville asserts his own Christian piety as he presents his readers with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and a journey to the Far East. His continuous comparisons between European Christians and the inhabitants in the East often highlight the strengths of the latter while criticizing the former, unsettling the European sense of superiority over others due to their belief that Christianity is the correct religion to follow. Ultimately, Mandeville makes readers question such a perspective when he suggests that it may be possible to attain salvation even though one is not Christian. By contrast in the *Corónica*, although Guamán Poma de Ayala is also critical of Christians in Peru who do not act according to the principles of their faith, he also uses religion to redefine the identity of the indigenous population. By ascribing Christianity as already part of the indigenous identity from the very beginning, Guamán Poma de Ayala attempts to question the legitimacy of treating the Indians in an abusive and exploitative manner.

Both Mandeville and Guamán Poma de Ayala also use their knowledge and observation to establish their textual authority. In the *Travels*, Mandeville continuously asserts his authority by contending that he is presenting an eyewitness account, while in

the *Corónica*, Guamán Poma de Ayala informs King Philip III that he has been deceived by his Spanish officials in Peru, who act according to their greed rather than for Spain's welfare. Nevertheless, Mandeville's and Guamán Poma de Ayala's social standing within their respective societies affect how their intended readers could perceive such narratives. The narrator of the *Travels*, who as a Christian identifies directly with his Christian readers, does not confront the various social issues that prevents Guamán Poma de Ayala from achieving the same level of authority before his implied readers. Mandeville, as an English knight, begins his text with already some level of authority before a more homogenous audience due to his position within the English social hierarchy. In Guamán Poma de Ayala's case, as an Incan writer he must overcome cultural barriers and perceived inferiority by his intended Spanish audience. Despite his aristocratic roots, his influence lies with the indigenous population and not the Spanish. As he informs King Philip, Guamán Poma de Ayala is a prince to his people, but he is still powerless to stop the abuses taking place in colonial Peru. Consequently, unlike Mandeville, Guamán Poma de Ayala takes additional steps to assert his textual authority, such as associating himself and his people with Christianity and even going as far as to claim that his family assisted King Philip in suppressing a rebellion from his Spanish officers. However, Guamán Poma de Ayala's efforts do not prove to be enough, for he eventually bemoans the lack of justice for the native population and exposes his belief that change will not come soon.

One must finally ask how effective Mandeville and Guamán Poma de Ayala are in their objectives. Both of them ultimately seek to introduce or reinstate some sense of order. In the *Travels*, Mandeville desires to restore the feudal order where lords can successfully lead their people in the Crusades and, as an extension, in their Christian faith. In the *Corónica*, Guamán Poma de Ayala attempts to place himself and other Indian aristocrats in a higher position of power while also advocating for justice for the indigenous population. Mandeville's criticism of Christians' immoral behavior and lack of faith comes at a price of what it means to be Christian in relation to groups outside of Christendom, for the strategy of comparing them against Others results in the former's deficiency being emphasized in opposition to the latter's strengths. Moreover, his reflections on those in the East also question the relevance of Christianity as the means of attaining spiritual salvation. If Mandeville's virtual pilgrimage was meant to highlight Latin Christianity's superiority and create a stronger and more faithful Christian identity, he has at least unsettled such a notion.

Guamán Poma de Ayala's representation of Others in colonial Peru also invites a sense of disorder. Although he pits himself against colonial figures to highlight his superiority over them as an overseer of the native population, the constant emphasis of the Spaniards' abuses against the natives reveals to him the futility of achieving any sort of reform. He writes that colonial Peru is a "mundo al rreués. Es señal que no ay Dios y no ay rrey. Está en Roma y Castilla para los pobres y castigallo, ay justicia. Y para los rricos, no ay justicia" (1126 [1136]) ["world in reverse. It is a sign that there is no God

and there is no king. He is in Rome and Castile for the poor and the Castilian, there is justice. And for the rich, there is no justice”]. By asserting that there is no God nor King in Peru, Guamán Poma de Ayala suggests that Christian principles and sociopolitical order are lacking in colonial Peru. According to him, justice means that those who need it—such as the poor and the indigenous population in Peru—should be able to obtain it, while the rich, whom he assumes tend to abuse their privilege, should not. Such is the world that Guamán Poma de Ayala envisions and strives towards with his chronicle, one that resembles his idealized vision of Castile and Rome, the two centers of power in the colonial world at the time, and one that is the opposite of the reality he lives in. However, his chronicle ultimately reveals his own powerlessness, for any semblance of authority he gains is through the written word. Although he sent his chronicle to Spain in 1615, it never reached King Philip’s hands (Adorno, “Waman Puma” 12). An endeavor that was meant to be an act of resistance develops into a representation of the hopelessness of the situation confronting the indigenous population in Peru. Thus, while Mandeville and Guamán Poma de Ayala both set out to generate some semblance of order and structure, they fail not only to achieve their vision but also introduce an additional level of disorder.

Endnotes

¹ Translations of Spanish scholarship are my own.

² Latin Christianity and Catholicism refer to the same Christian denomination, with Latin Christianity as the term used before the Protestant Reformation.

³ Unless otherwise specified, the analysis of Mandeville refers to his narrative persona rather than to the author itself.

⁴ In this chapter, I will be citing from Moseley's translation of the Egerton manuscript, one of the three English versions of the *Travels*.

⁵ The Cotton and Defective version of the *Travels* show 1356 as the year Mandeville compiled his book (Moseley 189).

⁶ In this exchange with the Sultan, Mandeville also fuels a medieval fantasy wherein a foreign ruler offers a knight his daughter in marriage as a reward in exchange for religious conversion. Moghaddassi's article explores in more detail the question of the *Travels* as both an encyclopedic work and a text that incites the popular imagination. This interaction with the Sultan is also one of many in the *Travels* where Mandeville's Christian devotion is tested. One could argue in these cases that his readers are also meant to reflect on their own devotion to their Christian faith.

⁷ When citing Guamán Poma de Ayala's text, I will be referencing the page number on the Kongelige Library website.

⁸ Spanish translations of Guamán Poma de Ayala's text will come primarily from a partial translation of the work by Roland Hamilton. Bibliographic information can be found under the Works Cited. Translations without citations are my own.

⁹ *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno's* opening page consists of a drawing of the Pope, King Philip, and the author himself. In this drawing, Guamán Poma de Ayala labels each figure and denotes himself as "príncipe" [prince].

¹⁰ In "Las otras fuentes de Guamán Poma: sus lecturas castellanas," Adorno lays out in detail the various sources Guamán Poma de Ayala uses to criticize the behavior of Spaniards in Peru. She presents examples found in the chapter "Consideraciones" [Considerations], where the author invokes La Casas's and the Dominicans' arguments. He even goes as far as to construct a fictional scene where his father—the ambassador representing the Incas—peacefully forfeits Peru to King Philip's ambassador, demonstrating that it was unnecessary to take over Peru by violence (Adorno 147).

¹¹ Adorno explains that the first page number in the citation refers to the one assigned by Guamán Poma de Ayala. However, at times the author erroneously numbers a page on his manuscript, and this mistake has been rectified by introducing the second page number in brackets, which follows the correct numerical sequence ("Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle").

¹² Quispe-Agnoli provides a similar argument, asserting, "Si bien este autor insiste obsesivamente en el carácter Cristiano de él y su familia para lograr la aceptación de su enunciación, también extiende este argumento a toda su raza y trata siempre de demostrar

el cristianismo de los indios antiguos con un fin político: demostrar que no era necesaria la guerra de la conquista o más aun, que hubo conquista pacífica sin guerra, por la buena y cristiana disposición de los indios (“Yo y el Otro” 245-46).

Works Cited

- Adorno, Rolena. "Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading." *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*. May 2002. Web.
- . "Las otras fuentes de Guamán Poma: sus lecturas castellanas." *Histórica* 2.2 (1978): 137-58.
- . "On Pictorial Language and the Typology of Culture in a New World Chronicle." *Semiotica* 36.1/2 (1981): 51-106.
- . "Waman Puma de Ayala: 'Author and Prince'." *Review* 28.28 (1981): 12-16.
- Bauer, Ralph. "'EnCountering' Colonial Latin American Indian Chronicles: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's History of the 'New' World." *American Indian Quarterly* 25.2 (2001): 274-312.
- Camargo, Martin. "*The Book of John Mandeville* and the Geography of Identity." *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles*. Edited by Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002. 67-84.
- Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel. "Cruel Criollos in Guaman Poma de Ayala's *First New Chronicle and Good Government*." *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*. Edited by Ralph Bauer and Jose Antonio Mazzotti. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. 119-134.

Churampi Ramirez, Adriana Iris. "Who Does a 'Literate Native' Represent? The Case of Guamán Poma de Ayala." *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 25.2 (2009): 134-151.

Fleck, Andrew. "Here, There, and In Between: Representing Difference in the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville." *Studies in Philology* 97.4 (2000): 379-400.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Trans. Roland Hamilton. Austin: Texas, 2009.

---. "El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno." *The Guaman Poma Website*. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Web.

Housley, Norman. "Perceptions of Crusading in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Evidence of Three Texts." *Viator* 36 (2005): 413-433.

Khanmohamadi, Shirin A. "Dis-Orienting the Self: The Uncanny Travels of John Mandeville." *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. 113-44.

Mandeville, John. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. Trans. C.W.R.D. Moseley. London: Penguin, 1983.

Moghaddassi, Fanny. "L'ailleurs dans les *Voyages de Mandeville* (XIVe siècle): entre rêverie populaire et réflexion savante." *Recherches anglaises et nord-américaines* 39 (2006): 9-20.

- Moseley, C. W. R. D., translator. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. By John Mandeville. London: Penguin, 1983.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* (1991): 33-40.
- Quispe-Agnoli, Rocio. "Prácticas indígenas de la resistencia: Sujetos de la escritura y el saber en los Andes coloniales." *Revista Iberoamericana* 73.220 (2007): 415-36.
- . "Yo y el Otro: identidad y alteridad en la *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*." *MLN* 119.2 (2004): 226-51.
- Sobecki, Sebastian I. "Mandeville's Thought of the Limit: The Discourse of Similarity and Difference in 'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville'." *The Review of English Studies* 53.211 (2002): 329-43.
- Tieffemberg, Silvia. "Autoría, legitimidad, espacialidad en la obra de Guamán Poma de Ayala." *Revista Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 30.60 (2004): 211-28.