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Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* and the Practice of Rhetorical Theory in Colonial Peru.

This essay takes up Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* as an artifact of early colonial Peruvian rhetoric and an evocative example of American rhetorical theory. Our analysis illuminates how Guaman Poma theorizes transcultural colonial communication from an Andean perspective. We highlight three key elements in his theory: its ethical copia, its concern with the insufficiency of the available genres, and its assumption that communication will fail. In the end, we suggest, Guaman Poma provides a generative, if incomplete, theory that helps account for the complexities of colonial rhetorical practice.

Keywords: Rhetorical Theory; Colonial Rhetorics; Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala; Latin America

Sometime in 1615, an aging Andean (indigenous) man named don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala arrived in Lima carrying a 1,200-page message to the Spanish King, Philip III.[1] The text—written in manuscript yet following formal print conventions—offered Philip a new history of the pre-Colombian period and an extended indictment of the abuses perpetrated by colonial administrators. Titled the *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno (First New Chronicle and Good Government, Primer Nueva Corónica)*, Guaman Poma's text covered some 800 carefully numbered pages and was supplemented by nearly 400 line drawings that illustrated, extended, and complicated his written claims.[2] It took Guaman Poma nearly three decades to complete the manuscript, and he walked hundreds of miles from his home in Huamanga (present-day Ayacucho) to deliver it to colonial authorities in Lima. Over the years and the miles, he stitched new folios into the manuscript, telling in ever more complex detail his story of Andean civilization, conquest, and colony.

No one knows exactly what happened to Guaman Poma's manuscript after it left his hands. We know it traveled to Spain and into the royal court, but no evidence survives to indicate whether Philip ever saw it. Three hundred years later, in 1908, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* reappeared in the collections of the Danish Royal Library bearing no indications of its journey over the intervening centuries. The manuscript quickly became an invaluable source for understanding and illustrating Andean colonial life. Guaman Poma's drawings appear today in museum exhibitions throughout the Andes, and they frequently illustrate scholarship addressing the Andean colonial period. His text has been treated in great detail by historians, literary scholars, and art historians.

Rhetoricians, however, have not given the *Primer Nueva Corónica* sustained attention. Though literary scholars Rolena Adorno and Rocío Quispe-Agnoli each connect the *Primer Nueva Corónica* to matters of rhetoric, only two texts emerging from rhetorical studies proper treat this remarkable work in any depth: Abraham Romney's "Indian Ability (*auilidad de Indio*) and Rhetoric's Civilizing Narrative" and Don Abbott's *Rhetoric in the New World*.[3] While Romney and Abbott's pieces are generative, the overall paucity of focused rhetorical analysis is unfortunate. The *Primer Nueva Corónica* offers significant insight into the rhetorical practices and theories of the colonial Andes—a context rich in transcultural arguments, textual innovations, and symbolic action.[4] In addition, the manuscript's investigation of persuasive power in the colonial period demonstrates that at least some Andean rhetors worked to re-imagine the possibilities for influencing public discourse in light of what Cintron has so aptly termed "conditions of little or no respect." [5] In other words, they—like present-day rhetoricians—studied colonial exchanges as symbolic action with world-making intentions.

In this essay, we argue that Guaman Poma's *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* not only *practices* rhetoric by negotiating, usurping, and re-imagining the power of colonial discourse, but also *theorizes* rhetoric by re-conceiving the possibilities for symbolic action within colonial contexts.[6] Unlike rhetorical handbooks produced by Spanish colonial authors, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* does not explicitly present itself as doing

rhetoric. And yet, as rhetorician Abraham Romney suggests, Guaman Poma attempts to "write a reality that challenges authority, values indigenous discursive modes, and opens up space for new communicative emphases in a difficult writing situation." [7] Throughout the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, in other words, Guaman Poma struggles with the conditions for rhetorical action, draws attention to the ruptures that colonization introduced into both Spanish and Andean genres, and articulates the limitations of persuasion within the complex, transcultural context that Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins term "colonial culture." [8]

Acknowledging the *Primer Nueva Corónica*'s contributions to rhetorical theory does more than simply add another figure to our already troubled canons. It broadens the frames by which rhetoricians analyze, assess, and make sense of our subject—what we look for when we examine "rhetoric." As scholars of African-American and Native American rhetorics have already demonstrated, rhetorical canons that privilege influential texts tend to favor dominant forms of rhetorical practice at the expense of a larger body of persuasive work. [9] Likewise, Guaman Poma's early American rhetorical theories—though they were not influential in their own time and have gone unacknowledged for centuries—illustrate a wider scope of rhetorical practice and theorizing taking place outside the familiar realms of dominant practice. Guaman Poma's contributions to rhetorical theory challenge rhetorical scholars to seek out and take seriously the long history of arguments that are suppressed, misdirected, and failed, yet do not go away.

If we see the *Primer Nueva Corónica* as offering a theory of post-Columbian colonial rhetoric, that makes Guaman Poma one of the first rhetorical theorists of the colonial Americas. Walter Mignolo in fact suggests as much: "Guaman Poma de Ayala in Colonial Peru could be considered the equivalent of Aristotle." [10] Writing soon after the New World rhetorics of Luís de Granada and Diego Valadés and long before Anglo-Americans imagined rhetorical theories specific to their circumstances, Guaman Poma elaborates an understanding of persuasion fitted to his cultural context. Like many more familiar rhetoricians, Guaman Poma enacts his rhetorical theorization through example rather than explicit commentary on the nature of rhetoric. [11] Even so, by his own account, Guaman Poma taught the skills of colonial culture—including writing and public discourse—to other Andeans. The *Primer Nueva Corónica* catalogues a portion of that pedagogical project and projects it toward the Spanish court. [12] Beneath and throughout its effort to influence King Philip, then, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* elaborates an understanding of persuasion adapted to the rhetorical conditions of early colonial Peru. It offers a New World rhetoric grounded in the assumption of Andean America as itself an Old World.

To advance this claim for Guaman Poma's place in American rhetorical theory, we begin with two preliminary sections. The first introduces the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, contextualizing both author and text. The second briefly situates existing research on the manuscript's rhetorical practice and demonstrates the need for further attention. Having provided that historical and disciplinary context, we then move to Guaman Poma's emergent theory of rhetoric. That theory, we suggest, is profoundly concerned with the right to speak and the conditions for being heard; it struggles with the constraints of available genres; and it recognizes failure as endemic to rhetorical practice. In the following pages, we work through each of those moves, establishing them as efforts to theorize the available means of persuasion and demonstrating how they offer a distinct theory of rhetoric relevant to Guaman Poma's own conditions and, perhaps, richly informative to our present conditions as well.

Guaman Poma and the *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*

In colonial Andean terms, Guaman Poma was a *kuraka* or *cacique*, responsible for and holding authority over a group of indigenous commoners. [13] He was descended from the Inkaic *mitmaqkuna*—members of a community conquered by the Inkas who later helped extend Inka administration into newly conquered territory as settler colonists. [14] In Spanish colonial terms, Guaman Poma was an *indio ladino*, a native Andean born

soon after the conquest who spoke both Spanish and Quechua and received a Catholic education.[15] He served in many colonial positions that required him to bridge Andean and Spanish contexts, including a role in the extensive "extirpation of idolatries" campaign led by Cristóbal de Albornoz from 1568 to 1570.[16] Guaman Poma also made frequent appearances in the colonial courts, skillfully though not always successfully defending his family's territorial claims as well as the rights of the indigenous commoners under his responsibility.[17] The author of the *Primer Nueva Corónica* was, in other words, well accustomed to the inner workings of community authority and colonial power. He was both Indian and elite, both subject and lord, and his message to King Philip attempted to make sense of and capitalize on that status.

While Guaman Poma drew on events from the full span of his life to inform the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, he makes particular use of events occurring between 1600 and 1615. During that time, Guaman Poma was banished from his home community after his opponents in a land dispute successfully argued that he had misrepresented his social status.[18] This conflict and subsequent exile likely provided the final exigence for completing the *Primer Nueva Corónica*. While Guaman Poma's participation in extirpation campaigns and immersion in Huamanga's local conflicts exposed him to the ubiquity of abusive power under Spanish rule, exile cemented its profundity. Never quite acknowledging his legal defeat, Guaman Poma reframes his exile as a purposeful appropriation of rhetorical agency in the *Primer Nueva Corónica*: "He became poor and naked only so that he could manage to see the world, ... to serve as an eyewitness" and send his testimony to the king.[19]

At base, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is a petition to the crown, "a quotidian activity common among members of the colonial elite—both European and indigenous—throughout Latin America." [20] Under Spain's complex colonial bureaucracy, indigenous leaders responsible for the well-being of their communities regularly appealed upward for redress of grievances. In that sense, Guaman Poma's choice to approach King Philip was far from novel. What sets the *Primer Nueva Corónica* apart from other petitions, aside from its sheer size and scope, is the extent to which it departs from the available models for appealing to royal authority. That departure shows Guaman Poma exceeding and reconsidering the rhetorical force exerted by the available means of colonial persuasion.

Following a set of introductory prefaces, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is divided into two main parts. The *Nueva Corónica* narrates "Spanish" (Judeo-Christian) and Andean history in parallel, interpolating the presence of the Christian God into pre-Columbian America. It offers an extended genealogy of Andean peoples, starting well before the Inkas and, indeed, minimizing the importance of those rulers whom Guaman Poma describes as relatively recent heathen invaders. Still, Guaman Poma provides a rich picture of the religious, social, and economic organization of the Inkan empire, including analysis of how the Andean hierarchy changed as a result of Spanish arrival.

At the point of conquest, Guaman Poma's manuscript moves into its second part and transitions from chronicle to exposé. The *Buen Gobierno* excoriates the colonial authorities, calling into question both their Christianity and their faithful service to the interests of the Spanish crown.[21] In this section, Guaman Poma puts the Spanish colonial enterprise on trial, laying its violence and corruption before King Philip and asking for his intervention.[22] Interspersed with his account of Spanish excesses, however, Guaman Poma also offers an alternative vision of imperial governance, one that reinstates local authority and limits contact between Spaniards and Andeans without questioning the larger frame of Spanish rule.[23]

The *Primer Nueva Corónica* is a massive, dense tome; it presents a sprawling history and engages in wide-ranging social critique. The manuscript as a whole is neither a beautifully composed text nor a masterwork of

effective rhetorical appeal. It is excruciatingly long; it is sometimes strikingly eloquent and sometimes ponderously repetitive; it purports to tell a true history yet is dominated by fictitious events; it doubles back on itself, devolves into angry rants, and switches abruptly from cataloging abuses to offering advice. And yet, that sense of internal struggle itself draws attention to Guaman Poma's effort to imagine forms of communication that could wield power within his context.

We might well understand the *Primer Nueva Corónica* as negotiating a convergence between the two separate strands of rhetorical theorizing that, according to Don Abbott, characterized colonial Spanish American rhetorics: classical rhetorical training directed toward Spanish and Creole elites and utilitarian conversion materials directed toward indigenous peoples. Abbott himself quickly dispatches with Guaman Poma, preferring Garcilaso de la Vega's "translucent and graceful" text to Guaman Poma's "opaque and awkward" prose and "complex and confusing universe."^[24] And yet, as Romney has suggested, the very thing that Abbott objects to is what makes Guaman Poma's work so compelling for rhetorical study. Noting the treacherous elision between clarity and civilization that automatically devalues the writing of those already assumed to be marginal, Romney argues that "Guaman Poma's text pushes up against older forms of rhetoric and old arguments for the legitimacy of Spanish occupation" and so struggles with its accepted modes.^[25] Where as the powerful and well-positioned rhetoricians discussed by Abbott eventually divide the academic study of rhetoric from the instrumental task of conversion, abandoning the possibility of effective cross-cultural communication, the Andean outsider Guaman Poma does not have that luxury. The *Primer Nueva Corónica* must grapple with a world Guaman Poma frequently describes as "al rreues" (reversed or upside down).^[26]

Understanding the *Primer Nueva Corónica* in the Absence of Rhetorical Studies

Though it has made only brief appearances in rhetorical scholarship, Guaman Poma's treatise has been recognized as rhetoric in its most basic sense: as discourse aimed to persuade.^[27] Adorno asserts that the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is "from cover to cover, a rhetorical enterprise," and the third chapter of her germinal monograph on the manuscript is devoted to Guaman Poma's use of an oratorical, preacherly style throughout the *Buen Gobierno*.^[28] Quispe-Agnoli likewise focuses on the persuasive modes of communication that arise from Guaman Poma's colonial context, especially addressing how he manipulates both oratorical and visual forms to derive new deliberative possibilities, "a [separate] Hispano-Andean cultural formation."^[29]

In Adorno's assessment, Guaman Poma's rhetorical work is fully explained by Spanish rhetorical paradigms. They "provide Guaman Poma with a theory and practice of communication that serve his needs in crossing the same cultural barrier [between Andean natives and Spanish priests], but from the opposite direction."^[30] While we concur with Adorno that Guaman Poma drew heavily on the Spanish rhetorical practices he encountered, he could never simply use Spanish genres "from the opposite direction." Because of his particular place in the Andean rhetorical ecology, he needed to reformulate Spanish forms for new purposes.^[31]

Quispe-Agnoli opens greater space for this re-envisioning of Spanish rhetorical forms yet does not go quite far enough. She examines how Guaman Poma navigated dominant modes to make new claims about a life in the New World that was neither strictly Spanish nor strictly Andean. Yet while Quispe-Agnoli makes clear that the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is not a derivative text, she focuses primarily on Guaman Poma's "textual agency."^[32] In that frame, Guaman Poma's primary rhetorical purpose is subject making. Our analyses suggest his theories addressed but also went well beyond questions of status and subjectivity.

Existing scholarship on Guaman Poma's appropriation of authority and reconstruction of agency is essential to understanding his rhetorical efforts. However, that research, coming from scholars located outside of rhetorical studies, is not disciplinarily equipped to illuminate the theoretical questions that Guaman Poma raises about the

possibilities for rhetorical action in colonial contexts. Showing how Guaman Poma sought not only his own means to communicate across cultural divides but also a new rhetoric for a new context requires more in-depth attention from within rhetorical studies—a task the next section takes up.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Rhetorical Theorist

At one level, Guaman Poma's rhetorical theorizing is not terribly different from that of his better-known Spanish-American contemporaries.[33] Like those rhetoricians allied with the Spanish colonial cause, Guaman Poma maps out a rhetoric for American contexts, one conscious of the ongoing work of colonialism and adapted for at least partially indigenous audiences. Indeed, the practice of rhetoric was a matter of intense concern for Spanish colonizers and there were many rhetorical handbooks produced in the early years of the colony that aimed to serve that need.[34] Some of those New World rhetorics treated European theories of persuasion as entirely adequate for the new context, others sought ways to adapt European traditions for American audiences, and still others studied distinct indigenous American rhetorical practices.[35] All made clear links between the work of rhetoric and the work of colonization, especially conversion.

Guaman Poma's approach to rhetoric departs from his colleagues' in one powerful sense, however: he is Andean, not a Spaniard, a Spanish American, or a *mestizo*, and he writes from the perspective of one Old World encountering another. That sets his rhetoric on an entirely different path from the treatises more easily recognized within the canons of rhetorical theory.[36] As the next three sections of this essay will illustrate, Guaman Poma's new rhetoric—a practical but incomplete theory of communication's potential force under colonial domination—calls attention to problems of status, adapts available genres to new purposes, and, ultimately, calls into question the possibility of rhetorical effect.

Ethical Copia

Throughout the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, Guaman Poma makes clear that Andean rhetors faced particular problems with gaining a Spanish audience and being intelligible to it. Though he uses a variety of strategies to make space for Andean rhetors, his most consistent approach is a mode of accumulation and over-production that Western rhetoricians might call *copia*: he models repeated claims to status and presents his manuscript to an ever widening audience. This tactic, we suggest, is central to Guaman Poma's rhetorical theory because being heard and understood were primary, preliminary challenges for Andean rhetors making appeals to authority. Though Andean rhetors had frequent need to influence colonial authorities, those same authorities generally failed to recognize Andeans as legitimate rhetors, were ill-equipped to understand Andean arguments, and were disinclined to accept them even if they did understand. *Ethos*, then, represented a particular challenge and a profound barrier to colonial persuasion "upstream"—from Andean subjects to Spanish officials. Tracking Guaman Poma's proliferating claims to status and his multiplying list of recipients draws attention to a set of positive strategies he elaborates for Andean rhetors seeking redress from colonial authorities. It simultaneously reveals Guaman Poma's own awareness of his strategies' limitations. In this section, we examine that fraught ethical *copia* first in terms of how Guaman Poma hyper-generates status and then in terms of his proliferating audiences.

In 1537, Pope Paul III issued the *Sublimus Dei*, a papal encyclical declaring that America's indigenous peoples were human in the eyes of God and mandating that they be evangelized, not exterminated. However, even the words of a Pope were insufficient to persuade Spanish colonizers that indigenous people "should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property," let alone their place as humans capable of asserting their own needs and desires.[37] Seven decades later, it was quite clear that Andean rhetors could not depend on good character or shared values to guarantee they would be recognized as viable interlocutors by Spanish colonizers. Guaman Poma responds to that problem of *ethos* with what appears to be a rather

conservative strategy: he presents himself and his purpose in humble service to colonial authorities and calls on an abundance of character witnesses to corroborate his good will. On the surface, then, Guaman Poma solves the problem of *ethos* through over-accommodation, encouraging Andean rhetors to repeatedly perform their acquiescence to Spanish expectations. At the same time, the profusion of his appeals to character calls attention to how the ethical conventions of his day failed to serve indigenous rhetors as they did Spanish ones. This tactic of mimicry-cum-mockery is most apparent in Guaman Poma's extensive introduction to the *Primer Nueva Corónica*.

Drawing on the model of seventeenth-century Spanish books but amplifying their strategy, Guaman Poma offers eight prefatory sections in the opening pages of his manuscript: a prologue on the usefulness of the text, a prayer to the Holy Trinity, a letter to the Pope, a [fictional] letter of introduction from the author's father, a letter to the King, a prologue "to the Christian reader," an account of how "God ordered the said history," and a biographical sketch of don Martín de Ayala, the priest who inspired the manuscript. Each opening move claims a slightly different ground for Guaman Poma's authorial standing while repeating his key appeals to status: service to God and King, close access to sources, broad knowledge of Peruvian history and society, and descent from nobility.

In his own introductory letter and in the one purportedly from his father, Guaman Poma describes himself alternately as a "*cacique prencipal*" and a "*capac apo*"—the first the colonial term for an indigenous noble and the second the Quechua equivalent of "great prince."^[38] Affiliating himself with a member of the clergy—his half-brother don Martín de Ayala—Guaman Poma similarly links himself to Spanish colonial networks of respect. Whether under Andean or Spanish frames, he suggests, he is a figure worthy to be listened to. At the same time, Guaman Poma also positions himself as a loyal subject, properly subservient to his betters. The letter to the Pope presents Guaman Poma as a devoted servant of the church asking for blessings on "this little work... which is a service to God and your Holiness."^[39] In his letter to the King, Guaman Poma likewise notes that he hesitated in preparing the manuscript, "judging his intentions overbold" and doubting his ability to "accomplish [the task] adequately."^[40] Guaman Poma responds to the challenge of authority, in other words, by positioning himself within multiple hierarchies and across multiple systems of value.

In the midst of those apparently earnest, abundant assertions of authorizing status, however, Guaman Poma also stirs up a subtle sense of futility. The revolving catalog of character witnesses and noble lineage reveals the impossibility of Andean *ethos* in Spanish colonial contexts. Whether he is the descendant of a conquered monarch, the adopted half-brother of a minor *mestizo* priest, or a colonial subject, Guaman Poma illustrates that he and his Andean contemporaries inevitably enter the rhetorical arena with an *ethos* deficit. His ethical *copia* ultimately calls attention to that lack, yet still refuses to cede rhetorical agency. Rather, throughout the manuscript, Guaman Poma presents Andean leaders as crucial intercessors. They intervene between the rich and the poor, between Spaniards and Indians.^[41] Though such intercessions repeatedly fall short, lacking recognition by Spanish authorities, Guaman Poma shows Andean rhetors always returning to their rhetorical task. His account makes clear that character and status are not inherent within rhetors. Rather, they are constructed, ceded, and arbitrary. Lacking authorization to speak, Andean rhetors must speak all the more, claiming rhetoricity without status through repetition.

Still, even Andean rhetors who claimed the right to speak quickly confronted problems of audience. If, as public sphere theorists suggest, discourse must be able to reach audiences equipped to make decisions, then Andeans—even elite Andeans like Guaman Poma—found themselves in a bind.^[42] They could, of course, petition the king and lower Spanish authorities, and they did, copiously.^[43] But, as the case of the *Primer Nueva Corónica* makes clear, there was no guarantee that petitions would reach their intended audience or, if

they did, that they would receive a hearing. In light of this challenge, Guaman Poma once again turns to *copia* to generate audiences. He moves across colonial hierarchies and languages in search of someone to attend to his text.

In the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, Guaman Poma repeatedly illustrates the futility of Andean rhetors seeking only powerful, Spanish audiences. His account of his travel across the colony highlights his consistent failure to find an adequate upstream audience: He takes a wealthy neighbor to court for failure to pay debt, but though "the attorney and defender told [him] to draw up petitions ... they brought [him] more perditions than petitions, and the attorneys-at-law were more attorneys-at-larceny, and the justices were more like sticks of wood." There was no one to hear his case. Similarly:

[the colonial authorities] do not want to see any *ladino* Indians who speak Castilian: they are frightened, and they order me to leave their pueblos ... if a good noble *cacique* tries to defend [the Indians], [the authorities] immediately try to toss him out with lawsuits and lies.[44]

In response, Guaman Poma seeks additional audiences, yet even there, he demonstrates, colonization has troubled the task of the rhetor. He "gave up on trusting the Spaniards," "Turn[ed] aside from" the caciques, and "had such bad experiences with the padres" that he finally "resolved to trust in the poor Indians." Even they failed him, though, being so utterly subjected to the Spanish and their vices.[45] Still, Guaman Poma seeks hearers across the colony, writing in multiple languages and broadcasting his appeal to *caciques* and mine owners, priests and vagabonds, Indian peons and African slaves.[46] Though his manuscript was sent to King Philip, he asks for broader publication, extending his account to an audience of "Christians and infidels ... Indians ... priests ... *encomenderos* of Indians, *corregidores*, padres and priests of the *doctrinas* [Indian parishes], mine owners, noble *caciques* and Indian petty authorities, Indian commoners, and other Spaniards and people." [47] Broad dissemination, Guaman Poma implies, became a means of efficacy. It supersedes the problem of an unreachable upstream audience by over-generating other possible audiences.

Ultimately, however, colonial Andean rhetors who claimed the right to speak and multiplied their audiences still guaranteed themselves only censure. Early in the *Buen Gobierno*, Guaman Poma notes matter-of-factly that "The *corregidores*, padres, and *encomenderos* despise the *ladino* Indians who know how to read and write, especially if they know how to draw up petitions ... If they can, they banish these Indians from their pueblos in this kingdom." [48] No matter how many character witnesses Andean rhetors produced, no matter how many audiences they imagined, their copious efforts inevitably confronted the singular force of physical violence meant to shut down their rhetorical multiplicity.

Asserting the right to speak, Andeans simultaneously acquired and lost public voice. In light of that vicious cycle, Guaman Poma's rhetorical theory makes clear that the conditions necessary for being heard and listened to are always tenuous and often untenable. Status and audience, he demonstrates, are impossible and interconnected conundrums sitting at the heart of Andean rhetoric. Building copious accounts of status and imagining multiple possible audiences provides but cannot guarantee a path to rhetorical influence. Carrying out that fraught project of *ethos* multiplication required Andean rhetors to become wily experts able to wield the limited persuasive means available to them across venues. Our second element of Guaman Poma's rhetorical theory addresses that task.

Mediating Genres

The *Primer Nueva Corónica* draws inspiration from multiple available colonial Andean genres, including historical chronicles, conversion guides, confessionals, and sermons. It is never doing just one thing. For that reason, scholars have described the manuscript as "conflicted, almost paradoxical," "more a testimonial than a

history, and more a moral treatise than simply a summary of [Guaman Poma's] own experience," a text characterized by "dizzying and desperate movement from one generic formula to another." [49] While that generic complexity has often provoked anxiety among scholars, we suggest instead that the complexity of the text is part of Guaman Poma's effort to theorize available means of persuasion in the face of an equally complex colonial culture. [50] In that sense, his genre choices reveal an understanding that rhetorical work must be grounded in shifting and contrasting forms. Following Carolyn Miller's understanding of rhetorical genres, we treat Guaman Poma's movement among genres as evidence of his effort to "mediat[e] private intentions and social exigence" and revise the "substance of ... cultural life." [51] Adorno hints at that possibility, noting that the end result of Guaman Poma's generic multiplicity is "an exposition that turns inside out the discourses of the *Siglo de Oro* [Spanish Golden Age], de-emphasizing their esthetic qualities and drawing attention to their social implications as instruments of political power." [52] It exposes, in other words, how those colonial genres aimed always to constitute their auditors *as* colonial subjects. The polemic running through Guaman Poma's version of the supposedly factual chronicle, the absurdity of his self-presentation as an ideal counselor to the King, and the ulterior purposes to which he puts the tools of religious conversion all draw attention to familiar genres as infused with society-shaping force and re-direct those forces in service of new motives.

While scholars have generally focused on Guaman Poma's work with textual genres, the rhetorical purpose of genre adaptation is equally prominent in Guaman Poma's drawings. In them, Guaman Poma makes visible the possibilities inherent within the available, imperfect colonial genres. Exceeding or corrupting the affordances of familiar visual forms—maps, heraldic devices, didactic screens—he uses them to reinterpret colonial power. For Guaman Poma, as for Kamberelis almost 400 years later, genres "initiate but never complete text-making and meaning-making activities." [53] Their incompleteness allows them to be redirected for ulterior purposes.

Guaman Poma draws new maps, pictures Andean subjects kneeling before Catholic Pope and Spanish King, and invents coats of arms for Andean nobles. Those images infuse Spanish genres with Andean meaning. Scholars have identified, for example, Guaman Poma's use of Andean spatial cosmologies to signal Andean preeminence even in drawings that supposedly show Spanish power. In such drawings, "The literal [meaning] denotes the defeat of the Andean people ... [while] the symbolic one denounces the Spaniards by placing them in the culturally subordinate positions and redeems the natives, who are almost always in the mythically prestigious positions." [54] The most famous and least veiled example of this symbolic reversal appears in the drawing "Pontifical World. The Indies of Peru above Spain. Castilla below the Indies," which maps the world as organized under European Catholicism but on Andean terms (Figure 1). In the drawing, Cuzco and the Inkan sun appear above Castilla and Spain in the *Hanan* (upper) position of pre-Colombian authority. Mapping the world under the Pope, Guaman Poma organizes the Spanish empire on Andean terms.

Graph: Figure 1 "Pontifical World. The Indies of Peru above Spain. Castilla below the Indies." *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 42. Used by permission of the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

This pattern continues throughout the *Primer Nueva Corónica*, sometimes with apparent hope for the possibility of Andean vindication. In a chapter devoted to explaining Inkan government, for example, Guaman Poma depicts himself as an essential mediator between Andean knowledge and colonial audience. In one drawing, Guaman Poma stands at the center of a crowd. He appears in European clothing while the men clustered around him wear the garb of Inkan rulers and administrators (Figure 2). The script on the page reads in Spanish, "The author asks" and then in Aymara, "but tell me of your past." [55] Appearing at the center of the page, in the space that Andean visual cosmologies reserved for gods and nobles, Guaman Poma serves "as creator of the new order that his *Nueva Corónica* is to impose on the Andean world." [56] Lest it be unclear to

his readers that this Andean historian is both a mediator of power and a figure of influence, a drawing just two pages earlier presents a nearly identical scene, but with the Inka in the central position, surrounded by his royal council.[57] In these drawings, Guaman Poma urges King Philip to place Andean nobles—Inka or *capac apokuna*—as rhetorical transistors between colonial power and Andean subjects. His argument that colonial governance should keep Andean and Spanish polities separate, mediated by Andean elites, thus serves not only as an administrative structure but also as a means for organizing colonial rhetoric. This drawing and many others depict elite Andean rhetors standing in the center of colonial rhetorical exchange, inhabiting, transmitting, and adapting the available genres in defense of Andean subjects.[58]

Graph: Figure 2 "The author asks..." Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 368. Used by permission of the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

And yet, such scenes of colonial mediation are often marred by recognition of the world turned upside down by conquest. In one striking illustration, Guaman Poma stages a direct encounter between himself and King Philip (Figure 3). The drawing, found toward the end of the *Buen Gobierno*, transforms Guaman Poma from the tiny, distant subject kneeling in the corner of the *Primer Nueva Corónica's* title page into a trusted and proximal guide to the King.[59] Still kneeling, but in direct conversation with the Spanish sovereign, Guaman Poma improbably comes directly before Spanish authority to speak for his people. Usurping the role of royal counselor and presenting himself as a sort of Andean Alcuin, Guaman Poma imagines how different the paradigm of colonial communication might be if Andeans could take control of their own rhetorical space. Still, in the accompanying text, he acknowledges that such a scene will never occur: "I would like to serve your Majesty ... see you face to face and speak, communicating in presence about what I have said, but I cannot travel so far because I am an old man of eighty years and infirm." [60]

Graph: Figure 3 "His Majesty asks, the author... responds." Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 975. Used by permission of the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

The material conditions of colonial culture fatally disrupt communication upstream. There is no genre through which Andean leaders can fully practice their rightful mediating authority. Though they redraw their maps, intervene between colonial authority and subject, and even present themselves directly before the king, the available means cannot quite carry their message. In the end, perhaps the best genre description for the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is a list that Guaman Poma himself offers: it is a "weeping and crying, [a] shouting out to heaven, [a] begging." [61] Despite his efforts to imagine new generic possibilities, in other words, Guaman Poma also acknowledges that all attempts at persuasion within the colonial context must clamor for something it cannot provide: a remedy for the endemic violence of colonialism. The generative possibilities within that lack of remedy form the third element of Guaman Poma's rhetorical theory.

Rhetorical Failure

Guaman Poma's own persuasive efforts failed. The *Primer Nueva Corónica* did not prompt a response from King Philip; it didn't change the excesses of colonial administration; it didn't result in renewed authority for Andean nobles. Instead, the manuscript arrived in Spain and then passed almost immediately into obscurity. At some point, likely later in the seventeenth century, it was acquired by a collector and eventually made its way to the Danish Royal Library where it sat, neglected, for 300 years.[62] Approaching the *Primer Nueva Corónica* in those terms of failure, however, at best leads to a dead end and at worst demands that the text betray the anti-colonial ends its author pursued.

If scholarly attention remains focused on Guaman Poma's efforts to convince King Philip, then he did indeed fail. That failure was inevitable, a fact acknowledged by the manuscript's own absurdities. Guaman Poma not only imagines himself counseling King Philip, but ultimately proposes that Philip establish him as "the second-in-command of the Inca and Your Majesty in this Kingdom" to whom lesser Andean nobles would report.[63] While it is certainly possible that an aging and desperate Guaman Poma imagined such an elevation in status to be possible, it seems more likely that by the time he completed his manuscript he, as Adorno suggests, "[looked] on his own discourse with little faith that it [could] achieve its desired ends." [64] Guaman Poma himself admits as much when he describes the likely response to his letter:

SEE HERE THE CHRISTIANS of the world: some will weep; others will laugh; others will curse. Others will commend me to God. Others, out of sheer wrath, will throw away this book; others will want to hold this book and *Chronicle* in their hands.[65]

Only the few, he suggests, will read the book as he intended.

Though it is tempting to accept this acknowledgement of failure at face value, as a familiar, ubiquitous lack of rhetorical success, we suggest that Guaman Poma's struggle with failure has a generative element. It adapts available theories of rhetoric to the complexity of the Andean colonial context. Adorno tells us that Guaman Poma's "attempt to write a story is fraught with ambivalence and inconsistency. As a result, that which would have a conclusion is open-ended, that which would produce unity results in fragmentation, that which would move toward identification leads to negation." Ultimately, his "reliance on language stands in front of his failure to believe in its power to communicate; his use of the language of persuasion stands sentinel over his lack of belief in its power." For Adorno, this "attitude of negation" has literary effects, leading Guaman Poma to "abandon definitively the notion of the story." [66] For us, her list of contradictions reads as a theory of rhetoric in the depths of colonial culture: it is profoundly open-ended, it privileges fragmentation, and it refuses identification. Ultimately, it accepts the likelihood of its own failure, yet simultaneously proclaims its longevity. In this theory of rhetoric, the failure to connect is endemic to symbolic action yet does not free rhetors from responsibility to act.

The most prominent element of this rhetoric of failure in the *Primer Nueva Corónica* is Guaman Poma's repeated refrain, "**y no ay remedio**" ("and there is no remedy"). He uses the phrase to acknowledge the impossibility of returning to a pre-Colombian moment; to decry the abuses perpetrated by priests, *encomenderos*, and colonial authorities; to acknowledge his own inadequacies; and, ultimately, to summarize the colonial condition as a whole.[67] In colonial and present-day Spanish, the phrase "**no hay remedio**" has many meanings—ranging contradictorily from the literal ("there is no cure") to the hopeful ("something must be done") and finally to the defeated ("nothing can be done"). Guaman Poma uses the phrase in its many meanings but always to mark the ruptures of colonial life. On the surface, the refrain calls his audience into action—demanding a remedy for abuses—but its own ambivalent meaning highlights how uncertain such action is. Late in the *Buen Gobierno*, Guaman Poma acknowledges that for himself, nothing can be done. He explains, "I am an old man of eighty years. I cannot remedy that. May God remedy it, and His Majesty: he can; it is his [to remedy]." [68] Remedy, if possible, is placed in the temporal and spatial distance. Even so, Guaman Poma keeps up the call. He declares "**y no ay remedio**" after accounts of priestly indiscretion, of Andean peasants dying in the mercury mines, and of advocates mistreated.[69] Announcing simultaneously that "nothing was done," "something must be done," and "nothing can be done" at the end of each recitation of abuse, Guaman Poma draws attention to the impossible condition of colonial subjects and the ambiguities of colonial persuasion. Even in the line quoted above, "His Majesty" seems something of an afterthought, leaving God as the most likely actor able to intervene in defense of colonized subjects. But Guaman Poma remains

ambivalent even about God's ability to act in the colony: "The world is upside down: this is a sign that there is no God and there is no king—they are in Rome and Castile." [70]

In light of that *necessity for yet absence of* remedy, Guaman Poma commits himself and his disciples to testimony, to recording and writing the conditions in the Kingdom of Peru. He offers a telling study of this colonial vocation for dangerous, ineffective communication by turning to the story of his student, don Cristóbal de León. [71] Don Cristóbal received rhetorical training from Guaman Poma, learning to write and be a good Christian. He also learned to assume that his efforts to intervene against colonial abuse would not only fail but also lead to harsh castigation. Guaman Poma dwells at some length on don Cristóbal's efforts and failures, dedicating two drawings and two pages of texts to an account of the challenges don Cristóbal faced.

Readers of the *Primer Nueva Corónica* first encounter don Cristóbal in a drawing where he appears in the stocks, accosted by a royal administrator who threatens (in Quechua), "I will hang you. I will send you to the galleys" (Figure 4). Don Cristóbal, positioned on the symbolically powerful side of the drawing, replies (also in Quechua), "For my people, I will suffer in this stock." [72] In subsequent pages, Guaman Poma elaborates on don Cristóbal's story, marking him as just one disciple among many: "And [I] had many other disciples and they have been noble Christians and *ladinos* (literate in Spanish), given to defending the poor." [73] Yet these disciples suffer for their Spanish-language advocacy. They "complain and seek justice from the Viceroy" and are instead arrested, imprisoned, and threatened with exile and death. [74] For his part, don Cristóbal repeatedly speaks up for the rights of the indigenous people under his care. Again and again, his intervention fails and he is punished for his efforts by avaricious colonial authorities and corrupt rival indigenous leaders.

Graph: Figure 4 "Corregidor imprisons and taunts don Cristóbal." *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, 498. Used by permission of the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Guaman Poma, likewise, is persecuted and exiled for speaking up in defense of his family and his people. Though don Cristóbal and Guaman Poma have learned the genres of colonial communication and have stretched them to their limits in order to advocate for Andean rights, their efforts fall short. They fail to achieve persuasion despite their eloquence, their careful accumulation of facts, and their appeals to the better nature of their auditors. In the process, they bring upon themselves imprisonment, exile, and death threats. These failures serve a greater cause of justice, and the behaviors of the colonial administrators may doom them to hell, as Guaman Poma asserts, but the price of rhetorical action for Andean advocates remains high, and the likelihood that the message will be effective low.

This, in the end, is the core of Guaman Poma's rhetorical theory for the Andean colonial context. Cross-cultural colonial argument, fraught with unequal power and infused with legacies of abuse, resides outside the frame of efficacy. It is, rather, a rhetorical practice whose influence is delayed, perhaps forever, yet must still persist. Its practitioners send their words and images into the world in service of a task they cannot accomplish but must attempt anyway. It is no accident, we suggest, that the last line of the *Primer Nueva Corónica* forecasts its own failure to arrive. Guaman Poma closes his decades of effort, his 1,200 pages of text and images with an incomplete sentence and an erasure, writing, "Completed by don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, prince and author from the Indies of the Kingdom of Peru ... From the City of Los Reyes de Lima, Royal Court and Capital of Peru, presented before the gentlemen" [75] We do not learn to whom Guaman Poma presented his argument. Even his possible audience, "*los señores*," is inked out, leaving the *Primer Nueva Corónica's* presentation in limbo.

Archives, Audiences, and the Efficacy of Failure

Guaman Poma himself foretold the future of his text. He wrote, "I defend the kingdom, and that is why I am writing this history—to be a memorial, to be placed in the archive, so that justice may be seen." [76] In this frame, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* serves as testimonial, as witnessing. It is written to be preserved, even absent anyone to read or understand it. [77] Here, Guaman Poma seems to have taken advantage of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy's penchant for written documentation to keep his manuscript alive. [78]

That desire to make a record for distant, unknowable justice also draws attention to the *Primer Nueva Corónica*'s self-conscious construction. As Guaman Poma displaces the manuscript's efficacy into the archives, he opens up the possibility that his ultimate audience was not King Philip or the Spanish colonial bureaucracy but rather a future public concerned with the vicissitudes of Andean colonial culture—its histories, its power structures, and its modes of communication. That projection into the archive and toward an inevitably uncertain efficacy suspends the manuscript's failure in favor of a lingering rhetorical present-ness. In this sense, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* models public argument without available means or available audience. It registers the extreme difficulty of efficacious upstream communication in colonial contexts yet refuses to let rhetors off the hook for doing that difficult work. With such a powerful argument for the necessity of rhetoric by and for indigenous people under Spanish rule, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* earns its place among the first post-Columbian American rhetorical theories.

Still, the *Primer Nueva Corónica* went without much of an audience for a half century even after its 1908 re-emergence. Only, Pratt tells us, "as positivist reading habits gave way to interpretive studies and colonial elitisms to postcolonial pluralisms" could Guaman Poma's writing find the attention it sought. "The letter got there, only 350 years too late, a miracle and a terrible tragedy." [79] What is ironic, as Pratt herself points out, is that Guaman Poma's rhetorical efforts likely did have an audience capable of receiving them: the multilingual, transcultural, colonial culture of the seventeenth century Andes. The failure of the *Primer Nueva Corónica* in its own time was more accurately a failure of its audience in Spain. [80]

In a parallel sense, our ongoing failure to recognize Guaman Poma's text as theorizing rhetoric under a colonial regime is more a matter of audience than text. Only having begun to consider the anti-colonial, heterogeneous, and intercultural aspects of rhetorical practice have we returned to being the sort of audience that Guaman Poma's manuscript originally called into being 400 years ago. Our troubling, often opaque, profoundly transnational rhetorical context may once again have need of a rhetorical theory developed to grapple with the problems, opacities, and transcultural complexities of seventeenth-century colonial Peru.

In the final stages of revising this essay, one of us attended a talk by Ta-Nehisi Coates. Coates opened his lecture with a quotation from John Locke's chapter "Of Conquest" in the *Second Treatise of Government* that compares conquest with robbery and piracy. Coates ended his quotation with Locke's question for the conquered: "What is my remedy against a robber, that so broke into my house?" [81] Coates used that line as a refrain throughout his reflection on how white Americans have plundered African American wealth over the whole history of the United States. Each time he recounted a history of injury left without redress or framed the current threat to black bodies or gave examples of the wealth systematically stolen from black citizens, Coates closed his description with "What is my remedy against a robber, that so broke into my house?" Agony, hope, demand, and futility hung together in those words, marking both the absolute necessity for remedy and the precarious possibility of its success. Though Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Ta-Nehisi Coates made their calls for remedy 400 years and a thousand miles apart, the fact that each landed on the multivalent, anti-colonial refrain of "*y no ay remedio* / what is my remedy?" is both haunting and illustrative.

Both Guaman Poma and Coates pursued a profoundly difficult task driven by deep purpose. Both knew the merit of their arguments. Both were aware of audiences that could not act on their claims yet needed to hear them. Ultimately, the point of their rhetorical action was not to persuade those in power. The point was that even in the face of an impossible persuasive task, their arguments had to be made. Indeed, what the anti-colonial rhetorical theory that Guaman Poma offers us makes clear is that effect need not be the only, let alone the primary reason for rhetorical practice—particularly when that practice is directed upstream. Rather, in the face of questioned status, recalcitrant audiences, imperfect forms, and almost certain failure, the recursive act of making and repeating the argument is the fundamental work of rhetoric. As contemporary rhetoricians engage the limits of rhetoric and critique the present possibilities of democracy, the obligation for rhetorical action in the face of failure outlined by Guaman Poma emerges as a lesson both powerful and enduring.[82]

Notes

1 Several aspects of our subject's name likely need clarification: his use of the title "don" indicates a claim to nobility and high social standing (in his case of pre-Colombian not Spanish origin). Guaman Poma (meaning Falcon Puma) is the author's surname, while de Ayala is an adopted honorific that connected Guaman Poma's family to the conquest-era Spanish captain, Luís de Ávalos de Ayala. We refer to the author by his surname, Guaman Poma, throughout the essay.

2 The manuscript is divided into two main sections, the *Nueva Corónica*, or *New Chronicle*, which re-tells the pre-Colombian history of the Andes, and the *Buen Gobierno* or *Good Government*, which tells the history of the Spanish conquest, publicizes colonial abuses, and offers advice for the return to just governance. Throughout, we use "*Primer Nueva Corónica*" to refer to the complete work, "*Nueva Corónica*" to refer to the first portion, and "*Buen Gobierno*" to refer to the latter portion.

3 It also appears briefly in Damián Baca and Victor Villanueva's edited collection *Rhetorics of the Americas*. Incorporating Guaman Poma's work into U.S. rhetorical studies should soon become easier as the University of Texas Press is at work on an English translation of the complete manuscript. The first volume, containing the *Nueva Corónica*, appeared in 2009; the translation of the *Buen Gobierno* is still forthcoming. Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, *La Fe Andina en La Escritura: Resistencia e Identidad en La Obra de Guamán Poma de Ayala* (Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2006); Abraham Romney, "Indian Ability (auilidad de Indio) and Rhetoric's Civilizing Narrative: Guaman Poma's Contact with the Rhetorical Tradition," *College Composition and Communication* 63, no. 1 (2011): 12–34; Don Paul Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Colonial Spanish America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996); Damián Baca and Victor Villanueva, eds., *Rhetorics of the Americas: 3114 BCE to 2012 CE* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).

4 See, e.g., the wealth of scholarship on literacy and colonialism emerging out of Latin American Studies over the last thirty years, particularly work building on Angel Rama's germinal monograph *The Lettered City*. Quispe-Agnoli, *Fe Andina*; Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, trans. and ed. John Charles Chasteen (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Frank L. Salomon and Mercedes Niño-Murcia, *The Lettered Mountain: A Peruvian Village's Way with Writing* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

5 Ralph Cintron, *Angels' Town: Chero Ways, Gang Life, and the Rhetorics of the Everyday* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997), x. This essay joins a growing body of scholarship that re-imagines American rhetoric by accounting for pre- and post-Colombian indigenous traditions, the shaping force of coloniality, and the long history of rhetoric in Latin America. For scholarship on Native American rhetorical practice in North America, see, e.g., Jason Edward Black, "Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 1 (2009): 66–88; Danielle Endres, "The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009): 39–60; Scott Richard Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing?," *College Composition and Communication* 51, no. 3 (2000): 447–68; Malea D. Powell, "Rhetorics of Survivance: How American Indians Use Writing," *College Composition and Communication* 53, no. 3 (2002): 396–434. For those addressing coloniality throughout the hemisphere, see, e.g., Walter D. Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (2002): 57–96; Darrel Allan Wanzer, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (2012): 647–57. For rhetorical scholarship about and from Latin America, see, e.g., Helena Beristáin and Gerardo Ramírez Vidal, eds., *Espacios de la Retórica: Problemas Filosóficos y Literarios* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2010); Mauricio Beuchot Puente, *Retóricos de la Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996); Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Floresta de Gramática, Poética y Retórica en Nueva España (1521–1767)* (México, D.F. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980); María Alejandra Vitale and Philippe-Joseph Salazar, eds., *Rhetoric in South America*, vol. 4 of *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* (Cape Town, South Africa: AfricaRhetoric Publishing, 2013). For rhetorical scholarship on Latin America written in the United States, see, e.g., Nathaniel I. Córdova, "The Incomplete Subject of Colonial Memory: Puerto Rico and the Post/Colonial Biopolitics of Congressional Recollection," *The Communication Review* 11, no. 1 (2008): 42–75; Julie A. Bokser, "Sor Juana's Divine Narcissus: A New World Rhetoric of Listening," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2010): 224–46; René Agustín De los Santos and Christa J. Olson, eds., "La Idea de la Retórica Americana / The Idea of American Rhetoric," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (2015); Christa J. Olson, *Constitutive Visions: Indigeneity and Commonplaces of National Identity in Republican Ecuador* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); Susan Romano, "Rhetoric in Latin America," in *The Handbook of Communication History*, eds. Peter Simonson, Janice Peck, Robert T. Craig, and John P. Jackson, Jr. (New York: Routledge, 2013): 397–411.

6 In this sense, we align our understanding of rhetoric with that laid out by Thomas Farrell: while "we have tended to think that things matter first and only then does rhetoric come creeping into the scenario," the fact is that there "will always be a tension between what rhetoric makes and what 'makes' or produces rhetoric." Thomas B. Farrell, "The Weight of Rhetoric: Studies in Cultural Delirium," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 41, no. 4 (2008): 470, emphasis in original.

7 Romney, "Indian Ability," 15.

8 We use their term to signal as they do that "in ethnically stratified Spanish American society, the appropriation of cultural elements and the production of colonial identities must be approached through the close consideration of the workings of power, both of the colonizers and of the colonized." Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond*, 31.

9 See, e.g., Powell, "Rhetorics;" Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).

Mignolo, "Geopolitics," 67.

See, e.g., many of Plato's dialogues and Alcuin's staged conversation with Charlemagne. Julie Bokser's work on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Jackson and Clark's edited collection on John Dewey also provide recent precedent for this move to consider implicit rhetorical theories. Julie A. Bokser, "Sor Juana's Rhetoric of Silence," *Rhetoric Review* 25, no. 1 (2006): 5–21; Brian Jackson and Gregory Clark, eds., *Trained Capacities: John Dewey, Rhetoric, and Democratic Practice* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014).

Pease describes Guaman Poma as a "professor of acculturation" (translation by the authors). Franklin Pease G. Y., "Prólogo," vol. 1 of *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, ed. Franklin Pease G. Y. (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005): XIII.

Guaman Poma used both terms, but seemed to prefer the Andean *kuraka* to *cacique*, an American but not Andean term adopted by the Spanish colonial system to indicate native authority.

Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, xxiii.

Indio ladino was, if not a derogatory term, then at least not one that Guaman Poma would have happily accepted for himself. The term elided his elite pre-Columbian status and "could refer to values that ran, on a sliding scale, from prudence and sagacity to craftiness and cunning." Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, xlv.

Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, xlv.

Elías Prado Tello and Alfredo Prado Prado, eds., *Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala: Y no ay Remedio ...* (Lima, Perú: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica, 1991).

Adorno's discussion of Guaman Poma's eventual legal defeat suggests that he had become a particular nuisance for the Spanish authorities and this ruling effectively undermined his ethos and removed him from the area. Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, xxxviii.

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, trans. David Frye, abridged ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2006), 348. This original text appears on page 1094 [1104] of Guaman Poma's manuscript, available online through the Danish Royal Library: "Se hizo poblre y desnudo solo para alcansar y uer al mundo con la merced y lesencia y uista de ojos de parte de su Magestad." Throughout this essay, page numbers in brackets represent the modern (corrected) pagination of the manuscript, while the initial page number given is Guaman Poma's own pagination. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, "El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm>

Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond*, 3.

While *buen gobierno* can be translated as "governance" as well as "good government," the latter translation—with its emphasis on a qualitative assessment—has been standard in studies of Guaman Poma. Adorno, for example, argues that the *Buen Gobierno* was "as its title indicated, devoted to moving the reader—from the king to all his colonial vassals—to take up the cause of 'good government,' that is, of justice." Rolena Adorno, "A Witness unto Itself: The Integrity of the Autograph Manuscript of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (1615/1616)," *Fund og Forskning* 41 (2002): section 4.8, ¶8. <https://tidsskrift.dk/index.php/fundogforskning/article/view/1393/2265>. That Guaman Poma's manuscript includes an extensive treatise on governance demonstrates his awareness of the genres active within colonial Peru. The arrival of a printing press in the colony made the treatise on government a popular form among

colonial letrados (literally, "lettered men"), and various proposals for the future of colonial authority were already circulating in the colony by the time Guaman Poma wrote his. Juan M. Ossio A., En busca del orden perdido: la idea de la historia en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 191.

Adorno, Guaman Poma, 9.

Adorno, Guaman Poma, 5; Pease G. Y., "Prólogo," XIII.

Abbott, Rhetoric in the New World, 96, 97.

Romney, "Indian Ability," 15.

For example: "Ues aquí, cristianos, como os metéys demás de lo que soys. Ci soys judío o pechero o ganapán, ¿por qué os hazéys justicia y queréys sauer uida axena y la buestra no lo sauéys? Que preguntáys al pobre del hombre más con la cudicia de la dicha mula, que no preguntáys para dalle limosna ciquiera, de ocho rreales o quarto, que a todos ueo hazerse justicia, que todo lo haze sólo a fin de quitalle la dicha mula, mundo al rreués." Guaman Poma de Ayala "Primer," 1126[1136]. ("Here you see, Christians, how you meddle beyond your station. If you are a Jew, a taxpaying commoner, or a day laborer, why do you pretend to be a justice? Why do you try to find out about other people's lives, when you do not know your own? You ask the poor man questions out of greed for his mule; you do not ask so that you can give him alms, not even eight reales, or four. I see everyone pretending to be justices; they do everything with the sole aim of taking away that mule. The world is upside down." Guaman Poma de Ayala, First New Chronicle, abridged, 359.)

Guaman Poma has made an appearance in three texts addressed to rhetoricians: Don Abbott treats Guaman Poma's chronicle as a less impressive corollary to Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's Royal Commentaries. The Primer Nueva Corónica provides background for Rocío Quispe-Agnoli's chapter on Inca visual rhetorics in the Baca and Villanueva collection. Finally, the Primer Nueva Corónica receives a more thorough treatment with regard to rhetorical theory from Abraham Romney in his essay "Indian Ability." Abbott, Rhetoric in the New World; Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, "Spanish Scripts Colonize the Image: Inca Visual Rhetorics," in Rhetorics of the Americas: 3114 BCE to 2012 CE, ed. Damián Baca and Victor Villanueva (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 41–67; Romney, "Indian Ability."

Adorno, Guaman Poma, 78.

Quispe-Agnoli, Fe Andina, 20. "una formación cultural hispano-andina." Translation by authors.

Adorno, Guaman Poma, 57.

Nor, for that matter, were Spanish priests so successful in using their available genres to cross the cultural barriers separating them from Andeans despite their greater access to colonial power. On that point, see Abbott, Rhetoric in the New World.

Quispe-Agnoli, Fe ndina, 31.

E.g., Luís de Granada, Diego Valadés, and Bernardino de Sahagún. See, Abbott, Rhetoric in the New World.

Abbott, Rhetoric in the New World; Walter D. Mignolo, The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Susan Romano, "Tlaltelolco:

The Grammatical-Rhetorical Indios of Colonial Mexico," College English 66, no. 3 (2004): 257–77.

*According to Abbott, the former group included many rhetoricians, such as Luis de Granada and José de Arriaga, who prepared separate rhetorics and conversion models—the former for Spaniards and Creoles, the latter for indigenous people. Bartolomé de Las Casas, however, proposed that only one form of rhetoric was necessary for New and Old World conversion. Almost alone among New World rhetoricians, the mestizo Franciscan Diego Valadés adapted the Ciceronian tradition specifically for American contexts, increasing the emphasis on memory and the visual. Bernardino de Sahagún, for his part, worked closely with Nahua informants to catalog pre-Colombian "rhetoric and moral philosophy." Though conversion was a primary driver of rhetorical study, not all rhetorical theory in the New World was exclusively conversionist. The goal of conversion intermingled with and was informed by other projects: ethnography, colonial administration, education, and the general work of conquest. Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World*. For more on these early rhetorical efforts, see Mignolo, *Darker Side*; Cristián Roa de la Carrera, "Translating Nahua Rhetoric: Sahagún's Nahua Subjects in Colonial Mexico," in *Rhetorics of the Americas: 3114 BCE to 2012 CE*, eds. Damián Baca and Víctor Villanueva (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 69–87; Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, "Book 6: Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy," in *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*, trans. Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson (Santa Fe, NM: Monographs of the School of American Research, 1969); Diego Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia: Apud Petrumiacobum Petrutium, 1579).*

*In English-language scholarship, those more recognizable treatises have received some treatment. See, e.g., Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World*; Susan Romano, "'Grand Convergence' in the Mexican Colonial Mundane: The Matter of Introductories," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2010): 71–93; Romano, "Tlaltelolco."*

*Pope Paul III, *Sublimus Dei*, Papal Encyclicals Online, May 29, 1537.*

<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Paul03/p3subli.htm>

See, e.g., Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 5[5], 11[11],

<http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/titlepage/en/text/?open=id2971047>

*"[E]sta poquita de obrecilla yntitulado Primer corónica y bue[n] [goui]ern[o] deste rreyno, que es serbicio de Dios y de vuestra Santidad." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 4[4]. Except where otherwise noted, translations from the *Primer Nueva Corónica* are by the authors.*

"[J]usgando por temeraria mi entención, no hallando supgeto en mi facultad para acauarla conforme a la que se deuía." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 8[8].

See, e.g., Guaman Poma's explanation of why he set aside his noble clothing in order to walk among the poor, hear their experiences, and see first-hand how they were treated as well as his lament that his own family did not recognize him when he returned home because he was old and poorly dressed rather than strong and clad in fine cloth. "Y ancí trayendo autoridad no se llegauen los pobres ne querían hazer daño a los pobres en mi presencia, como se haze cienpre. Como no me conosen y me uen pobre, en mi presencia quita sus haziendas y mugeres y hijas con poco temor de Dios y de la justicia. Digo cierto, contando de mi pobresa, metiéndome como pobre entre tantos animals que come pobres, me comía también a mí como a ellos." And "Porque solía andar todo de seda y de cunbes [tejido fino] y se rregalaua como señor y príncipe, nieto del dézimo rrey. Se hizo pobre y desnudo sólo para alcansar y uer el mundo con la merced y lesencia y uista de ojos de parte de su Magestad." "Primer," 902–03[916–17], 1094[1104] emphasis in original.

Nancy Fraser has been particularly explicit on this front. See, e.g., her original "rethinking" of the public sphere and her more recent effort to account for transnational contexts. Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," Social Text 25/26 (1990): 56–80; Nancy Fraser, "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World," Theory, Culture & Society 24, no. 4 (2007): 7–30.

See, e.g., R. Jovita Baber, "Empire, Indians, and the Negotiation for the Status of City in Tlaxcala, 1521–1550," in Negotiation within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State, eds. Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 19–44; Rappaport and Cummins, Beyond.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, First New Chronicle, abridged, 283, 285. "Y decíame el procurador y el protetor que yo haré peticiones; más hacía por mí perdiciones que peticiones. Y los dichos procuradores son más proculadrones, que la justicia que más son que palos." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 904 [918]. "Y no quieren uer a yndios ladinos cristianos hablando en castilla; se le espanta y me manda echar luego de los dichos pueblos ... Y acá ci el buen cacique prencipal quiere defendelle, luego le quieren echalle con pleytos y mentiras." "Primer," 906 [920].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, First New Chronicle, abridged, 284. "Que dejado de confiar a los españoles ... Desuíéndome desto [los caciques principales] ... Y acá, sucidiéndome tan mal con los padres, me acordé de confiarme en los yndios pobres." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 905 [919].

In the Buen Gobierno, each chapter addresses the abuses perpetrated by a different level of colonial society. At the end of each chapter, Guaman Poma includes a "prologue" addressed to readers from that level, encouraging them to amend their ways.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, First New Chronicle, abridged, 1. "La dicha corónica es muy útil y prouechoso y es bueno para emienda de uida para los cristianos y enfieles y para confesarse los dichos yndios y enmienda de sus uidas y herronía, ydúlatras y para sauer confesarlos a los dichos yndios los dichos saserdotes y para la emienda de los dichos comenderos de yndios y corregidores y padres y curas de las dichas dotrinas y de los dichos mineros y de los dichos caciques prencipales y demás yndios mandoncillos, yndios comunes y de otros españoles y personas." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 1 [1].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, First New Chronicle, abridged, 169. "Que los dichos corregidores y padres y comenderos quieren muy mal a los yndios ladinos que sauen leer y escriuir, y más ci sauen hazer peticiones, porque no le pida en la rrecidencia de todo los agrauios y males y daños. Y ci puede, le destierra del dicho pueblo en este rreyno." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer." 493 [497].

Pease G. Y., "Prólogo," XXXVI; Adorno, Guaman Poma, 10. Translation by the authors

For examples of genre anxiety about the Primer Nueva Corónica, see, e.g., Adorno, Guaman Poma, 8–9; David Frye, introduction to The First New Chronicle and Good Government, by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, trans. David Frye, abridged ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2006), xxi; Quispe-Agnoli, Fe Andina, 19–20, 22–23.

Carolyn R. Miller, "Genre as Social Action," Quarterly Journal of Speech 70, no. 2 (1984): 163.

Adorno, Guaman Poma, 10.

George Kamberelis, "Genre as Institutionally Informed Social Practice," *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues* 6, no. 115 (1995): 115.

Mercedes López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing: The Image as Text and the Author as Artist," in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Mercedes López-Baralt (New York: Americas Society and Art Gallery, 1992), 17. For examples, see *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 0 [0], 22 [22], 364 [366], 384 [386], 557 [571], 591 [605].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 366 [368].

López-Baralt, "Looking," 19.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 364 [366].

See, e.g., *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 588 [602], 654 [688], 770 [784], 814 [828].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 0 [0], 961 [975].

"Quiciera seruir a vuestra Magestad como nieto del rrey del Pirú; uerme cara en cara y hablar, comunicar de presente sobre lo dicho no puedo, por ser biejo de ochenta años y enfermo, yr tan lejos." *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 962 [976].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 346. "Digo a Vuestra Sacra Católica Real Magestad, llorando y clamando, dando bofes al cielo, pidiendo a Dios y a la Uirgen María y a todos los santos y santas, ángeles." *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 980 [998].

Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma and His Illustrated Chronicle from Colonial Peru: From a Century of Scholarship to a New Era of Reading* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2001).

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 341. "como a vuestra y segunda persona del Ynga deste rreyno." *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 967 [985].

Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 79.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 360, emphasis in original. "Ues aquí cristianos del mundo, unos llorarán, otros se rreyrá, otros maldirá, otros encomendarme a Dios, otros de puro enojo se deshará, otros querrá tener en las manos este libro y corónica." *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 1168 [1178].

Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 79.

See, e.g., *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 381 [383], 489 [493], 526 [530], 541 [555], 1108 [1118].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 357. "soy biejo de ochenta años. No puedo rremediallo. Dios lo rremedie y su Magestad que puede, es suya." *Guaman Poma de Ayala*, "Primer," 1108 [1118].

On the mistreatment of caciques who fail to provide sufficient peons for work in the mercury mines, for example, *Guaman Poma* notes "Con estos trauajos se an muerto afrentados y no ay remedio." A paragraph later, he explains, "Y no ay remedio de todo esto porque el corregidor y gouernador o jues que entra o tiniente

o alcalde mayor se hazan con ellos y se aúnan en dándole cohechos." ("Because of these trials they have died in shame, and there is no remedy ... And there is no remedy of any of this because of the corregidor and governor or judge who enters an agreement [with the mine owners] and they unite in giving bribes."). Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 526–27 [530–31].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 359. "todo lo haze solo a fin de quitalle la dicha mula, mundo al rreués. Es señal que no ay Dios y no ay rrey. Está en Roma y Castilla para los pobres y castigallo, ay justicia. Y para los rricos, no ay justicia. Dios lo rremedie que puede, amen. Ues aquí por qué causa y rremediallo trauajo, haciéndose pobre el dicho autor." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 1126 [1136].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 494–98 [498–502].

"Uarcuscayqui, galeaman carcoscayqui." And "Runayrayco cay sepopi nacarisac." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 494 [498].

"Y tubo otros muchos decípulos y an salido cristianos y ladinos prencipales, amigo de defender a los pobres." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 495 [499].

"fue a quexarse y pidir justicia al señor bizzorrey." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 495 [499].

"FIN DE LA Corónica nueua y buen gobierno de este rreyno acauada por don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, príncipe, autor de las Yndias del rreyno del Pirú de la ciudad y medio de San Cristóbal de Suntunto, Nueva Castilla, de la prouincia de los Andamarcas, Soras, Lucanas de la corona rreal. De la ciudad de los Reys de Lima, corte rreal y cauesa del Pirú, se presentó ante los señores [...]." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," n.p. [1188].

Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle*, abridged, 346. "E padecido tanta pobreza y e trauajado treynta años en seruicio de Dios y vuestra Magestad. Buelbo por el rreyno y acá escribo esta historia para que sea memoria y que se ponga en el archibo para uer la justicia." Guaman Poma de Ayala, "Primer," 973 [991].

Lynn Stephen suggests that a similar tradition of testimonial continues to circulate throughout Latin America. Just as Guaman Poma places testimony at the heart of Andean colonial communication—a means of acting even in the context of inevitable failure—Stephen describes how testimony today "[permits] silenced groups to speak and to be heard, to enact alternative visions for political and cultural participation, and to formulate new, hybrid forms of identity." Lynn Stephen, *We are the Face of Oaxaca: Testimony and Social Movements* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013): 2.

The Archives of the Indies are packed with the petitions and appeals of colonial American subjects; contemporary accounts even note the dismay that colonial authorities felt at the rapidly proliferating textual activity of America's indigenous and mestizo subjects. Salomon and Niño-Murcia, *Lettered Mountain*, 7.

Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 34.

Pratt, "Arts," 37.

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1980), 91.

For work on rhetoricity, see, e.g., Jay Timothy Dolmage, *Disability Rhetoric* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014); Jenell Johnson, "The Limits of Persuasion: Rhetoric and Resistance in the Last Battle of the

Korean War," Quarterly Journal of Speech 100, no. 3 (2014): 323–47; Cynthia Lewiecki-Wilson, "Rethinking Rhetoric through Mental Disabilities," Rhetoric Review 22, no. 2 (2003): 156–67; Catherine Prendergast, "On the Rhetorics of Mental Disability," in Embodied Rhetorics: Disability in Language and Culture, eds. James C. Wilson and Cynthia Lewiecki-Wilson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001), 45–60. On the limits of and challenges to democracy, see, e.g., Ralph Cintron, "Democracy and Its Limitations," in The Public Work of Rhetoric: Citizen-Scholars and Civic Engagement, eds. John M. Ackerman and David J. Coogan (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 98–116; Sharon Crowley, Toward a Civil Discourse: Rhetoric and Fundamentalism (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006); Jeremy Engels and William O. Saas, "On Acquiescence and Ends-Less War: An Inquiry into the New War Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech 99, no. 2 (2013); Fraser, "Transnationalizing."

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