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**The indigenous children of Noah? A decolonial  
interpretation of theological themes in the Primer  
Nueva Corònica y Buen Gobierno(1615) by Felipe  
Guaman Poma de Ayala**

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## Abstract

This research study aims to examine a theological defense of the oppressed natives of the Andes after the consolidation of the Spanish Empire in South America between the end of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. During the post-colonial era, natives, creoles, the Incas, and Spaniards constituted the colonial society. However, the Andean natives became subjects of the colonial system and the church and were accused of idolatrous religiosity. The claim for restitution and emancipation was presented through the manuscript, the *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (the First New Chronicle and Good Government), written by the Andean writer Felipe Guaman Poma, Ayala (Ca.1530/1550-after1615). His manuscript proposed political reforms under the Christian principles. Particularly, this thesis focuses on the interpretation of theological themes of the Guaman Poma's chronicle. It argues that we in Guaman Poma de Ayala's text find a decolonial theology with a medieval character that applies the indigenous ideology as a tool to reinterpret and create a parallel line between the Christian history and local history of the Andes.

My work analyzes Guaman Poma's theological themes from the decolonial understanding and the indigenous logic that seems to employ the biblical references to revalue the indigenous identity in the framework of Western Christianity. His experience as a good Christian and an Andean native becomes indispensable for his proposal to protest the Spanish colonial system that increased the marginalization of the indigenous population and dismantled the native cultural identity. In that sense, my analytical description reveals Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of the indigenous belief with a Christian background, referring to their values and Christian principles and the notion of monotheist God as the inheritance of their ancestors. Besides, the ancient indigenous generations were God's descendants in the indigenous kingdom of Peru. Hence, the indigenous people were in the same category as were Western Christian people.

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## Preface

Many years ago, I learned about Peruvian origin through the pre-Incas cultural History. My friends and the surrounding people have conveyed the Andean indigenous identity to their children. Although the Incas culture was predominant in the Peruvian society, the Peruvian indigenous did not refuse but instead absorbed it as their belongings. During my years as a teenager, I observed that the sayings and oral tradition about the pre-Incas indigenous peoples were conductible to form religious traditions with traditional Western elements. It made me aware of the uniqueness of each indigenous community of the Andes that has maintained the idea of being independent and authentic people without the Incas influences.

One of the most vigorous indigenous population from the Andean areas is the peoples from the pre-Inca culture so-called Huancas that established its realm in the valley of Mantaro, province of Junin located in the heart of the highlands of Peru that the current city is Huancayo, where I was born and grew up. Peruvian indigenous communities have regarded Huancayo as "*the incontestable city*" due to its resistance against the conquering Incas that never attained to rule over them.

Living in this city half of my entire life, I have experienced the indigenous people's religiosity that constructed their identity under the Andean native's inheritance. Although I have identified myself with the indigenous population, I did not entirely understand the meaning of being indigenous in a cosmopolitan country where for plenty of decades has coped with the cultural impacts of the Western states. Consequently, there has been a notable gap among the Peruvian people with clear divergences between the big city on the coast, the villages at the Andes, and some tribes of the jungle.

My research intends to prompt the indigenous assessment, the diversity among them, and conscious respect for their religious tradition for integrating into the Peruvian societal structure. It challenges me to examine carefully the religious and political affairs involved when defending the cultural and spiritual values of the native that were denigrating for a long time. Nevertheless, due to the complexity of political issues, I will only concentrate on the theological aspects that have been significant for the native's integrity.

I hope that my work will raise awareness of the native's dignity and role in society, especially in my home country. Besides, it may help the readers to attain knowledge concerning the indigenous people having the same rights and are equal footing as others before God. Hence, on the road of my work about indigenous people's historical facts, I emphasize that the indigenous perspective has been predominant in narrating Global History. Besides, history from the indigenous logic has approached biblical principles in doing rather than judging.

At the length of my studies at MF, I want to express my gratitude first to God for giving me the strength to make possible the elaboration of this thesis. Secondly, my profound appreciation for my parents who encouraged me to achieve this study.

At the development of my work, I want to thank Professor Sturla Johan Stålsett, my adviser, who has been willing to help me tremendously through his supervision, advice, and talks. He guided me in my writing by sharing his wise knowledge about theological themes in the Latin American perspectives, which were helpful and worthy to me.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 General Introduction

After discovering the indigenous realm in Latin America by the Europeans, the indigenous population went under their domination, invasion, culture, and religion. Spaniards relied on their faith as a sacred way to lead the native people, who did not attain any God's knowledge. Besides, they regarded themselves as conquistadors in the service of God and believed in Christian religious superiority.<sup>1</sup> The Christianization of indigenous people took place with the Spanish colonizers, who established the Spanish Empire to extend its Western tradition and reign along the continent (1500-1519).<sup>2</sup>

The last two greatest civilizations in the Americas, the Mayan-Aztec, and Inca civilizations, rose after five thousand years of the Mesopotamian civilization. In South America, the Inca civilization expanded along the Pacific Ocean and established its empire with millions of people, conquering various native tribes.<sup>3</sup> The Incas civilization settled down the Inca Empire at the valley of Cuzco only as of the Imperial expansionary conquest strategy. The Incas dominion and its religious tradition were dominant in the indigenous population until the colonial period when the Spaniards arrived alongside Western theology.<sup>4</sup>

After the destruction of the two most significant civilizations alongside their Empires in Latin America, the indigenous population has experienced a profound cultural transformation in a long acculturation and miscegenation process. Although the Spanish conquest left violent and devastating biases with a marked adaptation to cultural patterns, the indigenous people were not willing to abandon all their ancestral and millenarian cultures that had endured for plenty

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<sup>1</sup> Ordina Gonzales and Justo Gonzales: *Christianity in Latin America, A History* (New York/ Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> David Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology* (Boston and Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 16. On the second voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Caribbean Islands (Hispaniola), the friars and priests initiated the evangelization of natives as part of the colonial process.

<sup>3</sup> Enrique Dussel: *History and theology of liberation, A Latin American perspective*, translated by John Brury (New York, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1976), 41-42.

<sup>4</sup> Mark A. Bulkholder and Lyman L. Johnson: *Colonial Latin America* (New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 19.



of decades. It was impossible to destroy the native cultures and eradicate their mystic religious Cosmvision.<sup>5</sup>

The colonial period began with the conquest of the Inca empire that was the chief of South America since Peru was a country with gold as the apparent wealth that drew attention to all adventurers and foreigners in 1532.<sup>6</sup> The Spanish colonizers lusted for it and further found abundance in the indigenous lives and suitable places where their Christian God would eventually be the lord of natives.<sup>7</sup> The conquest signified the Inca Empire's downfall and Spanish dominion over all the Peruvian areas.<sup>8</sup>

At colonization, the Catholic Church initiated evangelization on the Incas Empire and throughout the indigenous territory. The Spanish Empire imposed its theocratic political order. However, the centra obstacle for the Christianization of natives was the former indigenous religion. A violent eradication of the pagan roots of indigenous religions through abuses and excesses justified the Spanish mission. Hence, in colonial Peru, visitors, secular priests, and political leaders worked together for the Spanish crown, causing abuses and atrocities on behalf of the Spanish religion.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, during colonization, there were distinct reactions among the indigenous peoples; most of them opted for resignation, subjugating to the Spanish rule. Very few acted with violent resistance. Meanwhile, others utilized ink and pen as a form to manifest their discontent and disagreement. As a result, the elite class close to the Inca, as selected groups out of the ordinary ones, achieved an education with Hispanic formation, balancing their positions between two cultures and knowing the history and cultural backdrop of Spanish settlers. Among those native groups was Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Ca.1530/1550-after1615),<sup>10</sup> a paradoxical Andean writer who lived in the middle of two cultures. He

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<sup>5</sup> Jeronimo Jose Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Palabra e Imagen de la Cultura Andina aculturada," *Cuaderno de Teologia*, vol. XXI (2002): 295–296.

<sup>6</sup> Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 63.

<sup>7</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *Las Casas. In search of the Poor of Jesus Christ*, translated by Robert R. Barr (New York: Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 1993), 359-361.

<sup>8</sup> Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 68-70.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-109.

<sup>10</sup> Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala,"301. The date of Guaman Poma`s birth is between 1530 and 1550. According to Ossio, it was in 1550. But there was no reliable report for the date of his death.

legitimated the indigenous descendants to adhere to world history and desired to demonstrate that the indigenous people belonged to Western History.<sup>11</sup>

Additionally, the problematic definition of the colonial society identity was in the contrast of two backgrounds and their behaviors; it meant that an individual had two choices; the Spanish model with the organized protocol of conduct versus the Andean model without providing protocol of conduct. To survive on both sides, many indigenous served the colonial system, preserving their cultural and religious traditions in their surroundings. Guaman Poma's position had a similarity to them in which he had an affiliation with the Andean patterns but accepted the Spanish religiosity.<sup>12</sup>

The adverse effects of innumerable unjust acts from Spaniards dismantled indigenous cultures, disregarding the native rights that could not plead before any human court. So, in defense of indigenous rights, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the Andean chronicler, expressed his voice in protest about the colonial system through his manuscript addressed to the Spanish king Phillip III (1615). Guaman Poma's argumentation displayed his knowledge about the ancient native culture of the Andes, the Inca culture, and his experience of the Spanish conquest process in Peru.<sup>13</sup> He set all his experiences and observations into his writing, so-called "*La Primera Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno*" (The first New Chronicle and Good government), a manuscript of 1190 pages with 399 captioned drawings that Richard Prietschmann discovered in the Royal library of Denmark in Copenhagen in 1908.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, his chronicle became a significant source for the basic information of the Andean world.<sup>15</sup> This chronicle gained notoriousness a half-century after Las Casas's death in 1566. But the development of his theology seemed to adapt to Las Casas's theory about America's native people. Guaman Poma incorporated into his theology by citing directly from Las Casas's treatises (the twelve doubts).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," 296.

<sup>12</sup> Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 25-26.

<sup>13</sup> Susan Castillo and Ivy Schweitzer, eds., *Literatures of the Colonial America. An anthropology* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2001), 117.

<sup>14</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possessions*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Rolena Adorno; "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an Andean view of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, 1565-1615," *Journal de la société des Américanistes*, *Anne*, no. 64(1978): 122.

<sup>16</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 21-23.

Guaman Poma explicitly exhibits in his writing and drawings a cosmological Andean perspective in the colonial society under the Christian patterns.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the historical conquest approach, he argued that Christianity did not come alongside the Spanish conquest. However, he appealed to the Spanish intervention to evangelize the natives. Overall, in his manuscript, Christianity is deeply intertwined in the ancient Andean World before the conquest, to which he states two accounts. On the one hand, in Noah's biblical story, Guaman Poma believed in a broad context that *God sent one of Noah's children to the Americas after the flood, so the genealogy of all the diverse generations of Amerindians is Noah's descendants. On the other hand, he argued that the indigenous were Adam and Eve's direct descendants.*<sup>18</sup>

According to Guaman Poma, before the Spanish arrival, the indigenous people acquired knowledge about God through "*the natural reason*<sup>19</sup>." Hence, the possibility of primitive evangelization took place in the indigenous realm, with the apostle's missionary incursion of Bartholomew.<sup>20</sup> Based on Guaman Poma's logic, before the Inca Empire, the ancient indigenous were good Christians, obeying the word of God, following his commandments, and worshipping a God with other names such as Wiracocha, Pachacamac, and Tunupa.<sup>21</sup> In the indigenous view, Guaman Poma determines Christianity as "*the validation of regional ethical principles rather than the Western Universal principles, referring exclusively to the values of indigenous cultures of the Andes*".<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, Guaman Poma reveals his orthodox vision of religion that seems to have imposed a complete religious instruction of evangelizing Andean people. His expressed work holds special religious devotion (the Christian life for human moral experience).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Christopher Dilke, "*Letter of a King. A Peruvian chief's account of life under the Incas and under Spanish rule, by Guaman Poma (1613)*" (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978), 16.

<sup>18</sup> Olympia E. Rosenthal, "Guaman Poma and Genealogy of Decolonial Thought," *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial studies*, Vol.6, No. 1 (2018): 72.

<sup>19</sup> Gonzalo Lamana, "Conocimiento de Dios, Razòn natural e Historia local y Universal en la Nueva Corònica y Buen Gobierno de Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Revista de Critica Literaria Latinoamericana*, ano,XL, no 80(2014): 104

<sup>20</sup> Gonzalo Lamana, "Conocimiento de Dios," 104.

<sup>21</sup> Fernando Amaya Farias, "Conflicto Colonial Andino y Meditaciòn Teològica en la Crònica de Guaman Poma," *Perifrasis*, vol. 3, no 5(June 2012):26.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenthal, "Guaman Poma and Genealogy", 74

<sup>23</sup> Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 1313 Loc.

## 1.2 Thesis outline

In analyzing the central theme of this research, Chapter 2 refers to the remarkable historical antecedents of the pre-columbine epoch when the emphasis was on the ancient culture and the natives of the Andes that became subjects of the Inca culture and its religious influences, which ended with the Spanish Conquest. So, the Spanish colonizers and priests began the Christianization of the natives in Peru. However, in the first evangelization, indigenous old religious rituals' incompatibility with Christian practices did not permit the introduction of Christianity as authentic and unique.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, it gave way to the Christianization of natives by coercion that incited the indigenous resistance.

The coercive system over the natives held by the Spanish regime caused plenty of resistance and disputes between the Andean natives and colonizers in the colonial society as seen in chapter 2. Some of the indigenous leaders and members of the native nobility raised their voices in protest for the precarious condition of the native. A native of the indigenous noble group was Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, a well-educated native of the Andes (Ayacucho-Peru), who could survive in a hostile society. Nevertheless, his language skill facilitated a moderate position in colonial society.<sup>25</sup> According to the Expediente of Prado Tello, a document that refers to that Guaman Poma worked as an interpreter of the Viceroy.<sup>26</sup> This document revealed Guaman Poma's land expropriation dispute with ethnic indigenous groups of Chachapoyas, who won this dispute at the court. This legal defeat subsequently influenced the production of his manuscript.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 109. During the colonial period in the Americas, the Spanish priests found the old religion of the indigenous people had pagan features that were opposite to Christianity and its expansion, whereby they were anxious to convert the natives to Christianity.

<sup>25</sup> Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," 301.

<sup>26</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 748 loc.

<sup>27</sup> Galen Brokaw, "Texto y Context en la Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Letras-Lima*, vol. 91, no. 133, Lima (January-June 2020):59. The expediente Prado Tello was a document found by Elias Prado Tello in 1952. This legal document contained letters, proof of sale and legal appearances, files of trials and disputes, and others exclusively of the province of Chupas (Ayacucho-Peru). The expediente Prado Tello recorded the detail of the legal dispute of lands between Guaman Poma and the natives of Chachapoyas.

Consequently, Guaman Poma wrote his chronicle (*The first New Chronicle and Good Government*) that depicted the pre-Columbian epoch and Spanish conquest history in Peru from the indigenous view. His manuscript as a letter to the Spanish King was also exclusively addressed to the Christian readers. Guaman Poma described the Inca religiosity as idolatrous practices but did not regard the Incas as a society that had risen from barbarity to dominate the Andean population and its past with their solar religion. Instead, he created a complex cosmology in which the dynasties of the Andean natives and Inca had connectedness within the Augustinian Christian model of universal history.<sup>28</sup> According to Rolena Adorno, a sterling Professor, Guaman Poma's chronicle narrated the facts of colonial domination and criticized the Spanish administration, dividing the colonial period into three sections. The first section covers all the pre-Hispanic periods, including the chronological ages of the former indigenous society. The second section is all about the conquest's events and civil wars between Spaniards, and the third section focuses on criticisms of the colonial administration.<sup>29</sup> Among these sections, this study's approach will be in the first and second ages of the Western world, highlighting an appreciation of the indigenous ideology that differs from the Spanish outlook.

The state of research about the indigenous resistance to the conquest corresponds to facts in the colonial period where the evangelization turned into a complicated process, particularly in the Andean areas where the Spaniards, alongside their friars and secular priests, gradually extinguished the Inca impact over Andean natives.<sup>30</sup> With regards to it, this study addresses the analysis of some scholars that contributed to the theological framework. In reference, the study would like to mention their approaches. Adorno Rolena analyzed that the conquest had a significant role for Guaman Poma's theological design by illustrating the natives of the Andes as subjects of the Inca rule and the Spanish as part of a just war, avoiding the violent resistance Inca.<sup>31</sup> For Mercedes Lopez-Baralt, the conquest brought a notion of the colonizer over the colonized, highlighting the coexistence of two distinct cultures (Andean and Spanish)

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<sup>28</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 38.

<sup>29</sup> Juan M. Ossio, *En busca del Orden Perdido. La idea de la Historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2008), 39.

<sup>30</sup> Enrique Dussel, *The church in Latin America; 1492-1992* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, Burn and Quates/Search Press, 1992), 49.

<sup>31</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1557, 1562 Loc.

that produced a cultural resistance of the Andean world.<sup>32</sup> According to Juan Ossio, Guaman Poma defined the conquest with the Quechua term “*Pachacuti*,” which depicts destruction and restoration. In that sense, the conquest was the beginning to restore the indigenous of the Andes and the end of Inca subjugation.<sup>33</sup> These approaches point out the indigenous resistance permitted religious intermixtures, which is a significant aspect of this research.

At elaborating his theological design, aside from the biblical stories (Noah and Adam and Eve’s account) and Bartholomew’s missionary Journey, Guaman Poma took into accounts the factorial truth of history through the narration of events such as the vision of the virgin Mary and St James (patron saint of Spain). In both cases, he attributed that God’s intervention was meaningful during the period of conquest.<sup>34</sup> The interpretation of these events adhered to the use of elements that belonged to popular beliefs. Angels and saints represented the supernatural agents who replaced the ancient heathen deities in the indigenous World.<sup>35</sup> Methodologically, Guaman Poma’s chronicle implies historical and theological interpretation, which could fit the indigenous perspective to defend the Andean natives. To analyze the theological themes of Guaman Poma’s chronicle under the indigenous perspective, this study will describe and discuss in chapter 3 the hermeneutic of his theology and its theological implication with Western historiography, referring to the Christian tradition.

The fourth chapter presents the theological themes in Guaman Poma’s manuscript and the hermeneutic of theology that Guaman Poma applied to defend indigenous integrity. Guaman Poma’s chronicle with literary values displayed the colonial narrative’s knowledge and reflected medieval theology. Through his chronicle, Guaman Poma sought to defend the Andean native’s existence. Therefore, he criticized the colonial treatise but wanted to amend the indigenous and Spanish people’s lives. Yet, he believed that the natives held appropriate organizational forms before the Spanish conquest as the basis for a right treatise.<sup>36</sup> In the first part of his chronicle (New chronicle), Guaman Poma recreates Andean indigenous history, to which its origin, he associates with Christian world. The common roots and heritage consist

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<sup>32</sup> Mercedes Lopez-Baralt, *Para decir otro, Literatura y Antropología en nuestra América* (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Ververt, 2005),174.

<sup>33</sup> Ossio, *En busca de orden perdido*,223

<sup>34</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1407 Loc.

<sup>35</sup> Adorno, 1431 Loc.

<sup>36</sup> Farias, “El conflicto Colonial Andino,” 11-12.

of being peoples of God's descendants. In the second part (Good government), he ascribes the behavioral characteristics of distinct social groups of the colonial era, where he denounces the indigenous precarious conditions.<sup>37</sup>

Overall, the *New First Chronicles and Good Government* refers to that the local history of the native, holding connectedness with European history, where Guaman Poma applied his theological interpretation over Andean history and Genesis' biblical story as part of universal history and narrated the biblical story of the World's divine Creation and Adam and Eve's genealogical story to link to the indigenous genealogy. To explain the origin of indigenous inhabitants' existence in the world, he introduces Noah and the flood's record as a prime statement to assert that the first indigenous inhabitant were descendants of Noah. After the flood, God sent Noah's sons to the Andes of Peru, which was the theological assertion of why indigenous had known God.<sup>38</sup>

According to Sabine Maccormack, a German scholar, Guaman Poma's chronicle documented the indigenous life and past acknowledged as the evidence of Christian knowledge that oriented the indigenous path of thought. The analogous connection between the indigenous belief of the Andes and Christianity depended upon the two distinct chronologies that Guaman Poma recreated.<sup>39</sup> Guaman Poma combined both with a parallel line to structure a common history. This study's analysis will be in the first and second ages of the Western world since both were the prime sources for theological themes that could interlink the ancient indigenous to Christianity. In Guaman Poma's chronicle, Noah's story sought to revalidate the indigenous Christianity of the Andes, Jesus Christ's birth occurred during the second Inca's reign (Cinchi Roca). At the same period, the apostle Bartholomew preached the gospel in the indigenous world of Peru, and the miracles during the conquest were the theological themes related to Christianity. These themes, this study will further describe in this section.

This study aims to find the notion of decolonial theology in Guaman Poma's chronicle. Therefore, in chapter 5, this research will analyze decoloniality that emerged after the

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<sup>37</sup> Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma," 305.

<sup>38</sup> Brokaw, "Texto y Contexto," 66-67.

<sup>39</sup> Sabine Maccormack, "The Heart has its reason: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in the early Colonial Peru," *The Hispanic American Review*, Duke University Press, vol. 65, no. 3 (August 1985): 461.

colonization, seeking to liberate from the dependency of the Western tradition and emphasizing decolonial thinking. According to the Latin American thinkers (Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano, and Walter Mignolo), the detachment of the negative influence of coloniality has to do with decolonial thinking. From Mignolo's perspective, in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries (during the viceroyalty in Peru), the chief example of decolonial thinking was Guaman Poma's argumentation, which employed the Christian principles to confront the Incas and Spanish administration to reconstitute the indigenous culture of the Andes.<sup>40</sup>

Broadly, Latin Americans have seen the concept of liberation as a process of human emancipation, focusing on the individual's developments from philosophical and theological perspectives. Theologically, liberation with biblical roots portrayed a single process for every human in history, assumed and consumed by Christ, the true Lord of the whole history.<sup>41</sup> However, the theological approaches of the church concerned with establishing Catholicism as the official religion instead of the concerns for daily life that could deal with the social differences and conflict.<sup>42</sup> In confronting these concerns that could respond to the people's spiritual needs in the social context, liberation theology emerged as an alternative. The theology of liberation became a form of expressing a particular social force in which the indigenous sought to accept their cultures, in the Spanish structural system.<sup>43</sup>

According to Gustavo Gutierrez, Liberation from the theological perspective evoked human emancipation from dependence and servitude to rebuild a new human being.<sup>44</sup> Yet, liberation has to do with Salvation (liberation from sin), permitting a communion between God and human beings.<sup>45</sup> Concerning it, this study will further explore how the freedom from oppression as the main feature for theology has given rise to decolonial theology as the new version of liberation theology.

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<sup>40</sup> Walter D. Mignolo; "Delinking; the Rhetoric of Modernity, logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of Decoloniality", *Cultural Studies*, vol.21, no. 2-3 (April 2007): 460-461.

<sup>41</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez: *The power of the poor in History* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1983), 29-31.

<sup>42</sup> Tomb, *Latin America liberation theology*, 121

<sup>43</sup> H. Fernando Bullon, *Protestant social Thought in Latin America, The Debate on Development* (Oxford-UK: Regnum Books International, 2015), 18.

<sup>44</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *A theology of liberation: History. Politics and Salvation* (New York, Maryknoll: SCM Press Ltd, 1973), 91.

<sup>45</sup> Tomb, *Latin America Liberation*, 125.



After defining the theological concept of liberation as the main feature to shape decolonial theology, in the fifth chapter, the study delves into Guaman Poma's theological themes that manifest the reinterpretation of historical events based on indigenous logic. Guaman Poma's indigenous logic was the decolonial notion that sought to reconstitute indigenous rights and dignity. The biblical accounts of Noah and God's knowledge granted to the ancient indigenous were the major theological approaches to justify and defend the natives, attempting to convince that all the natives were God's creatures as were the Europeans. By defending indigenous dignity, Guaman Poma presents the alternative history of indigenous people. His proposal of reorganizing the colonial system is grounded on Tahuantinsuyo that could belong to the Spanish realm. Therefore, the natives could claim the same right as any Spanish.<sup>46</sup>

Guaman Poma's theology had significant influences from Las Casas' theological principles to defend indigenous rights. Bartolome de las Casas (1484-1566)<sup>47</sup> was a Spanish priest who was appointed as "*the Protector of natives*<sup>48</sup>" because he worked as a missionary to defend the suffering of the natives during the colonial period. Las Casas wrote several treatises for the indigenous defense and emphasized that Christianity did not relate to the colonial culture of oppression.<sup>49</sup> According to Adorno, Guaman Poma utilized Las Casas' treatise fragments, the so-called *Las Doce Dudas*, that proposes principles like natural law, divine law addressed to the natives from the Americas. Although Las Casas conceptualized the Spanish conquest as the Spanish invasion that was illegal and tyrannical for the indigenous sovereignty, Guaman Poma reiterated Las Casas' argumentation, adjusting the moralistic reflection, and his proposal is that all Spanish living in the kingdom of Peru must obey the Andean authority.<sup>50</sup> The question is that how did Guaman Poma build his theology to restore the indigenous integrity? Unlike Las Casas, he focused only on the Andean Christian past as a model for the Incas and the Spanish. However, the notion of decolonial theology seemed to fit in Guaman Poma's theological design that this study will discuss in this chapter.

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<sup>46</sup> Granados, "Felipe Guaman Poma," 314.

<sup>47</sup> Tombs, *Latin American Liberation theology*, 20

<sup>48</sup> Tombs, 21

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-22.

<sup>50</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 41-43.

### 1.3 More on the historical context and main interest

Before Christopher Columbus arrived in the Americas, it had taken a long time for the first Christian migrants to reach South America<sup>51</sup>. In the Spanish conquest, the Western culture constituted the colonial Christendom, characterizing the oppressive bonds to the Spanish culture as the major one that permitted the Church to reduce its missionary task of evangelizing the indigenous peoples.<sup>52</sup>

The historians reported an elusive Golden kingdom beyond the south sea discovered in Spanish journeys to Panama by its leader Francisco Pizarro. They recruited two partners, Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Duque, a priest, to colonize the Indigenous realm. In 1526, the good finds of gold and silver ratified the indigenous kingdom, yielding that Pizarro and his soldiers sailed again from Panama and then landed at the Peruvian coast. Coincidentally, in the period of Spanish arrivals, the Incas empire was involved in a civil war due to its leaders` confrontation (Atahualpa and Huascar). This critical situation seemed favorable for the conquest.<sup>53</sup>

After consolidating the long-standing Spanish power in Peru and Mexico, the Spanish Church set up its splendor along the pacific coast as an ecclesiastical institution. From 1551 to 1620, the colonial Church strategically edified two important centers, one in Mexico City and another in lima. In both places, the Spanish crown established the two most significant archiepiscopal sees. In 1551, the Spanish monarchy constituted Lima's first provincial council, led by Jeronimo de Louisa, a bishop and then archbishop for several decades, who dealt with viceroys; his function was influential for the reforms.<sup>54</sup> However, Lima's first provincial council was exclusively for a systematic organization of the Catholic Church that subsequently distributed wealth. Thereby, wealth and power shaped the traditional theology and Euro-centric-confidence message in which the Church acted as a cooperative agent of the colonial administration.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Burholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Dussel, *History and theology of liberation*, 75-77.

<sup>53</sup> Benjamin Keen, *Readings in Latin Civilization, 1492 to the Present* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 68.

<sup>54</sup> Dussel, *History and the theology of liberation*, 89-90.

<sup>55</sup> Tombs, *Latin America liberation*, 12-16.

By the first century of colonialization, the indigenous of the Andes lived between the Spanish and Inca realms. But interculturality of Europeans and indigenous shaped the hierarchical structure of the colonial society. Both the Spanish officials and indigenous leaders made close contacts in all areas. During that period, Guaman Poma de Ayala identified himself with the indigenous of the Andes; consequently, he and his peers claimed that their parent's generation had labored for both the Inca lords of Tahuantinsuyu and the Spanish king.<sup>56</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the supremacy of the Spanish monarchy to the ecclesiastical affairs became the combination of the state with the Church in which the crown gained authority to control the Clergy and deflect the direction of the ecclesiastic duty from spirituality.<sup>57</sup> During the viceroyalty, the colonial Church and the state implanted a system so-called the *encomiendas* that was the original device for settlers to dominate their subjects. Initially, this system was for pacifying the wars at the conquests, but its functionaries and agents acquired selfish interest, corrupting within the indigenous council. The purpose of the *encomiendas* was to justify the Spanish crown's presence in the proclamation of the Gospel and was part of the colonial order that caused numerous deaths in the indigenous population and became an impediment to the Gospel's credibility.<sup>58</sup>

Consequently, after the unsuccessful process of evangelization, the Church organized the eradication of idolatries, the campaigns led by Cristobal de Albornoz, the ecclesiastical inspector who likely recruited Guaman Poma in the province of Huamanga for the missionary church's campaign to root out the indigenous religions of the Andes in 1568-1570. With Albornoz's campaigns against idolatry, Guaman Poma acquired experiences with the missionary church's policies and practices, specifically in the Andean communities.<sup>59</sup> At Albornoz's campaign, Guaman Poma expressed his approval of imprisonment and punishment to the Taki Unqoy, a radical native's movement of the Southern Andean community that spread the triumphalism of the Andean gods over the Christian God theologically. Although the indigenous ideology was part of Guaman Poma's thoughts, he damned the practitioners of

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<sup>56</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 23.

<sup>57</sup> Peter J. Bakewell, *A history of Latin America: Empires and Sequels 1450-1930*(Malden, MA: Bakewell Publishers, 1997), 173-174.

<sup>58</sup> Gutierrez, *Las Casas*, 286-287.

<sup>59</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 26.

Taki Ungoy as fake shamans that took advantage of the traditional religious ritual for political and self-interest gains.<sup>60</sup>

By the mid-sixteenth century, the indigenous population elites had actively gotten into colonial affairs, with the end of finding opportunities and privileges. Their positions turned from being with the indigenous community to the colonial administration, even many attained to be at the colonial bureaucracy. In that period, the Viceroy Toledo restructured the societal range and reformed the public institution for the state control, which involved the Andean ethnic lord (kuracakuna) overseeing all the community's local activities. Amid Andean Lords, Guaman Poma worked as a colonial agent, witnessing the constant confiscation of wealth through the visitations and reduction system that consisted of removing the native local communities to big cities to serve the colonial economy.<sup>61</sup>

By addressing the dire situation of natives, in 1557, Guaman Poma meticulously exposed; on the one hand, his persistent concept of the native ancestry from the Andes before the Spanish conquest, in the sense that "before *the arrival of Spaniards and since the beginning of time*<sup>62</sup>"; his ancestors were native who settled down in the Andean areas (Huamanga). On the other hand, the biblical principles' importance over native forbearers.<sup>63</sup> In 1582-1583, due to his experiences with church policies for the evangelization of natives and his knowledge of church council edits, Churchmen, and theologians of the Third church council convened in Lima suggested that Guaman Poma would serve as the interpreter.<sup>64</sup> In the early 1580s, the primary concern of his vivid experience was the church activities. Hence, Guaman Poma affiliated with Lima's provincial church council to regulate viable policies that could proselytize the Andean position. In support of decrees for indigenous affairs, he expressed his orthodox views to improve the evangelization methods. Guaman Poma traveled to Lima to meet with churchmen, friars, and theologians to convince his proposal.<sup>65</sup>

By 1569 and 1581, it was the first period of viceroy Toledo's administration. Toledo constituted the systematic census for the economic impulse by relocating native communities

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.,26-27.

<sup>61</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 362-366 Loc.

<sup>62</sup> Adorno, 454 loc.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 452-456 Loc.

<sup>64</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 29

<sup>65</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 819, 823, 828 Loc.

where the native labor could support the colonial economy. Guaman Poma supplied a record for legislation promulgated by Toledo and elaborated on scheduled inspection tours for the viceroyalty.<sup>66</sup> For approximately six years of his life, from 1594 to 1600, Guaman Poma worked as the interpreter and witnessed in implementing policies derived from Viceroy Toledo's resettlement of indigenous communities for colonial labor forced. In the same years, he litigated for his kin's land suit at the court; however, he lost it after various litigations. His sentence was a two-year exile from Huamanga and two hundred lashes.<sup>67</sup>

From 1600 to 1615, Guaman Poma likely wrote his manuscript after having gathered vividly personal experiences, plenty of observations of abuses, violence, and brutalities toward the indigenous people. In defense of their rights, he protested the political and religious officials, showing his indignation and discouragement against the precarious indigenous situation.<sup>68</sup>

Although Guaman Poma, identified by himself with the theology of the provincial council of Lima, he expressed his disagreements explicitly about the evangelization of Indigenous. In 1615, he presented his manuscript with the title *La Primera Nueva Coronicas y Buen Gobierno*, which proposed a series of imaginary reforms under the religious discourse to restore the religious-cultural aspect of the indigenous.<sup>69</sup> The main objective of his manuscript was to defend the right of oppressed indigenous people. His messianic role was in the position of being between divinity and power. Thus, he was aware that the moral reform for both Spaniards and indigenous behavior would be under Christian principles without considering ethnicity.<sup>70</sup>

As this study have ascribed remarkable facts of colonial Peru, I can understand Guaman Poma's background and the colonial period where the indigenous people suffered oppression and ethnic denigration. This research's primary interest is that Guaman Poma's chronicle displays a colonial era where the indigenous population was subject to imperial power (influence of the Inca empire and the dominant Spanish regime). On defending their rights and integrity as human beings, the local history as an alternative narrative of the indigenous

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 797, 801 Loc.

<sup>67</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Farias; "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 9.

<sup>69</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 27.

<sup>70</sup> Dilke, *Letter of a king*, 15-16.

perspective could coin the theological themes to portray a natural integration and acceptance of universal history.

My emphasis is primarily on theological interpretation instead of the political reform on an excellent treatise, so this work focuses more on the Guaman Poma's theology than the Spanish colonial facts. However, it does not mean that this study omits the historical colonial factors from history, where Christianity was the cornerstone for reconstructing the human past. Moreover, this research considers pre-Hispanic events of Peruvian history to conceptualize and portray the indigenous worldview in Christianity.

#### ***1.4 Aim of study and Research Question***

At colonization in Peru, the encounter of two empires was the historical event in which the Spanish empire achieved to rule over the Inca empire. Yet, in the colonial society, the indigenous people of the Andes attempted to detach from the Inca influence. Theologically, Guaman Poma defended the natives of the Andes by constructing a parallel history from the indigenous perspective. This study deduces that the recreated existence of indigenous inhabitants as part of the Christian story alleged by Guaman Poma permitted the natives to assimilate Christianity without impediments. However, the ruthless mistreats and abuses from the corrupt ecclesiastical and political officials made Guaman Poma raise his voice in protest, and in amending the dire indigenous conditions, he presented his chronicles as a request record and a letter to the Spanish king through which he demands the rehabilitation of the indigenous culture and appraisal of pre-Inca society.

After introducing historical facts of the pre-colonial and colonial period to understand the indigenous position in history, this study focuses on the theological defense of the Peruvian Andean natives and their past. The analysis will be using the Christian historical criticism from the native perspective to reconsider the religious worldview's cultural values and evaluate the incorporation of the local history of the natives to Guaman Poma's chronicle between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. The reinterpretation of the local history plays a remarkable role in constructing theological themes to defend the indigenous dignity and identity under the decolonial notion.

As the theological criteria and historical condition are in *the First New Chronicle and Good Government*, Guaman Poma alleges the indigenous people from the Andes were Christians in

the pre-Inca history. In the development of theological themes of this study, arise two questions: How does Felipe Guaman Poma theologially defend the identity and dignity of the indigenous people in the *Primer Nueva Corònica y Buen Gobierno*? And what role does Noah`s story play in the theological defense, and how does it relate to other theological themes? These questions are significant for Guaman Poma`s reinterpretation of Christianity, emphasizing the decolonial notion of the indigenous world. The decolonial notion implies certain elements such as resistance, emancipation, and restitution. Hence, this study will describe decolonial thinking, which has been the cornerstone to build the decolonial theology reflected in Guaman Poma`s chronicle.

### *1.5 Theory*

The pursuit of theological interpretation into Guaman Poma's chronicle that defended the Andean indigenous people, depends on developing the religious facts at the Spanish colonial period.

This research aims to analyze the theological interpretation of *the First New Chronicle and Good Government* that focuses on Peruvian history. By narrating historical facts of the colonial period, Guaman Poma applies his indigenous ideology to reinterpret religious themes, adapting to the local history of the native.

As this study have recently mentioned, Guaman Poma`s chronicle reveals a decolonial idea to defend the indigenous identity theologially. Therefore, this study will employ decolonial thinking as an analytical theory to define concepts related to the indigenous interpretation of Christianity. To clarify the meaning of decolonial thinking, this study will profoundly analyze in chapter 5, but here it only describes certain features for the theoretical purpose.

The postcolonial era was a transition period from the Spanish subjugation and post-dependence to emancipation to the natives and slaves. When the European countries consolidated their power in colonized lands; the European culture pictured a negative perception embedded with imperialism and modernity, mistreating ancient native cultures. In Latin American, modernity was viewed as a system of domination, racism, and colonization, opposing the contribution of the oppressed lands. According to Walter Mignolo, an Argentinean Professor at Duke University, Europe's modernity brought adverse effects. To avoid excluding the oppressed native people and their cultures, Mignolo employs the

cosmogony of the indigenous of the Andes, referring to the conception of the universe under a reality with gods, human beings, and elements of nature. The term "cosmopolitanism" supports it, whereby "*the Cosmopolitanism and Decolonizing opinion*"<sup>71</sup> has a beginning with a genealogy from Kant. Mignolo agrees with Kant that with cosmopolitanism, the indigenous have the same conditions as others, emphasizing all the citizens of the world are equal.<sup>72</sup>

Decolonial thinking emerged from the resistance toward the colonial invasion and was a direct form of expressing against imperialism developed in various places and diverse ways.<sup>73</sup> In South America, the first manifestation of decolonial turn was on the pre-Hispanic period of the viceroyalty in the Tahuantinsuyu between the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. This manifestation was reflected in Guaman Poma's manuscript that became the aperture of the imperial genealogy of Christianity.<sup>74</sup>

By applying decolonial thinking, Mignolo narrates the pre-colonial history without mentioning the bloody expansion of the Incas and Aztec empire before European imperialism but reinforces the idea of an indigenous world that is static.<sup>75</sup> In other words, indigenous people have preserved their cultural and religious structure before and after imperialism.

The decolonial thinking lay down in the Americas' colonies, deducing a colonial critic for the emancipation. Confronting the European politic and philosophy, decolonial thinking is a varied planetary opposition to the single idea, which justifies and condemns coloniality. In other words, decoloniality refers to that all the countries have coped with the invasion and wars that could be beneficial or detrimental to cultural values.<sup>76</sup>

Overall, this study refers that the indigenous world reveals ethnic differences among indigenous peoples that match the Andean view. Decolonial thinking denotes several characteristics at the construction of the Andean uniqueness associated with the moral behaviors, religious values that can slightly contrast with others.

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<sup>71</sup> Jeff Browitt, "La teoria decolonial buscando la Identidad en el mercado Academico," *Cuaderno de Literatura*, vol. XVIII, No, 36(November 2014): 30.

<sup>72</sup> Jeff Browitt, "La teoria decolonial," 30.

<sup>73</sup> Walter D. Mignolo. "La opcion decolonial: Deprendimiento y apertura. Un manifiesto y un caso," *Tabula Rasa, Revista de Humanidades*(January-June 2008): 245.

<sup>74</sup> Mignolo, " La opcion decolonial," 251.

<sup>75</sup> Browitt, "La teoria decolonial," 31-32.

<sup>76</sup> Mignolo, "La opcion decolonial," 257-258.



To understand the religious pattern of *the Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, this study has observed that Guaman Poma's chronicle has a limitation as to other colonial manuscripts, and its obstacle did not lean at the religious paradigm but other's perceptions toward the colonization. Besides, Guaman Poma viewed and perceived the colonial subject, referring to the subject molded to Tahuantinsuyu rather than the modern subject belongings to the European renaissance.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, decolonial thinking is a theoretical approach that contributes to understanding the post-colonial context of how theological themes could tie to the indigenous ideolog and theology.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 259-260.

## 2 Literature review: Historical antecedents and state of research

### 2.1 Introduction

Historical antecedents revealed that during the colonial period, the native American cultures underwent notable changes due to the mixtures of the Western culture, which produced a contemporary new civilization, where the originality of the indigenous culture was at the status of myth. The Spanish culture diminished and denigrated the indigenous achievements, but ancestral native witnesses could survive in people's memories traditions. Additionally, the indigenous population of the Americas was influenced by the Aztecs and the Incas, the powerful ethnical groups that built their empires. Both empires attained to impose their traditions and religions on the indigenous daily lives during the pre-Columbian epoch.<sup>78</sup>

The discovery of the new continent and its indigenous inhabitant was the encounter between the old world and the new world that transcended Europe, especially in Spain, as the re-establishment of Western tradition. One of the Spanish objectives was to extend the Christian tradition to newly conquered lands, whereby the Spanish crown sent Christopher Columbus to discover and evangelize the Americas.<sup>79</sup> To understand the indigenous role during the colonial period, this study will briefly describe the Spanish conquest and evangelization of natives that determined in constructing a new hierarchy in Latin American society where the indigenous elite had the privileges and opportunities to belong to the Catholic church and colonial administration.

After the conquest, the indigenous elite's sons contributed to the Christianizing process by constant inspections and supervision within the indigenous community. Meanwhile, others were involved in the ecclesiastical matter of the Spanish church. A descendant of the indigenous elite was Guaman Poma, an Andean native with Christian roots and Inca backdrop, who witnessed the historical event during colonial Peru. Consequently, he wrote

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<sup>78</sup> Richard Ew Adams, *Ancient Civilization of the New world, Essay in World History* (Boulder, Colo: Routledge, 1997), 2-3.

<sup>79</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity*, 12.

about Peruvian history in his manuscript known as the *First New Chronicle and Good Government*. With regards to Guaman Poma, this study will delve into Guaman Poma's life and literary work in this chapter. Besides, historical events of the indigenous world during the colonial period were remarkable in elaborating his chronicle. Besides, this study will describe the state of research on Christianity in Latin America and of the indigenous resistance to Western culture from Guaman Poma's view based on the scholar's approaches.

## 2.2 Pre-Columbian epoch

Before the Western colonization in the Americas, there were plenty of indigenous civilizations and cultures. These indigenous civilizations ranged from the nomadic tribes of the Southern pampas and North American plains, manifesting less power toward the greatest civilization in the Andes, well-known as Inca civilization, and in the central valley of Mexico, the Aztec civilization. Both cultures established their empires with concrete political structures and consolidated their “*great religious traditions*” to gain dominion in indigenous tribes. According to Robert Redfield, great traditions were the spiritual practices and ideology derived from the priestly classes and ruling classes. Therefore, both empires utilized religion to complement the state to support the theocracy.<sup>80</sup>

The alliance of four indigenous tribes constituted the Inca empire known as the Tahuantinsuyu, “*four quarters*,” that settled down in Cuzco's valley (Peru). In the reign of the Inca Pachacutic(1438),<sup>81</sup>it extended geographically to the border of Ecuador in north and Lake Titicaca in South (Bolivia), establishing the Inca colony in the highlands' conquered region. The Inca empire was a progressive indigenous group with a sophisticated caste system, focusing on clans and astounding engineering.<sup>82</sup>

The Incas religiosity had numerous divinities with naturalist features, primitive fetishism, animistic beliefs, and a strong leaning toward magic.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, the Andean religions came from the oral tradition that, according to the Jesuit priest Bernabe Cobo, it was complex to define religion due to the diversity of the local religion coined to the Inca empire. He

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<sup>80</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J, Christianity, 13.

<sup>81</sup> Charles H. Lippy, Robbert Choquette and Stanford Poole, *Christianity comes to the Americas: 1492-1776*(New York: A Eiger Book – Paragon House, 1992), 51-52.

<sup>82</sup> Lyppy, Choquete and Poole, *Christianity comes to the Americas*, 52-53.

<sup>83</sup> Alfred Metraux, *The history of the Incas* (New York: Patheon books, 1970), 121.

described the official religion as a great tradition since the Inca state region altered the local beliefs.<sup>84</sup>

Worshipping gods were part of the Inca daily life and the heirs of ancient cultures, which guided the Incas to worship the old divinity Viracocha (Uiracocha), regarded as the creator god and supreme god. Viracocha represented the four main cosmology elements like fire, earth, air, and water.<sup>85</sup> Yet, the Inca religion included other gods like the god of heavens (Ilyapa), god of thunder, god of the moon, and the Sun-god (Inti). Amid these gods, the Inti was the imperial God.<sup>86</sup> Besides, the Sun-god became the strongest god that unified religious needs and created a priesthood with chosen women to serve him.<sup>87</sup>

Viracocha or gods of heaven did not determine the Andean religion. Yet, the Incas also considered the earth's gods, alluding to the local leaders' mummified bodies and deceased Sapa Inca, which used to be the ancestor deity in significant festivals. Another god of the earth was the Huacas, referring to sacred places that could be everything. Therefore, the Inca empire structured their pantheist religions throughout the Andes to capture other different indigenous tribes.<sup>88</sup>

### ***2.3 The conquest and Christianization of Latin America***

When Christopher Columbus arrived the Latin America for the first time (12 October 1492),<sup>89</sup> it brought changes in the indigenous worldview to generate a mutual impact between the economic and religious affairs. The religious factor influenced the subsequent history of the Hispanic American conquest, so the Spanish empire held its missionary endeavors of Christianizing natives.<sup>90</sup> The Christian mission and vision were essential for the Spanish determination since the epoch of the reconquest when the Spaniards identified themselves as Christians to organize a crusade to drive out Moors and Islamic domination from the Spanish

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<sup>84</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity in Latin America*, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Dussel, *The church in Latin America*, 38.

<sup>86</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity*, 18.

<sup>87</sup> Metraux, *The History of the Incas*, 121-123.

<sup>88</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity*, 19.

<sup>89</sup> Lyppy, Choquete and Poole, *Christianity comes to the Americas*, 3

<sup>90</sup> Lyppy, Choquete and Poole, 3-4

peninsula. This crusade reinforced forming Spanish mentality, militant religiosity, and ethnocentric nationalism.<sup>91</sup>

The Spanish monarchy undertook the Americas' discovery and conquest, involving Spanish military officials and priests, who viewed the Hispanic conquest as the act of divine providence and the continuity of the Spanish reconquest.<sup>92</sup> However, the greed for gold and evangelization intent were pillars of the Spanish conquest, evidencing that God's presence depended upon gold in the indigenous world. In other words, the natives could receive faith and God's love through gold, whereby Christianity tended to have the mercantilist purposes of the Spanish system.<sup>93</sup>

The discoveries and conquests in Latin America took place in two distinct periods: the Caribbean (1493-1520) and the mainland (1521-1573).<sup>94</sup> The Caribbean Period initiated Columbus's second voyage when Columbus became a governor and admiral to render the expedition between Panama and Brazil. At that period, the catholic monarchs promulgated rigid policies against indigenous rights, provoking slavery.<sup>95</sup>

The mainland period was the beginning of the new epoch. The missionary enterprise actively worked to continue the Spanish conquest and establish the Spanish realm in the big empires (Aztec and Inca), which could economically support Spain. The Spanish conquest of the Aztec empire took place with the leadership of Hernan Cortes; realizing the indecisiveness of the native leader Moctezuma, he allied with Moctezuma's retractors to defeat the Aztec resistance that let him establish the Spanish empire.<sup>96</sup>

Likewise, in South America, the conquest of the Inca empire occurred with the arrival of the Spanish settlers in Peru under the leadership of Francisco Pizarro in 1532.<sup>97</sup> He took advantage of a war of succession in the Inca empire between two Incas brothers (Atahualpa and

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>92</sup> Hans Jurgen Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, (Leiden-Boston: BRILL, 2013), 33.

<sup>93</sup> Dussel, *The church in Latin America*, 43.

<sup>94</sup> Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, 34. The discovery of the Americas was in 1492 by Columbus. Yet, the establishment and Christianization occurred in 1493. In the case of the mainland, the period was from 1521, when the Spanish Empire settled down in Mexico.

<sup>95</sup> Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, 34-36.

<sup>96</sup> Prien, 38.

<sup>97</sup> Lyppy, Choquete and Poole, *Christianity comes to the Americas*, 54.

Huascar). Pizarro deceived Atahualpa by arranging an encounter with him in Cajamarca, where the Spanish troops captured him as a prisoner. When Atahualpa was in prison, Pizarro killed his brother. After manipulating Atahualpa for the Spanish interest and its purpose, Pizarro executed Atahualpa to control and establish the Spanish colonial system. In the Spanish outlook, this victory over the Inca and Aztec Empire was equivalent to a sign of God's missionary scheme to Christianize the Americas. Although acts of atrocity and abuses characterized the Spanish conquest, the conquerors regarded themselves as good Christians.<sup>98</sup>

After the Incas state's downfall, the association of the catholic church with the Spanish state managed the indigenous conversion to Catholicism by force due to the Inca structure's fragility.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, the Spanish conquistadors and priests perceived the new world's mission as a spiritual conquest. They demonized the indigenous religions and contemplated indigenous religions as going against the true faith. The native religion consisted of the cosmic order, focusing on the community's perfection, but ignored the evil presence. In contrast, Christianity prioritized an individual's salvation, ethical principles, worrying about evil due to sinful actions.

At the beginning of the conquest era, the natives did not refuse Christianity because they perceived the Christian rites as equivalent to the indigenous religious rituals. In that sense, the conversion of natives was a systematic conversion to Catholicism.<sup>100</sup> However, the inconsistent conversion of the native was qualified by the secular priests as religious opposition. In confronting this issue, the church utilized the coercive method to bring indigenous to Christianity.<sup>101</sup>

Although the first Spanish missionaries attained a massive conversion of natives, they found a disadvantage in consolidating their missionary tasks because of the native languages. So, they viewed the need to teach the Christian doctrine through native intermediaries with Spanish

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<sup>98</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity*, 35-36.

<sup>99</sup> Dussel, *History and the theology of liberation*, 87-88.

<sup>100</sup> Lee M. Penyark and Walter J. Petry, *Religion in Latin America, A documentary History* (New York, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2006), 31, 32.

<sup>101</sup> Kenneth Mills, "The Limits of religious Coercion in Mid-colonial Peru," *Oxford University Press*, no. 145(November 1994): 85

language skills. Hence, the church developed schools of religious instruction for natives in the Andean areas.<sup>102</sup>

The Spanish clergy recruited indigenous leaders of the elite through Christian dogma teachings, who informed and supported the colonial church and administration. Besides, the viceroy Francisco de Toledo implemented it with the Spanish teaching to all children of native leaders who subsequently became the indigenous nobility under the Spanish influence so-called “*Ladino*.”<sup>103</sup> Yet, the indigenous religion and traditions' persistence obligated the Spanish missionaries to adopt certain indigenous features in the Spanish religiosity so that the indigenous population could accept Christianity. Consequently, this adaptation was a favorable measure for the Spanish interest since the indigenous elite could support the Spaniards to gain political power in colonial Peru.<sup>104</sup>

However, at obtaining inefficient results for the Spanish interest, the ecclesiastical authorities and secular priests denounced the preservation of idolatrous practices between the Christian indigenous people. They accused the Inca religions of having influenced the indigenous beliefs, considering it as the fruit of the demon, whereby friars and secular priests organized the campaigns against idolatry.<sup>105</sup> The campaigns to extirpate idolatry began with Francisco de Avila, who regarded Inca religion as a foe to God. Many Andean mediators like Guaman Poma collaborated with the colonial church in these campaigns. For the secular priests, the revitalization of Andean cultures by pagan beliefs was the resistance to Catholicism.<sup>106</sup>

Moreover, the Spanish attempts orientated in engaging the native living practices with the colonial rule system were utterly successful. So, the colonial system proclaimed the equality of indigenous people such as the natives deserved fully just human conditions as Spaniards

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<sup>102</sup> John Charles, *Allies at Odds, The Andean Church, and its indigenous Agents, 1583-1671* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 18-19

<sup>103</sup> Charles, *Allies at Odds*, 20.

<sup>104</sup> Wulf Oesterreicher and Roland Schmidt-Riese, *Explendores y Misserias de la Evangelización de América: Antecedentes Europeos and alteridad indígena* (Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 183.

<sup>105</sup> Oesterreicher and Schmidt, *Explendores y Misserias*, 184.

<sup>106</sup> Charles, *Allies at odds*, 133.

and as the crown's vassals. However, the Spanish state qualified the Andean natives as the inferior ethnic groups in the colonial society.<sup>107</sup>

The identity of the indigenous elite before the Spanish crown took distinct leanings in the Andean society. Many of them became catholic members and preserved their native cultures. Guaman Poma belonged to those groups who noticed that the reforms and extirpation campaign had viceroyalty material interest instead of spiritual.<sup>108</sup>

The campaigns against idolatry became the vehicle for the indigenous resistance to Christianity and Spanish cultural values, reaffirming the ancestral indigenous beliefs and traditions in the early seventeenth century. Thus, the indigenous religiosity of the Andes prevailed more than the Christian patterns, illustrating a dependency of the Andean narrative to ratify its validity in indigenous society.<sup>109</sup>

## **2.4 The Andean writer Felipe Guaman Poma, life, and work**

### **2.4.1 Biography**

The bibliographical data about Guaman Poma's life derived from his manuscript, presenting as an Andean native of a noble family, whose father received the last Spanish names "de Ayala" for supporting the Spanish civil war between Spanish settlers (Pizarro and Almagro). His mother was Curi Ollco, married to Guaman Mallqui, the Chinchaysuyu region governor. Guaman Poma was a descendant of the Yaro Willca(from his father`s side) and the Inca caste(from his mother`s side).<sup>110</sup> His lineage with the Yaro willca came from a small native kingdom so-called, Yaro, where his grandfather Guaman Chaua was emperor at the fourth age of the indigenous world.<sup>111</sup> Regarding the ages of the indigenous world, this study will detail it in chapter 4. Guaman poma`s birthplace was Andamarca, in the province of Lucanas, at the region of Huamanga (Ayacucho).<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Irene Silverblatt, *Modern inquisitions Peru and the colonial origin of the civilized world* (Durham: Duke University Press- Durham, 2004), 195.

<sup>108</sup> Maccormack, "The Heart has its reason," 462-463.

<sup>109</sup> Maccormack, 459-461.

<sup>110</sup> Farias, "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 8-9.

<sup>111</sup> Luis Arana Bustamante; "La Construction de una Tradición y dinámica para los Yaros en la Cronica de Guaman Poma," *Investigacion Sociales*, vol. 19, no. 35 (2015): 118-119.

<sup>112</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 743 loc.



Moreover, Guaman Poma's offspring was related to Mitmaqunas; according to John V Murra, it was an ancient ethnic community with the ancient Andean tradition of subsistence. The friar Cobo stated that the Inca empire honored Mitmaqunas and send them to the conquered indigenous communities to diffuse and teach the Inca language and religion. Following this Cobo's idea, Pablo Macera suggests that the Yarowillca, Guaman Poma's ancestors, could have come to Huamanga as Mitmaqunas when the Inca empire conquered this area.<sup>113</sup> For Adorno, during the pre-Columbian epoch, the Inca state and Mitmaqunas shared the same purpose of establishing their dominion in newly conquered lands. In cooperating with the Inca expansion, Mitmaqunas received privileges. However, with the Spanish arrival, its status changed because the viceroy Toledo broke the Andean system by separating the Mitmaquna's descendants from local clans and small communities to grant titles to land and organize the communitive labor for natives. Guaman Poma's Mitmaquna heritage tremendously influenced how he defended his family's lands against other ethnic groups and the subsequent composition of his literary work.<sup>114</sup>

However, his manuscript did not attribute an exact date of his death. Abram Padilla, who investigated more details than others, Guaman Poma's bibliography, had carefully collected a series of information to assert that Guaman Poma finalized his chronicle when he was 63 years old, rather than 80 years old, to which others alluded.<sup>115</sup> The caution of his report allowed to give the birth date of Guaman Poma, referring to 1550 and indicating that his hybrid (mestizo) half-brother, Martin, was born in 1532 and became a priest but died at 40 age when Gregorio de Montalvo was the bishop in Cuzco.<sup>116</sup> Yet, Guaman Poma's half-brother seemed to be a confusing case, and when a document with the title "*Y no hay remedio*" mentioned that Guaman Poma introduced the name of Martin de Ayala, in possession of land in Chupas, this name had a link to Guaman Poma's father, named Domingo Mallqui de Ayala. The document "*Y no hay remedio*" and Guaman Poma's manuscript

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<sup>113</sup> Lopez-Baralt; *Para decir otro*, 169–170.

<sup>114</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, loc. 371, 380.

<sup>115</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 67.

<sup>116</sup> Ossio, *En Busca del Orden perdido*, 70.

specified a bond between his father and his half-brother since both were at the service to the natural hospital in Huamanga.<sup>117</sup>

Although there would be congruences between his father and half-brother, it could say with certainty that Guaman Poma was born after the Spanish invasion, so he had to pass through the strengthening process of the colonial system.<sup>118</sup> Overall, Guaman Poma's life displayed the hybridity with the Spanish culture to survive in the colonial society, but he identified himself with the indigenous race of the Andes. Furthermore, he did not show any preferences to accept or refuse Spanish priests, Andean administrators of the indigenous communities (Corrigidores), Spanish judges, and others to be his friends or foes; however, Guaman Poma tied with the conflict groups. Guaman Poma's first life experience was with his participation in the missionary campaigns of extirpating the ancient native religions, so he served the ecclesiastical inspector Cristobal Albornoz, who punished the religious Andean practitioners of paganism in colonial Peru. With this missionary church experience, Guaman Poma could learn about the missionary church's policies and performance within the native communities.

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During the colonial epoch, at 40 age or less, he began to write his historical work; simultaneously, he traveled to Lima to litigate his kin 'land suit before the real audience. This land suit was the land expropriation of his family in Chupas by the indigenous groups of Chachapoyas. This litigation and other documents revealed that Guaman Poma collaborated as an interpreter of the lands' judge, Gabriel Solano de Figueroa. However, his role as a mediator made Chachapoyas's natives suspect that Guaman Poma frequently changed his names and that his original name was Lazaro instead.<sup>120</sup>At his return to Huamanga, Chachapoyas's natives accused Guaman Poma of being an impostor. After many attempts to prove Guaman Poma's authenticity as the Lord of these lands, he lost it, and the court sentenced him to two hundred lashes and two years exile from Huamanga areas.<sup>121</sup>This legal defeat encouraged him to expresses the legal petition in the future for the Andean natives.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ossio, 71–72.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>119</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 25-26.

<sup>120</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 74-75.

<sup>121</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 30.

<sup>122</sup> Brokaw, "Texto y Context," 59.

All the details of the land expropriation dispute between the Guaman Poma and the natives of Chachapoyas were attached in the expedient Prado Tello that situated Guaman Poma's legal defeat as the beginning of his chronicle.<sup>123</sup>

Moreover, the expediente Prado Tello reported that from the mid-sixteenth century onward, the viceroy Toledo, alongside the Spanish bureaucracy, restructured the indigenous society, granting power to the indigenous elite. Toledo's policy allowed the Andean landlord to inspect the indigenous activities and work in the colonial administrative field. Guaman Poma actively participated in this restructuration, but his colonial affiliation did not match Chachapoyas' natives due to the dispute of properties and lands.<sup>124</sup> Although Guaman Poma was a member of the local indigenous elite, he became an appointee of the colonial government. He claimed at the Spanish monarch the recognition of indigenous forebearers, permitting all indigenous people to live with their ancient inherited traditions and lands.<sup>125</sup>

His early experience with church affairs, administrative work, and language skills let Guaman Poma work as an interpreter. From 1594 to 1600 was the most remarkable and known period of Guaman Poma's life, when he worked as the interpreter and witnessed the Viceroy Toledo's administration.<sup>126</sup> Besides, Guaman Poma witnessed the execution of the last Inca Tupac Amaru after Toledo's accusation and sentence.<sup>127</sup> Working with Viceroy Toledo, Guaman Poma frequently made inspection tour, engaging the colonial church and its practices. Those inspection tours permitted him to see the precarious condition of the natives and provided vital information that influenced his chronicle's elaboration.<sup>128</sup>

#### **2.4.2 The First New Chronicles and Good Government**

Guaman Poma began to write his manuscript at the viceroyalty settlement when the civil war between Spaniards ceased. Likewise, the resistance and rebellions were finalized with the execution of the last Inca Tupac Amaru under Toledo's order. The visible expression of resistance took place at Ayacucho's areas with Taki Onqoy, a radical nativist movement that

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<sup>123</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 354 Loc.

<sup>124</sup> Adorno, 367 Loc.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 456 Loc.

<sup>126</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 30.

<sup>127</sup> Farias, "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 9.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 885,889 Loc.

took its peak of the indigenous ideology when Guaman Poma worked as an administrator and landlord. However, the retractor of this revolutionary movement was the priest Cristobal de Albornoz, who received collaboration from Guaman Poma as an interpreter in his young life.<sup>129</sup>

The elaboration of his chronicle occurred when Guaman Poma lost his kin's land suit in the court, which impacted his perception. According to Adorno, at that point, Guaman Poma turned from being a collaborator with colonial initiatives to an activist for the Andean cause. The incident and the report about injustices found by Guaman Poma during his inspection tours encouraged him to write his manuscript with the title the *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. To the composition of his manuscript, Guaman Poma referred to Andean sources (Quipus) and oral information of the ancient indigenous peoples as his primary sources, which concentrated the most reliable description of the Inca government and the Andean world.<sup>130</sup> Although Guaman Poma did not mention European literary influence in his work, his chronicle integrated the Andean sources with European historical work.<sup>131</sup> Besides, Guaman Poma constructed a lineage familiar to confirm his Christian identity and demonstrate loyalty to the Spanish king.<sup>132</sup>

Guaman Poma affirmed that the composition of his manuscripts took approximately between 20 and 30 years. Although it seemed impossible to confirm due to lack of reliable source, in 1945, Guillermo Lohman Villena discovered in the Archive general de las Indias in Sevilla a letter of introduction signed by Guaman Poma and date 14 February 1615.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, in 1615, Guaman Poma wrote a letter to Spanish King Phillip III and deperched it from the province of Lucanas. In this letter, he informed about the existence and the recent culmination of his chronicle of Peru, so Guaman Poma manifested his desire of sending it to the king upon his request. Moreover, he addressed the king, asserting that the monarch published his manuscript work to be useful for the indigenous population in Peru.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 189.

<sup>130</sup> Rocio Quispe-Agnoli, "Practicas indigenas de la Resistencia; Sujetos de la escritura y el saber en los Andes coloniales," *Revista Iberoamericana*, vol. LXXIII, no 220(2007): 424.

<sup>131</sup> Quispe-Agnoli, "Practicas indigenas," 427.

<sup>132</sup> Quispe-Agnoli, 430.

<sup>133</sup> Brokaw, "Text y Context," 60.

<sup>134</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 31.

Guaman Poma structured his manuscript work to include dedicatory epistles to the Pope and the Spanish king. Furthermore, the *First New Chronicle and Good Government* had primary thrusts like the reinterpretation of the indigenous past and the recommendation for the native's future. His manuscript refers to the first of “*the New Chronicle*” and a treatise on “*Good Government*,” consisting of the account of the Andean history. As the *New Chronicle*, it presented the pre-Columbian and the Spanish conquest history. Yet, it became unfamiliar to the readers of Peruvian traditional histories because Guaman Poma portrayed a complicated cosmology, where the indigenous dynasty was connected to Christian history.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, it tended to incorporate the pre-Inca epoch to the ancient universal history grounded on the Andean mythic traditions and the old biblical vision.<sup>136</sup>

Guaman Poma's chronicle narrated the Spanish conquest history with the colonial epoch's onset and emphasized the civil wars after the conquest. The peculiarity is that Guaman Poma constructed a parallel speech between the Spanish and Andean cultures, using writing and pictorial communication. He interpreted the Spanish conquest and colonization from the indigenous perspective.<sup>137</sup> Regarding themes about Good Government, his manuscript's objectives were to inform the Spanish king to restore the dismantlement of the Andean society and take remedial actions to amend the dire situation of Andean natives. Since in the colonial system, the indigenous people suffered exploitation in mines, violence, illness, and the mixing races, causing the decline of the Andean population. Although the colonial administration was a mundane affair, Guaman Poma employed a moralistic recommendation based on Christian principles.<sup>138</sup> Thus, Guaman Poma held the same concern for good government: Christian behavior and punishment for corruption, abuses, and crimes.<sup>139</sup>

Aside from his skill with the Spanish language to reinterpret the Peruvian history and assimilate the Christian dogma, Guaman Poma seemed to have an artistic training to express the analogous link between the Spanish and indigenous tradition. According to Mercedes Lopez-Baralt, a scholar, his artistic training was at the center of pictorial flourishment in Cuzco. His paintings represented religious devotions and realistic colonial lives. For his

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid.,38.

<sup>136</sup> Farias, “Conflicto Colonial Andino,” 9-10.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.,” 10.

<sup>138</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 38-39.

<sup>139</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 916 Loc.

chronicle, Guaman Poma produced 399 drawings in two years.<sup>140</sup> His full-page line drawings reflect pictorial and exposition related to his writing. In other words, his visual graphic is correlated to the written part. The content of his drawings consisted of graphics of ritual and daily life at the Inca time, focusing on the corruption, violent acts, and exploitation of the Andean population. Thus, Guaman Poma's drawings expressed a didactical, sarcastic, and devout interpretation.<sup>141</sup>

Many scholars have regarded Guaman Poma's chronicle as a letter addressed to the Spanish king. But for some, it was a treatise with uncountable historical values and a political document of denounces toward the colonial regime. Whereas others regard it as a literary, upholding among ideas of medieval theology, profane, and sacred history.<sup>142</sup>

## ***2.5 State of research on the history of Christianity in Latin America***

As the historical record has indicated, the Latin American countries imported Christianity through the discovery and conquest of the Americas. The analysis of Christianity from the colonial context in the Latin American view has been relevant to understand the indigenous religiosity in the Andean region since the historical facts displayed different realities of the colonial society in Latin America. Several researchers and scholars have contributed to the narration of the history of Christianity from diverse outlooks to ascribe the theological themes in the colonial context. Among the renowned ones are Enrique Dussel (1976; 1979; 1981; 1992), Gustavo Gutierrez (1973;1983), David Tombs (2002), Justo L. Gonzales and Ordina E. Gonzales (2008), and Hans Jurgen Prien (2013).

Regarding Christianity in Latin America, Dussel states in his book "*The History and the Theology of liberation*" that the crisis between the church and culture revealed the Christian culture as Christendom of the natives. Christendom era depicted the dependency on the Western tradition, historically philosophically and theologically. From the Latin American perspective, the notion of liberation from a single culture was the main requirement of being part of the large history.<sup>143</sup> Yet, Gutierrez, who wrote "*A theology of liberation*," described it

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<sup>140</sup> Lopez-Baralt, *Para decir al otro*, 149.

<sup>141</sup> Adorno; *Polemics of Possessions*, 36.

<sup>142</sup> Farias; "Conflicto Colonial Andino,"11.

<sup>143</sup> Dussel, *The history and theology of liberation*, 45.

as a process of liberation that involved the active participation of the oppressed, seeking social justice.<sup>144</sup> Additionally, the literature, *Latin American liberation theology* by David Tombs points out significant historical events of the conquest that had impacted the theologian and laypeople of the Catholic church to consider liberty and its theological interpretation. The theology of liberation has responded to the oppressive colonial system that subsequently had its evolution in the 1990s. The church must work for the poor's solidarity and participate in their just society's struggles. The liberation theologians have alluded to the importance of the orthopraxis, without the political interest whereby theologically, liberation has been a new way of expressing that human salvation was the integral salvation of Christianity.<sup>145</sup>

Nevertheless, Justo L. Gonzales and Ordina E. Gonzales have narrated in their literature “*Christianity in Latin America; A history*” Christianity from the intergenerational context and discussed the protestant issues. Although Christianity has been a great tradition on Latin American soil, other cosmologies and practices differ. They emphasized the indigenous people as subjects of coercive evangelization; the superficial conversion has taken place in the indigenous mentality, bringing their traditions with them.<sup>146</sup> Both authors have observed syncretism between Catholicism and indigenous religiosity, which enormously influenced pre-Colombian religions to draw on their cosmology and ancestral spirituality. Besides, Christianity that arrived with Spanish and Portuguese affected Latin American cosmovision, excluding from Universal history. Yet, the need for Christianity changes forced the church to incorporate ancient native and African religions.<sup>147</sup> Likewise, Prien has provided an important historical approach in his research literature “*Christianity in Latin America*” that attributes the indigenous culture and religion to develop the Christian history in the colonial period. In the colonial context, the Christian religion was perceived by the Spanish as belonging to the spiritual conquest, demonizing the indigenous beliefs.

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<sup>144</sup> Gutierrez, *A theology of liberation*, 113.

<sup>145</sup> Tombs, *Latin American liberation theology*, 293-294.

<sup>146</sup> Gonzalez O. and Gonzalez J., *Christianity*, 297-298.

<sup>147</sup> Gonzales O. and Gonzales J., *Christianity*, 300-301.

## 2.6 State of research about Guaman Poma and resistance to the conquest

Although the Andean native suffered the Inca dominion, they could still preserve their ancient cultures during the pre-Columbian era. The Spanish conquest initiated a colonial period where the indigenous communities faced up the Western tradition's imposition. These historical facts were the foundation for Guaman Poma to build history from the Andean and Christian perspectives. Guaman Poma's chronicle revealed the indigenous past at the colonial situation and the indigenous resistance to the colonial system. In following it, the conquest history in Guaman Poma's chronicle has thoroughly been analyzed by scholars such as Adorno Rolena(2000), Mercedes Lopez Baralt( 1988; 1993;2005), Rocio Quispe-Agnoli(2007), and Juan A. Ossio( 2008).

Adorno Rolena analyzed and criticized in her literature "*Guaman Poma, Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru.*" Adorno has profoundly studied the Andeans (the indigenous of the Andes), Inca, and Spanish past in Guaman Poma's chronicle. Based on Guaman Poma's interpretation of the conquest, Adorno analyzed the Andean natives living in the middle of two realms (Spanish and Inca). The distinction among (Andeans, the Inca, and Spanish) aimed to rebuild an important role of the conquest for Guaman Poma's theological design. In this design, the Incas played a wicked role in forcing the Andeans to be against Christianity through idolatrous practices. In contrast, the conquest justified the just war, so there was no military conquest due to the miraculous interventions that prevented the violent resistance of the Incas.<sup>148</sup>Likewise, Mercedes Lopez-Baralt has also analyzed the historical antecedent of the indigenous society in Guaman Poma's chronicle from the colonial context. Lopez Baralt underlined the depiction of colonizers over the colonized that was applied in Guaman Poma's narrative that developed border discourse by combining the images and writing to entrench the Andean culture. Yet, the coexistence of two distinct cultures (Spanish and Andean culture) structured a religious symbolism imposed by the indigenous from the Andes. In other words, it caused cultural resistance on the Andeans that accelerated the process of Christianization of natives.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1553, 1557, 1562 Loc.

<sup>149</sup>Lopez-Baralt, *Para decir al otro*, 170–174.



On the one hand, for Rocio Quispe-Agnoli, Guaman Poma expressed the new cultural and linguistic codes (the Western and the indigenous) as resistance and acceptance derived from the conquest. Yet, he took biblical references to determine the Andean's situation at the conquest where the idolatry and sin of lust on the Andean were attributed to the monarch Inca. Thereby, his chronicle attempted to enunciate the idea of reorganization social in the colonial system. Guaman Poma appealed the Christian principles and pre-Colombian framework (Tahuantinsuyu system) for the new society in the colonial period.<sup>150</sup> On the other hand, Juan Ossio explains the conquest under the indigenous term Pachacuti to refer to the idea of destruction and restoration. Guaman Poma applied this idea to the age of the indigenous world. The conquest as belongings to the Christian world opened a path to the indigenous past but finalized the Inca's dominion in the indigenous world.<sup>151</sup> Overall, the approaches of these Scholars have permitted me to overview the meaningful aspects of the conquest history within Guaman Poma's chronicle that contributed to this present research.

## *2.7 Summary of the chapter*

As this study described in this chapter, in the pre-Columbian epoch, the Aztec and Inca Empire consolidated their great religious traditions to gain dominion over indigenous tribes. The Inca empire developed a sophisticated caste system and structured a pantheist religion to capture the natives for service of the Incas.

The discovery and the conquest took place during the Caribbean period (Columbus's expedition in Caribbean soils). In the mainland period (the conquest of Aztec empire by Hernan Cortez and the conquest of the Inca Empire by Francisco Pizarro). The coercive methods to Christianize were the main feature of the colonial church. Besides, the campaigns against idolatry seemed the better alternative where the church involved the natives of the elite who supported Spaniards to gain political power. Therefore, children of the indigenous elite obtained an active role in colonial society in the seventeenth century. In the colonial society, Guaman Poma belonged to an indigenous noble family in Ayacucho (Peru). He identified himself with the Andean native (Yaro Willca) but displayed hybridity with the Spanish culture (devout to Christian tradition). His more remarkable work experience was as

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<sup>150</sup> Quispe-Agnoli, "Practicas indigenas," 425–427.

<sup>151</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 120–123.

the interpreter of the Viceroy Toledo and worked in the colonial administration, where he found the precarious condition of natives. This situation encouraged him to protest and claim for a viable solution through his chronicle. His chronicle narrated the pre-Inca history and the conquest from the indigenous perspective (New chronicle). But it proposed reforms under the Christian principle for a good government.

Scholars (Dussel, J. and O. Gonzalez, Tombs, Gutierrez, and Prien) investigated and analyzed the history of Christianity in Latin America under the colonial context, where the notion of liberation was linked to theology (Liberation theology). Besides, the Christianization of natives was Spiritual conquest as the main characteristic of the Spanish conquest. The indigenous resistance found in the Guaman Poma`s chronicle was deeply studied by scholars (Adorno, Lopez-Baralt, Quispe-Argol, and Ossio). The focus has been on the indigenous affiliation to Christianity in which divine intervention prevented the violent Inca resistance. The indigenous interpretation of the Spanish conquest (Pachacuti) as destruction and restoration was to justify the Spanish invasion and end up the Inca`s influence over the Andean natives.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

As this research deals with the theological interpretation of Guaman Poma's chronicle, the usage of the historical study method provides facility in defining Andean indigenous ideology ethnologically. Aside from the Inca influence in the indigenous world and the Spanish domination after the conquest, Guaman Poma recreated the unique indigenous realm amid two worlds (Spanish and Incas), contemplating religious and cultural differences among various indigenous communities. Given that Guaman Poma's manuscript embraces a historical, hermeneutical, and theological interest. This study analyzes the decolonial interpretation of the theological themes in Guaman Poma's chronicle. This research exclusively explores relevant theological themes of the colonial period. In determining certain factors to apply the indigenous ideology under the Western tradition, this study delves into Guaman Poma's reinterpretation and religious values to construct the history from the Andean perspective. On occasion, there are multiples colonial cultural antecedents to find an absolute interrelation of the indigenous pre-Inca history with history. Methodologically, this study chooses to employ hermeneutics, contents analysis, and theological-historical analysis to determine the decolonial notion within Guaman Poma's theological themes since the theological defense of native and the restitution of indigenous culture were decolonial features in Guaman Poma's chronicle.

Before describing the process of colonization during the conquest, where Guaman Poma develops his theological design, the study might see the synthesis of the indigenous condition amid two distinct perspectives held by the Spanish and Inca traditions. According to historians, the chronicles were the narrative extension of historical truth, so Western historiography has positively influenced the colonial chronicles. Therefore, it held the truth of a situation where the indigenous people adopted the Spanish language and tradition as their

own and accepted the Spanish historiography as the predominant narrative after establishing the viceroyalty system.<sup>152</sup>

Ethnicity generates a subjective over this research. Although the subjectivity, the alternative history attempts to point out limits and trances but emphasizes the theological contribution for recognizing the Andean people and the decolonial possibilities that allow knowing the native's religious values. Methodologically, this research focuses on the analytical approach with theoretical support, which is the decolonial approach. The application of the decolonial approach proceeds to perform studies type descriptive to supply certain forms of the hermeneutics of theology in detail. This study aims to determine factors in Guaman Poma's chronicle toward the theological defense of indigenous integrity and dignity by delving into the indigenous ideology procedures under the Christian pattern.

This study's elaboration applies the historical parameters to seek clues of demonstrating a theology with decolonial character. To conceptualize Western history from the indigenous approach beyond its historical description, this research only highlights the pre-Inca history of natives as an indicator of history. Besides, the analysis of the specific event at the colonial period where Guaman Poma's chronicle take form will be subject to revision in a theological framework where indigenous religious and cultural values persisted after colonization.

### *3.2 Hermeneutics*

Before analyzing the chronicle in the colonial era, this study ought to define the historic category where chroniclers as Guaman Poma molded his manuscript. Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, Spanish historiography greatly impacted elaborating chronicles and the forms of reinterpreting. Spanish historiography was part of the sixteenth and seventeenth century's Western culture where the Spaniards built up the favorable attitude toward the past under the basis of two traditions: the Christian and Classic. Both traditions were also essential in other European countries of that epoch. The Christian tradition refers to a linear concept of time that held its roots in providence, where human affairs depend upon God's divine will from the time of creation to the Final Judgment. In this concept, human

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<sup>152</sup> Sergio Alejandro Herrera Villagra, "Ideologías, Identidades y Mentalidades en la obra de los tres Autores andinos, siglo XVI y XVII," *Dialogo Andino, Revista de Historia, Geografía y Cultura andina*, no. 40 (December 2012): 23.

beings become protagonists of history because they have passed throughout history, depending on God's will. God becomes the historic agent who conducts human fate while the human being is the end to the historical events. For the Christian record, history seems a continuing process with a defined onset and runs toward a defined end where humanity belongs to it as God's creatures. Hence, the Christian principle of unity asserts that all peoples are equal, and there are no ethnic boundaries nor cultural superiority. This unity affords the development of universal history.<sup>153</sup>

Before delving into Guaman Poma's chronicle, this study briefly describe that the chronicle was a typical genre of Spanish Historiography in the colonial era. In its first form, was a testimony of praise that exalted the event of the prince's life. Those who used to write it were under the monarchy's mandate, holding a moralistic tone to project an adequate field to incorporate guidelines of the classic historiography. Its function was to moralize and entertain the audience but with the complementary desire of looking for the observed truth. In colonial Peru, the chronicle's introduction corresponded to register the Spanish historical facts and reconstruct the indigenous past. However, the chronicle acted as an essential document for the strategy of the colonial administration. Aside from recording the Spanish conquest's feats, it reported the record of the native population in the sociological and historical framework. With the chronicles, Spaniards sought to obtain sufficient knowledge to govern and justify their invasions.<sup>154</sup>

Guaman Poma's narrative displays the catholic devotion with an Andean interpretation, which is the foundation for theological defense. The historical facts offer a broad outlook for a hermeneutic of a specific history, which is the primary source to shape the ethnohistory notion. Yet, the question is, what means ethnohistory? The ethnohistory is the historical narrative with an approach to the ethnic groups. In other words, it has to do with the local history of a nation.

Through local history, chroniclers like Guaman Poma began to reconstruct his ideology and philosophical annotation for the theological design. Gathering observations and information was useful to solve the colonial chronicle's theological issues that contained the native

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<sup>153</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 173–174.

<sup>154</sup> Ossio., 177–178.

memories, conserving contact with Europeans. Yet, the traditional historians edited chronicles with relevance towards the ethnographic aspect, so chronicles adopted a particular philosophy and ideology deriving from the specific situation of history.<sup>155</sup>

The term “*ethnology*” was the simple manner of differing a discipline independently from history. There were multiple reasons for its incursion, but ethnology emerged from cultural and social anthropology, which specified the temporal dimension to understand society's transition process. Therefore, the ethnohistory is the study of the history of ethnic groups that suffered colonial domination, specifically the Andean natives of Latin America, approaching data collection.<sup>156</sup>

At the length of Guaman's Poma manuscript, pre-Incas culture's narrative adopts Spanish religious principles with an allusion to the pure identity and ethnicity where hermeneutic of Andean culture involves various spiritual insights, meanings, and extraordinary happenings of colonial record. Combining features belonging to the ethnohistory, which focuses further on the local history of an ethnic group and its reinterpretation of religion, support the theological interpretation of religious perspectives among Incas, Spanish, and Andean natives.

At elaborating chronicle, the historic-cultural composition of an ethnic group verifies the descriptive approach of cultural forms on the process of changes like the socio-cultural demography, migration, resistance, economic circles, coercion, wars, social organization, conquest, the exploitation of ethnic group by colonial dominion, religion, and ritual forms. Among these themes, religion and the Spanish conquest are central themes for Guaman Poma's chronicle that recall the Spanish conquest and diverse information about the pre-Hispanic history under the religious phenomenon and its interpretation of parallel worlds.<sup>157</sup>

The ethnohistory prioritizes the historical recovery of the pre-Hispanic and colonial past and reconstructs the native memories. Although *the First New Chronicle and Good Government* indeed served to propound a viable reform for natives, it manifests religious syncretism and cultural parallelism. Parallelism aims to generate spots for the transmission of insights and

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<sup>155</sup> Paloma Vargas Montes;” El horizonte hermeneutico y el valor Etnohistorico en la anotacion Filosofica del Libro de los Ritos (1579) de Fray Diego Duran ( OP),” *Hipogrifo*, vol.4, no.1,( January 2016):158-159.

<sup>156</sup> Vargas, “El horizonte hermeneutico,” 161.

<sup>157</sup> Vargas,162.

facilitate indigenous people's integration into history. Whereas syncretism within Guaman Poma's chronicle illustrated the mixture of the devotion toward the Spanish religiosity, the indigenous cultural elements were the sign of the Andean cosmology, demonstrating religious acculturation. This acculturation alludes to the adaptation of the Christian culture to the indigenous culture that has facilitated the development of the theological themes in the Guaman Poma's chronicle to defend the indigenous people of the Andes.<sup>158</sup>

### 3.3 Content Analysis

*The First New Chronicle and Good Government* was a manuscript with a moralistic purpose that contained a confessional speech and religious manuals, justifying the indigenous beliefs. It was also religious literature of that colonial epoch that had exposed religious dialogues from the references of authors like friar Murray, fray Luis de Granada, and the historian Jose de Acosta. Although Guaman Poma knew deeply about historical writings with religious tendency, he boasted about his manuscript's authenticity by giving value to the word "Nueva"(New), which made his commentaries and discourses differ from other colonial chroniclers.<sup>159</sup>

The historians and chroniclers wrote about Peruvian history, omitting the epoch pre-Inca and its origin. Yet, Guaman Poma reconsidered the pre-history as a dispensable part, where the historical evidence involved Christianity of the native past before the conquest. In support of this argumentation, he asserts that the apostles visited Peru before the Spanish arrival, so witnesses to Christianity were the apostle James and Bartholomew's peregrinations in Peruvian soil. Guaman Poma regards his chronicle with these historical facts as reaffirming such "New" in God's service and the Spanish king but the benefit of the poor indigenous people.<sup>160</sup>

Western historiography standards are over Guaman Poma's chronicle that reveals the unitary attitude toward the past. Its affiliation to the religious manual of the pre-Inca epoch was to the contribution of the evangelizing process. Ideologically, Guaman Poma echoed the colonial administrator's argument to excuse his presence in the Andean areas. The secular and

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>159</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 192.

<sup>160</sup> Ossio, 193.

religious premises combined by him set doubts the Inca governors' legitimacy at stating that they introduced idolatry in Peru. Moreover, that Inca Manco Capac, considered the sun's son, was the son of an unknown father, so his mother had a pact with the demon.<sup>161</sup>

The content of Guaman Poma's chronicle expressed to be a witness of the colonial regime past, where the Spanish interest toward indigenous past depended upon standards, which could proportionate enough knowledge to govern and justify the Spanish intervention in Peru. The criterion for the indigenous people's legitimacy is to recognize the indigenous leaders as descendants of the first-four pre-Inca ages or epochs connected to the first and second biblical ages, such as Adam and Eve and Noah's epoch.<sup>162</sup>

Guaman Poma's perception of the past was the primary source for the legitimacy of a static image in the social order. Guaman Poma suggested that it must perpetuate the former hierarchical order and conserve the pureness of the blood. In other words, the interest is to recognize the ancient social range, respecting the social order. However, idolatry's accusation devolved upon the indigenous peoples even though Guaman Poma insisted on demonstrating that the Incas were idolaters. The rest of the indigenous world were Christians before the Spanish conquest. This criterion emerged when the Spanish colonial society accused the indigenous world of being idolaters. He admitted but found a way of safeguarding the indigenous integrity by separating the natives from the Inca world. Thus, Guaman Poma shaped his indigenous ideology with the social order installed in the Andean territories.<sup>163</sup>

Overall, Guaman Poma presents the indigenous world as Christian, seemingly the product of his indigenous ideology. Whereas idolatry was part of implicit reality, which he could not avoid; nevertheless, he could solve this apparent contradiction by reconstructing the indigenous world's five ages. These five ages were Huari Viracocha Runa (Uari Uira Cocha Runa), Huari Runa (Uari Runa), Purum Runa, Auca Runa, and Inca Runa. The descendants before the fifth age were legal, while the fifth age was illegal whereby the legal ages obtained God's knowledge and were descendants of the Adam and Eve, and then of Noah. This chronologic scheme was a product of Guaman Poma's symbolic values, but it did not come

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>162</sup> Ossio, *En busca del Orden Perdido*, 195.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 197.



from knowledge.<sup>164</sup> To conclude this analysis, this study asserts that Guaman Poma's chronicle echoes standards of the Spanish historiography of the seventeenth century that circulated as literature with a marked indigenous ideology, which attempted to orient the politics of colonial regimes. Therefore, Guaman Poma's ideology and thoughts seem not to have any relatedness to expressing values and tend to belong to the mythology of the indigenous world of the Peruvian Andes. Nevertheless, his Christian devotion and affiliation afford to support the inclusion of the native of the Andes in universal history.<sup>165</sup>

### *3.4 Theological-historical analysis*

According to Collingwood, the chronicle's elaboration attributed characteristic of the Christian historiography, in which the chroniclers wrote the past based on the Christian tradition. After the Spanish conquest consolidation in the Americas, the Spaniards sought to relate the indigenous peoples to the biblical genealogical table of the Old Testament. Therefore, chroniclers set the indigenous race as Adam and Eve's descendants. This idea was a significant setting for some of the chroniclers to construct the past. At analyzing Christian historiography, the main characteristic is that a Western country like Spain was the chosen land by God to bear his word toward the colonized countries, shaping a historical event to tie the providence's universal schema. In other words, it was the messianic idea, where all the historical pasts justified the Spanish presence in indigenous realms, conceiving a linear process.<sup>166</sup>

Guaman Poma considered the pre-Inca history facts to describe indigenous peoples' presence as part of the universal history, echoing to be a witness at the birth of Jesus Christ. Even one of the three wise men was indigenous. Therefore, the Inca function was to let indigenous people know of the existence of the old world and the Spaniards so that the indigenous world could unify to global history.<sup>167</sup>

According to Fernando Amaya Farias, an academic researcher, in the Creation's biblical perspective, Guaman Poma took Genesis record as the reference, incorporating the Andean

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 198.

<sup>165</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 199–200.

<sup>166</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 175.

<sup>167</sup> Gonzalo Lamana, "El rol de la Incoherencia: Pedagogía Postcolonial y Teología en la Narrativa de la Conquista de la Nueva Corónica y buen gobierno," *Letras, Lima*, vol.91, no. 133(2020): 145.

traditions' autochthonous elements to amplify its view. Thus, he could set apart other theories of the origin of Indians. Meanwhile, on the line of religious parallelism, he set another example by asserting that "*As many of the first generation of natives in the Andean world and human creation responded to the initiative of God the creator, and the two phenomena, Andean and human in general but with an interpretation of Andean paradigm.*"<sup>168</sup> In Guaman Poma's view, the ancient natives held faith in Christian God as creator, and for the affirmation, he took the Quechua roots language about God Creator (Uiracocha). Thereby, the projection of indigenous linguistic roots has a remarkable role in conceptualizing the word "creation" oriented to the Christian sense, showing that the indigenous term and meaning belong to the Christian theology of the creation.<sup>169</sup> Based on Farias's approach, this study points out that in Guaman Poma's logic, the Andean natives had their own origin and notion of a divine creator. Hence, Guaman Poma utilized the biblical source to interlink the natives to Christian God.

Although the goal of Guama Poma was to elaborate a conceptual change of geopolitical map, in terms of attempting to balance the unequal distribution of historical conscience, his manuscript is not the historical truth, but instead, seem to be a means to undo the established patterns of giving an understanding of the world.<sup>170</sup> In support of the indigenous people into the pre-history, Guaman Poma created an alternative history of Andean people with a theological interpretation of the indigenous origin. In his hypothetical account, the indigenous people arrived in the Americas after the flood's long resettlement. Consequently, he made a creative approach for the indigenous people, involving divine intervention in which God took the indigenous people straight from the Old World to the Americas. This approach held up the Andean pre-Colombian history, insofar as his manuscript enhanced that God directly sent the indigenous people to the Americas, eliminating passages of times and rewriting an original plot with elements of the theory of degeneracy to assert the uniqueness of indigenous.

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<sup>168</sup> Farias, "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 21.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>170</sup> Lamana, "El rol de la Incoherencia," 145.

<sup>171</sup> Lamana, "Conocimiento de Dios," 110.

Moreover, regarding the Christianization of the Andean people and the Creation, Guaman Poma proposed a simple integration of the Andean natives to humanity as equal footing as other descendants of God but concerned about cultural differences and diversity reflected in Noah's story. In the long rebuilding process, the indigenous World is the product of diversification in which there is nothing independent from God. Thus, Guaman Poma's chronicle made the Andean history interrelate to salvation and the ancient narrative of the native with the apostolic speech.<sup>172</sup>

### *3.5 Summary of Chapter*

The hermeneutic of Guaman Poma's chronicle concentrates exclusively on the local history of the indigenous people of Andes as the primary source to build the indigenous ideology for the theological design. From the local history of an ethnic group (ethnohistory), Guaman Poma incorporated the Spanish religious principles into the Andean culture to interpret the religious perspective among the Andean native, the Inca, and the Spanish. Moreover, his chronicle employed the Spanish historiography (classic and Christian tradition). Unlike other colonial chronicles, its content expressed authenticity as "New" to support the presence of the Andean natives within Peruvian history.

Theologically, Guaman Poma utilized the biblical sources and pre-Inca history for the Andean natives to associate with Christian God and Christianity. Furthermore, he applied a conceptual change of geographical map to create a historical conscience, highlighting that God took the indigenous people from the old world to the Americas, exclusively to Peru. Therefore, the Andean natives belonged to Christian tradition and universal history.

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<sup>172</sup> Farias, "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 24.

## 4 Theological themes in the First New Chronicle and Good Government

### 4.1 Introduction

Unlike other chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century that have narrated the Peruvian history from Spanish or Inca perspectives separately, Guaman Poma wrote Peruvian history from the indigenous approach, embracing theological themes of the Christian tradition. His chronicle involved the theological themes that have attempted to integrate the history of the Peruvian Andes into the Hebrew origin of universal history. On the one hand, the idea of Christianity in the Andes before the conquest and the inclusion of the indigenous to medieval history were factors to support the origin of the indigenous inhabitant of the Andes. On the other hand, the restructuration of a good government model that could challenge the corrupt administration of the colonial system was Guaman Poma's concern. Thus, Christian morality and principles have significantly played an integral role in developing his proposal.<sup>173</sup>

Guaman Poma's manuscript narrated biblical stories, which apparently contributed to shaping theology where the indigenous ideology has been a complementary tool for the theological defense to indigenous of the Andes. Hence, this study highlights that Guaman Poma developed a theology under the Andean criterion. His indigenous condition of the Andes has granted an exceptional character for interpreting the theological themes. He used biblical stories to create a parallel line between the indigenous and the Western world to intertwine to the universal history. To understand it, this study will explain the age of the indigenous world from Guaman Poma's conception.<sup>174</sup>

Among biblical stories of his Chronicle, the initial point for theological defense has indeed been the origin of indigenous ancestry that had evidence of Christian past before the Inca civilization and Spanish empire. The distinction among the Inca, Andean, and Spaniards determined Guaman Poma's genealogy. According to Guaman Poma's interpretation, the

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<sup>173</sup> Franklin G.Y Pease, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Mitos Andinos e historia Occidental," *Cashier do monde Hispanique et luso. Bresilelien*, vol. 37, no. 1 (1981): 19-20.

<sup>174</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 21.

ancient indigenous inhabitant had its origin with the biblical story of Adam and Eve and Noah's ark. In both stories, the indigenous people became descendants, but Noah's story has been the cornerstone to develop other theological themes of his manuscript. With Noah's story, Guaman Poma likely elaborated Peruvian history of the Andes with Christian characteristics. To extend it, this study will describe other biblical passages, such as creational story (Adam and Eve), and Jesus Christ's birth, that were related to the indigenous world.

The first part of the Guaman Poma's chronicle reinterpreted the conquest history where the Christianization of the indigenous took place with Jesus Christ's apostles before discovering the Americas, whereby Christianity could have already been in the Americas. In other words, God had distributed his apostles in all the lands of the Americas to preach the Gospel. With this perception, Guaman Poma considered that the indigenous past was parallel to Western history.<sup>175</sup> Yet, during the Spanish conquest, divine interventions took form in miracles to consolidate the Spanish victory over the Inca. For its scope, this study will describe the appearance of the Virgin Mary and Jesus' apostle James.

#### ***4.2 Theology in Guaman Poma's chronicle***

Guaman Poma's chronicle unfolds in two sections; the first part is the "*Nueva Corónica*" and the second part the "*Buen Gobierno*." *Buen Gobierno* (good government) lays grounds for the defense of indigenous rights. Guaman Poma portrays the Andean inhabitant's formation as the colonial subjects who faced diverse levels of exclusion into the Spanish system. For it, Guaman Poma proposes improving the colonial institution.<sup>176</sup>

Guaman Poma begins the first part, "*Nueva Corónica*," with the narration of Peruvian history in the European context. The arrivals of the first European discoverers in Peruvian soil initiated the history of the new world. Nevertheless, the indigenous world as the new world succeeded in constructing its history with Christian notion before discovering the Americas. This reinterpretation of Peruvian history with Christian background was the essential argumentation of his manuscript to defend the indigenous of the Peruvian Andes theologically. Thereby, in Guaman Poma's conception, the pre-Columbian indigenous

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<sup>175</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 22-23

<sup>176</sup> Monica Morales, "Se puede hablar de Solidaridad y defensa en la narrativa de Guaman Poma sobre los Indios en buen gobierno?" *Letras-lima*, Vol. 91, no.133(2020): 213.

civilization resembled the biblical model of Western antiquity. Although Guaman Poma reiterated Christian posture in the narration of conquest, he refused the idea of *newness* that has supported the incorporation of the expansionist Western theology of discovery and conquest to Andean history. In other words, the Spanish conquest was the means of the biblical tradition that has moved Peruvian history from being an isolated history to belong to the sacred history. Contrary to this idea, Guaman Poma asserted a parallel vision in comparing the distinct historical epoch on both sides in the Western and indigenous world. A historical event such as the birth of Jesus Christ in a determined era has taken place simultaneously in the same epoch of the birth of the first Inca Manco Capac.<sup>177</sup>

When Guaman Poma recreated certain events of the Andean world with the Christian past, he turned back the flood's biblical narrative to affirm that the Andes' first civilization were survivors from Noah's ark after the flood gradually came to the indigenous kingdom. The indigenous people stood inside of the redemptive history whereby likewise the people in the biblical time, the primitive Andean people, held a monotheist tradition. Indeed, they had known the existence of one single God, heaven as a place of God, and hell as a place for affliction and punishment. Yet, Guaman Poma rewrote the Old-World history in terms of overlapping the European history to the Andean history, which has been like the biblical model where the sacred biblical history transcended from the Old Testament to the New Testament.<sup>178</sup>

The theological argumentation that Guaman Poma applied to demonstrate the Christian past of ancient indigenous inhabitants is the affirmation that Saint Bartholomew arrived on American soil during the Cinchi Roca's reign (the second Inca). At this epoch, Bartholomew preached the Gospel to various indigenous communities, and as evidence, he left a cross of Carabuco to which Spaniards found in the colonial period. With this argumentation, Guaman Poma attempted to predate that the discovery of the Americas was by Bartholomew, bringing

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<sup>177</sup> Ralph Bauer, "Encountering colonial Latin America Indian chronicles: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's history of the New world," *University of Nebraska Press*, vol. 25, no 2 (2001): 287-289.

<sup>178</sup> Bauer, "Encountering colonial," 290.

Christianity to the new world instead of the Spanish conquerors. Thereby, the indigenous people have become Christians before the Spanish conquest and even before the Incas.<sup>179</sup>

Significantly, Guaman Poma revalued the pre-Inca cultures to consider that the pre-Inca civilization was monotheist in nature, showing its faith in God at the Bartholomew evangelistic journey. However, the Inca period was a time of decline. The Inca established its religions with idolatrous features that made Andean people leave their monotheist tradition to replace adoration with the sun, pagan ritual Huacas, and the cult of earthly deities. On the one hand, in his view, the Inca dynasty represented idolatry in the indigenous world, equaling Roman idolatry and tyranny. On the other hand, the arrival of Spanish conquerors became another stage for the regeneration of former indigenous piety, so the initial Spanish intention was to reorient the indigenous people to the Christian path by establishing the Catholic church to revitalize God's knowledge.<sup>180</sup> However, Guaman Poma does not acknowledge any idea of discovery, neither the violent conquest, nor the need for Spanish colonial intervention in the Americas. By contrast, Guaman Poma insists on Indigenous people's persuasive history before the Spanish conquest, marking Peru a place in the Christian history whereby he has slowly dismantled the European cosmology and its imperialist notions. Rather than the Eurocentric cosmology for restoring the indigenous religious values, Guaman Poma has proposed the indigenous cosmology of the Andes.<sup>181</sup>

With the first part, "Nuevas Coronica" (new chronicle), Guaman Poma legitimates pre-Columbian Peruvian history, asserting that the former indigenous had a Christian past. In the second part, "Buen Gobierno," he proceeds with the political criticism of the colonial conquest and the violence to indigenous people by the Spanish regime. His argumentation is that Peru, as a colonized country within the Spanish empire, had the same right as other European territories. He suggests that Peru ought to follow good government based on the post-colonial model of empire.<sup>182</sup> Clarifying the indigenous condition in the imperial context, Guaman Poma creates a space for the indigenous world into the Spanish empire and its tradition, affirming that indigenous inhabitants have been freed by God, who made them

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<sup>179</sup> Bauer, 290.

<sup>180</sup> Bauer, 292.

<sup>181</sup> Bauer, 293.

<sup>182</sup> Bauer, 293-295.

rightful owners of their lands. But they have become the Spanish crown's subjects whom God legitimated to rule over the indigenous lands.<sup>183</sup> In other words, Guaman Poma recognized the Spanish king as the representative of God who has had all the rights; meanwhile, other Spaniards did not have it. To which Guaman Poma states that "all the stranger, *mitimaes in our land, which God put into our care and our rules.*"<sup>184</sup> In my opinion, Guaman Poma's proposal attempted to justify the Spanish intervention over the indigenous world by applying the theological argument that the Spanish king had all the authority over both native and Spaniards just because he was a good Christian. Therefore, Guaman Poma reiterated that all Spanish who arrived in Peru must obey and follow the indigenous law in cooperation with the crown's Spanish political rule.<sup>185</sup>

According to Alfredo Aberdi Vallejo, Guaman Poma's chronicle reflects an apologetic discourse of Christianity and the indigenous of the pre-Inca era alongside the lament and denounce of the disappointed indigenous for the ecclesiastical power of the catholic church in the colonial administration. However, it backed the supreme authority of the Spanish king as a strategy to validate the Christian dogma over the Inca religiosity.<sup>186</sup>

Nevertheless, both parts of Guaman Poma's writing have molded the history of the Tahuantinsuyo, where the universe from the Andean view had four parts (Suyus). Each part has its government system and a principle connected to the Spanish king, who has possessed the power of "*the New Inca of Andean Christianity.*"<sup>187</sup> Thereby, Guaman Poma combined the Andean cosmovision with the Christian parameter, developing the decolonial defense to the indigenous condition.<sup>188</sup> Although the imagery of the new Inca given to the Spanish king could be a positive connotation, Guaman Poma ascribed Inca's image to the illegitimacy of its autocratic governance, tyranny, and cruelty. Based on his Andean view, the indigenous were victims of the Inca regime that obligated them to practice pagan idolatry. Guaman Poma

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 295.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 296-297.

<sup>186</sup> Fernando Amaya Farias, "Alfredo Arberdi Vallejo, El mundo al revés: Guaman Poma Anticolonialista" *Perifrasis, Revista de Literatura, Teoría*, vol. 1, no 2, Bogota (2010): 115-116.

<sup>187</sup> Carlos Perez Gonzales and Delfin Ortega Sanchez, The Pedagogy of Evangelization, Latinity, and the Construction of Cultural Identities in the Emblematic Politics of Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Religion, MDPI*, vol. 10, no. 441(July 2019): 5.

<sup>188</sup> Gonzales and Sanchez," The Pedagogy of Evangelization," 5.



proposed accepting the Spanish conquest for the urgent eradication of the Incas idolatry. He also interpreted the Spanish empire as the instrument of providential design and the conquest as its natural legitimation process.<sup>189</sup>

On the one hand, according to Adorno, Guaman Poma knew that Spaniards came to stay permanently in Peru. Hence, he incorporated the Andean history and Spanish conquest into the good treatise, where the colonial administration would be more beneficial for the Andean people, avoiding the denigration of the indigenous society.<sup>190</sup>In support of the good government into the viceroyalty, Guaman Poma attached importance to indigenous cultural values with its projection toward the future and its relationship to the Christian state<sup>191</sup>. Besides, the idea of good government in Guaman Poma's manuscript constituted the imperial design where the indigenous kingdom turned into the sovereign kingdom under the political order with the Spanish crown's religious values. Therefore, Christian values and law could be transcendent from the past to the future.<sup>192</sup>

On the other hand, Julio Ortega, a Peruvian scholar, argued that Guaman Poma's manuscript reported information of the indigenous world, safeguarding it from the Spanish colonization and conquest. It was a way of preventing the destruction of the indigenous culture of the Andes, so from the indigenous culture, Guaman Poma incorporated the Western tradition to restructure the social and political existence of the indigenous of the Andes. This incorporation revealed the discourse of Christianity and its genealogy. But the indigenous logic of his manuscript as the mediator instrument turned the Western pattern into the indigenous one so that the indigenous people could introduce their nationalism within Christianity.<sup>193</sup>In that sense, the indigenous role could acquire a relative autonomy with the plural character since, according to Ortega's analysis, the native culture could only have subsistence in a plural scenario that required a good government with dialogue and peace. Guaman Poma applied it for his proposal of a good government with diverse cultures but

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<sup>189</sup> Gonzales and Sanchez, 5.

<sup>190</sup> Morales, "Se puede hablar de solidaridad," 214.

<sup>191</sup> Morales, 215.

<sup>192</sup> Bauer, "Encountering colonial," 298.

<sup>193</sup> Julio Ortega, "Guaman Poma de Ayala y la Conciencia Cultural Pluralista," *Lexis, Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, Departamento de Humanidades*, vol. X. no. 2(1986):204-205.

under Christian values, assuring a politic with justice, rights, and peace between people.<sup>194</sup> In this point, this study states that Christianity and the plurality on Guaman Poma's manuscript give rise to the feature of decolonial theology.

Guaman Poma's manuscript as a letter to the king was the last hope of reforming the colonial administration and brought a political reform of the universe under the indigenous cosmology of four corners (Tahuantinsuyu). Each corner with its prince but with the Spanish king as the new Inca of Christianity of the Andes. Besides, Guaman Poma became a mediator of coexistent cultures in Colonial Peru due to his language skill to communicate and reorganize the social roles. To reform the colonial disorder, he applies his religious discourse of the indigenous past to sustain a future by which his narrative begins with biblical and indigenous origin to design the new world of the native.<sup>195</sup>

#### 4.2.1 The Indigenous of the Andes as the poor of Jesus Christ

Although Spaniards brought a Christian state as a model for good administration during colonial Peru, there was a marked colonial differentiation among the indigenous people of the Andes, mixed races(mestizos), and Spanish. The social difference was on the idea of the moral superiority of the Spanish over the indigenous. Still, Guaman Poma attempted to defend the indigenous people by affirming that the ancient indigenous of the Andes were indeed Christians in the pre-history, maintaining appropriate moral conduct. To accomplish a balance of power for a good treatise in the Andes, Guaman Poma regarded the current condition of the indigenous in the Spanish empire's social structure where the indigenous were colonial subjects. In defense of indigenous inhabitants, Guaman Poma presented the indigenous of the Andes as victims of the imperial power (Inca and Spanish) and echoed them as "*The poor of Jesus Christ.*"<sup>196</sup>

When Guaman Poma refers to the indigenous as "*The poor of Jesus,*" he morally denounces the precarious indigenous condition. Yet, "*The poor of Jesus*" is related to the Christian principle to assist the poor economically and morally, making references to the Garden of Eden's scenario before the fall. This principle promotes harmony, cooperation, and equality

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<sup>194</sup> Ortega, "Conciencia Cultural Pluralista," 207-208.

<sup>195</sup> Ortega, 209.

<sup>196</sup> Morales, "Se puede hablar de solidaridad," 217-218.

among human beings, to which Guaman Poma identifies and suggests for the absolute welfare of the indigenous integrity. Moreover, based on his indigenous perception, the indigenous inhabitants were the poor of Jesus Christ because they urgently needed Jesus as presentative and savior figure of all indigenous people.<sup>197</sup>

According to Pease, the forms of medieval eschatology in Guaman Poma's chronicle attributed the imminent coming of the just judge in the Andean world, where the Christian past of the indigenous justified its role in the redemptive history. But threatened lawbreakers of Christian principles, who mistreated the poor of Christ, referring exclusively to the indigenous of the Andes.<sup>198</sup> Concerning this matter, this present study partly agrees with Pease because the possible Christian past of native could be valid for the native identity as a creature of God, who deserved to have a life with justice and love but could not justify any violence and its consequence. Thus, Guaman Poma attempted to persuade his audiences with the medieval eschatology, explaining the indigenous role in the Christian worldview.

### *4.3 The Christian ages and the Andean ages in Guaman Poma's chronicles*

To the Andean people's defense, the separation of two worlds (indigenous and Spanish) seemed to cause an inconsistent order; Guaman Poma proposed a restoration for both. Each part could retake its position in the past before the conquest. However, in his view, there was not conquest in Peru, and the Spanish intervention was part of the divine purpose of God to restore the Christian past of natives. Following his proposal, this study point out that for Guaman Poma, the conquest was equivalent to the just war to justify Christianity. As historians stated, the conquest was characterized by the coercive method to eradicate the ancient indigenous culture, bringing destruction to the indigenous system. To deepen it, the word "conquest "has linked to the term "Pachacuti "in the indigenous world, referring to the Spanish conquest as the meaning of "*Comic cataclysm*," which Jose Imbelloni has carefully analyzed.<sup>199</sup>Pachacuti in Quechua term conveyed the notion of destruction and restoration

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>198</sup> Pease, "Mitos andinos," 26.

<sup>199</sup> Ossio, *En busca del orden perdido*, 220.

found in the Andean age; however, its translation registered in Quechua after the fifth Andean age signified "*the end of the world, the great destruction, and damage.*" <sup>200</sup>

Likewise, in Guaman Poma`s conception, the term "*Pachacuti*" meant "punishment of God," but Guaman Poma utilized it to describe the universal flood. In that sense, he echoes the Universal flood as a cosmic cataclysm. From the universal flood description, Guaman Poma rebuilds two parallel ages; the ages of the Western world, and another belongs to the indigenous world.<sup>201</sup>In this study`s view, both series of ages were the primary source for the theological defense to the indigenous of the Andes. In the following section, this study will give a detailed description of the two ages before the Inca and the Spanish conquest that corresponds to the Andean and Christian world, and they are:

<b>The Western ages</b>	<b>The Andean ages</b>
1. Adam and Eve	a. Uari Uiracocha Runa
2. Noah	b. Uari Runa
3. Abraham	c. Purum Runa
4. David	d. Auca Runa
5. Jesus Christ	e. Incap Runa
According to Guaman Poma, the sixth age for both is Spain in the indigenous kingdom, but both worlds unified for the redemptive history with the Spanish Invasion. <sup>202</sup>	

Nevertheless, Guaman Poma makes a synchronic line between the Western and indigenous worlds whereby the Andean ages incorporated the two ages of the European ages to be the eight ages rather than the six ages, so the real Andean ages are:

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<sup>200</sup> Ossio., 222.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 223.

<sup>202</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 23.

The real version of the Andean ages, according to Guaman Poma`s view	
I.	Adam and Eve
II.	Noah
III.	Uari Uiracocha Runa
IV.	Uari Runa
V.	Purum Runa
VI.	Auca Runa
VII.	Incap Runa
VIII.	Spanish colonization in the indigenous realm

The eight ages of the Andean world were seemingly the source for Guaman Poma to give an explanatory statement of the ancient natives in the Andes, such as Uari Uiracocha Runa and his wife. They came from Noah and were after the second age of the world. Yet, Guaman Poma constructed a parallel point between the fifth age of the Andean world (Incap Runa) and the fifth age of the European world (Jesus Christ), referring that to Jesus Christ was born at the time of the second Inca, so both ages were contemporaneous. Besides, the third and fourth ages of the European world were the basis of the Andean ages before the Inca empire. Therefore, Guaman Poma combined the Andean and European ages for parallelism, which could restructure a common history.<sup>203</sup>

Pierre Duviols (1980) analyzed the indigenous age of Peru with a focus on the distribution of ages in Guaman Poma`s manuscript. There were four pre-Inca ages (Uari Uiarcocha Runa, Uari Runa, Purum Runa, and Auca Runa), the age of the Inca, and the age of the Spanish. His analysis alludes to the periodization of Guaman Poma`s chronicle. This periodization lays on

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<sup>203</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 23–24.

a political and religious objective of proving that, on the one hand, the Inca dynasty was set up by the demon (references to Manco Capac as the demon's son). The Incas were usurpers and oppressors, so they did not have any right to rule over the natives in Peru. On the other hand, the Spaniards were the first inhabitants of Peru since Uaru Uiracocha runa as Noah's descendant were the Spanish ancestors, who introduced the Christian doctrine and fought against the diabolic idolatry. Therefore, the Spaniards deserved to stay and govern in the indigenous realm. This idea of periodization replicated the colonialist dissertation of viceroy Toledo.<sup>204</sup>

Based on these argumentations, Duviols asserted that the four pre-Inca ages had influences from the profane history. The official European historians used to elaborate parallelism with the sacred history to justify the religious interest of the Catholic church. In the stages of the profane history, from the Christian perception, the four ages were positive; however, after that, a wicked age emerged under the demon's reign, alluding to the protestant heresy and Turkish threat. To confront the evil force, the European chroniclers made efforts to prove theologically and juridically that the European king was the more capable of resisting the demon's threat by inaugurating the sixth age and was entrusted with preparing the way for the seventh age (the final judgement). The application of this schema appeared in Guaman Poma's structure where the Inca had the same role as the Turks, and the Spanish king Carlos I inaugurated the sixth age when Spaniards arrived in Peru.<sup>205</sup> Thus, Duviols suggested that the original idea of the age of the indigenous world in Guaman Poma's manuscript had references and similarities with "*El memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo*," a historical chronicle written by fray Buenaventura de Salinas and Cordoba. Nevertheless, the research on periodization by David Fleming (1994), Monica Barnes (1995), and Sophie Plas (1996) proved that Guaman Poma's idea of ages derived from *La Cronographia o Repertorio de los Tiempos* (chronography of times) by the Spanish Cosmographer Hieronimo de Chaves.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Pierre Duviols, "En busca de las fuentes de Guaman Poma de Ayala, Realidad e invención," *Historica*, vol. XXI, no. 1 (July 1997): 28-29.

<sup>205</sup> Duviols, "En busca de las Fuentes," 29.

<sup>206</sup> Soledad González Díaz, "Guaman Poma y el Repertorio anónimo (1554): Una nueva Fuente para las edades del mundo en la Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," *Revista de Antropología Chilena*, vol. 44 no. 3, (2012): 379.

Nevertheless, Jean Philippe Husson argued it by reasserting that Guaman Poma's authorship displayed the personal mark in his drawings with authentic names of individuals. Besides, behind the Christian doctrine of Guaman Poma's manuscript, there was the impact of two pre-Hispanic traditions (from Cuzco and Ayacucho).<sup>207</sup>

Among the four ages of the world composed by Chaves, the first and second ages were the starting point for Guaman Poma to revalidate the indigenous role in Christian history. Both ages supported his theological defense of the indigenous of the Andes that this study will further detail in the next chapter. Based on Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of the first age, this study refers to the first indigenous inhabitants as the descendants of Adam and Eve. But the emphasis is in his reinterpretation of Cain's genealogy (the bad son of Adam and Eve), in which Guaman Poma related Cain to Cayman and from Cain's generation, the black caste came into being that in the medieval tradition is known as Cam, the son of Noah, who was cursed after he saw his father drunk and naked, so it implied the dishonor of Cam to his father.<sup>208</sup> Therefore, based on this statement, this study describes an apparent interlink between Noah and Adam and Eve's genealogy to support Guaman Poma's theology. Nevertheless, the second age embraced other significant theological themes, connecting to Noah and the universal flood's story.

Ossio asserts that Guaman Poma perceived space and time and social order under a dichotomy. The division of the world was among the Spanish and Christians or indigenous and non-indigenous whereby the Portuguese, Frances, Jews, and so forth could be considered Spaniards or Christians. Consequently, it seemed favorable for Guaman Poma to argue that the ancient indigenous as the descendant of Adam and Eve were indeed Christians, adducing the name of Huari Huiracocha Runa (Uari Uiarcocha Runa) of the first age reflected the Christian origin for the native of the Andes. For Guaman Poma's conception, the term "Viracocha" signified God, creator of the Universe.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, Uari Uiracocha Runa's name was related to the oldest divinity of Cuzco, Wiraqocha, whom Guaman Poma also regarded as the moment of great biblical knowledge of God. This divinity possessed the needed

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<sup>207</sup> Gonzalez, "Repertorio Anonimo," 379.

<sup>208</sup> Gonzalez, "Repertorio Anonimo," 381–382.

<sup>209</sup> Juan M. Ossio, "Las cinco edades del mundo segun Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Revista de la Universidad Catolica del Peru*, no. 2 (December 1977): 45.

knowledge to assert that the ancient indigenous of the Andes were descendants of Noah during the first age. However, from the second age, the notion of a monotheistic God gradually decreased until the Inca age. The Inca empire obligated the indigenous people to leave their monotheist knowledge for absolute idolatry.<sup>210</sup>

Although Guaman Poma granted the Spanish king as the messianic figure during the conquest, the eschatological redemption rested on Guaman Poma, presenting himself as the new John who announces the coming of Christ. Guaman Poma states when "some Spaniards run into him in the path, asking whom he has serviced? He answers that he has been serving a great man, so-called Christopher, alluding to Jesus Christ. With the incorporation of the eschatological approach, the new age and announced Jesus' coming would mold a new age of the Andean world, addressing the first Judeo-Christian age. Thereby, the human being in the new age would have full knowledge of the creator as Adam and Eve. This biblical idea seems to echo in the Andean tradition where Pachacuti, the ninth Inca, caused chaos in the Andean cosmology and subsequent creation. The notion of fall found in the Andean world corresponded with Adam and Eve before their independence. Likewise, this fall was full-length, which moved the indigenous inhabitants away from God's knowledge until they reached the Inca idolatry.<sup>211</sup>

#### **4.4 The creation (the story of Adam and Eve)**

Guaman Poma's narrative of the creation follows the biblical references of Genesis, in which God created Adam and Eve, the first human beings on earth. But Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of Adam and Eve's offspring began with Seth, Enos, and Cayman, who conceived Cain and Abel. It modified Cain and Abel's story to portray that Cain's genealogy after Abel's murder caused the black caste, which was the bad side of Adam and Eve's genealogy. Meanwhile, another side could theologically sustain the indigenous origin; in other words, the first indigenous inhabitants could be the direct descendant of Adam and Eve.<sup>212</sup> According to Phillippe Husson, Guaman Poma described the first indigenous inhabitants of the Andes as the descendants of Huari Huiracocha and his wife, who came from the middle

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<sup>210</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 24.

<sup>211</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 25.

<sup>212</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer Nueva Corónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, edited by Rolena Adorno and John V. Murra (Mexico DC.: Kahle/Austin foundation, Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), 23.



east. This couple arrived at Peru soil from Noah's Ark, revealing the divine purpose. However, Huari Cocha, as the indigenous ancestor of the Andes, was likely the descendant of Adam, who became the first governor of Peru. Subsequently, his successors were divided into four epochs with different systems and characteristics, but the Inca perpetuated its regime into the Andean world in the last epoch. The ancient indigenous people designated Huari Cocha (Uari Cocha) as the first ancestors of all indigenous, becoming the fundamental component for the image of divinity. The divine image of Huari Cocha transcended at the beginning of the colonial era; when the natives saw the Spaniards for the first time, they automatically related them to the Andean deity because Spanish soldiers looked like Huari Cocha with beards and white skin. So, the natives referred to them with the name Huari Cocha. Yet, the designation of the name Huari Cocha as the descendant of Adam belonged to the throne of humanity and all Andean ancestors.<sup>213</sup>

Guaman Poma combined biblical references within his narrative to reinterpret the Andean civilization into the history of Christian faith to demonstrate his Andean ancestor's legitimacy with the support of contemporary Western culture. To constitute Andean history within the biblical record, Guaman Poma inserted Adam and Eve's creational account, proposing that the first indigenous inhabitants were descendants of them. Appointing the first indigenous generation as Uari Uira Cocha reinforced the Andean offspring. It referred to "Spanish sayings," naming that the ancient indigenous people viewed Christian principles as their own.<sup>214</sup> In support of it, Guaman Poma asserts that all the native work had basically to do with the adoration to God and prayers to him during the first indigenous generation. In other words, the early indigenous civilization believed and venerated that same God as the biblical civilization. Furthermore, he ascribed the indigenous society with the inclusion of certain biblical society's activities and highlighted that the first Andean inhabitants began to till as their father Adam did.<sup>215</sup>

Guaman Poma interlaced the ancient Andean civilization to the biblical history in his drawings. He illustrated Adam and Eve in an Andean landscape as part of the first world age.

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<sup>213</sup> Jean P. Husson, "La defensa de la nacion Indo-peruana, objetivo primordial de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," Antonio Cornejo Polar- CELAP, *Revista de critica literaria latinoamericana*, XLII, no 84(2016): 41.

<sup>214</sup> Jenifer A. Darrell, "Dijo como profeta: La historia biblica y el pueblo andino en el Primer Nueva corònica y buen gobierno de don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Cincinnati Romance Review*, vol. 46 (Spring 2019): 4.

<sup>215</sup> Darrell, "Dijo como profeta," 5.

In contrast, he portrayed in another drawing the first Andean age in which Uri Uira Cocha Runa situates nearly in the same Andean landscape. In both images Uari Uiraca and Adam stand up, holding the same tool to till, but the effect likeness at both drawings revealed the Andean projection. According to Adorno, "*Adam and Eve seem to prefigure the first native of the new world,*<sup>216</sup>" whereby Guaman Poma's drawings aimed to equip the first Andean society by intertwining to the first inhabitants of the biblical time.<sup>217</sup> This effect made the Andean civilization legitimate, which became the direct Adam's inheritor, sharing attributes with the first biblical civilization. Yet, the Andean inhabitants did not adopt all the cultural elements of Adam and Eve's time; thereby, Adam and Eve seem to belong to the Andean context. Guaman Poma's chronicle prevailed in the Andean cultural approach as the primary source instead of being derivative of the biblical culture. Moreover, it relies on the historical relationship between the Andean people and the Judeo-Christian to impregnate the theological connection.<sup>218</sup> Following Adorno's statement, this study points out that the ancient indigenous civilization as Adam and Eve's heirs could be a strategy to ponder a theological feature to the Andean world. Under Guaman Poma's perspective, this study asserts that the first indigenous inhabitants believed in God through Adam and Eve, whom they considered their forefathers. But Adam and Eve's account in Guaman Poma's narrative seemed not strong enough to ensure the theological affiliation with the Andean world if it could intentionally depend on itself. Noah's story as the continuation of Adam and Eve's reinterpretation contributes to being further reliable for the theological defense.

The Andean people's behavior and belief fitted the Christian church's demand, suggesting Guaman Poma's argumentation that Andean people possessed a predisposition to the Christian life by nature. For it, Guaman Poma utilized the term "sombrilla "(umbrella), referring to the element of the first Andean faith, and states:

*“O, que buena gente! aunque barbarous, ynfiel, porque tenia una sombrilla y lus de conosemiento del criador and hacedor del cielo y de la tierra y todo lo que hay en Ella”*

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<sup>216</sup> Darell, 9.

<sup>217</sup> Darell, 9.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 9–10.

*(although barbarous, unfaithful, because they had an umbrella and light of the knowledge of creator and maker of the sky, earth, and everything).*<sup>219</sup>

This statement proceeded from friar Luis de Granada's scholastic theology, which asserts that reason and faith brought toward the notion of God's existence. Although reason would be fallible, by contrast, faith could be stable; both have been an appropriate manner for everyone to get to know the creator. Under the influence of Granada's theology, Guaman Poma reinterpreted that the ancient Andean glimpsed God without having enjoyed faith nor received any divine revelation of the Gospel.<sup>220</sup> Thereby, in my opinion, the ancient indigenous faith within Guaman Poma's manuscript alludes to faith by nature that perhaps would guide the notion of a divine existence but did not make sure it lasted throughout other generations in the indigenous world.

When Guaman Poma has described the Andean civilization, he alludes that the early Andean people used to claim to God with loud voices as the biblical prophets did. Guaman Poma made the most of this similarity to equip the Andean ancestors with the prophets. In doing so, he set the parallel link between the Andean people and people of the biblical era to validate the Andean indigenous whereby Guaman Poma recognized the oral discourse of the Andean world, encouraging the indigenous people to keep their oral tradition alive. Meanwhile, the biblical scripture becomes essential to strengthen principles in the Andean world. The biblical references were enforced to preserve the Andean oral tradition to which Guaman Poma complements contemporary theology. Furthermore, Guaman Poma emphasizes the verbal relationship between humanity and God in exercising faith. Thereby, despite the Andean people lacking a written system or have not had the bible to guide them, their oral traditions became sufficient for authentic faith.<sup>221</sup>

As descendants of Adam and Eve, the ancient indigenous was the starting point to relate to other biblical themes even though the former Andean cultural heritage suffered changes. If

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<sup>219</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma, "El primer Nueva Cornica y Buen Gobierno(1615)"( Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS, 2232 4°, 2001), 52.

<sup>220</sup> Darell, "Dijo como profeta,"10

<sup>221</sup> Darell, 12–13.

natives were descendants of Adam, they could have held faith due to the notion of God's existence inherited from Adam and Eve.<sup>222</sup>

#### 4.5 *The descendants of Noah*

As this study described in the age of the world above, the second age initiated with Noah's story, which had a notable role since it embodied the indigenous origin after six thousand, six hundred and twelve years of the universal flood.<sup>223</sup> Like the biblical version of the universal flood, Guaman Poma states:

*Mandò, Dios llover quarenta dias y cuarenta noches, aùn pesò cin escanpar y esto uastò para anegar el mundo. Primero cintiò Helias el estruyendo y el temblor de la tierra y el toruellino que trastornaua los montes y después desta tempestad, ciguiòse aquel ayre delgado en el que uenia Dios y sesaua Dios y ancì quedò castigado el mundo por mandato de Dios. Noe saliò del arca y plantò uina y de ello hizo uino y biuiò del dicho uino y se emborracho. Y sus hijos ydeficaron la Torre de Babelonia ; por mandato de Dios tubieron de diferente lenguajes que antes tubieron una lengua. En esta edad uiuieron los hombres quatrocientos o trecientos anos.*<sup>224</sup>

*(God ordered it to rain for forty days and forty nights without stopping, and it was enough to inundate over the world. First, Elijah sensed the roar and trembling of the earth and the whirlwind that disrupted the mountains, and after that storm, the slight wind in which God came and ceased God's punishment, and so it was punished the world by the God's mandate. Noah got out of the Ark and planted a vineyard, and from it, he made vine and drank that vine and got drunk. And his sons edified the tower of Babylon; by God's order, they had different languages that before had a single language. At this age, the human beings lived four hundred or three hundred years) (translation).*

As the biblical version of the Universal flood narrated in Genesis, with this statement, Guaman Poma reiterates that the flood was for forty days and forty nights but made some

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>223</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala, "El primer Nueva coronica y buen Gobierno," 24. Guaman Poma states: Segunda de edad del mundo, desde el arca de Noè, del diluuiò, says mil y seycientos doze anos; according to Guaman Poma's manuscript, the years given after the flood symbolically referred to the years when Guaman Poma finished his manuscript (1612). It meant that references of years in his manuscript were functional.

<sup>224</sup> Guaman Poma, 24.

variation by adding the prophet Elijah witnessed the flood. It echoes that Elijah could have lived in that epoch, but according to biblical references of the Old Testament, Elijah appeared during Ahab's reign in Israel. Therefore, it signified that Elijah appeared afterwards several centuries from the flood. Nevertheless, Guaman Poma took the figure of Elijah because the mention of the walking of forty days and forty nights on the desert toward the mountain Horeb by Elijah to save his life gathered common element to the flood (I Kings: 19). The journey's days and nights coincided with the raining duration of the flood, which unified a single purpose of history to show God's punishment due to idolatry.<sup>225</sup> Thereby, in this study's view, the prophet Elijah was only a symbolic figure to prove that flood was a consequence of idolatry. Besides, Babylon tower's story was the departure to legitimate the origin of the indigenous race with the Quechua language as one of the diverse languages exported by Noah's sons, who emigrated to the Andes of Peru.

According to Guaman Poma's conception, Noah's sons saved from the universal flood had taken the Americas while returning to the world. Furthermore, among Noah's sons, one of them brought God to the indigenous realm. Simultaneously, Guaman Poma pointed out the possibility that the Andean native came directly from Adam and Eve's genealogy, as this study described previously. Nevertheless, his manuscript manifested that Guaman Poma identified himself as a colonial subject, living in multiple cultures, and gave voice to the indigenous world to participate in the universal world. The meaning of humanity has derived from the universal values embedded in Christian principles, God's knowledge, and the imperial consequences of the Western expansion. Although Guaman Poma held a discourse with Christian pattern to defend the indigenous values, his interpretation of the history was from the point of genesis, the interrelationship among the first indigenous inhabitants of the Andes, the early Christians, and the first Western people.<sup>226</sup> Hence, the ancient Andean inhabitants came after the flood and were descendants of Noah. Even Guaman Poma dared admit Uari Uiricocha Run was Spanish and became the first Andean inhabitant in Peru.<sup>227</sup>

The cyclical combination of the two ages (Andean and Christian age) has transfused Christian history's lineal vision, which was the principal characteristic for Guaman Poma to

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<sup>225</sup> Gonzalez, "Repertorio anonimo," 383–384.

<sup>226</sup> Morales, "Solidaridad," 224.

<sup>227</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 27.

take precedence over the Inca. He has claimed that the ancient indigenous people were Christians and venerated the God Viracocha, whose name derived from the Spanish God because they came straight from Noah and were Noah's descendants. The first generation of Indigenous inhabitants was well-known as Uari Viracocha Runa, to which Guaman Poma states:

*Vari Vira Cocha Runa, primera generaciòn de yndios del multiplico de los dichos espanoles que trajo a este rreyno delas Yndias, los que salieron de la arca de Noè, deluuiò. Despuès que multiplicò estos dichos por madadado de Dios derramò en el mundo.*<sup>228</sup>

*(Vari vira Cocha Runa, the first indigenous generations multiplied from Spanish sayings brought to this indigenous kingdom and were who got out from Noah's ark and flood. Afterward, multiplied these sayings by God's mandate, God spread them out over the world)( Translation).*

*Estos dichos yndios se llamaron Uari Uira Cocha Runa porque desendiò de los dichos espanoles y acì le llamaron Uira Cocha. Desta generaciòn comensaron a multiplicar y la descendecia y multiplico despuès a estos le llamaron dioses y lo tuvieron acì. Contado de los dichos anos del seys mil seycientos treze anos, sacando los dichos ochocientos y treinta anos, duraron y multiplicaron muy presto por ser primer generaciòn de yndios. Y no murieron y no se matauan.*<sup>229</sup>

*(These indigenous sayings were so-called Uari Uari Cocha Runa because they came from the Spanish sayings, so their names were Uira Cocha. From that generation began to multiply, and the offspring of them kept multiplying and then called gods. It counted six thousand and six hundred thirteen years, taking out eight hundred thirty years that lasted and multiplied to be the first indigenous generation. And they did not die and did not kill each other)*

This statement reasserts the ancient indigenous known as Uari Uira Cocha gave rise to the first indigenous generations with the name Uira Cocha, which multiplied in the indigenous

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<sup>228</sup> Guaman Poma, 49.

<sup>229</sup> Ossio, Darell, *En busca del orden*, 257.

world but were subsequently related to the divinity since the first indigenous generation represented God's lineage.

Concretely, recurring to the biblical narrative of the second age of the world after the creation, Guaman Poma rewrote Noah's story where God punished the world by the rain of forty days and forty nights together with thunder earth-shaking that was sufficient to cover with water everything on the earth. Nevertheless, God decided to save Noah and his children and commanded him to build God's Ark to keep alive. After the flood, God commanded that Noah's sons and their subsequent generations spread to multiply worldwide. According to Guaman Poma's reinterpretation, one of Noah's sons reached the indigenous kingdom of the Andes in the Americas, whereby the indigenous people descended from Noah began to multiply in various ethnic groups to which God sorted out them in separated places.<sup>230</sup>

According to Ossio, Guaman Poma's argument for attributing the closeness of ancient indigenous with Christianity was knowledge of the flood. Hence, Guaman Poma employed the term "*Uno Yaco Pachacuti*" to have achieved a "*Shadow of knowledge*" provided by God to have a life without idolatry.<sup>231</sup>

On the one hand, Guaman Poma assumes that the first generation of indigenous people were descendants of Spaniards whom God sent to the indigenous kingdom in the Andes and came from Noah's Ark after the flood. This first generation descended from Noah had gradually multiplied in the indigenous world. The first indigenous inhabitants were so-called Uari Uira Cocha Runa, to which Guaman Poma related to the Spanish ancestry and offspring. For that motive, all the natives of the Andes called Uari Uira Cocha to the Spanish troops. Yet, for Guaman Poma, the name Vari Cocha had an association to Andean divinity whereby the descendants afterward the first generation were so-called gods due to the name Uari Uiracocha.<sup>232</sup>

On the other hand, the indigenous people known as Uari Uiracocha Runa lost their faith, God's hope and even got lost. Yet, they could have kept some knowledge of the creator of

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<sup>230</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala; *The first New Chronicle and the Good Government. On the history of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Translated and edited by Roland Hamilton, the kingdom of the Indies (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 19-20.

<sup>231</sup> Ossio, *En buscan del order*, 257.

<sup>232</sup> Guaman Poma, *The New Chronicle*, 38.

everything on earth whereby they worshiped a monotheist creator, God known as Runa Camac Viracocha. But they did not worship other cosmologic figures such as the sun, stars, and moon as their deities and neither demon. In Guaman Poma's argumentation, these people often remembered to be descendants of Noah and had an intuition of the flood as God's punishment. What they did was to worship God, and from the second age to the fourth age of the indigenous world, the Andean natives considered Noah's descendants, preserving the knowledge of God and holding faith in God and a notion of God's mercy.<sup>233</sup>

After the fourth age of the indigenous, the Inca era began with Topa Capac, the first Inca. Although the Incas were descendants of Adam and Eve, Noah, and his early Andean ancestry (Vari Viracocha Runa, Vari Runa, Purum Runa, and Auca Runa), they ended up the lineage of Noah by making idols as gods to worship and offer sacrifices. When the first Inca died, Manco Capac Inca settled down his reign; he did not know if he came from Noah; by contrast, Manco Capac said he was the sun's child. However, his mother was Mama Huaco, a sorceress; according to Guaman Poma, she invented Huacas and idols to deceive the natives into worshipping and believing in them. Besides, Mama Huaco deceived the indigenous people by saying that she spoke with stones, mountains, and lakes. The deception made her control the indigenous of Cuzco and became queen when she married her son.<sup>234</sup>

The parallel line between the ages of the world and the Andean world was the key to demonstrate that, despite the early generation of the Andes had insufficient knowledge of the world's creator, they held faith in a creator.<sup>235</sup> To incorporate biblical Noah's story and the flood to the Andean world's age, Guaman Poma emphasizes that the destruction of the world by the flood was God's punishment for all human life. After the flood, God ordered to multiply the worldwide. Noah's sons arrived in the indigenous kingdom whom God sent. From Guaman Poma's perspective, the biblical story of Noah displayed the close relationship between Noah and the indigenous people. Although the indigenous inhabitants could not remind their progeny, they acknowledged the universal flood as the divine punishment, ascribed as "*Pachacuti*."<sup>236</sup> Based on Farias's analysis, this study's argument is that the ancient

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<sup>233</sup> Guaman Poma, *The New Chronicle*, 38-39.

<sup>234</sup> Guaman Poma, *The new Chronicle* 57-59.

<sup>235</sup> Farias; "Conflicto Colonial Andino," 22-23.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.



indigenous as Noah's descendants acquired God's knowledge because of the flood. The notion of God from Noah's story played a fundamental role in legitimating the native past.

As this study have described, Guaman Poma elaborated a new version of the Andean world's ages. The story of Adam and Eve and Noah has been the starting point to legitimate the existence of ancient indigenous inhabitants within Christian history. Although the former indigenous people became direct descendants of Adam in the first age, Guaman Poma visibly concentrates on Noah's story of the second age as his theological defense. Noah's story played a significant role in affirming that early natives descended from Noah's ark and persevered throughout various generations a notion of Christian God whom they dedicated nearly all their lives in adoration as the creator of the universe. In this study's view, the parallel line constructed in Noah's story seems to support the indigenous religiosity to accredit a rightful defense in the colonial society where the indigenous were subjects of violence and excluded from their rights as human beings.

#### ***4.6 Jesus Christ's birth, the savior of the world***

Unlike the second age of the world that focuses on Noah's story to legitimate the Christian offspring of the ancient indigenous, Guaman Poma opted for the parallel line to describe Jesus Christ's birth straightly. Whereas the Inca era consolidated with the second Inca reign Cinche Roca Ynga in the indigenous world of Peru, the world's savior was born in the Western world. According to Guaman Poma's manuscript, Jesus Christ's birth took place in Bethlehem when Cinchi Roca was eighty years old. During Cinchi Rocha's period, the Virgin Mary give birth to Jesus Christ, whom the three kings worshiped. The three kings were representative of the three nations that God set in the world, and they were Melchior, Baltazar, and Gaspar. These kings depicted the human races of the world, referring to Melchior as indigenous, Baltazar as Spanish, and Gaspar as black. Besides, during Cinchi Roca's time, Jesus Christ suffered, died, rose, and ascended heaven with God and send the Holy Spirit to give grace to his apostles to preach the Gospel over the world. An apostle, Bartholomew, preached in Peru and left a cross of Carabuco as the evidence of his miraculous acts. It was another theological argumentation to prove indigenous Christianity.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Guaman Poma, *The new chronicle*, 66.

## 4.7 Saint Bartholomew

Noah's story in Guaman Poma's theology has contributed to restoring the Andeans' cultural values and defending their Christian affiliation during the colonial period. Moreover, Guaman Poma emphasized the missionary visit of the apostles of Jesus in the Andes before the Spanish to support what he was theologically defending. This Jesus's apostles came to Peru before Spaniards when the second Inca Cinchi Roca initiated his reign. During Cinchi Roca's reign, Christ was born, developed his ministry crucified, died, and rose from death.<sup>238</sup>

According to Guaman Poma, before the Spanish arrivals, God sent Bartholomew to the indigenous kingdom as part of the great commission. Bartholomew came to evangelize in the indigenous world. Guaman Poma referred to that after the ascension of Jesus Christ, the holy spirit descended upon his apostles to continue his evangelist work over the world. Among the apostles, Bartholomew was the chosen one for the indigenous kingdom of the Andes in Peru. Saint Bartholomew initiated his evangelistic journey around. His teaching impacted the Andean religiosity but weakened throughout the time, as the Inca idolatry was extending.<sup>239</sup>

The divinity image was Wiracocha in the Andes, whom Guaman Poma illustrated as the witness of Christ's apostle, Bartholomew, in the indigenous realm. Bartholomew fulfilled the divine purpose of spreading the Gospel and bringing the Andean kingdom into European History. Furthermore, Bartholomew was preaching throughout the South of Peru, wherein he left the cross of Carabuco as evidence of his missionary journey. Guaman Poma's manuscript narrates that in the village of Cancha, firestorms were falling from the sky because people tried to stone Bartholomew. Nevertheless, amid the successive events, a native priest named Anti Uiracocha converted to Christianity after witnessing that Bartholomew was fighting with a demon that attacked verbally through the Huaca situated in a cave. In this battle, Bartholomew defeated that demon, and from there, Anti Uiracocha became a dutiful follower of the apostle Bartholomew.<sup>240</sup> For many scholars, this event regarded as a divine signal, and

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<sup>238</sup> Guaman Poma, *The New Chronicle*, 66.

<sup>239</sup> Darell, "Dijo como profeta," 13.

<sup>240</sup> Pease, "Mitos Andinos," 29.

the missionary journey of Bartholomew was the beginning of apostolic evangelization in which several natives were baptized.<sup>241</sup>

#### **4.8 Miracles during the conquest**

During the conquest for Guaman Poma, the divine act has been through the virgin, who supposedly performed miracles. In the broad context, this study understands the concept of miracles indicates divine action for people's welfare that can frequently be healing or restoration. According to Guaman Poma's definition, "miracles" have a particular connotation that emphasizes punishments to the opponents. Virgin Mary's miracle exclusively aimed to open the eyes of Indigenous people to be Christians, so Virgin Mary became the virgin of Copacabana since she depicted all human beings' protective mother and the mother of all natives on earth. Thus, Virgin Mary's image pouring out some soil on the indigenous people's eyes means veneration and fertility in the Andean context.<sup>242</sup>

During the colonial period, miracles served to validate the Spanish conquest, so the clergy regarded it as the divine proof that stretched the incorporation of the Christian religion into the Andean world. There were three miraculous revelations in Guaman Poma's narrative where the action of divine figures attributed the supernatural intervention of God to consolidate the Spanish conquest as part of the divine mission.<sup>243</sup> By pondering the divine intervention in the war to overcome the siege of Cuzco, Guaman Poma referred to the three miracles as military miracles. The first miracle occurred when the Inca military force attacked by throwing the burning stones to the city's roofs covered by straws that could scope the fire quickly over the entire city. Fortunately, through God's divine intervention, the roof of a native building (Cuyus mango) used at that period as the Spanish church did not catch any fire even though the destruction and defeat seemed inevitable. This divine act was a God's sign, enforcing the church's holistic role in the indigenous kingdom. However, the native building that would have been full of the Spanish soldiers was empty. Guaman Poma has intentionally removed the Spanish presence from the scene to portray this miracle as an exclusive and close relationship between God and indigenous people, avoiding a direct connection to the

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<sup>241</sup> Pease, 33-34.

<sup>242</sup> Guaman Poma, *The New Chronicle*, 64-65.

<sup>243</sup> Rolema Adorno and Ivan Boresup, eds., *Unlocking the doors to the worlds of Guaman Poma and his Nueva Cronicas* (Copenhagen: the Royal library, Museum Tuctulanum press, 2015), 269-270.

Spaniards in between.<sup>244</sup> Thus, this fact was for Guaman Poma, a divine signal that the Andean people were already Christian." *At the time, it was a sign of God that the Holy Church was already established in the kingdom.*"<sup>245</sup>

The second miracle was with the Virgin Mary's appearance during the Spanish conquest, whom Guaman Poma ascribes as God's mother, who "threw the earth into the eyes of infidel indigenous people."<sup>246</sup> This divine act made indigenous people turn toward Christian God to construct a stable relationship with God.<sup>247</sup> Finally, the third miracle attributes to Jesus's apostle Santiago as the representative of the transition period, who was the central Christian figure to recover the Iberian Peninsula from the Moor's force and dominion. Santiago came to help the Spanish Christians defeat the moors and then accompanied Christian soldiers for the military campaigns against the Incas in the Andes. Besides, for Guaman Poma, Santiago came to intervene in the holy war, supporting the Christian troops to liberate the indigenous people from the idolatrous regime of Incas.<sup>248</sup>

Aside from Saint Bartholomew's missionary visit to Peru's indigenous kingdom and these miracles during the conquest, Guaman Poma portrays that the indigenous people as descendants of Noah's children preserved a natural intuition of having a relationship with God. Following his conception, in this study's view, Noah's story and the miracles of the conquest contributed to his theological design to defend the indigenous of the Andes when Guaman Poma determined that the Incas negatively influenced the Andean indigenous to move away from Christianity.

#### **4.9 Summary of the Chapter**

Guaman Poma's chronicle displayed Peruvian history with the influence of the biblical model of Western antiquity and proposed to reform the colonial administration under Christian principles. Theologically, Guaman Poma attributed the existence of Christianity before the Spanish arrivals, but the Spanish conquest became the means of Christianity to include the

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<sup>244</sup> Adorno and Boserup, "Unlocking the doors," 281-282.

<sup>245</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1624, 1628 Loc.

<sup>246</sup> Adorno and Boserup, *Unlocking the doors*, 282

<sup>247</sup> Adorno and Boserup, 282.

<sup>248</sup> Adorno and Boserup., 283-285. Regarding the apostles of Jesus during the Spanish conquest, some scholars have alluded that it was Saint James. Still, for others like Ammon Nie, Santiago helped the Christian troops consolidate the Spanish conquest in the Americas.

indigenous history into sacred history. To support the Christian background of natives, Guaman Poma created a parallel vision of historical events between the indigenous and Western world (Andean and Western genealogy), in which Noah's story played a significant role in legitimizing the first indigenous generations as descendants of God. Besides, Bartholomew's missionary journey in Peru reaffirmed the Christian root in the indigenous world. However, Guaman Poma ascribed that the Andean natives became colonial subjects and victims amid two imperialist regimes (Inca and Spanish), so he regarded them as the poor of Jesus Christ.

The cyclical combination of two ages (Christian and Indigenous ages) by Guaman Poma was the primary source to structure common history, in which Uari Uira Cocha (first ancestor of natives) was regarded as the direct descendants of Adam and Noah after the flood. Noah's story strengthened Christianity with the knowledge of the flood, which was the notion for Andean natives as the punishment and restoration of God (*Pachacuti*). The ancient generation as Noah's descendants lasted for four generations and ended up with the Inca civilization. In the parallel line, Jesus Christ's birth and Bartholomew's missionary journey occurred on the second Inca's reign (Cinchi Roca). Besides, Guaman Poma considered three miracles during the conquest (divine intervention against Inca attack, the appearance of Virgin Mary, and intervention of James in holy war) as the Spanish intervention to consolidate the divine plan.

## 5 Theoretical framework

### 5.1 Introduction

Based on the historical record, the colonization of Latin America has been a violent process for the indigenous people that resisted the Westernization of their daily lives. The attempt to reconstitute the indigenous knowledge took place with a manifestation of resistance towards colonial power. However, the coercive method was part of the modern world by which scholars have associated capitalism, imperialism, and development. Insofar as the Spanish empire consolidated its dominion on South American soil, different reactions emerged. On the one hand, the idea of modernity to which various intellectuals regarded it could solve social differences in colonial society. On the other hand, the concept of decoloniality, which many people associated with the imperialist strategy. Yet, decolonial thinking emerged as the immediate consequence of the Americas' colonial invasion.<sup>249</sup>

Latin American scholars have conceptualized decoloniality under the ideas of emancipation and restitution. On mentioning decolonial thinking, the questions are: What is the meaning of decoloniality in the Americas and what is the theological relevance of decoloniality that influenced Latin American history? To answer both, this study will explicitly describe Decoloniality from Mignolo's geopolitical perspective that has revalued the indigenous community's local histories toward their restitution in the universal history. The social differences within colonial society have been another motive for the colonized countries to consider decolonization, which Walter Mignolo has carefully analyzed. To understand decoloniality, Mignolo referred to Guaman Poma's case in the Andes. Guaman Poma's case revealed the decolonial idea and purpose of restitution and defense of the people's cultures and religious traditions.<sup>250</sup>

During the colonial era in Latin America, the colonized countries faced political, social, and cultural oppression, which was perceived as a situation of dependency that made the Latin Americans reformulate the idea of liberation. Liberation became an aspiration to overcome the strong impact of dependence and has oriented the people to acquire awareness of the dire

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<sup>249</sup> Mignolo, "La opción decolonial," 245.

<sup>250</sup> Mignolo, "La opción decolonial," 244-245.

situation and social differences.<sup>251</sup> The term "*Liberation*" has been the way of liberating people from oppression, which was theologically developed by Gustavo Gutierrez, who defined liberation as the salvation of humankind. His conception of liberation indicated theology of liberation, displaying the significant theological reference to build a just society without differences between oppressed and oppressor. Therefore, this study will analyze Gutierrez's liberation theology, which involves theological principles, political commitment, and solidarity for the poor<sup>252</sup>.

## 5.2 Decoloniality

The period between the expulsion of Jews and Moors from Spain and the Americas' discovery (1492) was the encounter of two worlds (the western world and the new world), determining a landmark of coloniality and modernity. Yet, European countries' national perspective excluded the Andean history from the modern world and its notion of colonialism and modernism. According to Mignolo, modernity and coloniality emerged from the colonial power, sharing the same role in the societal structure. From the Latin American perspective, colonialism belonged to the colonial period. For the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano, it was the coloniality of power. Meanwhile, the Argentinian philosopher Enrique Dussel states that it was the consequence of discovering the Americas, coinciding with European modernity's peak, and "*making the Atlantic commercial and financial circuit.*"<sup>253</sup>

The modern world's definition referred to a new circuit that connected the Mediterranean with the Atlantic in the sixteenth century became the pillar of modernity and coloniality. This new circuit generated a condition for Occidentalism of newly discovered lands that would attach to the imaginary modern world system. Unlike Africa and Asia, Occidentalism made the Americas become a European extension without differences. The perception of Africa and Asia was that both represented the past and America was the future. This perception lasted until the second half of the nineteenth century when Anglo-America took the world order's leadership. Therefore, modernity began in Europe and coloniality abroad.<sup>254</sup>In clarifying the

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<sup>251</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, 81.

<sup>252</sup> Tombs, *Liberation theology*, 120.

<sup>253</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, *Local histories/ Global designs: Coloniality, Subaltern knowledge and Border thinking* (New Jersey: The Princeton University Press, 2012), 49-51.

<sup>254</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 51.

Idea of Occidentalism, this study points out that the idea of America as a continent had its origin in the idea of Occidentalism. Occidentalism was a product of European expansion in the early sixteenth century when the Spaniards attributed American continent with the name “*Indias occidentales*” (West Indies) as new lands for discovery and colonization. As the Western tradition, the Spanish empire viewed the Americas as the very west, which was adequate to expand Christianity.<sup>255</sup> Therefore, the concept of Occidentalism referred to the feature of the European expansion, naming that the Western empires aimed to extend their regime in the West and East. In that context, the Spanish extension in Americas was the extension to the Occidental Indians instead.<sup>256</sup>

Nevertheless, coloniality from the Latin American perception focused on Quijano’s coloniality, orienting toward decoloniality. To detail the coloniality of power, this study emphasizes that the discovery and conquest of Latin America was the starting point for coloniality. According to Quijano and Wallerstein, Latin America dealt with the colonial power in space and time as the identity of modernity. The colonial power constituted two important axes; firstly, it conceptualized the differences between the conquerors and conquered in terms of races, so the conquistadors were related to the idea of the dominion of the conquest as the new model of power. Secondly, it pointed out the new structure as the new process of controlling the resources, products, labor, and people to the colonial interest.<sup>257</sup>

After the conquest of the Americas, the idea of identity was based on Eurocentric perspectives, seizing the racial classification to naturalize the colonial relations between the Europeans and non-Europeans. It became the new way of legitimating Europeans, reflecting the relationship between superiority and inferiority, dominant and dominated. The superior-inferior racial classifications situated the colonized and dominated people in the natural position of inferiority, so it became the primary criterion of redistributing the ranks, places, positions, and roles in the structural colonial power of the society.<sup>258</sup> According to Quijano, the racial classification within society operated and expended parameters of modernity or

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<sup>255</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, *The idea of Latin America* (Malden MA: Oxford, Blackwell Pub., 2008), 34-35.

<sup>256</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, *The darker side of the Renaissance literacy; Territoriality and Coloniality* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2003), 325.

<sup>257</sup> Mabel Morana, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos Jauregui eds., *Coloniality at large. Latin America and the post-colonial debate*. “Anibal Quijano, Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America” (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 182.

<sup>258</sup> Morana, Dussel, and Jauregui, *Coloniality at Large*, 183.



coloniality, creating a single identity; “Indians” for Latin Americans. The racial classification was a mechanism for the appropriation and dominion of the modern world to gain power.<sup>259</sup>

The main concern of Enrique Dussel for the philosophical project was the contribution to the social liberation in Latin America. For his view, liberation alludes to *a liberation of social science and philosophy from the third world*.<sup>260</sup> It implies the confrontation of the colonial differences in the modern world where there have not been places to think liberally. Dussel proposed the philosophy of liberation from Western philosophy and the ethic of liberation, projecting toward trans-modernity, regarded as the decolonial strategy to confront the colonial differences.<sup>261</sup>

Coloniality of power (Quijano) and the idea of trans-modernity (Dussel) determined modernity. Quijano argues that in Latin America, modernity and coloniality were the two sides of the modern world's system. In other words, coloniality and modernity shared the same purpose of dominion. Thereby, the Coloniality of power focused on the world's geo-economy that articulated the modern world system and managed colonial differences.<sup>262</sup>

The imposition of Christianity to the savage indigenous people in the sixteenth century and the supposed task of Western people to enforce the civilizing mission in the eighteenth century were facts that involved the military and violent intervention under the rhetoric of modernity, to which the premise was to save people from their barbarity. These colonial impositions were meaningful for developing the colonial world in Latin America; however, there were two responses to the European colonial imposition: nationalism and religious fundamentalism of the third world. Nationalism has suggested a Eurocentric solution, ratifying the state-nation as the excellent place for the social changes; meanwhile, religious fundamentalism responded to the colonial imposition as the imperial and global design. A solution to fundamentalists' dilemma that indirectly accepted European coloniality was the border thinking that has been the response to European modernity's project and redefined emancipation from the oppressed side of colonial differences toward the fight for decolonial

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<sup>259</sup> Rolando Vasquez, “Translation as Erasure: Thoughts on Modernity's epistemic violence,” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.24, no. 1 (March 2011): 34-35.

<sup>260</sup> Morana, Dussel, and Jauregui, *Coloniality at Large*, 232-233.

<sup>261</sup> Morana, Dussel, and Jauregui, *Coloniality at Large*, 240.

<sup>262</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 52.

liberation beyond the European modernity. Border thinking has contributed to the redefinition of humanity, democracy, and human right and has become a decolonial response to Eurocentric modernity.<sup>263</sup>The term “*border thinking*” was defined by Mignolo as the epistemology from the subaltern perspective, referring basically to colonial differences that generated conditions in the modern world.<sup>264</sup>

Nevertheless, there was no possibility to construct an intercultural dialogue between people from different backgrounds if these people dealt with colonial differences. Enrique Dussel has proposed Trans-modernity, as it complements the decolonization project and finds other options beyond Eurocentric fundamentalism. He regarded the several responses to the Eurocentric modernity from the colonized and subaltern cultures instead of focusing on modernity as the global design. Trans-modernity has been equivalent to “*the diversity of the universal project*,”<sup>265</sup> which was the border thinking as the product to surpass imperialism and fundamentalism. Moreover, border thinking was a critic of modernity to construct a trans modern world with a diverse project that could facilitate genuine communication and intercultural dialogue between different people. It would be necessary to transform the pattern of dominion and exploitation in the colonial world system.<sup>266</sup>

Border thinking came up from the colonial differences as a response to the local histories. The local historical condition referred to the local histories (European and indigenous histories) within the modern\colonial world’s system, so the local history and its margins where the independence of Latin American countries from Spain created a new global order on the planet. Furthermore, the global design was on the structure of the colonizing countries of the first world. In contrast, the third world's local histories became subject to the first world's history.<sup>267</sup>

The idea of decolonization of knowledge had two concepts to which a Moroccan philosopher Abdelhebir Khatibi suggested: “*double critique*” and “*the other thinking*” (*une pensée*

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<sup>263</sup> Ramon Grosfreguel, “La decolonización de la economía, política y los Estudios Postcoloniales, Transmodernidad, Pensamiento fronterizo y Colonidad global.” *Tabula Rana*, no. 4(January- June 2006): 38- 39.

<sup>264</sup> Morana, Dussel, and Jauregui, *Coloniality at Large*, 238.

<sup>265</sup> Ramon Grosfreguel, “La decolonización de la economía,” 40.

<sup>266</sup> Ramon Grosfreguel, 40-41.

<sup>267</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 64-65.

*autre*<sup>268</sup>). Before amplifying these concepts, this study necessarily reiterates that based on Mignolo's conception, border thinking emerged from the local histories of the Spanish legacies in the Americas but not from the universal conceptual view influenced by some Western Enlightened philosophers. With the moors' expulsion from the Spanish soil after several centuries, Spaniards awaited a place for indigenous people to extend the Spanish empire where the indigenous inhabitants would follow the Christian order and become king's vassals. *The other thinking* was the way of thinking without others. The conflict between Spain and the Arab world was the vehicle for mutual misunderstanding. Thereby, *double critique* was indispensable for Western and Islam fundamentalism and became the intersection of border thinking that criticized both; Western and Islam thinking but engaged in thinking from both traditions. The border thinking and a double critique were natural conditions for the other thinking that seemed to overcome territorial thinking limitations.<sup>269</sup>

Khatibi determines the *other thinking*, with two significant facts: the conflict between Christianity and Islam in the sixteenth century, and secondly, the secularization of the world, highlighting the emergence of capitalism and the rise of French colonialism in the eighteenth century. These facts made it a way of thinking that did not aspire to dominate or humiliate others, but a way of thinking that was fragmentary, prevailing ethical principles. Therefore, *double critique and the other thinking* have articulated border thinking which has broken away the colonial differences in the modern and colonial world.<sup>270</sup>

The logic "post" refers to modernity in terms of progress, development, and chronology and has connected to coloniality. But "beyond" rather than "post" was a connotation that Enrique Dussel and Fernando Coronil have used to ingrain local histories in the colonial world. Besides, it signifies "*beyond Occidentalism*" and "*beyond Eurocentrism*."<sup>271</sup> Yet, Dussel preferred to use "*Trans-modernity*" instead of postmodernity. Nevertheless, Ramon Grosfoguel, a sociologist, has interpreted it as a time-space category, in which the colonial differences generated other dimensions of "*Time-Space*" beyond the Western perspective. His interpretation echoed in the indigenous communities of South America. The observation was

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<sup>268</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 66.

<sup>269</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 66-67.

<sup>270</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 68.

<sup>271</sup> Mignolo, *Local histories*, 91.

that the differences between Christianity and indigenous religions were between "*time and space and between the time and place and between the remembered history and sacred location.*"<sup>272</sup>

Decoloniality has been the connector, bringing diversity with local histories to the universal project. However, it was an ambiguous expression, mainly when it refers to historical facts where the colonial expansion and the decolonization have taken possession of time and space.<sup>273</sup> In any socio-historical configuration, decoloniality has encouraged the people to attain independence and emancipation from colonial oppression and Western power.<sup>274</sup>

Overall, decoloniality is the energy that avoids the manipulation of the logic from coloniality and modernity. But it has involved a series of variable manifestations. Some have had negative impacts on society as terrorist manifestations. So decolonial thinking derived from the discredited and colonized tradition.<sup>275</sup> In that sense, decoloniality had its origin when the three-world divisions collapsed to give rise to the new world order. The point of its origination was the third world. Its decolonial purpose was to find common ground and vision for the future, and the way was "*decolonization.*"<sup>276</sup> Moreover, decoloniality was considered as an option that opened other directions, separating from new paradigms such as modernity, postmodernity, the theory of relativity, and so forth. However, these paradigms were not alien to decolonial thinking, in which the main concern has been equality and economic justice.<sup>277</sup>

The third world was the scenario for decoloniality manifested in various local histories and in different periods to which Western imperial countries interfered. In the sixteenth century, it was in the Tahuantinsuyu, in the nineteenth in China, and the twentieth century in Iraq.<sup>278</sup>

Catherine Walsh proposed the word "decolonial" rather than des-colonial to distinguish between the decolonial and modernity project. The motive was that after the colonization of the Americas, the first world promoted modernity as a form of development.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>275</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 250.

<sup>276</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing and knowing; on (de)coloniality, Border thinking and Epistemic disobedience," *Confer*, vol. 1, no.1 (2013): 129-130.

<sup>277</sup> Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing," 130.

<sup>278</sup> Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing" 130-131.

The border thinking has been the epistemic singularity to shape decolonial thinking since the border epistemology signifies the epistemology of *anthropoids*(humans).<sup>280</sup> The border thinking has an interlink to decoloniality; in other words, decoloniality of the third world has a relatedness to "*immigrant consciousness*." Therefore, border thinking facilitated essential conditions to link the border epistemology to immigrant consciousness, delinking from the territorial and imperial epistemology.<sup>281</sup>

The invention of the third world was a product of men and institutions from Western countries. Modernization was the myth behind the third world, where the Latin American countries did not have sufficient skill to develop under imperial conditions. The delinking from Westernization and border thinking could occur if appropriate conditions and awareness of the coloniality were in place.<sup>282</sup> According to Mignolo, "*delinking*" means to change the single idea of the Western tradition in the modern or colonial world where during the colonial era (in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century), indigenous intellectuals like Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala articulated the necessity to delink from the dominant culture. The decolonial argument in Guaman Poma's manuscript was when he expressed his disagreement with the colonial system and criticized the Inca influence over the Andean natives.<sup>283</sup>

The definition of border thinking has had connectedness to epistemology anthropoids, which has focused on decolonial awareness; in other words, border thinking has played a significant role in decolonial thinking. Border thinking has to do with thinking of us (human beings), who have dwelled in the borders of the local histories and resisted the dominion of globalization.<sup>284</sup> Moreover, as part of the decolonial project, border thinking has become the connector between the diversity of the local histories subjugated to the Western empires.<sup>285</sup> In this study's view, it is to describe the subaltern histories that responded to the imperial expansion but sought to revitalize the role of local histories in the plural context.

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<sup>279</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 246.

<sup>280</sup> Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing," 131.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>282</sup> Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing," 135-136.

<sup>283</sup> Mignolo, "Delinking, the Rhetoric of Modernity," 459-461.

<sup>284</sup> Mignolo, "Geopolitics of sensing," 137.

<sup>285</sup> Mignolo, "Delinking," 498.

The epistemic decolonial turn has resulted from establishing the colonial power matrix that Anibal Quijano has criticized. In Quijano's criticism, European paradigms of modernity and rationality were indispensable and urgent to gain control that ignored all ideas and knowledge perspectives. It was necessary to undo the binding of modernity and rationality with coloniality since this link instrumented the reason for the colonial power, which destroyed all liberating purposes of modernity. Therefore, the alternative was to destroy the power's coloniality. Quijano's reflection about the natural emergence of the epidemic decolonial turn resulting from the implantation of structural domination and the matrix of colonial power seemed to give rise to the genealogy of decolonial thinking origin.<sup>286</sup>

The decolonial turn developed during the colonial period in the Americas. The first manifestations of the decolonial turn occurred during the Hispanic viceroyalty in the Anahuac (Mexico) and Tawantinsuyu (Peru) between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. Felipe Guama Poma de Ayala displayed the first case in Peruvian viceroyalty through his manuscript (*the First New Chronicle and Good Government*). Guaman Poma's chronicle was a decolonial political treatise, which could guide the idea of coloniality.<sup>287</sup>

The facet of Guaman Poma opened doors to the other's thinking, alluding to the border thinking due to Guaman Poma's experiences within the Tahuantinsuyu. Moreover, the mark of the colonial wound caused by coloniality in the slaves and indigenous lives classified the diversity of realms in the world.<sup>288</sup> The question is, what did mean the expression “*to open doors to the other's thinking*”? This expression metaphorically referred to lead people to other places with colonial memories. Decolonial thinking opened the door that guides another kind of truth where the colonial wound would determine its reason. Besides, it has presumed the colonial difference concerning imperialism; thenceforth, the decolonial turn became the opening, freedom of thinking, the cleansing of coloniality, the detachment of the imperial influence of modernity.<sup>289</sup>

According to Quijano, decolonial thinking was the primary objective of decolonizing the colonial power matrix. The "*decolonization*" was the first term to guide a new way of

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<sup>286</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 251.

<sup>287</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 251-252.

<sup>288</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 252.

<sup>289</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 252-253.

communication inter-cultural and an interchange of experiences and meanings as a basis of another nationality, in the sense that the specific cosmology of an ethnic group would pretend to be as the universal rationality.<sup>290</sup>

When decolonial thinking detached from the tyranny of time as the framework of modernity, it simultaneously set itself apart from post-coloniality and its relatedness to post-modernity. Thereby, decolonial thinking confronted and criticized the establishment of modernity in human life. Although several scholars condemned slavery, they regarded black slaves and natives as inferior human beings. The prejudices continued in the geopolitics of knowledge. Nevertheless, decolonial thinking suggested a displaced opposition that acknowledged various planetary oppositions rather than a single idea that supported coloniality to exploit the oppressed.<sup>291</sup>

Guaman Poma created a space for decolonial thinking in the diverse experience where human beings (Andean natives) suffered Western invasion, becoming a historical foundation. The social forum of decolonial thinking has been planetary, whereby it has incorporated social movements such as indigenous and afro-movements (Taki Onkoy and Cimarronaje).<sup>292</sup>

Like the other Hispanic chronicles, Guaman Poma's chronicle coped with some limitations, neglecting paradigms of Christian theology in its content. Nevertheless, these limitations were the eyewitness and the reflection on the indigenous in the Spanish reign. Therefore, none of the Spaniards could perceive and understand Guaman Poma's proposal to the Spanish king Philip III. There were three imperative lines in Guaman Poma's chronicle; firstly, the conservative interpretation reaffirmed the indigenous lack of intelligence. Secondly, the academic – progressive line where Franklin Peace in Peru, Rolena Adorno in the USA, Mercedes Lopez Baralt in Puerto Rico, and Raquel Chang- Rodriguez followed Guaman Poma's contribution. Thirdly, Guaman Poma`s chronicle into the indigenous thought as a basis.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 253.

<sup>291</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 257.

<sup>292</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 258.

<sup>293</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 259.

Although Spaniards did not neglect the indigenous position as human beings, they assumed a universality that exclusively belonged to Christian inhabitants on the planet. Hence, the indigenous people held a subjectivity. Besides, as a colonial subject, Guaman Poma was a subjectivity of border. Guaman Poma's chronicle was a narrative with Andean cosmology that sought to rule out the conflictive dialogue with the Christian cosmology and its missionary variants (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits) and the bureaucratic mentality of the state.<sup>294</sup>

Guaman Poma narrated historical events with coherent criticism to Spaniards, indigenous, and mestizos (mixed race) equally. To criticize all human groups in the colonial society, he employed Christianity from a historical and ethical perspective. Historically, he affirmed that Christianity was in the Andean people before the Spanish arrival. Ethically, from the epistemic logic, Christianity was the regional version of certain principles that could balance human beings' conduct and establish a criterion to live together in harmony. Thereby, Guaman Poma's argumentation of good living was not a private principle of the Western political theory, but he seized the whole of Christian principles.<sup>295</sup>

Guaman Poma proposed a good government of the state wherein Spaniards, indigenous, black, moors, and others could live in harmony; in other words, the viceroyalty would turn into a place of good living and overcome the colonial differences. Yet, in a colonial society where Incas and Spaniards were apparently dominant, Guaman Poma identified with the indigenous of the Andes. Besides, he constructed the idea of a useful treatise in the Tahuantinsuyu. At elaborating it, he utilized a "*Topia*"(place) of border reason and decolonial thinking that was based on the Tahuantinsuyu's structure, which depicted the four sides or corners of the world in its diagram. These four spaces shaped by diagonals were so-called "*Los cuatro suyus*" that illustrated significant areas and social hierarchy. Guaman Poma placed the Spanish king Philip III in the center of the Tahuantinsuyu as Spanish and colonial Peruvian authority but distributed spaces (Suyus) to natives, black slaves, moors, and other groups. So, each group would be in the hierarchical structure of the Tahuantinsuyu.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 260.

<sup>295</sup> Mignolo, "La option decolonial," 261-262.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 262-263.



The useful treatise that Guaman Poma proposed was the space for the coexistence of Spain and the coexistence between plenty of communities in the Tahuantinsuyu, referring to the coexistence transnational and the coexistence inter-cultural. Moreover, his political theory was the sovereignty to the Tahuantinsuyu instead of sovereignty to Hispanic politics. It became a result of border thinking and then decolonial thinking. Guaman Poma's political theory opposed the European political model, which had an alternative to the monarchic and capitalist regime. However, the imperialist model relegated the Tahuantinsuyu model of the Andean world, where the disoriented indigenous people lived.<sup>297</sup>

After describing Guaman Poma's manuscript as a decolonial treatise, this study has observed that Guaman Poma's Chronicle manifested decoloniality in the plural sense to rebuild an excellent government under the ancient indigenous system (Tahuantinsuyu), including all the races. Nevertheless, it sought to reconstitute cultural values and restore human dignity. Furthermore, the decolonial features in Guaman Poma's manuscript attributed him to be probably the first decolonial thinker of the sixteenth century, who redefined the indigenous role in history by illustrating the ancient Christianity of Peruvian natives to defend the indigenous right in colonial society. Regarding the Christian background of natives, this study will detail it in the following chapter.

### **5.3 Theological Interest**

#### **5.3.1 The theology of liberation**

The term "*liberation*" implies three approaches; firstly, liberation expresses the aspirations of the oppressed people and lower classes that have struggled with oppressive and wealthy classes in the social, economic, and political process. Secondly, liberation may contribute to history where the human being has assumed his responsibility with destiny, permitting him to experience social changes. Human participation throughout history consolidated freedom, guiding the creation of a new human and diversity in society. Thirdly, liberation in the biblical perspective affords the living hope in the present through Jesus Christ, who brought liberation in history and has been the savior who set free human beings from sins since sin is indeed the

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 263-264.

root of oppression and injustice. Moreover, Jesus Christ established the communion between him and the human being.<sup>298</sup>

Nevertheless, the word "liberation" is synonymous with emancipation, that the colonized Latin American countries struggled to prevail their integrity and theological position in the world. The liberation of the indigenous people as oppressed people was the theme for scholars and theologians to discuss. The reason was that contemporary theology did not clarify its position concerning the saving dialogue with people and the absence of concrete reflection on the theme of salvation in Latin America. The theology of liberation has become a theological theme to which Gustavo Gutierrez and Enrique Dussel have developed from a different outlook. Gustavo Gutierrez defines liberation theology as the theology of salvation, so soteriology was the core of his theological project. In the process of liberation, salvation meant communion with God and with one another.<sup>299</sup>

The theology of liberation in Dussel's perspective has seemly involved in specific dialectical categories. The term "*dialectical*" points out the notion of "Substance,"<sup>300</sup> but the dialectical approach is very Christian, emphasizing the trinitarian mystery. In that sense, "*liberation*" is Christian with its origin from the Hebrew nation in the Old Testament when God gave Moises an ordinance to liberate his people from Egyptian oppression. Besides, throughout history, Christians have frequently interpreted liberation as salvation and redemption, but all these notions of the Old Testament have been behind "*the dialectic oppression and exodus.*"<sup>301</sup> In liberation theology, the dialectic has been a framework between the oppressor and oppressed or dominator and dominated. The dialect in terms of everyday life has indicated that the dominator, the master, takes others as slaves, ratifying his dominion and using them as means to accomplish his aim. If someone oppresses other's freedom, bear them to the path of the dead that have been contrary to God's design in which love precisely allows the human being to be free and alive.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Gutierrez, A theology of liberation," 36-37.

<sup>299</sup> Joyce Murray, "Liberation for Communion in the Soteriology of Gutierrez," *Theological Studies, Bartimeres, Washington Dc*, vol. 58, no. 1(1998): 51-52.

<sup>300</sup> Dussel *History and theology of liberation*, 143.

<sup>301</sup> Dussel, 143-144.

<sup>302</sup> Dussel, 145.

Likewise, the dialectic of the elite and masses refers to a different stage of oppression, where the large group suffered the dominion of the elite. To overcome both the oppressor-oppressed and elite-masses dialectic approaches that would offer alternatives for freedom, the process of liberation becomes essential for people to undergo real conversion and authentic conversion.<sup>303</sup> In the process of liberation, the Christian task has to do with opening to others and participating with them day by day toward freedom, whereby the process of liberation is indeed the means for discovering the fulness of life.<sup>304</sup>

After the political impact in Latin America, the oppressed countries sought the theological and spiritual foundation to their identities. They have oriented toward a new posture within the church, which was the option in favor of oppressed people and their liberation with necessary changes such as “*the new vision of fruitfulness and originality of Christianity and the Christian communal role in the process of liberation.*”<sup>305</sup> The church assumed its responsibility with the action of the Gospel in words and deed. Yet, the violence by the oppressors at the evangelization caused a situation of injustice for the oppressed. This situation was theologically the characteristic of the sinful condition where there have been social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities between different people. The interpretation of the Latin American situation has been in terms of dependency on Western colonizers. The theme of liberation expresses emancipation or freedom from any dependency.<sup>306</sup>

The denunciation of social injustice to the poor people avoided Christianity to legitimize its order. Besides, the church has faced a conflictive dilemma with the state, and the urgent need for separation of church and state had relevant importance in liberating the church from the image of power. With that separation, the church would enable its mission of justice to continue, and its prophetic task has become part of the process of change.<sup>307</sup>

Theologically, Gutierrez’s concern was on the new understanding of the relatedness between human and salvation history. So, in developing the theology of liberation, Gutierrez identified

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<sup>303</sup> Dussel, 147-148.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>305</sup> Gutierrez, *A theology of liberation*, 104.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 108-109.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 115.

three levels of liberation. Firstly, *liberation* from economic exploitation in which oppressed classes aspired to be independent. Secondly, *liberation* from fatalism in which the individuals could take control over their fate; in other words, it refers to personal freedom. Thirdly, liberation from sins, focusing on Jesus Christ who liberated humanity from sins, affording a communion with God. All these three levels involve a process of salvation wherein liberation from sin became incredibly significant since sin had negative consequences for the other levels. Thus, for Gutierrez, the term *liberation* is appropriate to explain the process of salvation on political, existential, and theological dimensions.<sup>308</sup>

Salvation has been a central theme of the Christian mystery and has had an interlink to liberation. However, people have superficially understood the theme of salvation regarding the process of liberation. There have indeed been two focal points for the proper understanding of salvation since the notion of salvation had limitations by the classical theology, assuming the salvation of pagans, which have been the *quantitative aspect of salvation*.<sup>309</sup> The problem with this limited salvation was the universality of salvation and the church's role as the mediator of salvation. The theological idea of salvation from this outlook has implied the cure for sin in life, and this cure is in virtue of salvation that goes beyond the current life. Besides, the church is the place of grace by which the people can attain salvation. Spirituality is a fight in the world, and the contact with the church as the channel to God can root out sin. Therefore, this perspective has been moralistic, fitting with the traditional church.

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The idea of the universality of salvation and gaining Christian consciousness was not the core of the problem but on perceiving and applying it. The whole issue of salvation has made the qualitative approach perceive distinctly, whereby the universality of salvation has gone beyond the church's visible frontiers; in other words, it is more than a moralistic approach, following its interest. There have been several possibilities for human beings to reach salvation. Human being gets saved if he opens himself to God and builds communion with others, which become applicable for Christians and non-Christians, valid for all kinds of people in the world. Moreover, the presence of grace ultimately depends upon human activity, so the

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<sup>308</sup> Tombs, *Liberation theology*, 125.

<sup>309</sup> Gutierrez, *A theology of liberation*, 150.

<sup>310</sup> Gutierrez, 150.

profane world's concept is no longer valid. Therefore, according to Gutierrez, "*a qualitative and intensive approach has replaced the quantitative and extensive approach.*"<sup>311</sup> From that view, salvation is the communion of men with others, communion with God, and the center of God's salvific design is Jesus Christ, who was the fulfillment of God's promise. Through his death and resurrection, Jesus Christ transformed the universe and has given humanity the possibility to accomplish fulfillment as human beings.<sup>312</sup>

Gutierrez's soteriological point was that God called human beings to meet him, providing that they constitute a liberty community where people can get salvation. Gutierrez demonstrated that the communal struggles for liberation under experiences of oppression and the communal effort were salvation acts in the Latin American context. The second stage was salvation as the communion of God and human beings that began in history, so the communal praxis of liberation has been essential to confront the structure of injustice and the collective oppression in which poor communities have acted as agents of transformation life in the mid of darkness. The liberating social praxis required solidarity as transformative action for the poor, gathering all kind of individuals to joy in constructing the new society; the unconditional love for the poor from God's love and solidarity in seeking social justice to renew communities. His vision was to build liberating communities between the poor and marginalized as places for transformative action where the marginalized could experience communion with God's integral liberation, gratuitous love. These communities have become the recipient of salvation, doing salvific acts possible in history, and acted as witnesses of salvation.<sup>313</sup>

Gutierrez has often described salvation as liberation, sometimes as life and, mostly as communion. Nevertheless, he refers that salvation and liberation stay in "*Christ as total Gift.*"<sup>314</sup> in that sense, salvation has been integral liberation. It subsequently equated salvation and communion in the analysis that to set free was equivalent to give life, communion with God and others. His soteriological vision of the communion laid upon Toma Aquino's theological statement on the distinction between "*freedom from and freedom for*"<sup>315</sup>. This distinction was a significant approach for the Latin American liberation theologians. For

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<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>313</sup> Murray, "Liberation for Communion," 53.

<sup>314</sup> Murray, 53.

<sup>315</sup> Murray, 54.

Leonardo Boff, a liberation theologian who has structured the process of liberation that defined *liberation from* the system of oppression and "*liberation for self-realization of the people*"<sup>316</sup>. Yet, Gutierrez considerably emphasized it as freedom from all kinds of oppression and freedom for communion. Moreover, In the biblical context of God's love, Gutierrez has firstly referred to freedom from sin, injustice, and need, and situations demand liberty. Secondly, the reference was that the aim of first freedom such as love and communion was the last stage of deliverance; in other words, Jesus set people free and gives life, namely the purpose of that freedom and life have been the communion in love.<sup>317</sup>

Based on the biblical statement of truth, Gutierrez asserts that freedom through Jesus Christ is integral liberation, manifesting in all the dimensions of human life and constructs a communion with God and one another. Hence, this liberation was indeed part of redemptive history and given to humanity to live in fullness. Communion is Jesus Christ's gift by which people are free to love and experience full freedom.<sup>318</sup>

Gutierrez's insight has focused on communion as the purpose for liberation. The idea of liberation for community made him articulate theological foundation such as the nature of God as the gratuitous love, the mission of Jesus Christ as the liberator and reconciler, spirituality as the communal process of contemplation within the liberating action, and the role of the church for the poor as the sacrament. Nevertheless, the central concept has been communion as a gift and task.<sup>319</sup>

Latin America has been part of the third world where liberation thinking has begun from the social, cultural, and religious circumstances, which contributed to shaping people's Christian identity. It subsequently makes a stable relationship with others who don't share the Christian faith but have a commitment with the poor and marginalized. So, the defense of the poor's life and the struggle for justice have been under the mark of faith in God, who is the author of life. Bartolome de las Casa, a Spanish friar during the evangelization of natives, stated that "*God is*

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>318</sup> Gustavo Gutierrez, *The truth shall make you free: Confrontation* (New York, Maryknoll: Orbis Book, 1990), 105-106.

<sup>319</sup> Murray, "Liberation for Communion," 55.

*alive amid the situation of death that was evident then.*"<sup>320</sup>Hence, the blood of the peasants and settlers shed to witness their Christian faith through solidarity to the poor justified the process of liberation.<sup>321</sup>

Gutierrez has defined the meaning of Christian praxis in terms of love and justice. The Christians put into practice the commitment of love with the poor and oppressed people, which is the central principle of the social morality of the Gospel. Social morality does not embrace political and economic affairs but opens new situations that would support the poor's rights.<sup>322</sup>The property derives from any unjust situation to which the Christian community ought to cope only with the demand of God's will to love and life, whereby the ultimate reason of life for the poor, dispossessed, and exploited have been in God. The preferential option for the poor is God's universal love since God has worked for the sake of them through his son Christ, who proclaimed the kingdom of life.<sup>323</sup>

### 5.3.2 The decolonial theology

The theology of liberation aimed to construct the new identity of theology in Latin America. The new Christian identity consisted of freedom from any oppression. But the liberation-oriented application to the poor and marginalized has embraced a Christian identity under the European and colonist codes. The possible figure of decolonial theology indicated that it was the new version of the theology of liberation. Thus, decolonial theology settled, with Latin American decolonial thinking, approaching the popular cultures.<sup>324</sup>

Decolonial theology focuses on social praxis but encourages the plurality of the poor of Latin American and its hybrid culture since, according to the Latin American record, the diverse emigration enriched the indigenous cultures. It clarifies the interreligious dialogue, considering the importance of multiple demonstrations and expressions of spirituality, the inclusion of the protestant church, and the inculturation of the indigenous and African spiritual manifestation in the religious worldview. Therefore, decolonial theology goes

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<sup>320</sup> Gutierrez, *The truth shall make*, 116

<sup>321</sup> Gutierrez, *The truth shall make*, 115- 116.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., 152-153.

<sup>323</sup> Gutierrez, *The truth shall make*, 159-160.

<sup>324</sup> Pablo Mella, "La Teología Latinoamericana y el Giro descolonizador," *Perspectiva Teológica, Belo Horizonte*, vol.48, no 3 (September – December 2016): 454-456.

beyond social freedom, integrating the holistic cosmovision and idea of good living of the former cultures in the modern world.<sup>325</sup>

#### *5.4 Summary of the chapter*

Decoloniality emerged as the response to the colonial power (modernity and coloniality) that Quijano criticized. Coloniality of power generated an identity based on the differences between superiority and inferiority (colonizer and colonized) in colonial society. For Dussel, colonial power was trans-modernity, which opened the way to the decolonial project. To overcome these differences, border thinking took place with local histories, which shaped decolonial thinking that applied the consciousness of emigrants to challenge colonial power. According to Mignolo, border thinking and decolonial thinking were components of decoloniality, which encouraged dependency and the delinking from the influence of coloniality and modernity to reconstitute former cultures and local histories of natives in a plural context.

The decolonial thinking resonated in Guaman Poma's chronicle as the first case during the Peruvian viceroyalty. Guaman Poma's chronicle was regarded as a political treatise that created a space for decolonial thinking. To accomplish it, Guaman Poma employed Christianity from a historical and ethical perspective. Historically, he asserted the existence of Christianity in the indigenous world before the conquest. Ethically, for Guaman Poma, the proper conduct for living among Spaniards, natives, black people, and others depended on Christian principles. Besides, he designed a good government under the structure of Tahuantinsuyu, where the king Spanish would be the highest authority. His decolonial argumentation was the coexistence of Spain and diverse communities, emphasizing the sovereignty to Tahuantinsuyu for the restitution of Andean cultural values.

The church was limited with its traditional theology of salvation was only for believers. Yet Dussel related liberation to salvation and redemption whereby he defined it from a dialectical approach that embraced the trinitarian mystery and the process of liberation. Besides, Gutierrez developed the theology of liberation. Gutierrez's soteriology focused on salvation through Jesus Christ (liberation from sins) that goes beyond the moralistic approach of the

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<sup>325</sup> Mella, "La Teología Latinoamericana," 256-257.



church, which acted as the mediator to achieve salvation. He applied the qualitative approach that basically attributed salvation as the communion with God and between human beings through Jesus Christ. Hence, the communal praxis of liberation was essential to confront injustice and collective oppression. But it required solidarity to the poor as part of the new society, where God's love restored communities, which could witness salvation. Salvation through Jesus Christ is the integral salvation that aimed to give freedom to the poor and marginalized. Decolonial theology gathered these characteristics to be the new version of the theology of liberation. But it encouraged social justice, plurality, seeking to reconstitute diversity of cultures and holistic cosmology of ancient traditions.

## 6 The indigenous identity in dignity theologically defended

### 6.1 Introduction

After analyzing the theological themes in *the First New Chronicle and Good Government*, Guaman Poma recurred to his indigenous identity to include the native ancestor in the Christian history. The root of Guaman Poma's theology laid upon the indigenous logic. This indigenous logic has prevailed in the valorization of the indigenous culture and religion. So, the indigenous perspective has revalued the indigenous people to Christianity before the Spanish Conquest. As this study recently mentioned in the previous chapter, from the indigenous view of Guaman Poma, the first generation of the indigenous world was Noah's direct descendants, who had come to the Andes after the flood. The ancient natives, as Noah's sons, attributed knowledge of true God.<sup>326</sup> Besides, to defend the indigenous of the Andes theologically, he created a parallel line between the European and indigenous world where some theological themes (Jesus's birth, divine interventions, and punishments) profoundly had interconnection. Thus, this study will examine each one from the indigenous outlook in this chapter.

While Spaniards denigrated all natives as inferior human beings, Guaman Poma perceived the human devaluation of the natives as excluding society and proposed to reconstitute the

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<sup>326</sup> Rolena Adorno, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Andean view of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, 1565-1615," *Journal de la societe des Americanistes* Anne, no.65 (1978), 127-128.

indigenous culture and religion. For this matter, he also applied certain principles from Bartolome de las Casa's treaties (*El Tratado de las Doce dudas*), a source for the theological defense of the native of the Andes. Although the principles of Las Casa's treaties influenced his interpretation, there were slight differences regarding the conceptualization of the Spanish conquest, which Guaman Poma regarded as part of the divine mission.<sup>327</sup> To understand his perception, this study will briefly discuss it.

Yet, to understand Las Casas' treatise, firstly this study describes with a brief bibliographical note about the friar Bartolome de las Casas (1484 -1566).<sup>328</sup> Las Casas was born in Sevilla, 1484; and then participated in the merchant business of his father on the Island of Hispaniola (Cuba), where he was also involved in the *encomienda* system (Spanish system of labor and tribute for the indigenous communities), during the second voyage of Christopher Columbus. In 1507, Las Casas became a priest in Spain. But in his return to the Americas, he served as Chaplain to Panfilo de Narvaez at the conquest of Cuba in 1514,<sup>329</sup> where Las Casas witnessed a massacre of the Taino indigenous (the indigenous of the Bahamas). This massacre was the cause for Las Casas to protect and defend the indigenous inhabitants and their rights from the abuse and destruction of colonizers.<sup>330</sup> Thereafter, his reformist career began with a Christian pattern to liberate the oppressed natives. His three reformist proposals had to do with the protection of native. The first proposal (1516-1518)<sup>331</sup> was to amend the indigenous by balancing with slaves imported from Africa to challenge the slavery and the *encomienda* system. The second proposal (1542)<sup>332</sup> was to abolish indigenous slavery and the *encomienda* system. The third one (1562-1564)<sup>333</sup> was to recommend that the Spanish rule ought to end in the Americas, so the sovereignty of lands and possessions would return to the indigenous people.<sup>334</sup> He wrote multiple letters and treaties throughout his life to seek justice for the natives and defend them. Thus, his treatise (*Las Doce dudas*) had a strong impact on Guaman Poma's chronicle.

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<sup>327</sup> Adorno, "Andean view," 130.

<sup>328</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 61.

<sup>329</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 63.

<sup>330</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 63-64.

<sup>331</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 64

<sup>332</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 64

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 64

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

As the indigenous logic is the main characteristic for Guaman Poma's theological reinterpretation, some components of the liberation theology seemed to prevail in his chronicles that this study will also analyze since Guaman Poma would apply the theology of liberation as a tool to find emancipation of the native from the colonial oppression and dependency.

## ***6.2 The interrelationship between the central theological themes in Guaman Poma's chronicle***

Several scholars of the twentieth century investigated the colonial difference, highlighting the distinction between the colonizer and colonized to identify what role each one usually played in the colonial society. In other words, they cared much about the people's conditions and positions to reconstitute the cultural values at the colonial system, where the stronger one could have ruled over another one. The difference of conditions and positions was imposed upon the indigenous people whom scholars (the Argentinian philosopher Rodolfo Kusch and Walter D. Mignolo) compared to the Jews, presuming that they were descendants of the ten tribes of Israel.<sup>335</sup>

Guaman Poma conceptualized the colonial difference by reasserting the Andean identity in the design of Tahuantisuyo, where indigenous people were colonial subjects of the Inca empire. He asserts that the Spanish arrival interrupted the continuity of Inca dominion and illuminated the rupture of the indigenous subjugation. For Guaman Poma, the indigenous submission to the Incas' rules signified adapting to the pagan religions, forcing the indigenous of the Andes to idolatry. Moreover, according to Guaman Poma's perspective, the Spanish intervention was part of a divine purpose that could have helped the indigenous people return to their Christian roots. Although Guaman Poma endorsed the missionaries' intention to evangelize natives during the colonial era, he defended the indigenous condition by asserting that his indigenous people of the Andes were already Christians so that Christianization would be in vain.<sup>336</sup> As this study mentioned in the previous chapter, Guaman Poma elaborated the story of the world's Creation from an indigenous perspective, inscribing the ancient

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<sup>335</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, "Crossing gazes and the silence of the Indians: Theodor de Bry and Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Journal of Medieval Early Modern Studies* 41, no.1(2011): 181-185.

<sup>336</sup> Mignolo, "Crossing gazes," 185

indigenous generation as descendants of Adam and Noah's children. Differentiating the indigenous of the Andes from the Incas, Guaman Poma identified himself with Andean people, declaring to be already Christian. This assertion anticipated the missionary's task, placing the Andean people at the same level and condition as the Spanish missionaries; however, Guaman Poma criticized the Christian behavior of the Spanish colonizers.<sup>337</sup>

Guaman Poma included the first and second age of the world purposely into the indigenous world's scheme to demonstrate the Christian affiliation of the indigenous world and affirmed that the first generation of the indigenous people descended from Noah and was sent by God to the Andes of Peru. But the genealogical connection of natives with God's people endured four generations. It ended with the consolidation of the Inca rule at the time of the indigenous world's fifth age. From the Guaman Poma's logic, the strong point of the theological defense was that if the Andean native were descendants of Noah's children according to God's will, they belonged to the biblical history.<sup>338</sup> Besides, Guaman Poma highlighted that although indigenous people gradually lived without explicit Christian contact as a reference to guide four generations, they perceived the Christian God and never forgot God's commandment. Guaman Poma's assertion that the indigenous people became Christians before the Spanish Conquest was only to validate the Andean people's ethnical principles, restituting their identity in the colonial spectrum.<sup>339</sup>

The reinterpretation of the indigenous identity as Noah's descendants permitted Guaman Poma to attribute knowledge of the Christian God to the ancient indigenous generation. Knowledge of Christian God of former native referred to "*the shadowy and the light of the knowledge of the creator and maker heaven and earth and everything that is in it*" (*una Sombrilla y lus de conocimiento del criador y hazedor del cielo y de la tierra y todo lo que ay en ella*).<sup>340</sup> Moreover, based on the Andean identity, Guaman Poma made his creative defense by declaring that the ancient native of the Andes followed the Christian principles and God's command without being converted.

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<sup>337</sup> Mignolo, "Crossing gazes," 186.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 209-210.

<sup>339</sup> Olimpia E. Rosenthal, "Guaman Poma and the Genealogy of Decolonial thought," *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Study*, vol. 6, no. 1(2018): 73-74.

<sup>340</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 40.

Guaman Poma put the Andean ethnic groups in the category of Spanish Christians and sought justice for the indigenous dignity. According to Adorno, Guaman Poma was pro and pan-Andean but was not anti-Inca.<sup>341</sup> This study refers that Guaman Poma's intention has to do with the decolonization of two worlds characterized by the dualist notion, referring to that the Western tradition as good and the Inca as bad. Amid two worlds, the native of the Andes was regarded as the evidence to reconstitute the indigenous dignity due to Christian ancestry.

The dual notion refers to the concept of the devil that was linked to the negative effect of the magical power of gods, pagan religious practices, and indigenous rituals at the juncture of the colonial period. If the indigenous past would have had recognition, the early indigenous inhabitants had been proto-Christians. In this sense, they would have developed without limitations, nor deviations from the path toward the correct moral, so the only way to introduce the idolatry would have likely been by foreign means.<sup>342</sup>

During the conquest of Peru, the devil's concept validated the Spanish intervention as the light of truth and salvation in the service of defending the foe of God. In Guaman Poma's chronicle, the devil evoked the pagan idolatry but was no equivalent of a picture of a devil who easily deceived an incredulous and innocent indigenous individual. It signified the indigenous persistent and real will to worship God while being forced to worship the Inca deities. This argumentation clarifies that the Andean natives did not become the unconscious devil puppets due to devil deceits before the Spanish settlers. Thus, the idolatrous Inca would rule over the natives, but they did not become pagan idolaters.<sup>343</sup>

The theological foundation to defend the indigenous dignity pointed out the four ages of the pre-Inca period (the indigenous world) in which Guaman Poma underscored the origin of the first indigenous generation, named "*Vari Vira Cocha, whom God brought the indigenous kingdom.*"<sup>344</sup> With this passage, Guaman Poma applied "*the idea of las Casas about the*

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<sup>341</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1493Loc.

<sup>342</sup> Lamana, "El rol de la Incoherencia," 147.

<sup>343</sup> Lamana, "El rol de la Incoherencia," 152.

<sup>344</sup> Jean-Philippe Husson, "La idea de naci3n en la cronica de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Sugerencias para una interpretaci3n global de el Primer Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno," *Historica XXV, Revista PCP*, vol. 25. no. 2 (2001): 106.

*divine and natural right to native.*"<sup>345</sup> The Andean chronicler designed the indigenous people and Spaniards with Huari Huira Cocha as the double belongings that contradicted his native ideology. Yet, Guaman Poma referred to the imagery of Huari Huira Cocha for both because the ancient native depicted God's people and ancestors of the indigenous people in colonial Peru. The designation of Huari Huira Cocha to Spaniards was in the sense of explaining the link to the Western people to which Guaman Poma regarded as the inhabitants of the old world, where people directly depended upon God's mandate and will. So ancient indigenous people came from the ancient inhabitant of the old world: Adam and Eve and Noah. Moreover, From Noah's Ark, people were scattered to various places where a couple of persons landed who subsequently developed their local population. It was the role of Uari Uira Cocha and his wife, landing in the Indigenous kingdom of Peru so that the first indigenous generation was established and extended.<sup>346</sup>

The double belongings of Guaman Poma's interpretation of the personification of Huari Huira Cocha corresponded to the need to conciliate two different postures. On the one hand, the proclamation of equal conditions of humanity, by which Guaman Poma asserted the humanity was only one, so the variable ethnic groups could firmly have an authentic relationship with God. On the other hand, Guaman Poma defended the indigenous right to be the landowner, enhancing the native identity as a significant humanity component. Thus, be descendants of ancient inhabitants of the world (Adam and Noah) and the primitive inhabitant of the indigenous world (Huari Huira Cocha), ascribed a unity, simultaneously, multicity of human races.<sup>347</sup>

Before Guaman Poma's chronicle's theological aspect, this study denotes that Guaman Poma described all categories of native society in colonial Peru, constituting from the Visitors, priests to the simple natives. The criticism of each group was at bad habits and vices to deform Christian principles, but among those groups, there was a separated group whom Guaman Poma qualified as "*The poor of Christ.*" This indigenous group was the oppressed one and subject of the Inca regime's occult religious practices, so the portrait was the Inca idolatry opposed Christianity. However, the opposition to idolatrous practices took relatively

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<sup>345</sup> Husson, "La idea de nació," 106.

<sup>346</sup> Husson, "La idea de nació," 106–107.

<sup>347</sup> Husson, "La idea de nació," 107.

a limited place. The main issue was that both Spaniards and converted natives did not respect their faith when they selfishly acted for their welfare. Thereby the opposition was between the good and bad Christians rather than Christians against idolaters. For Guaman Poma's conception of this matter, the good Christians were the indigenous people, holding God's commandment, while Spaniards became bad Christians.<sup>348</sup>

The new chronicle's theological themes (Nuevas Crónicas) asserted that the indigenous had an affiliation to the Catholic faith. However, Guaman Poma minimized the importance of indigenous people's religious customs with idolatrous tendency and strategically attempted to reduce all the pagan characteristics of the Andes' autonomous religion. He delinked the Inca idolatry from the religion of pre-Columbian cultures, such as the curative practices and lyrical art addressed to rites. Indeed, the theological support was that the native of the pre-Inca period, especially the ancient generations living aftermath the first and second age of the indigenous world, held a notion of knowledge of a monotheist God as the universe's creator. To defend this assumption, Guaman Poma accounted for the indigenous prayers, conferring to the native divinity the character of being a Christian God.<sup>349</sup> A fragment of these prayers is in the following sentences:

*“dizia anci. o señor donde estas en el cielo o en el mundo o en el cabo del mundo o en el ynfierno adonde estas oyme hacedor( sic) del mundo o de los hombres oyme dios”.(It said, oh Lord where you are in heaven or the world or at the end of the world or in the hell where you are, hear me the maker of the world or of men, listen to me, God).<sup>350</sup>*

This prayer derived from the version in Quechua, referring to the word "Pacha Kamac" that originally means "animador del Mundo" (encourager of the world),<sup>351</sup> but in Guaman Poma's interpretation, it manifests the indigenous divinity as the world's maker, alluding to the creative function of God. Mostly his interpretation has sought to defend the convergence with

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<sup>348</sup> Husson, "La idea de nación," 110–112.

<sup>349</sup> Husson, "La idea de nación," 112.

<sup>350</sup> Husson, 112.

<sup>351</sup> Husson, 113.

the Christian dogma. In this sense, Guaman Poma assimilated the indigenous condition with the Christian concept to identify the native God as the Christian God.<sup>352</sup>

Moreover, Guaman Poma tended to justify the indigenous role by assessing the indigenous past's interconnection with God's people and portrayed the Incas as the idolaters. Following it, this study points out that Guaman Poma created three realities in colonial Peru to advocate the theological position of natives where they held faith in God and followed the notion of God's commandment. For Guaman Poma, the Incas were the culprits of introducing pagan idolatry to the indigenous world. According to Husson, although the pagan practices were in the daily life of natives, there was not moral perversion that could have been imputed with religious charge because, for Guaman Poma, a high number of the indigenous population urged the ethical principles, linking to the Christian values. To avoid exceeding the orthodoxy limitation, Guaman Poma balanced it by arguing that if the Incas idols were Christians, undoubtedly, the Incas could have upheld the notion of a monotheist God. Yet, Guaman Poma believed that the Andean natives spontaneously complied with Christian principles by nature.<sup>353</sup> Contrary to the Incas, the Spaniards exhibited a visible adhesion to Christianity, which did not reflect in their attitude toward natives; in other words, they were indeed Christians whom Guaman Poma forcefully criticized their breaches on God's principles. Thereby, there were ethical motives for Spaniards to blame the indigenous conduct, neither to judge the indigenous idolatrous practices.<sup>354</sup>

Aside from the world's age that has been the heart of his theological interpretation, Guaman Poma recreated the indigenous kingdom and Castile kingdom on a world map. According to Ossio and Watchel, the world map of Guaman Poma was a particular organization of the indigenous people of the Andes where the two kingdoms (indigenous and Spanish) were together, accenting the representation of the four corners of the world (Suyos ).<sup>355</sup> In his world map (Mappa Mundi), Guaman Poma denoted multiples elements of the indigenous ideology and medieval Christianity. The medieval Christianity model for Allain Milhou, signified that Jerusalem was the center of the beginning and end of human history, referring to historical

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<sup>352</sup> Husson, 113–114.

<sup>353</sup> Husson, 114.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>355</sup> Rolena Adorno, "El fin de la historia en la Nueva Cronica y Buen Gobierno de Guaman Poma de Ayala," *Letras, Lima*, vol. 85, no. 121(2014): 16.



facts such as Adam's fall and Jesus's death for human salvation, whereby in the same place, it began and culminated the human history. This model resonated in the Guaman Poma's world map, but the inclusion of Andean variants determined the aggressive and coercive form of the Spanish coloniality. Guaman Poma's theological interpretation of the native past had as objective to revalue the integrity of the indigenous present, projecting toward the future and bring back his indigenous origin whereby for Guaman Poma, the city of Cuzco became the Jerusalem.<sup>356</sup> Besides the projection of the indigenous future, he proposed the Spanish king to be the world monarchy to govern the world rightly and defend the catholic faith since the king was at God's service.<sup>357</sup>

A strategy to mold the theology with medieval notion was that Guaman Poma constructed bridges between the Christian pattern and the indigenous ideology to reflect the ethical and religious values so that the native could be integrated in the European time. From this integration, the indigenous religion could predict the Christian dogma, and the indigenous ideology could be in combination with Christianity.<sup>358</sup> Nevertheless, the catholic church's coercive action deteriorated the indigenous identity, forcing it to submission. The coercive evangelization of natives by supposedly Christian priests was unjust, to which Guaman Poma described as "the world upside-down."<sup>359</sup> In his world upside-down, he narrated concepts of divine punishment and miracles during the colonial period. Both concepts denoted an idea of divine intervention positively and negatively during the colonial era. In clarifying certain confusions that could appear in both, Guaman Poma modified their effects. Both concepts were historical and theologically significant, from the biblical account and the conquest history, but morally meaningful from an exclusively indigenous outlook.<sup>360</sup> For example, the intervention of Virgen Mary for Spaniards during the siege of Cuzco was a historical event during the conquest where "*on behalf of the Spanish conquistador, the mother of God, known*

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<sup>356</sup> Adorno, "El fin de la historia," 18–19.

<sup>357</sup> Adorno, "El fin de la historia," 20.

<sup>358</sup> Sabine Maccormack, "Miracles, Punishments and Last judgement: Visionary past and Prophetic future in Early Colonial Peru." *The American historical Review*, vol. 93, no. 4(1988): 982-983.

<sup>359</sup> Maccormack, "Miracles, Punishments," 987

<sup>360</sup> Maccormack, 987.

*as Saint Mary of Pena de Francia, threw the earth into eyes of infidel indigenos for them to become Christian and be saved.*"<sup>361</sup>

Saint Mary's miracle signified God's divine intervention, letting consolidate the Spanish Conquest and leading unconverted natives toward spiritual salvation. Besides, Guaman Poma described that an apostle of Jesus witnessed a miracle in the indigenous world that had relatedness to various divine interventions of the world. These divine interventions could be interchangeable as miracles or punishment and are:

*The fall of the angel was a great judgment ...the fall of all the human race and the punishment of all the world in the water the flood. A great judgment was the election of Jacob and the reprobation of Saul and the petition of the judas Iscariot, and the vocation of Saint Paul and reprobation of the people of the Jews and the election of the gentiles along with other miracles and punishment that pass among the sons of the people of this world. And thus, there have been many other miracles and punishments in the time of the Inca... and so, we write the sum of them all. Therefore, the punishment of God is called Pachacuti, Pacha ticra. And hence some kings are called Pachacuti, and in this life we have seen the outbreak of the volcano and a rain of the fire and dust of hell on(the) city of Arequipa.*<sup>362</sup>

With this interpretation of the miracles and punishments, Guaman Poma revealed his Christian affiliation by reaffirming that all wicked had negative consequences and mostly belonged to hell; on the contrary, the good action turned into a divine sign and was always rewarded in heaven. However, in *the world upside-down (Mundo al revés)*, there was not proper social and moral order for the indigenous integrity since the native dignity was in the middle, where the Inca imposition separated natives from God's knowledge<sup>363</sup>. Additionally, Spanish coercive actions violated the Christian precepts to take advantage of indigenous conditions, so the absence of justice for natives was latent. The liberation of natives from this injustice, as the biblical references underlined the second coming of Jesus Christ, Guaman Poma expected that "*Jesus Christ ought to return to judge, punish the wicked and give glory*

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid.,” 988.

<sup>362</sup> Maccormack, “Miracles, Punishments,” 988.

<sup>363</sup> Maccormack, 988

to God.<sup>364</sup>" In the indigenous world, there was no remedy, so the true Christians and saints have not been on earth because they have lived together with the trinity and the virgin Mary in heaven without any other inhabitants living with them.<sup>365</sup>

Guaman Poma's theological point to defend the indigenous dignity was not definitely at what the catholic missionaries initially pretended for natives but at the concept of God's miracles conveyed as divine interventions in history, in God's punishment, and God's final judgment of humanity. Furthermore, for Guaman Poma, the natives of the Andes have experienced all these interventions instead of the missionaries. It indicated that the Spanish missionaries had seen miracles, punishments, and judgments with two purposes; the didactical method to convert natives for the catholic belief and gain a successful outcome to the colonial system where the moral and social order was the primary concern rather than indigenous rights. On the contrary, in Indigenous people's eyes, these concepts were a divine manifestation of a creator whereby miracles, punishment, and judgment as God's insight were expressed with the indigenous term "*Pachacuti*". As this study mentioned in the previous chapter, *Pachacuti* was an indigenous expression that referred to the natural disaster, miracles, and punishments that had inevitably occurred before and after the colonial period for divine purpose without exposing any explanation.<sup>366</sup>

Although Guaman Poma employed the indigenous ideology to explain the divine judgment, he applied Christian doctrine and European thinking to shape the idea of the last day of judgment. The last day of judgment was exclusively a Christian message that could ethically solve severe social and political spheres in the colonial period. In favor of the old religion of indigenous people, Guaman Poma accounted for that at the end of the time of the world; Christ will return for the sake of all natives, asserting that: "*there is no one who returns for the poor of Jesus if it is not that he returns about and returns for his poor ones.*"<sup>367</sup> Here, it echoes the second coming of Jesus Christ but with adaptation to the indigenous sense where Christ return would concretely bring the ultimate reform to restore the indigenous condition

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<sup>364</sup> Maccormack, 989.

<sup>365</sup> Maccormack, 989.

<sup>366</sup> Maccormack., 989-993.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid., 995.

and culture in the colonial society, and Christ's return would be unquestionably the remedy for injustice to all natives.<sup>368</sup>

Strategically, Guaman Poma invalidated the Spanish justification to Christianize the indigenous people. Since aside from declaring native ancestors as Christians, Saint Bartholomew's evangelistic visit to pre-Columbian-Peru was the reference of proclaiming the Gospel throughout the indigenous territory in the apostolic time. Bartholomew's visit brought Christianity before the Spanish invasion, so Spaniards did not have any reason to evangelize them.<sup>369</sup> Guaman Poma states that:

*“And thus, we Indians are Christians, on account of the redemption of Jesus Christ and his Blessed Mother, St. Mary, patroness of this kingdom and by the apostles of Jesus Christ, St. Bartholomew, St James the greater, and by the Holy cross of Jesus Christ, all of which arrived in this kingdom before the Spaniards. Because of them, we are Christian, and we believe in only one God of the Holy Trinity,”*<sup>370</sup>

This passage refers to that the natives were already Christians before the Spanish Conquest just because Jesus Christ sent his apostle Bartholomew to preach the Gospel in the indigenous kingdom of Peru as part of God's holistic mission. For my observation, identifying the indigenous people as Christians is Guaman Poma's attempt to enhance the indigenous condition as the believer with faith in Christian God. In other words, the natives developed Christian faith through their ancestry and Bartholomew's preaching. Thus, the indigenous people were evidently in the same condition as other Spanish Christians in the colonial era.

On the other hand, Guaman Poma's condition as an indigenous one who knew the Inca and the Spanish system allowed him to evaluate both sides to the restitution of the social organization's indigenous power. The return of indigenous power implied the restoration of the ancient belief and culture, so Guaman Poma criticized the Spanish and Inca forces that oppressed the native. To delink, he proposed the theological emancipation of all natives from Inca religious imposition and the Spanish Christian's bad behavior that negatively affected

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 995.

<sup>369</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1542, 1547Loc.

<sup>370</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1553Loc.

indigenous life. This emancipatory thinking was the decolonial view of claiming rights for the indigenous people in the colonial society.<sup>371</sup>

Regarding the conquest history, Guaman Poma reinterpreted that there was no conquest but attributed a notion of the spiritual Conquest as a just war where the divine intervention of Saint Mary and Saint James prevented indigenous people from the violent resistance<sup>372</sup>. Besides, according to Guaman Poma's perspective, the Spanish military intervention had justification by pointing out that the Spanish conquistadors were representative of the Spanish crown in God's service. Their military actions replied to the violent resistance of the Incas, whereby these miraculous interventions curtailed the indigenous people's possible opposition to the Christian establishment. Indeed, these divine visions accredited Spaniards a victory over the native on behalf of the catholic religion.<sup>373</sup> Nevertheless, the theological argumentation of miracles in defending the native contended that God performed the miracles through the virgin Mary for infidel natives to be saved and dignify their holistic experience with God.<sup>374</sup> In my understanding, the miracles from Guaman Poma's view were the spiritual insights that could assist all natives in liberating from the pagan religion and remind the closeness with true God.

Some researchers (Monica Barnes, David Fleming, and Sophie Blas) have investigated that Guaman Poma took advantage of the work of Jeronimo of Chavez (Spanish cosmographer) to introduce the Andean history to the Christian tradition. However, there was a notable omission of Chronological dates on Guaman Pomas's interpretation of the world's ages. According to Fleming, this omission allowed Guaman Poma to validate the indigenous kingdom as ancient as the Judeo-Christian history, constructing a parallel religiosity with the biblical time. Besides, Guaman Poma modified Chaves' model, which consisted of the six ages; this modification was to incorporate a synchronic line among the indigenous, Inca kings, and biblical antiquity.<sup>375</sup> In this version of the world's age, Guaman Poma reinterpreted that the founder of the imperial Roma, Julio Cesar, was contemporary with the first Inca Manco Capac, the founder of Cusco City. Likewise, Jesus Christ's birth took place during the second

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<sup>371</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden MA, Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2005), 116-117.

<sup>372</sup> Adorno, *Guaman Poma, Writing*, 1562Loc.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, 1583. 1597Loc.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 1619-1624Loc.

<sup>375</sup> Adorno, «El fin de la historia», 23.

Inca's reign Cinchi Roca.<sup>376</sup> Therefore, the parallel line that Guaman Poma created between the indigenous and European world was to defend the dignity of all natives exclusively from the Andes by recognizing that they became Christians before the Spanish arrival. The proof of his theological interpretation was the migration of Noah's sons to Peru after the flood, the synchronic line between historical facts such as the birth of Jesus Christ and the first Inca, and the divine intervention during the Spanish Conquest. All these facts contributed to the restitution of the indigenous culture and religion.

### ***6.3 Comparing with Las Casas' treatise and its influence in Guaman Poma's chronicle***

Analyzing the interrelationship among essential theological themes in Guaman Poma's chronicles, this study asserts that Guama Poma applied las Casas' principles for the restitution of the indigenous integrity. Before arguing the differences and similarities in both (Guaman Poma's chronicle and las Casas' treatise), this study briefly describes that the friar Bartolome de las Casas was the defender of natives during the colonial period and wrote treatises for the political field's indigenous condition. His formal treatise known as "*Tratado de las Doce Dudas*" influenced other chronicles' production and became the vital document for Dominicans during the Peruvian viceroyalty. According to Adorno, Las casas' treatise was also a direct source for Guaman Poma, who quoted from Las Casas's treaties to strengthen his manuscripts with moral principles. In short, Las Casa's principles primarily referred to that the oppressed indigenous people depended upon a landlord, were free by nature, divine, and human law, so they became the owner of their lives and lands. Although the pope authorized the church to evangelize natives, they were not entitled to dispossess the indigenous people of their lands and deprive them of their rights. Las Casas regarded the Conquest as an invasion that was illegal and rude. In solving it, he proposed the restoration of the integrity of the native of Peru. Las Casa's proposal's various characteristics coincided with Guaman Poma's ideology to claim the restoration of indigenous culture and dignity.<sup>377</sup>

After more than forty years of las Casas death, Guaman Poma began to write his manuscript, adapting las Casa's teaching and principles to reflect the moral reflection for the indigenous

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<sup>376</sup> Adorno, 23-24.

<sup>377</sup> Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 41.

people of the Andes. To defend the indigenous dignity, he took some statements from Las Casas' *Doce Dudas* as a source to claim for the indigenous right and states that:

*“Que auèz de conzedearar de que todo el mundo es de Dios, ancì Castilla es de los espnoles y las Yndias de los yndios and Guanea es de los negros. Que cada dèstos son lèxítimos propetarios, no tan solamente por la ley, como lo escriuiò San Pablo que dies anos estaua de posiciòn y se llamaua romano”*.<sup>378</sup>

*(You should regard that all the world is of God, so Castile belongs to the Spaniards, the Indies belong to the Indians, and Guinea to the black people. Each one of these groups is the legitimate and legal owner of its land, not only by the law, as St. Paul ascribed, who resided for ten years in Roma and called himself a Roman) (my translation).*

This statement refers to that all individuals independently from being Christian or pagan legitimately had the right to be in their land and take possessions of their properties since, broadly, this right was backed by human law and divine law. This passage's central idea derived from the principles of las Casa's treatise that ascribed "*the sovereign jurisdiction of all people on their land approved by the human legislation, natural law, and divine mandate*."<sup>379</sup> The emphasis was on the divine law by which Las Casas quoted Paul's epistle to the Romans (Rom, 13; 1). From that biblical passage, Guaman Poma redefined that all Spaniards and other foreigners ought to obey the indigenous law while living in Peru's indigenous kingdom.<sup>380</sup> Moreover, to corroborate that the right to jurisdiction by natural law, Guaman Poma directly cited from the biblical book of Genesis, asserting that "*As God made the world, the earth and planted on it a foundation*."<sup>381</sup> With this reference, Guaman Poma echoed las Casas' quotation of Genesis 1, which Las Casas interpreted as the approval of all people's rights, mainly the native to sovereignty for their territories by the natural law.<sup>382</sup>

The Spanish Conquest for las Casas's criterion has been illegal, and there was no just war to justify the Spanish invasion. By contrast, for Guaman Poma, the Conquest never occurred since the Incas leaders and their forebearers peacefully accepted the Spanish rule.

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<sup>378</sup> Guaman Poma, "La Nueva Corònica," 929.

<sup>379</sup> Adorno, *Polemics Possessions* 43

<sup>380</sup> Adorno, 43.

<sup>381</sup> Adorno, 45.

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

Subsequently, the divine intervention of the saint Mary and James avoided the indigenous attempt resistance. Although the conquest did not occur in Peru from Guaman Poma's view, he followed las Casa's criterion differently by claiming that the tax system (Encomienda system) imposed on the natives was illegal because there was no just war to conquer Tahuantinsuyu. Nevertheless, alongside the catholic religion, Spaniards made possible the restitution of natives' lands, stolen wealth, and system. Thus, the Spanish kings were the representative of God, who could rule over the world. King Philip III's role as the monarch of the world would protect the Christian faith without involving in the political matter of sovereignty.<sup>383</sup>

#### ***6.4 The indigenous theology of Guaman Poma—a theology of liberation?***

Guaman Poma's manuscript derived from European and indigenous sources, illustrating his Christian devotion and indigenous ideology. These traits enunciated a theology from the decolonial perspective that could impact the contemporary theologians and scholar thinking to develop liberation and decolonial theology. Walter Mignolo argues that “*the decolonial treaties that Guaman Poma proposed were the reorganization of the Tahuantinsuyu because if the indigenous inhabitant descended from Noah according to God's will, they belonged to the same history and have the same right as Spaniards.*”<sup>384</sup>

Although the indigenous ideology of Guaman Poma attempted to distinguish the native from the Spaniards, expressing the purity of the indigenous race and culture, his intention aimed to end up the antagonism of two worlds (the Spanish realm and indigenous realm) and conciliated two confronted worlds.<sup>385</sup> Living in both worlds meant the interaction of two cosmologies, where Guaman Poma explicitly identified with the indigenous people of the Andes and revealed his devotion to Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, his Andean affiliation was predominant for the interpretation of principles, favoring the indigenous dignity and integrity because the catholic ecclesiastical authority categorized the natives as inferior human beings. To enforce the indigenous theological interpretation, he evoked the Christian affiliation by declaring that the ancient native absorbed ethical principles, making them good

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>384</sup> Mignolo; “Crossing gazes,” 210.

<sup>385</sup> Juan Dejo, “Guaman Poma de Ayala y lógica Andina de la Conciliación,” *Apuntes, Revistas de Ciencias Sociales*, no 26 (December 1990): 81.



Christians since being good Christian was vital. In other words, the indigenous people interiorized the Christian principles in their cosmology. This form of adaptation, according to Marzal (Peruvian anthropologist), became afterward the "*Christianization of the indigenous religion*"<sup>386</sup>, a process belonging to the baroque era that sought to alienate and complement two truths or criteria that seemed incompatible. Both sides could find an agreement from the Andean logic.<sup>387</sup>

Moreover, in the Guaman Poma's perception, the indigenous religiosity has been more potent than the Spanish religion since the indigenous people used to act coherently. From the indigenous perspective, Guaman Poma defended by ratifying that the indigenous were descendants of Noah, but their closeness with God gradually disappeared. Yet, the native had Knowledge of God.<sup>388</sup> Thus, this study attributes that all these characteristics portrayed a theology that could fit indigenous logic, using the biblical sources for the restitution of the indigenous identity and emancipate it from colonial dependency.

According to Gustavo Gutierrez, a theology of liberation concerned with the social conflict, searching for justice in the process of freedom and salvation. It primarily echoes justice for the poor and freedom from oppression.<sup>389</sup> The idea resonated in Guaman Poma's chronicle in which Guaman Poma ascribed the indigenous people like the poor of Jesus Christ. In defense of the indigenous people, he applied the Christological viewpoint to declare that Jesus Christ will come to liberate the indigenous people from all colonial oppression.<sup>390</sup>

#### 6.4.1 God's grace only for natives

As a complement of theological defense of the indigenous dignity, Guaman Poma believed that God unitarily conceded his grace to the natives whereby the presence of the Holy Spirit descended over only natives. In that sense, the Andean natives received God's grace, which signified the manifestation of divinity.<sup>391</sup> This concept of grace facilitated understanding certain riddles of Guaman Poma's chronicle, which implies themes of God's reconciliation

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<sup>386</sup> Dejo, "Logica Andina," 83

<sup>387</sup> Dejo, 83.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>389</sup> Tomb, *Liberation theology*, 121.

<sup>390</sup> Gutierrez, *Las casas*, 447-448.

<sup>391</sup> Lamana, "El rol de la incoherencia," 157.

with the indigenous sufferings and the Spanish impunity. From his indigenous logic, God's intervention was the product of grace and favorable for the indigenous integrity, so the miracles of the conquest supported the Andean natives to set free from the Inca rule. Furthermore, it illustrated the bad behavior of Spanish Christians and the true meaning of being Christian.<sup>392</sup>Therefore, Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of grace sought to dignify the indigenous condition within the colonial society.

## *6.5 Summary of the chapter*

Guaman Poma interpreted theological themes under the indigenous logic that demonstrated an interlink to the notion of decolonial thinking. Amid the Incas and Spaniards, the Andean natives were the colonial subjects (oppressed) of Inca rule. But the Spanish intervention as a part of the divine plan interrupted the Inca dominion (submission to the Inca idolatry) and assisted the natives to return to Christianity. Guaman Poma's theological defense of natives consisted of displaying the Christian affiliation of natives through Noah's story to incorporate the Andean natives into biblical history where Huari Huiracocha as Noah's descendants belonged to the old world.

Strategically, Guaman Poma delinked the idolatrous influence of the Inca over the pre-Inca cultures and defended the notion of a monotheistic God of the Andean natives. In defending the indigenous past with Christianity, Guaman Poma sought to revalue the indigenous present and future. He proposed the Spanish king to be the monarch of the world only to defend the catholic faith. The theological defense of the indigenous dignity is that Andean natives experienced miracles, punishments, and Judgements as God's acts. Yet, Guaman Poma regarded Jesus Christ's return as the ultimate reform to restore the indigenous precarious condition and culture. This idea aimed to emancipate all natives from the religious influence of the Inca. Identifying the Andean native as a good Christian, Guaman Poma enhanced the indigenous faith for the Christian God. The synchronic line among the natives, The Inca kings, and biblical antiquity reflected the urgent need for restitution of the indigenous rights.

Moreover, to defend the indigenous right and sovereignty for their lands, Guaman Poma applied principles from las Casas' treatise (*El tratado de las doce dudas*). These principles

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<sup>392</sup> Lamana, "El rol de la incoherencia," 158.

gathered biblical references (Romans and genesis) to support the native integrity with natural and divine law. Unlike, Las Casas who condemned the conquest as illegal, Guaman Poma argued that there was no conquest since the Incas peacefully accepted Spanish rule. Yet, Guaman Poma believed that Jesus Christ's return would restore the indigenous world and finalized the colonial differences for a world under the plural design. To validate the indigenous religiosity and culture rather than Spanish religion, Guaman Poma utilized the biblical source that could adjust the indigenous logic to defend the indigenous dignity, seeking to liberate from colonial dependency.

## 7 Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

Throughout this study, we have seen the theological themes of Guaman Poma's chronicle to be employed to reconstruct the indigenous integrity and identity. It allowed portraying credentials for genuine emancipation from the colonial subjugation. A detailed description of Guaman Poma's theological interpretation demonstrated that the Christian affiliation of the indigenous past, validating faith to a monotheist God, and proper behavior on the ancient indigenous people of the Andes tied to the biblical principles. A favorable factor was the emphasis in Guaman Poma's genealogy that provided clues to revalue the indigenous inhabitants of the Andes, distinguishing from the Incas and Spaniards and attain to defend the indigenous dignity theologically, putting in the same condition of the Christian believer.

The analysis of Guaman Poma's theological themes displayed a tendency to enhance the local history of the Andes, where the indigenous ideology had a fundamental role in constructing the theology with decolonial characteristics. The integration of the Christian knowledge to the indigenous tradition was a strategy to claim that his Andean forefather came from the offspring of Noah's sons. There were relevant factors that contributed to the success of each theological theme; the first generation of indigenous held a particular kinship tie with Noah's generation after God immediately saved his people from the flood. Guaman Poma attained his theological defense with an approach of the ages of the indigenous world in a parallel line to the Western age of the world.

## 7.2 *The Main findings*

Firstly, Guaman Poma's approach aimed to decolonize two worlds (Inca and Spanish) marked by dualist notions, conceptualizing the Western tradition as good and Inca as bad. Amid two worlds, the Andean natives were subjects to which Guaman Poma made an appropriate level of distinction to attribute the notion of God's knowledge to the Andean inhabitants, presenting them as God's people who guided all natives with ethical principles. The combination of the two cosmologies (the Western and Andean ages) was the main source to create a synchronic line where Noah's story strengthened the origin of the first indigenous inhabitant as Noah's descendants after the flood, known as Uari Uira Cocha (Uiracocha). Yet, Guaman Poma referred to Uari Uira Cocha's name to the first indigenous generation with faith in God and intuition of flood as God's punishment (Pachacuti). Thereby, Guaman Poma regarded the first indigenous generation as Noah's descendants to prove that indigenous people came from the Western world and belonged to Christian history. In the pre-Inca world, the notion of Christian God lasted for four generations and ended up with the Inca era (the fifth age of the Andean world).

Secondly, Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of the biblical story of Noah was oriented to the holistic cosmovision in the indigenous world, acknowledging that the ancient indigenous inhabitants were survivors of Noah's ark after the flood to whom God sent to the indigenous world of Peru. In Guaman Poma's chronicles, Noah's story aimed to restore the indigenous values by defending the indigenous affiliation to Christianity. Based on the parallel line between the indigenous and Western world, Guaman Poma related God's knowledge derived from Noah's sons to the pre-Inca civilization that demonstrated faith when Jesus Christ's apostle Bartholomew preached the Gospel on Peruvian soil as part of the great commission. Moreover, Guaman Poma's asserted that Jesus's birth, ministry, death, and ascension to heaven took place parallelly during the Cinchi Roca's reign (second Inca).

Thirdly, the theological defense for the indigenous dignity was under Guaman Poma's indigenous logic, redefining the indigenous as good Christians and the Spanish colonizers as bad Christians. His theological defense was that the natives were Christians before the conquest due to their Christian Andean ancestry. Although the indigenous people did not have visible contact with Christians, they perceived the Christian God and followed God's principles. Guaman Poma recreated a genealogy under the indigenous ideology to revalue the

ethnic status of his ancestry of the Andes and identified with the Andean natives that afforded a place among the Spanish, the Inca, and creoles in the society. Yet, Guaman Poma justified the indigenous identity by asserting that the Inca idolatry separated Andeans from God, so Andean natives were in the same category as Spanish Christians. Likewise, from the indigenous logic, Guaman Poma reinterpreted other theological themes like the miracles during the conquest to reconstitute indigenous dignity. Therefore, all the theological themes within Guaman Poma's chronicle fit in the indigenous ideology that applied the biblical source to revalidate the indigenous identity, delinking from the colonial dependency.

As this study analyzed, Mignolo conceptualized decoloniality as the detachment of negative influence of coloniality to reconstitute the Local histories of the indigenous people in a plural context. This decolonial feature resonated in Guaman Poma's chronicle, attempting to rebuild a world where Spaniards, slaves, and indigenous could live in harmony. To accomplish it ethically, Guaman Poma applied the Christian principles for the proper behavior of human beings. Historically, he employed Christianity to reconstitute the indigenous integrity by validating the Christian root of the indigenous past. Accordingly, the theological approach of this study proves that the decolonial impact of the medieval theology in Guaman Poma's narrative, which seeks to reconstitute the indigenous culture and dignify the Andean role within Christian tradition by articulating a series of religious Christian themes to gain credibility for the indigenous people in the colonial context. As this study hints at chapters 5 and 6 about the decolonial notion, this study agrees with the scholars' approaches (Adorno, Mignolo, and Quijano) in some fragments of Guaman Poma's manuscript that highlighted the Andean genealogy to reconstitute the indigenous identity. Although Guaman Poma manifested his commitment to the Spanish Christian dogma to persuade the Christians audience, he criticized the immoral behavior of the Spanish colonizer that provoked injustice and atrocities in the indigenous world. Thus, he claims that Christianity rests on good actions, restoring the other's condition instead of depending upon lineage and tradition.

Nevertheless, Guaman Poma's approach regarding the genealogical interpretation encloses the historical fact molded to Indigenous ideology. This study emphasizes that Guaman Poma's historical interpretation contributes to revalidate the Christian root of the Andean past as references to avoid denigrating their rights as God's people. Before the predominant colonial mindset, this Christian root could grant a basis for the rightful indigenous vindication

to sovereignty. Guaman Poma's identity as Christian and Andean native consolidated the interrelationship between two realms (Spanish and Andean world). These characteristics facilitated him to defend by declaring that the Spanish colonizers should not mistreat or accuse natives of being idolaters since their ancestors followed God's command without having been converted. In dignifying the natives, Guaman Poma set them in the category of the Christian Spaniards, separating the indigenous people from the Incas.

An effective strategy is the reformulation of the first generation of indigenous people from the biblical perspective. In doing so, Guaman Poma redefined a depiction of the Andean religiosity that could be equivalent to the Christian precept and colonizer's identity. Insofar as the acculturation takes place in the indigenous belief, Christianity seems to be in the ambiguity. Both the Spanish and indigenous tradition requires to restructure their structure under the common principles to achieve the same goal but perceive their identity separately.

The theological analysis of the New First Chronicle and Good government encloses the theological theme with an adaptation to the decolonial reality that proposed to defend the indigenous dignity by conveying the emancipatory notion for the holistic purpose that could impact beyond the colonial period. Yet, this study underscores the negative and positive effects of his theological discourse that could validate the pre-Inca history. Besides, this study's description implied a focus on the inclusion of the Andean belief as belonging to Christianity. Likewise, Guaman Poma's reinterpretation of the indigenous people as the subject of the colonial system to the Incas and then the Spanish colonial regime. To delink from the colonial subjugation requires making an emancipatory dialogue that could undermine the cultural advantage imposed by the dominant Hispanic system.

This analytical study seeks to contribute to the field of decolonial theology, which had traits of liberation theology, highlighting the emancipative idea applied to the defense of indigenous rights and dignity in the decolonial context. Besides, this study displays three realities of the colonial era with a distinct theological interpretation of the First New Chronicle and Good Government that may transmit a holistic purpose of living as the good Christian, integrating the native of the Andes to Christianity. In that sense, Guaman Poma's interest is indeed how the indigenous inhabitant provided clues of being part of the biblical ancient generation in the process of acculturation.

### *7.3 Prospect of further research*

The decolonial approach and the analysis of theological themes have been the means and methods for this study that has implied for the understanding of a theological interpretation from the decolonial context as this research described and analyzed. This approach targeted the idea of emancipation and reconstruction of dignity under the paradigm of the Christian past, echoing the moral principles. This idea seeks to value uniqueness as the means to insert in a plurality of the world. The analytical framework of Guaman Poma's historical interpretation detailed clues for the hermeneutic of possible decolonial theology. Based on this investigation and findings of the decolonial theology as the new version of the theology of liberation, this study suggests further research of the decolonial interpretation of the indigenous theology can be applicable in other writings like Guaman Poma's chronicle.

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