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Indigenous Andean Women in Colonial Textual Discourses

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INDIGENOUS ANDEAN WOMEN IN COLONIAL TEXTUAL DISCOURSES

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

A Phillip, mi esposo y mejor amigo

A mi querida familia en los Estados Unidos y en Bolivia

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation combines historical and literary analysis to challenge a history of literary studies that reads colonial texts as reflecting a real historical domination of indigenous Andean women in a patriarchal society. Through a comparative examination of colonial chronicles and archival documents, I reconsider the portrayal of these women as having played the role of victims from the very beginning of colonial relations through the seventeenth century. Through these sources, I unveil these women's discursive agency that was expressed in archival documents, only to be suppressed in colonial chronicles and contemporary literary criticism.

Chapter I "The Filthy, The Lovely, and The Vicious: The Discursive Representations of Indigenous Andean Women in the Early Colonial Chronicles," is an analysis of six colonial narratives produced between 1534 and the 1570s. These years span three historical periods that shaped the discursive representation of indigenous women. These texts show how the colonial vision of indigenous women was continually

recreated as these authors utilized written discourses as political tools in their quest for power.

Chapter II, “Allies and Enemies: Indigenous Andean Women’s Voices and Agency in Early Colonial Society” is an exploration of notarial and civil records from the sixteenth century. I identify various native women mentioned in some of the colonial chronicles that appear participating in legal suits, requesting royal grants and claiming economic advantages for themselves and their kin.

Chapter III, “Ethereal Women; Venal Women: The Portrayal of Indigenous Andean Women in the Works of Guaman Poma and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega,” explores these authors’ dichotomous representation of native women under the Eva/Ave axis. Their portrayal of native women has been influenced by the humanist and moralist discourses of the Renaissance that praised and criticized women’s actions to correct and shape their behavior to the ideal image of a Christian woman.

Chapter IV, “In the Affairs of Colonial Religion and Society: Indigenous Andean Women’s Voices and Agency in Archival Sources of the Seventeenth Century” examines three important areas of agency that Andean women exercised: the ways in which they constructed their own religious identities, negotiated their social status, and exercised economic power.

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Introduction

The field of Spanish American colonial literature has undergone a series of transformations in the past decades. These transformations emerged from the dissatisfaction with New Critical reading practices, in which critics approached colonial narratives as purely aesthetic works.[1] The new paradigm incorporates texts produced by so-called subaltern subjects (i.e. indigenous writers) and replaces the primary focus on "literature" with one on "colonial discourses," which it defines as statements made about colonial peoples, colonial powers and the relationships between the two (Verdesio 2002; Castro-Klarén 2002). My work on "Indigenous Andean Women in Colonial Textual Discourses" engages the new methodological frameworks to compare representations of indigenous women in chronicles by Spanish, mestizo, and Amerindian authors with their portrayal in archival documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This comparison challenges a history of literary studies that reads colonial texts as reflecting a real historical domination of indigenous women in a patriarchal society.

In posing this challenge, my work draws on and extends recent historical scholarship on the interrelated structures of both social and political organization in Spain and Spanish America. This historical scholarship establishes that the European conception of

[1] The reading practices of the New Criticism treat a work of literature as if it were self-contained. That is, the idea that the (autonomous) text itself suffices as the terrain of intellectual operations to be engaged by the (autonomous) liberal subject. This reading does not consider the reader's response, the author's intention, or the historical and the cultural contexts of the text. New Critics perform a close reading of the text, and believe the structure and meaning of the text should not be examined separately (Searle 528-534). According to Castro-Klarén (2002), the New Criticism constructed the criteria for the Master Pieces in colonial literature, but the paradox is that it promoted a divorce of these texts from their historical context. She adds that the "ensuing tension between reading strategies designed to address the purely 'aesthetic' (autonomous) nature of the 'literary' text, but which, in fact, conceals the historical grounding of the texts together with the problem of periodization, leaves relatively superficial marks when it deals with highly modernistic, linguistically self-reflective texts. However, colonial intertextualities, frontally engaged, as they always are, with the knowledge/power question, unavoidably point to the gaping impasses implicit in the 'aesthetic' approach to literature and culture." (263)

normative patriarchy did not apply to Spain and Spanish America, at least not in this period. The view that Spanish society was organized as a well-defined hierarchy with a central figure of authority, the king, and that this structure mirrored family relations with the absolute power of the father/husband over his children and wife, is now being questioned. Historians argue the Spanish system was socially, administratively and politically decentralized,[2] and that its decentralized nature regulated all relations, including those between men and women. This view has led several historians to challenge the adequacy of the conceptual framework of patriarchy for explaining gender and power relations in colonial society.[3]

Here, I would like to clarify the relationship between textual patriarchy and social patriarchy. The concept of patriarchy, which draws from inherited classical and medieval

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[2] That is, a system in which the spread of power is away from the center and distributed into local branches, governments and ultimately the people. James Casey (1999) suggests that the local tradition of self-government in the Iberian Peninsula impeded the crown from centralizing its authority in Spain. Helen Nader's study of Hapsburg Spain (1990), stresses that, we tend to equate absolutism with centralization, but in Spain the kings invoked their royal absolute power to decentralize administration. C.H. Haring (1963) recognized that Spanish bureaucracy in Spanish America operated through checks and balances securing a division of authority among different individuals or tribunals exercising the same powers. Similarly, John Phelan (1960) addressed the connection between decentralization and social stability in colonial Spanish America. The strategy of decentralization, he said, extended the crown's authority, ensuring social and political stability through the creation centers of power, which were able to manage both local and external situations. Kenneth Andrien's study of colonial Peru (1984) also suggests that the authority of local officials to override crown mandates functioned to protect royal as well as local interests.

[3] Patricia Seed (1988) began to question the validity of the patriarchal framework to study gender relations in Colonial Mexico. This scholar challenged the view of autocratic family relations and, in the process, investigated nuances in the colonial social structure not recognized previously. In her exhaustive examination of marriage applications, lawsuit and religious and popular literature of the period, she found changes in attitudes concerning parental authority and freedom of marriage choice for young couples. She concluded that the concept of patriarchy, that is, the dominant metaphor for a variety of hierarchies in the colonial era, was not fully developed until the mid-eighteenth century during the growing political centralization of the Bourbon monarchy. In a more recent suty, Kimberly Gauderman (2003) states that gender roles are culturally defined, and that therefore, the roles of women and men in Spanish and Spanish American societies were created within the system of decentralized authority that had historically characterized their society. Her research in colonial Quito shows that at least during the seventeenth century, women were not sacrificial victims of a social order based on hierarchical, patriarchal relations of power, not because there existed notions of equality or fairness, but simply because the Spanish decentralized social and political system did not require such victims. Further work that questions the patriarchal framework to study gender relations includes Salomon (1988), Sousa (1997) and to a certain degree, Mangan (2005).

writers that regarded women as clearly inferior to men began as a textual discourse, and provided subsequent generations with countless examples of women's negative qualities. Abstract ideas about women's character and nature were based on religion, biology, intellectual notions, or tradition that influenced the legal systems and law codes in medieval and early modern Europe (Wiesner-Hanks 2008). Thus, the view that men, on the basis of their gender alone should held greater, economic, and political power than women was spread in these texts and became a social form of organization for western traditional societies.

In a traditional Western society, authority was invested in the eldest male and his domination was enforced by state action and laws. Thus, a woman had no individual legal or economic status, and therefore, could not legally represent herself, own property or carry out economic or legal transactions without the approval of her legal guardian (usually her father or her husband).[4] As shown by the referred historical scholarship, this link between political and social organization is not appropriate for Spanish society because in this period, social stability relied on the exercise of authority through decentralized power relationships. Let me clarify that while I do not accept the existence of a centralized state-supported patriarchal social structure, I do recognize that gender-based discrimination existed in colonial society and that misogynist characterizations of women were prevalent in early modern and colonial texts.

My dissertation begins with the embracement of this decentralized web of power relations in the colonial period and from there analyzes indigenous Andean women's lived experiences in accessing and exercising power. Through a comparative examination

[4] This definition of a patriarchal system was posited by Lisa Sousa (1997; 395) and quoted by Chad Black (2007: 294).

of colonial narratives and archival documents such as civil proceedings (including *probanzas de hidalguía*, *probanzas de servicios*, and legal suits), notarial records (wills and testaments, dowry contracts, and property sales) and reports of the idolatry extirpation campaigns, I reconsider the portrayal of indigenous women as having played the role of victims from the very beginning of colonial relations through the seventeenth century. By reconsidering the experiences of Andean women beyond those of passive victims of the Spanish conquest, we can also challenge the notion that Spanish society was patriarchal and monolithic. Reading the representations of indigenous Andean women in colonial chronicles against their portrayals in archival documents, I propose to unveil the voices and agency[5] of native women that were expressed in archival documents, only to be suppressed in colonial chronicles and contemporary literary criticism.

Literary Criticism on Indigenous Women in Colonial Literature

Despite the fact that many literary critics have begun to approach the colonial period "as a dynamic political and cultural process with many voices" (Myers 259), the analysis of indigenous women's voices and agency is still missing. Even the literary criticism that examines the representation of indigenous women in the textual productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is very limited. The majority of the studies about native women are journal articles and book chapters; no book-length studies have been written about this topic. While much interest has been devoted to the portrayal of indigenous women in Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica and buen gobierno* [1615?]

[5] By "agency" I refer to interactions among individuals in society as relations of ongoing power struggles.

and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales de los incas* [1616], few critics have paid attention to these women's representations in the early colonial texts.

Nevertheless, these studies have set the groundwork for my questioning of the patriarchal framework with which critics have approached the portrayals of women in colonial texts. One of the first analyses of indigenous women's literary representations in various colonial narratives is Julie Johnson's article "Women in Early Historical Writings" (1984). Johnson's thesis– that the portrayal of female characters in Spanish literature, especially in novels of chivalry, often determined both the attitude of early Spanish American authors toward their female subjects and their vision of women in the New World– places the depiction of female characters at the center of these texts. Her work emphasizes the "artistic creation" of New World characters (i.e. Inca princesses, valiant Araucanians, Amazons, etc.) and literary themes in the colonial texts.

Her analysis of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's treatment of indigenous women in *Historia general del Perú* [1616] refers to the episode of the arranged betrothal of Doña Beatriz Coya,[6] a daughter of the Inca ruler Huayna Capac, with Diego Hernández, an ordinary Spaniard. Johnson interprets Garcilaso's narration of this Inca princess' elusive response to the nuptial vows: "Ichach munani, ichach mana munani," which he translates as "quizá quiero, quizá no quiero" [Maybe I will, maybe I won't] (1960; VI: III), as controversial. While this critic praises Doña Beatriz's answer, she interprets it as "a quite objectionable utterance for a woman to say in public according to the behavioral standards both in Spain and in Peru."(29) She concludes that episodes like Doña Beatriz's response and other examples of "strong women" in various colonial texts have

[6] The Inca Garcilaso is actually referring to Doña Beatriz Manco Capac Coya, who appears in several archival sources in the sixteenth century.

contributed to the development of the *mujer varonil* theme in the Spanish golden age theater, but she states that none of these representations has changed the Spaniard's concept of patriarchy (48). However, the numerous images of women analyzed in this book reveal the complexity of women's lives in colonial society, which were not always regulated by male dominance, as Johnson argues.

Almost two decades later, Rima de Vallbona (2003) provides a similar analysis of indigenous women's representations in various colonial chronicles. In her article "El papel de la mujer en algunas culturas precolombinas" (The Role of Women in Some Pre-Columbian Cultures), Vallbona argues that the patriarchal Inca, Carib and Aztec societies treated indigenous women as mere objects in the service of the state or the community. This patriarchal order, she says, continued with the advent of the Spanish conquest, which reinforced the sexism that women in Hispanic America continue experiencing today. Her assertions, however, must be revisited. Vallbona's analysis comes from her reading of portions of Mexican and Peruvian colonial chronicles, which she complements with the works of historians that define Spanish America as a traditional patriarchal society.[7] This critic's approach to the study of indigenous women's status from pre-Columbian to contemporary Hispanic cultures points to the dangers of reading colonial chronicles as accurate historical depictions of indigenous women's roles in Andean and colonial Spanish American societies.

Although the chronicle genre presented its contents as veridical—within renaissance and baroque understandings of historical truth—the images of native women

[7] Vallbona quotes the works of Novelo Bonifaz (1978), which is a study of women's subjugated role in the history of Mexico, and Vieira Power's work (2002), which situates Spanish culture within Europe's traditional patriarchal societies.

that they present respond to the authors' personal agendas and draw on Western representational modes that influence the meanings they give to women's lives. Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes examines the misogynist Western influences in his article "Madres 'varoniles' y otras confusiones sexuales: Hacia una tipología de lo femenino en los *Comentarios reales*" ('Manly' Mothers and other Sexual Confusions: Towards a Typology of Femininity in the *Comentarios reales*). This critic focuses on the Inca Garcilaso's representation of native women as courageous mothers. He notices, however, that the Inca also provides misogynist depictions of other indigenous women in his text. The contradictory depictions of native women –as alternately weak and courageous- he says, are not historically reliable (75). La Fountain-Stokes concludes that the incongruity in this text regarding the depiction of indigenous women is due to the influence of the European misogynist writers of this period. However, despite these Western rhetorical influences, he says, Garcilaso still depicts native women as important members of Andean society. My analysis picks up where La Fountain-Stokes leaves off and furthers the analysis of Garcilaso's and Guaman Poma's European rhetorical influences in their depictions of native women.

Other articles, particularly those that employ a cultural studies approach, have also informed my study on native women in these chronicles. For example, the works that explore the representation of pre-Columbian indigenous women in Guaman Poma's chronicle (Garcés 1996; Chang-Rodríguez 2001) have furthered my knowledge about this Amerindian author's Andean sources. The cultural studies approach of Mónica Meléndez (2005), however, best fits my analysis of colonial indigenous women. Meléndez explores the representations of native women as mere prostitutes in the *Nueva corónica*. She

focuses her analysis on the transculturation of indigenous women in the *tambo* (inn), which for Guaman Poma is nothing more than a brothel. Meléndez argues that Guaman Poma depicts the *tambo* as a metaphor of the "contact zone," which alters the identity of native women, who prefer to engage in sexual relations with Spaniards only. In doing that, she says, Guaman Poma calls for an administrative reform to regulate women's sexuality that would not only preserve Andean culture, but would also benefit the Spanish Crown (69-70). This thought-provoking article belongs to the new paradigm of colonial literature that includes "subaltern authors" like Guaman Poma and exposes this Amerindian author's greatest fear, the downfall of the Andean world. Meléndez's study also presents us with Guaman Poma's narrow representation of (all) colonial Andean women as the recipients of the immoral effects of colonial society. However, Meléndez's work still forms part of the larger trend of gender studies in colonial Spanish America that has seen women solely in terms of victimhood, in this case, sexual victimhood.

My analysis of eight colonial *relaciones*, *historias* and chronicles produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries situates these texts within the socio-cultural context in which they were produced to determine their cultural function and their discursive classification, and thus to understand the ways in which these functions and classifications molded their depictions of women. I employ an interdisciplinary methodology that combines literary and historical analysis to examine the representations of indigenous Andean women in these texts. In my analysis of each colonial narrative, I classify the texts chronologically and I take into consideration the historical events in the background. The changing depictions of native women in these texts indicate the shifting agendas of each author, which are not always controlled by a unifying patriarchal

discourse. Then, I compare these portrayals to the divergent representations of women's voices and agency and the construction of gender evident in archival documentation. The archival research allows me to interpret in a more nuanced and less dichotomous manner the representations of indigenous women in the colonial chronicles.

Methodology

In describing my methodology, I would like to start by defining the terms I employ throughout this dissertation. Despite the inclusive nature of the term "Andean women," it is important to point out that there is not a single profile for all the indigenous women that appear in the colonial records. In my archival research, I sought out the women that were mentioned in some of the colonial chronicles (i.e. the daughters of Huayna Capac, Atahualpa's female descendants, Francisco Pizarro's mistresses: Doña Inés and Doña Angelina Yupanki, and several others). Although their information was elusive, I did find documents in which these women as well as others (mostly noblewomen) claimed to be descendants of an Inca ruler and/or were involved in legal suits. I also found numerous cases of non-elite indigenous women taking active part in social, economic and religious activities in colonial society. Thus, my dissertation includes the accounts of elitte and non-elite indigenous women from different cities in the Viceroyalty of Peru such as Lima, Cuzco, Quito, and La Paz.

I read these mundane discourses in whose production native women collaborated as part of the textual production of the colonial period. I employ Michel Foucault's definition of "discourse" as a group of statements as well as social practices that define and produce the objects of our knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment (*Representation* 44; Weedon 108-10). That is, I examine the textual

representations produced by and about indigenous women along with actual native women's social practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the Spanish, mestizo and Amerindian chroniclers wrote contradictory narratives about native women's role in the Spanish conquest and in colonial society –as uncivilized, ruthless, and as prostitutes or, on the contrary, as rational, chaste, and desirable marriage prospects– archival documents provide a discourse that describes these women's integration into this system of decentered relations of power.

Though I recognize the mediation that characterizes archival documents, I believe that a careful reading allows a discusion of issues of agency. This careful reading involves the analysis of the historical and cultural context as well as a gender critique that examines the voices and agency of women between the lines of legal documents of this period. The fact that the notaries who transcribed the voices of indigenous women (and other women and men for that matter) were male does not deprive native women of their agency. Women were not simply consumers of a male discourse, rather the producers of finished discursive creations with a personal aim (Osorio "El callejon" 204). During the time frame with which I am concerned, the actions of men and women, regardless of their ethnicities, were regulated by an economy of powers.

An economy of powers, as Foucault argues, is possible when the actions of some individuals or groups modify the actions of other individuals or groups through a set of discourses (*The Order of Things* 366). My reading strategy utilizes Foucault's theory of power relations, specifically his idea that power is not represented through a monolithic principle that dominates society to the smallest detail, but rather that power relations are built with actions upon actions ("The Subject" 793). My analysis also draws from the

theories of Joan Wallach Scott in her seminal article, "Gender: A Useful Category for Historical Analysis." Here Scott asserts that in order to study gender representations we need to recognize that social relations are far too complex to be understood by a single general or universal causal explanation (42). Therefore, a theory that rests on a single variable, such as patriarchy, limits new interpretations about gender relations in colonial society. Scott invites researchers to deal with the individual subject as well as the social organization to articulate the nature of their interrelationships.

This critique of power and gender, however, cannot be carried out effectively without a careful reading of the texts that have been influenced by some of the misogynist discourses in the form of the prescriptive literature from early modern Europe that attempted to control women's behavior.[8] A comparison between such patriarchal discourses that prescribe limits on women's social activity and women's actual lived experiences helps us to go beyond the binary paradigms (i.e. biological gender differences, public and private spheres, Eva-Ave axis) in which women are portrayed as victims of an oppressive patriarchal colonial society. In this dissertation, I analyze the coexistence of two contradictory discursive spheres that consist of the occasional, but not uniformly, patriarchal rhetorical representations of women as dominated by men that are manifested in the chronicles of this period, and the discursive agency of native women that emerges in archival documentation.

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[8] However, not all the textual productions of early modern Europe were misogynist. The Agustinian, Martín de Córdoba, provides one example of an alternative discourse in his advice manual entitled *Jardín de las nobles doncellas* (*Garden of noble maidens*) for Queen Isabella in 1468. The fundamental message of this complex treatise was that a woman could be an effective political leader as long as she would avoid certain female pitfalls. This work has been regarded as non-misogynist when compared to other treatises on women from the period (Lehfeldt 36). Later conduct manuals such as those by Fray Luis de León, Luis Vives, Antonio Arbiol y Diez and others propounded greater restrictions of women's activities in society (McKnight 37).

It is not my intention, however, to portray native women as the central actors of colonial society. Throughout my work, I recognize that numerous native women suffered mistreatment, and experienced successes and failures in colonial society. However, I consider their discursive agency within the context of the Spanish cultural norms that encouraged them to take independent actions to protect their social economic interests and to punish those who abused them through their use of the Spanish legal system. As Kimberly Gauderman has argued (2003), this system was not one of equality and fairness, and women were not more liberated then than they are today. Neither were women "equal" to men, because equality was not the goal or concern of the Spanish state. But factors other than gender—including wealth, lineage, occupation, and race—also defined social and economic relations. Gauderman's research on women in colonial society has shown that Spanish legislation did not seek to guarantee patriarchal authority. On the contrary, it often aimed to protect women's property rights and encouraged them to act independently of men as businesswomen and estate holders. In the case of indigenous market women, Gauderman argues that they faced few gender-specific constraints on their commercial or legal activities and that they claimed economic and legal advantages in market vending because of their racial status (10). While other scholars have shown that indigenous women were not only active in, but absolutely necessary to the economy of colonial cities (Lowry 1991, Wierum 2004, Mangan 2005, Graubart 2007), my work attempts to identify these women's agency in the textual arena of colonial society.

The research I have carried out in colonial archives shows that the persuasive discourses of both elite and non-elite indigenous women convinced the royal authorities

to grant them their favor and to sanction their abusers. Their discursive agency in documents about the religious, social, and economic realms also allowed these women to carve a place for themselves in colonial society. Furthermore, their own version of the historical events of the Spanish conquest and colonization provide more details about indigenous women's lived experiences and thought processes than the information about them in the colonial narratives.

In this dissertation I study the rhetorical structures used by Spanish, mestizo and Amerindian chroniclers that offer a contradictory and sometimes concealed representation of indigenous Andean women. In counterpoint to this, I also analyze these women's voices and agency in the affairs of colonial society. I consider that these two views of indigenous women bring together a rich study of gender and female agency in literary and archival sources.

Description of Chapters

Before describing the contents of each chapter, I would like to start by explaining the overall organization of my dissertation. I devote the first two chapters to examine the textual productions (chronicles and archival sources) of the sixteenth century. Then, I continue with a similar analysis of the literary and non-literary texts from the seventeenth century. This organization has different purposes: it places each text in its historical context either at the beginning of colonial relations or during the first decades of the seventeenth century, it provides opposing depictions of indigenous Andean women in colonial society, and it combines the methodologies of both fields (literature and history). Reading both literary texts as well as historical documents, we can better explore the

rhetorical representations as well as the lived experiences of indigenous Andean women in this period.

In Chapter I, "The Filthy, The Lovely, and The Vicious: The Discursive Representations of Indigenous Andean Women in the Early Colonial Chronicles," I analyze six colonial narratives produced between 1534 and the 1570s. These years span three historical periods that shaped the discursive representation of indigenous women: the conquest period, the establishment of colonial society, and the period of colonial reorganization. The early chronicles of conquest reveal the first impressions about the various Andean peoples that the conquistadors found from the coastal to the highland regions. These narratives provide changing representations of indigenous women – as vicious, dishonest, and with little capability or, on the contrary, as beautiful, rational and desirable marriage prospects. I argue that these contradictory portrayals show how the colonial vision of indigenous women was continually recreated as these authors utilized written discourses as political tools in their quest for power.

Chapter II, "Allies and Enemies: Indigenous Andean Women's Voices and Agency in Early Colonial Society explores" documents from the sixteenth century such as *probanzas de hidalguía* and *probanzas de servicios* (proofs of nobility and proofs of services), as well as notarial and civil records including testaments, legal suits and petitions. In these documents, I identify various native women mentioned in some of the colonial chronicles. Women such as Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanki, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac Coya, and Doña Beatriz Clara Coya as well as several other noble and commoner women appear in the colonial records participating in legal suits, requesting royal grants and claiming economic advantages for themselves and their kin. I show the ways in

which these women manipulated their discourses combining the Andean practice of parallel succession and the Spanish emphasis on genealogy to obtain *encomiendas* and annual incomes. In addition, I analyze how some of them used their testaments to achieve justice and to preserve their personal property for their legitimate heirs. Commoner women, in turn, called the attention of Spanish authorities in other matters such as reuniting them with their mestizo children, migrating to and from Spanish kingdoms and punishing those who enslaved them by using shorter civil and criminal proceedings. These non-literary sources reveal how these women, like their Spanish and Andean male counterparts, shifted their allegiances to one or another colonial faction and attempted to limit the authority of others.

Chapter III, "Ethereal Women; Venal Women: The Portrayal of Indigenous Andean Women in the Works of Guaman Poma and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," explores these authors personal agendas and the Western representational modes that influenced their narrow vision of indigenous women as virtuous and chaste Christian women or, on the contrary, as wicked and unrepentant sinners. Garcilaso vindicates the story of his mother's people and includes them in the history of Christianity to transform the barbaric images of the Incas and their descendants in the minds of influential European thinkers. Guaman Poma, in turn, uses his text to denounce the Incas as an illegitimate and pagan empire that usurped the power from preexisting Andean polities,[9] and to condemn the sinful Spanish authorities and clerics that corrupted the Andean population. Both authors subordinate their portrayal of indigenous women to the specific aims of their textual enterprises. In doing so, they fashioned a dichotomous representation

[9] Andrien (2001: 121)

of native women that has been influenced by the humanist and moralist discourses of the Renaissance that praised and criticized women's actions to correct and shape their behavior to the ideal image of a Christian woman. The rhetorical discourses of native women in these chronicles treat the topics of virginity and chastity, the fall of humanity (and its repercussion in the Andes), the feminine virtues and the feminine flaws.

Chapter IV, "In the Affairs of Colonial Religion and Society: Indigenous Andean Women's Voices and Agency in Archival Sources of the Seventeenth Century," provides a counterpoint to Guaman Poma's and Inca Garcilaso's representation of indigenous women in the seventeenth century. In this chapter, I establish that the dichotomous portrayal of women provided by Guaman Poma and Garcilaso –as virtuous or corrupt- limits our understanding of native women, and in particular ignores three important areas of agency that Andean women exercised: the ways in which they constructed their own religious identities, negotiated their social status, and exercised economic power to improve their current situations and provide for the future of their families.

Archival documents including testaments, donations and legal suits, show native women's participation in religious institutions such as *beaterios* (lay religious institutions) and *cofradías* (sodalities). While some native women entered a *beaterio* to live a contemplative life, others opted for a life of public participation and recognition in the *cofradías*. Some indigenous women, however, preferred to avoid the Catholic religion altogether by maintaining their traditional Andean rituals and practices for which they were accused of sorcery and witchcraft in the anti-idolatry trials of this period. The documents of the seventeenth century also reveal a continuity of indigenous elite attitudes towards indigenous commoners. Discourses about indigenous women's *calidad* referred

to their high rank in colonial society and justified the subordination of other local ethnic groups. The Spanish conquest, however, provided alternative means for social mobility, which commoners employed to move up in colonial society. Finally, the numerous cases of indigenous women involved in economic activities suggest that they learned that their economic success or failure depended on their manipulation of the cultural norms and the legal discourses of Spanish society. Taking advantage of the protective legislation for women, a number of them rose from domestic workers to entrepreneurs, property owners and even slave owners.

Chapter I

The Filthy, The Lovely, and The Vicious: The Discursive Representations of Indigenous Andean Women in the Early Colonial Chronicles

> The predominant sexism of Hispanic America in which women are victims deprived of their liberty has been attributed to our indigenous and Spanish legacies. By examining the diverse attitudes of men towards women in both societies and racial groups from pre-Columbian times and throughout the colonial period, we can understand better the origins of this sexist conduct in our continent. (Vallbona 195)

> The current situation of indigenous women [as dominated and inferior] has to do with an historic past that goes back to the time of the conquest. The conquerors, obsessed with gold and silver, raped, kidnapped and defiled, bringing dishonor to

> Indian women…The declining indigenous population and the appearance of castes (in colonial terms), transformed the indigenous woman into a commodity whose value hinged on her reproductive abilities…Five hundred years later the indigenous woman is seen as the paradigm and symbol of a conquered people… (Choque-Quispe 12-13)

In her article "El papel de la mujer indígena en algunas culturas precolombinas" (The Role of the Indigenous Woman in Some Pre-Columbian Cultures) Rima de Vallbona states that patriarchy was a shared form of social organization for the Incas, Aztecs and Caribs, which had subjugated indigenous women since pre-Columbian times. Vallbona arrives at the conclusion that these phallocentric cultures were integrated into the Spanish patriarchal ideologies, which reinforced the sexist attitudes that prevail today in Hispanic America informed by portions of various colonial chronicles (219). Likewise, María Eugenia Choque-Quispe in "Colonial Domination and the Subordination of the Indigenous Woman in Bolivia," builds her theory of indigenous women's present domination on the basis of a series of fragments extracted from colonial chronicles, Andean myths and Aymara terms. The central tenet of her argument is that modern patriarchal domination of Aymara women is an updated version of the colonial domination of indigenous Andean people.

The approaches of these two scholars to the study of indigenous women's domination from pre-Columbian times on, supported by the contradictory colonial narratives, pose a series of limitations. First, they are suggesting that the experiences of women's subordination are cross-culturally interchangeable. Second, they are taking their

sources at face value and out of their historical context; and third, they are maintaining the paradigm of "Indian women as always victims."[10]

The primary sources that they have used, however, are characterized by the numerous textual representations of women –as people of little capability, appalling and indecent or on the contrary as rational, chaste and beautiful– depending on the changing agendas of the chroniclers and sponsors of these narratives. These contradictory representations show how the colonial vision of indigenous Andean women was continually recreated as these authors utilized written discourses as political tools. Unlike the assumptions of these scholars, the numerous depictions of native women in these texts do not form part of a uniformly patriarchal code of representation.

In this chapter, I analyze six chronicles written within the context of three historical periods that shaped the discursive representations of native women during the sixteenth century: the conquest period, the establishment of colonial society and the period of colonial reorganization.[11] The narratives written in the conquest period (1532-1553) reveal the first impressions about the various Andean peoples that the conquistadors found from the coastal to the highland regions. While the chroniclers of conquest describe coastal indigenous women as people of little capability, they depict the

[10] Karen Viera Powers (2002) states that today's indigenous activists have also "conquered and colonized" women by creating a totalizing discourse of rape and victimhood that is equally disempowering. While the latter interpretation is supported by considerable empirical evidence (yes, Spanish men raped thousands of indigenous women), it is also part of a discourse that derives from the use of strategic essentialism. Owing to the imbalance of power between indigenous women and armed Spanish soldiers, the deployment of this methodological device was imperative for initiating any kind of discursive shift, however incomplete. It created a position from which to deconstruct the "traitor/whore" paradigm and to carve out a space for the formation of a competing discourse of indigenous women's rape and victimhood. Nevertheless, in this case, strategic essentialism eventually resulted in yet another truncating paradigm—"indigenous woman as always already victim."

[11] Karen Graubart's study of the politics of representation of the pre-Columbian *acllakuna* (confined working women during the Inca empire) in the early colonial chronicles has been a model for this chapter. I expand her analysis by studying the depictions of other indigenous Andean women in various representative colonial chronicles with a focus on the decentralized Spanish socio-political system.

highland women as clean and rational in order to magnify their conquest of the Inca empire. During 1554 and 1557, the texts of the establishment of the colonial society rewrite the accounts of the encounter and depict indigenous women as beautiful and desirable marriage prospects in their attempt to promote fruitful alliances with noble indigenous women. Finally, the accounts written throughout the period of colonial reorganization carried out by Viceroy Toledo (1569-1581), refute all of the other versions of the conquest of Peru creating a propaganda against the descendants of the Incas and the memory of their empire by depicting indigenous women as vicious and immoral.

The Chronicles of the Conquest Period (1532-1553)

In 1534, two of Francisco Pizarro's secretaries,[12] Francisco de Xerez and Pedro Sancho, published their accounts of the encounters with the diverse indigenous populations from the scattered towns of the coast to the urban societies in the central highlands. In his *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, Francisco de Xerez establishes a comparison between coastal and highland peoples lauding the attributes of highland women and deprecating those of the coast. Xerez's text relates that, coming down through the Ecuadorian northern coast, the conquistadors found a small Indian village called Motupe, which recently had been added to the Inca Empire. He explains that in this small village:

> Toda la gente tiene una misma manera de vivir. Las mujeres visten una ropa larga que arrastran por el suelo, como hábito de mujeres de Castilla. Los hombres traen unas camisas cortas; es gente sucia, comen carne y pescado todo crudo; el maíz comen cocido y tostado. Tienen otras suciedades de sacrificios y mezquitas. (90)

[12] The men responsible for writing down Pizarro's words, since he was illiterate.

> [All the people live in the same way (as those from the coast). The women wear long garments that drag on the ground like the women of Castile; the men wear short sleeve shirts. They are dirty people who eat raw meat, fish and cooked maize. They are also dirty in their sacrifices and mosques.][13]

Xerez starts with a generalization of all the Motupe people because, for him, they all live in the same manner as those the Spaniards found in the previous coastal towns. Motupe was one of the *cacicazgos* of the northern coastal Peruvian region that was not yet integrated to the cultural ambit of Cuzco, as the Incas had conquered the Chimú kingdom by only decades before the arrival of the Spaniards (Fernández 1988; Graubart 2007). Later references to this region, particularly to the women, mention the existence of female *cacicas* whom the Spaniards called *capullanas* for the type of clothing they wore.[14]

Xerez describes the Motupe women's dress style "long garments that drag on the ground" comparing it with that of Castilian women, which he criticizes. From the late fifteenth to the sixteenth century a Castilian dress style called *verdugo* (the executioner) was in fashion among almost all women. This type of dress was considered immodest because it left too much space between clothing and body, made the hips look enticingly wide, and revealed the foot and part of the leg with movement (Marino 49). Xerez's narrative not only views the women as dressing indecently, but it also describes their garments as grimy. This association of the Motupe and the Castilian women's indecent

[13] Translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.
[14] Cieza de León (1553) and Reginaldo de Lizárraga (1560) wrote that Motupe was governed by women whom the Spaniards called *capullanas* for the clothing they wore. This outfit resembled a cloak.

dress style is, according to Xerez, a reflection of the coastal people's general lack of cleanliness.

In Xerez's own words, these are "dirty people" whose filthiness is not only manifested in their life, dress style, and eating habits, but also in their religious beliefs and practices. He adds, "they are also dirty in their sacrifices and mosques," in a clear identification of the Motupe with the Moors whom the Spaniards also denigrated. According to Graubart, many of the descriptions in the early chronicles, "referred more or less explicitly to their own experiences and popular beliefs regarding the 'Moors', the Iberian Muslims who had for many centuries alternately coexisted and contended with their Christian Peninsular neighbors." ("Indecent" 218) Thus, the suspicious image of the moors and the indecency of some Castilian women are combined in Xerez's text to convey the unworthiness of the indigenous coastal people.

As they reached the northern highlands on the road to Cajamarca,[15] the Spaniards encountered a house filled with laboring women. Xerez describes it as follows:

> Se halló una casa grande, fuerte y cercada de tapias, con sus puertas, en la cual estaban muchas mujeres hilando y tejiendo ropa para la hueste de Atabalipa, sin tener varones más de los porteros que las guardaban; y que a la entrada del pueblo había ciertos indios ahorcados de los pies; y se supo de un principal que Atabalipa los mandó a matar porque uno de ellos entró en la casa de las mujeres a dormir con una; a la cual, y a todos los porteros que consintieron, ahorcó [sic]. (86)

[15] Cajamarca is the place where Pizarro and his men encountered the Inca ruler, Atahuallpa in 1532.

> [There was a big house surrounded by adobe walls and doors in which many women were spinning and weaving for Atahualpa's army. There was not a man inside except the door-keepers who guarded them, and at the entrance of the town were certain Indians hung by their feet, and a principal lord said that one of them dared to enter into the women's house to sleep with one of them, and this woman and all who allowed this were also hung.]

The house that the Spaniards found was an *acllahuasi*, a building that contained working women during the Inca Empire. According to archaeological evidence, the *acllahuasi* were buildings that contained groups of women who indeed spun, wove and made *chicha* or corn beer (Graubart, "Indecent" 217). The labor of the *acllakuna*[16] was necessary to meet the demands for textile production in the Inca state (Murra 1978; Alberti 1974). As the Spaniards saw this organized group of women spinning and weaving for Atahualpa's militia, they began to have a positive impression of all the peoples of the highlands. Xerez dedicates more space to relate the story of how some men were hung by their feet for corrupting one of the *acllas*. Whether he believed this story or not, he certainly put these women's reputation as higher than those indecent women from the coast. The productivity and chastity of the *acllas* are a synecdoche of the vast Inca Empire the Spaniards were longing to conquer.

After the encounter of the Incas in the northern Peruvian region, the Spaniards began to compare the "dirty people" of the coast with the "clean people" of Cajamarca in order to justify and magnify their conquest of the Incas. Xerez states:

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[16] Is the plural form of *aclla*.

> La gente de todos estos pueblos después que se subió la sierra, hace ventaja a toda la otra que queda atrás porque es gente limpia y de mejor razón. Y las mujeres muy honestas; traen sobre la ropa unas reatas muy labradas, fajadas por la barriga; sobre esta ropa traen cubierta una manta desde la cabeza hasta media pierna. (104)
>
> [The people of all these highland towns have an advantage over all other people we left behind because they are clean people and of better reason. The women are very chaste (*honestas*). They wear very elaborate twisted strands on top of their clothes, wrapped around their waist and cover themselves with shawls from the top of their heads to their knees.]

Xerez' assertions suggest that the clear advantage of these indigenous people is that they are "rational beings" like the Spaniards themselves. Moreover, the women are chaste (*honestas*) and their dress style is decent unlike the disreputable coastal women. The fact that Xerez writes about these indigenous people who have the capacity to reason is important because the Spaniards' concern at the time was to convert the rational Indians to the Catholic faith (Seed, "Are these" 635). Xerez's descriptions of these people, particularly the women as "clean" and "very chaste," are both physical and moral. Moreover, according to Covarrubias' dictionary, the significance of "clean people" or "cleanliness" in the cultural context of the sixteenth century consists of lacking any consanguinity with the Moors, Jews or any other heretic (67). This suggests that Xerez chooses not to associate the indigenous women of the highlands with the Moors, as he does with the people from the coast.

Later on, Xerez describes the events that occurred at Atahualpa's capture in which hundreds of indigenous men and women stood by his side:

> En una plaza había cuatrocientos indios que parecían gente de guarda; y Atabalipa estaba a la puerta de su aposento sentado en un asiento bajo; y muchos indios delante de él, *y mujeres en pie, que quasi lo rodeaban* y tenía en la frente una borla de lana que parecía seda, de color de carmesí, de anchor de dos manos, asida de la cabeza con sus cordones, que le bajaba hasta los ojos; la cual le hacía mucho más grave de lo que él es. (106; Italics are mine)

> [At the main plaza there were four hundred Indians that looked like guards, and Atahualpa was seated at his door in a short seat, and many Indians in front of him, *and women stood almost surrounding him*. He had a red tassel made out of wool but it looked as if it were made out of silk and was as wide as two hands put together, this tassel was tied to his head and reached his eyes, which made him look more powerful than he really was.]

Xerez interprets the presence of both the men and the women as part of the Inca's army, for they stand in a parallel fashion. In the Andean context, the concept of parallelism divided the world into two interdependent spheres of gender. According to Irene Silverblatt, "the values and tone of gender parallelism were continuously reinforced in the practical activities through which they constructed and experienced their lives." (5) Clearly, Xerez's text does not suggest any association of these women's presence as a sign of Atahualpa's weakness, if anything he says, "they made him look more powerful."

The men and women together represent the complete schema of the organized Andean society.

Xerez finishes with the episodes of Cajamarca and Atahualpa's death, for he had to depart to Spain, charged with carrying back the first full official report of the expedition from Panama to Cajamarca.[17] His successor, Pedro Sancho, continued writing the events that occurred from Cajamarca to Cuzco in his *Relación de la conquista del Perú* (1534). Sancho's text continues building up the reputation of the peoples living under the Inca Empire as profitable targets for the Spanish conquest. The women of these regions are, according to Sancho's text, people who achieved varied and important religious and social roles.

Sancho tells what the Spaniards found in the Inca's gold-melting houses in the village of Jauja as follows:

> Verdaderamente era cosa digna de verse esta casa donde se fundía llena de tanto oro…y entre otras cosas singulares eran muy de ver cuatro carneros de oro fino muy grandes y diez o doce figuras de mujer, del tamaño de las mujeres de aquella tierra, todas de oro fino tan hermosas y bien hechas como si estuvieran vivas. Estas las tenían ellos en tanta veneración como si fueran señoras de todo el mundo, y vivas, y las vestían de ropas hermosas y finísimas, y las adoraban por Diosas, y les daban de comer y hablaban con ellas como si fueran mujeres de carne. (76)

[17] Xeréz broke his leg at Cajamarca and was left lame for life. He left Peru in 1533 and his account was published in 1534. Such was the public's interest in Peru that it was republished in 1547, even translated into Italian (Lockhart, *The Men* 269).

> [Truly it was a thing worthy to be seen, this house where the melting took place…among other very sightly things were four sheep in fine gold and very large, and ten or twelve figures of women of the size of the women of that land, all of fine gold and as beautiful and well-made as if they were alive. These they held in as much veneration as if they had been rulers of all the world, and alive [as well], and they dressed them in beautiful and very fine clothing, and they adored them as goddesses, and gave them food and talked with them as if they were women of flesh.] (Sancho, *An account* 128-29)

Sancho registers no surprise at the veneration of these twelve life-size female idols, nor does he criticize them. On the contrary, he expresses great admiration for them, but most of all for the treasures found at this melting house. His depiction of these Andean "goddesses" might represent a culturally understandable equivalent with that of the polytheistic Greco-Romanic beliefs and traditions known by the Spaniards.

In another episode of his chronicle, Sancho records that many indigenous women continued serving as administrators of important assets even after the Spaniards entered those territories. In the following quote, Sancho describes the role of women in the Andean system of religious corporations called *panacas*, groups of men and women who were noble relatives of deceased rulers dedicated to venerate and administer the estates of their ancestors. He writes:

> Cada señor difunto tiene aquí su casa de todo lo que le tributaron en vida, porque ningún señor que sucede (y esta es la ley entre ellos) puede después de la muerte del pasado tomar posesión de su herencia. Cada uno tiene su vajilla de oro y de plata…Los caciques y señores muertos mantienen sus casas de recreo con la

> correspondiente servidumbre de criados y mujeres que les siembran sus campos de maíz y le ponen un poco en sus sepulturas. (92)
>
> [Each dead lord has here his house and all that was paid to him, for no lord who succeeds another can, after the death of the last one, take position of his inheritance. Each one has his service of gold and silver…The dead caciques and lords maintained their houses of recreation with the corresponding staff of servants and the women sow their fields with maize and place a little of it in their sepulchers.] (Sancho, *An Account* 159)

As Sancho recalls, the servants as well as some women, took care of the deceased ruler's mummy and his tomb. He is probably referring to the female relatives of the Inca rulers (or royal *panaca*, a branch of the Inca nobility), who were entitled to perform these activities. According to Maria Rowstworoski, the term *pana* refers, in Quechua, to the ruler's sister or to one of his close female relatives (*Curacas* 23). These women, along with the legitimate children of the Inca king and his sister (the *coya*) had the same rights to be part of the royal *panaca*, and all the male children could aspire to succession of their fathers (Murra 419; Isawak 62). Sancho's text portrays the female members of the *panaca* as the people in charge of the maintance and "feeding" (placing kernel corn in the of the mounth) of the deceased Inca ruler.

The emphasis chroniclers placed upon highland indigenous women in the period of the conquest, referring to them as chaste, rational and important administrators of their ancestors' estates, functioned to celebrate the encounter with the Inca empire in general, and to emphasize its value to the expanding Spanish empire. The main purpose of these

early chroniclers was to record how one imperial force swallowed up another (Graubart, "Indecent" 214). Critics who see the women in these chronicles primarily as victims ignore both their varied representation and the way these representations serve an imperial, rather than patriarchal, purpose. The praises of the highland Andean women, mainly of those related to the Inca elite were to be reinforced in the chronicles written in the next period.

The Chronicles of the Establishment of Colonial Society (1554-1560)

The year 1554 put an end to the major Almagrist and Pizarrists civil wars among the Spaniards[18] and inaugurated a period of colonial adaptation, which was the result of the prolonged contact of Spaniards and Indians regulated by an economy of powers[19] and promoted by the decentralized Spanish colonial system. The maintenance of social order depended on mutual surveillance, competition and conflict, including disagreements in the textual arena. Thus, the information provided in the chronicles of this period served as political discourses in the struggle for power. The authors of the *relaciones* and *historias* written between the 1550s and 1660s reframed their accounts of the initial encounters, offering favorable depictions of indigenous noblewomen in order to promote marriage alliances. These accounts were generally colored to promote a political *mestizaje* that celebrated an idealized union of Spanish and Andean elites (Graubart, "Indecent" 220). At the same time, their narratives also served to reinforce their position as loyal to the Crown.

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[18] Around 1537, the Spanish conquistadors Diego de Almagro, Francisco Pizarro's companion and rival, set off a major civil war among the Spaniards, the first in a series which was to continue for fifteen years (Lockhart, *Spanish* 4-5).

[19] According to Foucault, an economy of powers was possible when the actions of individuals or groups modified the actions of other individuals or groups through a set of discourses ("The Subject" 779).

When chroniclers such as Pedro Cieza de León and Juan de Betanzos rewrote the accounts of the initial encounters with the indigenous populations, they idealized the image of native noblewomen from the first moment of contact, and promoted beneficial alliances with them. During this period and until the decline of the *encomienda*[20] system, interracial unions with these women were attractive to many Spaniards seeking power, because these women had a degree of prestige, important social ties, indigenous lands and access to labor. Interracial marriages were legally accepted under Spanish law. This racial intermixing, however, not only took place among indigenous and Spanish elites, but also among ordinary Spaniards and ordinary indigenous women (Lowry 36). Nevertheless, the emphasis in the narratives of this period was to promote fruitful alliances with noble indigenous women.

Pedro Cieza de León was a strong supporter of colonial marriage alliances with indigenous noblewomen. He wrote a number of descriptive narratives about the Peruvian territory, its people and its customs. His three volumes entitled *Crónicas del Perú* were written under the tutelage of the Viceroy Pedro de La Gasca (Fossa 67). Thus, Cieza presents himself as loyal to the Crown and identifies boldly the names of those he considers betrayers of the Spanish king. The third part of Cieza's *Crónica del Perú* is an account that rewrites the events of the encounter in which he highlights the importance of native women in the conquest of Peru more than in any other text he wrote.

[20] An *encomienda* was a royal grant, in reward for meritorious service at arms, of the right to enjoy the tributes of Indians within a certain boundary, with the duty of protecting them and seeing to their religious welfare.

Cieza initiates his account with events of the expedition of 1527 in which Pedro de Candia, one of Pizarro's thirteen companions,[21] and the first to go ashore in the northern Ecuadorian region of Tumbez, found a fortress where many women were working with wool. His text reads that Candia:

> Vio la fortaleza; las 'mamaconas', que son las vírgenes sagradas, le quisieron ver y enbiaron a rogar al señor que lo llevase allí. Fue así hecho; holgaron en estremo con ver [a] Candia; entendían en labor de lana, de que hazían fina ropa y en el servicio del tenplo; las más heran hermosas y todas muy amorosas.
>
> …(Candia) dixo que vio cántaros de plata y estar labrando a muchos plateros y que por algunas paredes del templo avía planchas de oro y plata, y que las mujeres que llamaban del Sol eran muy hermosas. Locos estaban de placer los españoles en oír tantas cosas; esperaban en Dios de gozar su parte dello. (58)

> [(When) he saw this fortress, the *mamaconas*, who are the sacred virgins wanted to see him, and they sent to beg the ruler to bring him [Candia] there. Thus it was done. They [the women] were extremely pleased to see Candia. They were skilled in working with wool, from which they made fine cloth, and they were in the service of the temple. Most of them were very beautiful, and all were very affectionate.
>
> …Candia said that he saw silver vessels and many silversmiths working, and that on some walls of the temple there were gold and silver sheets, and that the women they call of the Sun were very beautiful. The Spaniards were ecstatic

[21] After Pizarro's second expedition only thirteen men known as the "Thirteen of fame" accompanied Pizarro on their first coastal reconnaissance of central Peru.

> to hear so many things, hoping with God's help to enjoy their share of it. (Cieza, *Discovery* 113)

According to Cieza, the *mamaconas* were not only skilled weavers, but also "sacred virgins" in the service of the temple, an image very different from Xerez depiction of coastal women as vicious women and as people of little capability. As Cieza highlights the virginity of these women, he praises their innocence, purity and religiosity, for these were the moral values instituted by a Christian discourse.[22] He says that when these women saw Pedro Candia, they showed themselves "very affectionate" to him. Affection is defined by Covarrubias as a sign of happiness or tender compassion for someone (18). Therefore, Cieza's rhetoric emphasizes that these women were compassionate and willing to help this Spanish man. After enduring so many hardships with the native peoples of the coast, the Spaniards, in Cieza's words, were "ecstatic" to receive Candia's news about the gold and silver treasures as well as the "beautiful" *mamaconas* they encountered.

Cieza depicts these women as "beautiful" on repeated occasions. However, he never gives details about these women's physical beauty such as hair and skin color, length of the neck, stature, etc. Apparently he works with a standard concept of beauty that may be known to his readers. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines physical beauty (*belleza*) as "the right proportion of the parts of the body, especially those of the countenance, accompanied by a charming posture, which makes the person look

[22] Cieza's comparison of the *acllas* to virgins will later be used by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma de Ayala to claim that Christianity existed in Peru before the conquest. I expand this comparison in Chapter 3.

pleasant." Hence, when Cieza writes about these women he brings to his readers a picture of such beauty in their minds.

Following a chronological order of the events, Cieza narrates how the Spaniards advanced to the region of Piura around 1528 where they found fortresses and irrigation channels. One of the Spaniards under Pizarro's command, Alonso de Molina, was ordered to stay in that region to serve as a liaison with the Indians until the conquering expedition would return (Lockhart *The Men,* 134). Cieza writes that when Molina was inspecting their irrigation channels and their fields,

> Venían a hablar con él muchas yndias muy hermosas y galanas, vestidas a su modo; todas le daban frutas y de lo que tenían, para que llevasen al navío…Y entre aquellas yndias que le hablaron estaba una señora muy hermosa y díxole que se quedase con ellos y que le darían por mujer una dellas, la qual quisiese. (55)
>
> [Many Indian women –very beautiful and well attired, dressed according to their fashion– came out to talk to him. They all gave him fruits and whatever they had to take to the ship… Among those Indian women who were talking to him there was a very beautiful lady, and she told him to stay with them and that they would give him as wife one from among them, whichever one he would wish.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 109)

This time, another Spaniard finds beautiful and kind women who welcome him and provide him with food. These well-attired women, according to Cieza, were willing to negotiate with Molina by offering him a wife "whichever one he would wish." This type of offer in the Andean context refers to the view of marriage as a key way to integrate

another polity after a process of conquest was initiated. Thus, the meaning of a marriage union between a man of the conquering power and a woman of the conquered group cannot be reduced to the simple objectification of women (Ortíz 6). In any case, the fact that Cieza writes that it was a female ruler offering a woman rather than a man offering a woman to another man serves as an example that not all the representations of indigenous women in these texts are patriarchal. According to Cieza it was Molina's decision to accept or reject this offer, which seemingly he rejected.

In the Andean context, marriage was an alliance that celebrated the formation of a new unity made up of equals (Silverblatt 8). In this context, husbands and wives saw themselves as contributing in complementary but commensurate ways to the formation of the household. Likewise in Spanish society, "all marriages were strategic alliances…both partners were seeking the greatest wealth and the highest lineage possible in the other party" (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru* 176). Thus, both Spaniards and indigenous peoples understood interracial marriages as beneficial in the context of colonial establishment.

> According to Daisy Ripodas Ardanaz, during the sixteenth century:
>
> The Crown established two basic motives to allow Hispanic-indigenous marriages. One was the religious-cultural context, justified by the reciprocal teachings of different customs and the unilateral teachings of a single faith. The other was the political ground that granted the possibility of access to the *cacicazgos* by the Spaniards married with *cacicas* or *caciques*' daughters. (9)

While the Crown encouraged these types of interracial marriages, few *encomenderos* who had come to Peru and had large *encomiendas* and good connections with Spain married indigenous women. Their attitude toward lineage and their need for Spanish alliances

were too strong (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru* 232). This conceit for Iberian lineage is exactly what Pedro Cieza criticizes about the old *encomenderos*, who did not establish successful alliances with Andean elite women.

To illustrate and criticize this lost opportunity for marriage alliances, Cieza de León presents an interesting episode with a female ruler whom he calls the lady Capullana,[23] and a Spaniard named Halcón. As claimed by Cieza, this event happened in northern Peru. It is a story of love that does not come to fruition and thus, negatively affects the relationships between Spaniards and indigenous people from the time of conquest on. Cieza contextualizes his story by introducing the moment in which Alonso de Molina, the liaison with the Indians, met the lady Capullana:

> Alonso de Molina, el español que por hazer la tormenta no pudo entrar en la nao…avíase quedado entre los yndios los cuales lo llevaron donde estaba una cacica de parte de aquella tierra, donde fue bien tratado y servido sin le hazer enojo ni mal ninguno…[Cuando Pizarro regresó] los yndios vían el navío y lo mismo Alonso de Molina; aderezaron con presteza una barca, donde yendo dentro el cristiano con algunos yndios, aunque era tan noche fueron al navío donde fueron bien recibidos del capitan y de sus compañeros; embiando la señora Capullana a rogarles que saltasen en un puerto que más abaxo estaba hacia el norte, donde serían della bien servidos, el capitán respondió que hera contento de lo hazer. (63)

[23] The works of María Rostworoski (1961; 1989) and Salles y Noejovich (1995) show that the *capullanas* were indeed female rulers in the Peruvian northern coast.

> [Alonso de Molina – the Spaniard who had not been able to board the ship because of the storm…had remained with the Indians. They took him to a *cacica* of that part of that land, where he was well treated and looked after without being vexed or harmed… (When Pizarro returned) the Indians saw the ship, as did Alonso de Molina. They quickly prepared a raft and, even though it was already dark, the Christian and several Indians went to the ship, and they were well received by the captain and his companions. The lady Capullana invited them to land in a port that was further north where they would be well and looked after. The captain replied that he would be delighted to do it.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 120)

As Cieza writes, the negotiations between the lady Capullana and Alonso de Molina began with her diplomatic welcome. He depicts this woman as very cautious, yet friendly and compassionate towards the Spaniards. In order to gain Pizarro's trust, says Cieza, she sent him many provisions:

> …Vinieron muchas balsas con mantenimiento y cinco ovejas que enbiava la señora susodicha; la cual enbió a dezir al capitán que para que se fiasen de su palabra y sin recelo saltasen en tierra, que ella se quería fiar primero dellos y yr a su navío donde los vería a todos y les dexaría rehenes, para que sin miedo estuviesen en tierra lo que ellos quisiesen. Con estas buenas razones que la cacica enbió a dezir, se holgó el capitán en estremo; dava gracias a Dios porque avía sido servido que tal tierra se avía descubierto…
>
> …Fueron derechos donde estaba la cacica la cual les hizo a su costumbre gran recibimiento con mucho ofrecimiento mostrando ella e sus yndios gran regozijo. Luego les dieron de comer, y por los honrar, se levantó ella misma y les

> dio a beber con un bazo, diziendo que así se acostumbraba en aquella tierra tratar a los guéspedes. (63-64)

> [La Capullana sent [the provisions] to tell the captain to trust her word and to come ashore without hesitation, but that she first wanted to assure herself of them and go to their ship, where she would see all of them. She would leave hostages with them so that they could stay on land without fear for as long as they wanted to. The captain was extremely pleased with these good arguments that the *cacica* relayed to him. He thanked God because it had pleased Him that such a land was discovered…
>
> …They went directly to the *cacica*, who along with her Indians rejoiced and according to their custom gave them a grand welcome with many gifts. Then the Indians gave them food, and in order to honor them the *cacica* herself rose up and gave them a drink from a cup saying that this was a custom of treating guests in that land.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 120)

Cieza praises the *cacica*'s actions of leaving some of her people as hostages with Pizarro. According to him, Pizarro thought the lady Capullana had "good arguments," impying that she was an intelligent Indian.

While the lady Capullana and her subjects gathered with the Spaniards, a man named Halcón was gazing at her. Cieza states, "the more Halcón looked at her, the deeper he fell in love." (Cieza, *Discovery* 121) As she was talking, says Cieza, Halcón never took his eyes off her, the whole time sighing and moaning (Cieza, *Discovery* 65). When the gathering was over and the *cacica* had to return to her land, Halcón decided he would

prefer to stay in that island with this lady other than continuing the expedition with Pizarro. Cieza describes:

> Halcón como vido que se apartaba de la cacica fue a le rogar que lo dexase en aquella tierra entre los yndios; no quiso porque era de poco juicio y no los alterase; lo qual sintió tanto Halcón, que luego perdió el ceso y se tornó loco… (66-67)

> [When Halcón realized he was departing from the *cacica*, he went to plead with (Pizarro) to leave him behind in that land among the Indians. (Pizarro) did not want to because (Halcón) was so foolish and could not change (the Indians). Halcón was so upset by this that he lost his mind and went mad…](Cieza, *Discovery* 123-25)

This elaborate story of the lady Capullana, Francisco Pizarro, and Halcón does not appear in any other chronicle of the sixteenth century. A century later Antonio de la Calancha narrates a portion of it in his *Crónica moralizadora* (1638-39) without mentioning Halcón's name at all. Interestingly, Halcón's name is not mentioned either in Lockhart's *Men of Cajamarca*, a reliable compilation of the 168 men that came with Pizarro. This could mean that Cieza incorrectly identifies this man or that he has created a fictional character for this particular love story.

Cieza's narrative seems to have been influenced by the concept of platonic love that colors the representation of the lady Capullana and Halcón. In this narrative the lady Capullana with her physical beauty and her actions captivates Halcón who observes her every move and uttererance. "The more Halcón looks at her, the deeper he falls in love,"

(121) writes Cieza. This love inspired by the impressions of sight recalls the underpinnings of courtly love, a recurrent theme of the chivalry novels such as *Amadis de Gaula*, written in the fifteenth century. According Juan Bautista Avalle Arce, "[t]he theory of courtly love supposes a platonic and mystic conception of love, that sums itself up in the total submission of the lover, the separation of the beloved, the aristocratic condition of both lovers, the suffering facing the impossibility of communication and usually adultery or fornication" (4). Halcón, like many characters from medieval literary pieces such as Leriano from Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* and Calisto from Francisco de Rojas' *Celestina*, is lovesick and will not recover if he is not with his beloved lady. Similarly in Cieza's story, when Pizarro orders all his men to leave that place, Halcón loses his mind because he cannot be away from the lady Capullana.

What is the purpose of this story in Cieza's narrative? What could have happened if Halcón and the lady Capullana's love story had become reality? Here Cieza provides two starkly contrasting pictures, the platonic love between a Spaniard and a female of the ruling class and the conceit of the old *encomenderos*, such as Pizarro, which prevented this type of relationships. Cieza's text suggests that the Spaniards' pride and their violent actions resulted instead in the degradation and abuse of indigenous women. Cieza's text appears to be an apology to the Amerindians, particularly to the many Andean women suffering under the excessive power of the colonial *encomenderos*. This author states his position as loyal to the Crown's attempt to prevent corrupt practices such as immoral behavior and violence towards the native population.

Cieza denounces Pizarro for ordering several of his captains to go out with the necessary people to plunder the land of Tumbez, trying to capture any Indian men and

women they could find. Plundering indigenous land and people, he says, only served to create more chaos because the natives were not going to take these attacks passively. Cieza adds:

> …los yndios partieron a Caxamalca a contar [a] Atabalipa que quánto daño habían hecho en todos ellos, e cómo robavan quanto hallavan y se lo tomavan, sirviéndose dellos a su pesar, tomando sus mugeres para tenellas por mancebas y a sus hijos por cativos…(117)

> …the Indians went to Cajamarca to tell Atahualpa how much harm [the Spaniards] had caused all of them and how they plundered whatever they found and took it, using them against their will, taking their women as concubines and their children as captives… (Cieza, *Discovery* 191)

With these actions, the Spanish conquistadors could not negotiate fruitfull alliances with Andean elites and the possibility of further confrontation was assured.

Another event from the conquest period in which Cieza criticizes the actions of these men happened during the encounter of Cajamarca after the negotiations between Atahualpa and the Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde failed:

> Los cristianos se recogieron todos e se juntaron, mandando Pizarro que soltasen un tiro para que oyesen que quería así. El despojo que se ovo fue grande de cántaros de oro e piedras preciosas. Ovieronse cativas muchas señoras principales de linaje real e de caciques del reyno, algunas muy hermosas e vistosas con cabellos largos, vestidas a su modo, ques uso galano… (134)

> [All the Christians came together and assembled, and Pizarro ordered that they should fire a shot so they could hear what he wanted. There were great spoils of gold and silver vessels, cups of thousands of shapes, cloth of great value, and other jewels of gold and precious stones. Many principal ladies of royal lineage or of caciques of the kingdom –some very lovely and beautiful, with long hair, dressed according to their fashion, which is of an elegant style– became captives…] (Cieza, *Discovery* 213).

Taking great amounts of loot on this occasion and capturing these "beautiful" principal ladies became the center of the conflict. With the principal ladies captured and abused by the conquistadors, the fate of the remaining women could take a turn for the worse. Cieza denounces that because of this chaos and the destruction of the Inca Empire even the "virgins" of the temples became loose women:

> Como [Atahualpa] fue preso…las vírgenes de los templos se salían y andaban hechas placeras. En fin, ya no se guardava las buenas leyes de los Yngas. Todo su gobierno se perdió; no tenían temor por no aver quien lo castigase; perdiose su dinidad; cayose lo que tanto avía subido con la entrada de los españoles. (137)

> [When Atahualpa was captured…the virgins of the temples left and went as harlots. Finally, the good laws of the Incas were no longer observed. Their entire government was lost. They had no fear because there was no one to punish them; their dignity was gone, and that which had risen so much fell with the entry of the Spaniards.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 216)

According to Cieza, not only the crisis of the period but also the violent behavior of the conquistadors caused this bedlam. The Spaniards' mistreatment of the chosen women happened also in another temple of the Sun near Cuzco. He writes that the Incas:

> Mandaron a las vírgenes de su linaje que estaban en el templo que llamaban 'mamaconas', se estuviesen arreadas y aconpañadas de su gravedad y autoridad para servir a los que venían porque los tenían por hijos de Dios…mas ellos teniendo por estrañeza tal novedad se reyan conociendose por no dinos de honra tan alta. Espantáronse de ver la riqueza del solene templo del sol e de la hermosura de las muchas señoras que en él estaban.
>
> …Las mamaconas sagradas servían a los tres cristianos con mucha reberencia y acatamiento: ellos, mirándolo mal, es público que teniendose por seguros con la prisión de Atavalipa, escojiendo de aquella[s] mujeres del templo las más hemosas, usaban con ellas como si fueran sus mancebas; teniendo en poco lo que ellos tuvieron en mucho, las corrompieron sin ninguna verguenza ni temor de Dios. (147-48)

> [(They) ordered the virgins of their lineage, who were in the temple and were called *mamaconas*, to gather and with their dignity and authority serve those who were coming because they believed [the Christians] to be children of God … however [the Spaniards] laughed and in this manner revealed themselves unworthy of such a high honor. They were astonished to see the wealth of the solemn Temple of the Sun and the beauty of the many ladies who were in it.

> …The sacred *mamaconas* served the Christians with great reverence and obeisance. But they did not appreciate it, and it is well known that, feeling secure because of Atahualpa's imprisonment, they chose the most beautiful of these women of the temple, and they lay with them as if they were their concubines, and disparaging what [the Indians] held high, they corrupted them without any shame or fear of God.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 228-30)

Though there is little reliable evidence of these women's perpetual chastity, Cieza's emphasis on their virginity and lineage makes the Spaniards' mistreatment of them look more reprehensible. The old conquistadors did not appreciate the respect that these women had for them, who saw the Spaniards as gods –as Cieza says. For this author, these unworthy conquistadors not only laughed at these women, but also treated them as objects of pleasure choosing the most beautiful ones to rape them without fearing God.

Moreover, he says, in and around the Jauja valley "the Spaniards cruelly killed many people…and thus they continued their pursuit, in which they pillaged a great deal, capturing many very beautiful ladies and natives of various provinces of the kingdom, among whom were known to be two or three daughters of Huayna Capac" (Cieza, *Discovery* 285). Raising the tone of his accusations, Cieza charges the Spaniards for scorning the noble ancestry of these captive noble women saying:

> …en lugar de favorecer a aquellas señoras del linaje real de los Yngas, hijas de Guaynacapa, príncipe que fue tan potente e famoso e casarse con ellas para con tal ayuntamiento ganar la gracia de los naturales, tomávanlas por mancebas, comenzando la desorden del mismo governador. Y así se fueron teniendo en poco

> estas jentes en tal grado que oy día los tenemos en tan poco como veys los que estays acá. (171)
>
> [Instead of esteeming those ladies of the royal lineage of the Incas, daughters of Huayna Capac, who was such a powerful and famous prince, and marrying them in order to gain the favor of the natives through such union, Pizarro and the leaders who were with him, took them as concubines. This misconduct began with the governor himself. Thus, these people were disparaged to such a degree that today we hold them so low, as you who are here can see.] (Cieza, *Discovery* 260)

According to Cieza, a peaceful colonial establishment was not successful because Pizarro and the first conquistadors destroyed all the possibilities for such beneficial alliances with these noble women. In Cieza's view, the actions of the first conquistadors degraded indigenous women, and for that reason many people had a low regard for them during this current period of colonial establishment.[24]

Juan de Betanzos, a new encomendero because of his marriage with an Andean noble woman was also the author of another chronicle of this period. In his *Suma y narración de los Incas* (1557) this author sought to recuperate a respectable Inca past to which contemporary Inca descendants could look back with pride. Thus, his text favors a cultural and racial mestizaje in this period. Betanzos' marriage to Doña Angelina Yupanki, a niece of Inca Huayna Capac, was an example of the beneficial marriage alliances endorsed by Cieza de León. According to Karen Graubart, Betanzos' narrative "was the story of the accomplishments of the pre-Hispanic Cuzqueño political elite

[24] The image of the degraded Andean women will continue in the chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala. I examine his vision of colonial indigenous women as prostitutes in Chapter 3.

(carefully culled so as not to support the neo-Inca state which was at war with the Viceroyalty, and in whose negotiations Betanzos played a part) and a condemnation of the excesses of Spanish greed, though not of the colonial state itself" ("Indecent" 221). He tailors his narrative to support his own interests as well as those of the Crown.

Betanzos' union to Doña Angelina Yupanqui also gave him a status among the royal descendants of the Incas and as Martín Rubio states, access to relevant information for his text (113). In his *Suma y narración*, Betanzos highlights Doña Angelina's pre-Hispanic noble lineage saying that when she was born, Huayna Capac:

> mandó que se señalase esta su sobrina Guxirimay Ocllo que dice Ocllo como nosotros decimos doña… y el Guxirimay dice habla ventura y por todo junto dice "doña Habla Ventura" y mandola que fuese mujer de Atagualpa…(198)
>
> [(He) ordered that his niece, Guxirimay Ocllo, Ocllo meaning Doña… and Guxirimay meaning 'speaks of good fortune,' that is "Doña Speaks of Good Furtune" be the legitimate and principal wife of his son Atahualpa.]

According to Betanzos, this young woman, whose name meant 'Good Fortune,' was destined to be a principal and honored lady; however, she suffered humiliation when the Spaniards arrived. Betanzos states that the Marquis Francisco Pizarro took this young woman, Doña Angelina Yupanqui for his own and he had two sons with her (181). This author condemns Pizarro for taking a young maiden to be his own as if she were an object rather than an elite woman. This discursive objectification of Indian women is clearly used by Betanzos to criticize the actions of other Spanish factions. He adds that when Angelina's brother wanted to steal away his sister, who the marquis had with him,

he could not take her because "she was well guarded" (Betanzos, *Narratives* 274). Meaning that she could not escape from Pizarro's control until he died in 1541. This year Betanzos married Angelina positioning himself within the Cuzqueño political elite.

María Rostworoski says that Betanzos formal union to Doña Angelina was very beneficial for him because it gave him access to the history of Pachacutec's royal *panaca* of which Doña Angelina was a member ("La mujer" 44). However, besides his access to the oral history of Doña Angelina's ancestors, he also received a share of the production of her *encomienda* in the valley of Yucay. Although Betanzos acted as the administrator of her assets, the *encomienda* of Yucay remained Doña Angelina's private property as established by Spanish law.[25] Thus, their marriage functioned as a convenient alliance for both of them.

According to literary critic Lydia Fossa, after Pizarro's death, a *relacion* given by the *provisor* (ecclesiastical judge) Luis Morales requested the Crown's authorization for interracial marriages between Spanish hidalgos and the female descendants of Inca rulers:

> Por cuanto en la dicha provincia del Perú ay muchas señoras, especialmente en la ciudad del Cuzco, hijas de Huaynacava, las cuales se casarían con muy buenos hidalgos porque algunos las demandan y por falta de dote lo dexan de hacer, especialmente que todas ellas tenían dote e muy buenos repartimientos que les dexó su padre. Vuestra Magestad mande que de su propia legitima les den dote y repartimiento para con que vivan bien y se casen y se los asignen tal como vivan honestamente y en servicio de Dios […]. (quoted in Fossa 132)

[25] I will discuss Doña Angelina and Betanzos's claims to the *encomienda* of Yucay in the following chapter.

> [In the province of Peru there are many ladies, particularly in the city of Cuzco, who are daughters of Huaynacava would have married good *hidalgos* because some of them requested them in marriage. However, because these women lack dowries they cannot get married, especially all of those who used to have good dowries and *repartimientos* that their father [Huayna Capac] bequeathed to them. May your majesty order them to use their dowries and *repartimientos* so that they would marry and live honestly and in God's service] […]

As Morales suggests, a royal endowment for these noblewomen defined their marital prospects. Having a significant dowry would allow them to marry Spanish *hidalgos* rather than ordinary men. Under Spanish law, however, a marriage of this kind benefited not only the man, but also the woman, for "a wife was free to retain for herself or to relinquish to her husband the control over her dowry" (Korth and Flusche 400). In that sense, both Cieza and Betanzos's narratives portray this type of marriages as convenient for the future of Spaniards and Andeans in colonial society. However, as Cieza laments, these interracial unions were not possible because of the immoral actions of the first conquistadors, which in his view, degraded native women.

The Chronicles of the Colonial Reorganization (1560s - 1580s)

By the end of the 1560s the weakness of both the *encomienda* and the still embryonic colonial state contributed to a deepening political and economic crisis. The early colonial order, based on the extraction of surplus wealth and labor from indigenous communities, was in danger of collapsing (Andrien, *Andean* 48). Many Amerindians took arms in a number of open revolts. One of them was the revolt incited by the neo-Inca

rebels who retreated in Vilcabamba.[26] This rebellion, as well as the labor shortage in the silver-mining institutions, added to the problem.

In 1568 King Phillip II chose Don Francisco de Toledo as the new Viceroy of Peru. The new Viceroy was instructed to implement the colonial reforms of 1) congregating the indigenous peoples into large strategic towns, 2) imposing a regularized system of taxation, and 3) establishing a regimen of forced labor to support the silver mines of Peru and Upper Peru (Andrien, *Andean* 49). By implementing these threefold reform, Toledo hoped to centralize the power of the colonial state. However, he was unsuccessful. Spaniards and indigenous people viewed centralization as disruptive to a social order that culturally and institutionally gave organizations and individuals from all ethnicities more opportunities to exercise their agency.

During the period of colonial reorganization, the high labor demands made on indigenous people coincided with new opportunities offered by urban areas. This led to increasing migrations to cities such as Lima, Potosí, Quito and other smaller cities where "Spanish, black, indigenous and mixed-race residents lived and worked together, sold to and robbed from one another, had illicit sexual relations and coexisted in all the ways proscribed by colonial law" (Graubart, "Indecent" 225). At the time of Viceroy Toledo's attempt at centralization, the perception of indigenous women living indecorously had much to do with a concern regarding specific socioeconomic problems, rather than with abstract questions of gender.

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[26] After the death of Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi, the leader of the Inca rebellion in Vilcabamba, maintained unsettled relations with the Spaniards in his attempt to preserve the Inca dynasty. While he took pride in his exile in Vilcabamba, other members of the Inca royal house, such as Paullu Inca, decide to collaborate with the Spaniards. (Lockhart *Spanish Peru*, 239)

At the time of his appointment (1569-81), Toledo commissioned reports that would defend the economic and political reorganization of colonial society. These reports had two main characteristics: they vilified an Inca past that could be linked to the neo-Inca rebels of Vilcabamba, which excluded the remaining male and female indigenous elite and non-elite groups that supported the colonial order, and established that the contemporary low and immoral condition of Andean women was the result of the deviant customs of the Incas.

For example, Pedro Pizarro, one of Francisco Pizarro's men, wrote his *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos de Perú* seeking a better reward during Toledo's appointment and published it in 1571. According to Guillermo Lohmann Villena, Pedro Pizarro wrote his chronicle in support of the Toledan reforms, which focused on the justification of the conquest and the rejection of the Lascasian[27] portrayals of the cruelty of the Spaniards (*Relación* vii). Pizarro attacked chroniclers like Cieza de León stating "Cieza wanted to write a chronicle about things he heard instead of things he saw" (45). Though Pedro Pizarro was an eyewitness to the events of Cajamarca and the siege of Cuzco, his reports are visibly biased to favor Viceroy Toledo.

Pedro Pizarro's *relación* presents fewer portrayals of indigenous women compared to those found in the previous chronicles. However, when Pedro Pizarro does include them, he reverses the positive attributes of indigenous women given by Cieza and Betanzos and, instead, focuses on the supposed immoral conduct of these women, which according to him they inherited from their ancestors. He writes that:

[27] The accounts of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas originated the Black Legend, a propaganda against Spain and the Spaniards as cruel, intolerant and fanatical villains.

> [Los incas] tenían por costumbre de tomar a sus hermanas por mugeres, porque decían que nadie las merecía si ellos no. Había un linaje de estas hermanas que descendía de su misma linea de estos señores y los hijos de estas eran los que heredaban el reino, siempre el mayor. Pues fuera de estas hermanas tenían estos señores todas las hijas de los caciques del reino por mancebas, y estas servían a sus hermanas principales, que serían en número de muchas más de cuatro mil. Tenían asi mismo todas las indias que bien les parecían.... (47)

> [The Incas had the custom of taking their sisters as their wives because they said that nobody else deserved them. The lineage of these sisters descended in parallel lines, and their children were the ones that inherited the kingdom. Besides their sisters, these lords had all the caciques' daughters as their mistresses, and these women served their principal sisters and there were almost four thousand of them. (These lords) also had access to all the Indian women that they wanted…]

This assumed control of native women's sexuality was for Pedro Pizarro a sign of the tyranny of the Incas. Pizarro condemns the abusive treatment of these women, but he doesn't present a favorable depiction of them either.

When he narrates the episode of the encounter of the women in the *acllahuasi*, which for Cieza and Xerez contained chaste workingwomen, he denounces the *acllahuasi* as a place where,

> …muchas mujeres, que decían ellas que eran mujeres del sol fingían que guardaban su virginidad y castidad y mentían, porque también se envolvían con los criados y guardadores del sol que eran muchos. (92)

> […many women used to say they were wives of the sun and they pretended to guard their virginity and chastity and they lied, because they also had affairs with the servants of the sun, who were many.]

With this assertion, Pizarro contradicts the good reputation that the previous chroniclers had assigned to the *acllakuna* stating that they were lying about their virginity. Linking the Andean past to the depictions of indigenous women in this period, this author wanted to demonstrate that their present moral decay did not result from the conquest, but rather resulted from the immoral customs and corrupt nature that characterized their ancestors.

The previous unions between noble indigenous women and Spaniards were no longer encouraged in the Toledan era. Moreover, the colonial state sought to segregate the native population from other social groups in order to produce the indigenous labor the Crown needed. In his attempts to discourage interracial unions, Pedro Pizarro refers to the envious nature of Andean women in an episode that occurred during the siege of Lima:

> El contador de su majestad, Antonio Navarro, pidió la india Azarpay al marqués Don Francisco Pizarro, creyendo haber de ella gran tesoro, y bien se lo pudiera dar, porque era una de las mayores señoras de este reino y en más tenida y respetada entre los naturales. Pues sabido esta señora como el marqués la quería dar al contador Navarro, se desapareció una noche y se volvió a Cajamarca. Pues aconteció que cuando la tierra se empezaba a levantar [en contra de los españoles], Melchor Verdugo estaba en Cajamarca con algunos españoles, y sabiendo de esta señora la prendió y trujo a Lima y la dio al marqués, y teniéndola

> en su posada vinieron los indios a poner cerco sobre Lima. Y una hermana suya, en quien el marqués hubo a Doña Francisca, que se decía Ynés, teniendo envidia de esta señora que era más principal que ella, dijo al marqués que por mandado de esta señora habían venido a poner cerco [a Lima], y que si no la mataban, no se irían los indios. Pues sin más consideración mandole dar garrote y matalla. (200)
>
> [The accountant of his majesty, Antonio Navarro, asked the marquis Francisco Pizarro to give him the Indian woman called Azarpay, thinking to have in her a great treasure, and she could have given him a great treasure because she was one of the principal ladies of this kingdom and very respected among the naturals. When this lady knew that the accountant Navarro wanted her, she disappeared one night and returned to Cajamarca. Then, when all this land started to rise up against the Spaniards Melchor Verdugo was in Cajamarca with other Spaniards, and he knew about this lady and arrested her and brought her to Lima, and gave her to the Marquis, and while she was at Pizarro's house the Indians came to besiege Lima. One of Azarpay's sisters, known by the name Inés, and with whom the marquis fathered Doña Francisca, was very envious of this lady (Azarpay) because she had a higher status than did she (Doña Inés). She (Inés) told the marquis that Azarpay had ordered the Indians to besiege Lima, and that if they did not kill her, the Indians would not leave. Then, Pizarro without much thought ordered her to be beaten and killed.]

In this scene, this chronicler depicts the envious nature of Francisco Pizarro's mistress, Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui, as the cause of the death of her own sister Azarpay, but he

does not attack Francisco Pizarro's actions. According to Pedro Pizarro, the evil conduct of Doña Inés was an example of how the corrupt nature of the Incas persisted in the actions of their female descendants.

Diego de Trujillo was another chronicler of this period. His *Relación del descubrimiento del reino del Perú* was also written several decades after these events. James Lockhart states that Diego de Trujillo was an inveterate teller of anecdotes and as such came to the attention of the Viceroy Toledo who had his memories set down in writing (Lockhart *The Men,* 236). Trujillo recreates the episodes of the discovery of Peru emphasizing Atahualpa's tyranny and denigrating the images of the indigenous women they found.

Similarly to Pedro Pizarro, Trujillo denigrates the reputation of the *acllakuna*. He states that at the time of Atahualpa's capture:

> había tres casas de mujeres recogidas que llamaban *mamaconas* y como entramos y se sacaron a la plaza más de cinco mil mujeres, de las que en el real andaban, éstas se vinieron a los españoles de su buena gana. (54)
>
> [there were three houses of the women they call *mamaconas*. We took more than five thousand of them to the main square; many of them came to live with the Spaniards by their own will.]

What Trujillo suggests here is that these women had no sense of decency for they did not reject the Spaniards who abused them. Rather, they willingly became their lovers. Therefore, Trujillo depicts the unions of Spaniards and Indian women such as these as shameful.

The chroniclers of this period reversed everything that had been said previously about indigenous women. These narratives veiled any pre-Columbian feminine agency; they represented native women as immoral, and corrupt, in a portryal that came to replace their idealized image as powerful, very chaste, beautiful and desirable marriage prospects expressed in the chronicles by Xerez, Sancho, Cieza and Betanzos. However, none of the discourses written about them adequately represents all the possibilities that women had to exercise agency during this period; possibilities that become clear when one studies the documentary record of the actual activities of indigenous women. The discursive representations of Andean women in this period is linked more to the social, political and economical chaos of this era than it is to women's lived realities.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the numerous textual depictions of indigenous women narrated in the early chronicles of conquest are not a product of a uniformly patriarchal code of representation, as some scholars have suggested. The colonial vision of indigenous women was continually recreated as competing authorities utilized written discourses as political tools to enhance their personal projects. Throughout this chapter, I analyzed six representative chronicles written between 1534 and 1571 within the context of three historical periods that shaped the discursive representations of native women: the conquest, the establishment of colonial society and the period of colonial reorganization.

The chronicles from the conquest period begin their narrations at the moment of contact with societies they see as less developed and progress to contact with societies they see as superior or more hierarchical in order to justify the conquest by portraying these new highlands subjects as worthy of the Spanish Crown. As the emerging state

seeks stability as well as the protection of the indigenous populations, the chronicles written during the establishment of colonial society justify interracial marriages or other arrangements to indigenous elites to promote colonial alliances. At the same time, these chroniclers condemn the excesses of the old *encomenderos* and their insatiable greed that endangered the future of colonial Peru. Finally, during the period of colonial reorganization, the chroniclers expressed a low regard for indigenous women in order to vilify their Inca ancestors. Their purpose was to link the contemporary rebellion of the Inca descendants of Vilcabamba with the "evil" practices of the Inca empire.

Overall, the changing depictions of native women in the early colonial chronicles have less to do with patriarchal discourses than with the political interests of the times. In order to establish that Andean women were victims of a patriarchal order, Rima de Vallbona and María Eugenia Choque Quispe provide only a partial view of the chronicles, focusing primarily on episodes of women's subordination and ignoring others. While the sixteenth-century chronicles show a richer variety of female experience, including a portrayal of some women exercizing social authority, they still do not provide an adequate representation of the active lives of Andean women of the time and of all the ways in which they exercised self-determination. The voices of historical indigenous women, as seen in archival documentation, indicate that they were aware of and even participants in the shifting power alliances of this period. The following chapter explores the voices of indigenous women and their agency in the political events of this period. Their intervention in the discursive arena of colonial Peru makes us rethink the role of victim attibuted to indigenous women by many critics today.

Chapter II

Allies and Enemies:

Indigenous Andean Women's Voices and Agency in Early Colonial Society

As I have examined in the previous chapter, the contradictory representations of indigenous Andean women in the Spanish chronicles of the sixteenth century were used as political tools, and they were not characterized by a patriarchal unifying discourse. Native women could not read them, much less write their own versions of the Spanish conquest and colonization in the same way as the Spanish chroniclers. Yet these women did engage lettered discourses, and their agency in the historical events of the sixteenth century emerges in non-literary sources of this period, as do their voices, albeit mediated through the transcription by the colonial scribe or notary. Native women accessed the colonial judicial system to advance their personal agendas through documents such as *probanzas de hidalguía* and *probanzas de servicios* (proofs of nobility and proofs of services), as well as notarial and civil records including testaments, legal suits and petitions. Indigenous women appear in these documentary records as political agents of the conquest and colonization, as estate owners and as litigants and petitioners defending their rights.

Whereas Inca women of the upper elite legitimized their discourses using *probanzas de hidalguía* or *probanzas de servicios* to appeal the king's moral obligation to provide for them and their kin, commoner women petitioned Spanish authorities' attention to various matters such as reuniting them with their mestizo children, migrating to and from Spanish kingdoms and denouncing those who abused them through a variety of civil proceedings. Lengthy lawsuits show native women's tenacity in attaining a

particular goal, especially when their private property was at stake. The voices and agency of native women provided in archival sources reveal their participation in the conquest and colonization of Peru, their material practices expressed in their estate ownership and their active involvement in legal suits.

Indigenous Women as Political Agents of the Conquest and Colonization

The history of the Spanish conquest in the Andes begins in 1532 when Francisco Pizarro and his men entered the land from the north and captured the Inca Atahualpa at Cajamarca (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru* 3). The failed attempts at negotiation between Spaniards and Andeans, and the initial battle between the Inca ruler's army and the Spanish conquistadors were the beginning of decades of turmoil. The period between 1532 and the 1550s was marked by a number of civil wars among the Spaniards and indigenous rebellions against them. In May of 1536 Manco Inca and his rebel forces completely surrounded first the city of Cuzco and a few months later the city of Lima pushing the 190 Spanish defenders into a fortified building in the city's main square. The Spanish conquistadors were in danger of losing their major Andean stronghold and their lives. Surviving numerous attacks, shortages of food and the annihilation of their relief forces sent from Lima, the Spanish broke out of their entrapment in Cuzco and Lima, and they regained control of the situation. Finally in 1539 Manco Inca's rebellion collapsed, forcing the Inca's retreat to his remote fortress in Vilcabamba (Andrien, *Andean* 42). After these events, Manco Inca and his descendants remained in Vilcabamba for several decades.

The initial confrontations did not break down along a simple opposition between Andeans and Spaniards. The Spaniards defeated the Incas by forging alliances with

dissident indigenous groups. Likewise, the Spaniards were also divided with one another. As early as 1537 Pizarro's partner and rival, Diego de Almagro, set off a major civil war among the Spaniards, initiating a series of armed conflicts that lasted more than fifteen years. These wars, as Lockhart describes them, were also conflicts between the rich and the poor, the well established and the newly arrived. The civil wars were fought between supposed loyalists and supposed rebels (*Spanish Peru* 4-5). Colonial subjects, including Andean men and women, took different positions during these years of conflict. Their different alliances with one or another faction are shown in the depositions of a number of Andean women in several court cases. These documents reveal ways in which the actions of these women affected the political relationships between the Incas and the Spaniards.

For example, the actions of Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui illustrate the shifting agendas of native women during the conquest period. The available documentation about Doña Inés, both from the chronicles of conquest and from the notarial records, state that she was the half-sister of Inca Atahualpa and a daughter of the Inca emperor Huayna Capac and Contarguacho, the *curaca*[28] of Huaylas and Tocas. Doña Inés had been Pizarro's mistress from 1532 to 1537 and the legitimate wife of Francisco de Ampuero from 1538 on. At the time of her informal union with Pizarro, Doña Inés and her mother Contarguacho were allies of the Spaniards and helped them defeat Manco Inca's army during the siege of Lima in 1536. Later on, she took factions against the Spaniards, particularly against Francisco Pizarro to favor her nephews Don Diego Ilaquita, Don Francisco Ninancoro and Don Juan Quispe Topa. In 1555, she also declared in favor of

[28] The leader of an Andean community.

the *curaca* Don Gonzalo Taullichusco and against Pizarro and the old encomenderos (or conquistadors) requesting a royal compensation for Don Gonzalo.

When Doña Inés and Francisco de Ampuero married in 1538, Pizarro granted them an *encomienda* in the region of Chaclla (Rostworoski, *Francisca* 18). This *encomienda*, however, was only a small portion of what Doña Inés would have inherited as a direct descendant of Huayna Capac and Contarguacho. Contarguacho had enjoyed the labor and tribute of as many as six thousand households in the region of Huaylas as well as the yield of Huayna Capac's fields of coca, chili and corn (Ramírez 29). Yet Pizarro assigned this lucrative *encomienda* to Doña Francisca Pizarro, their daughter. Doña Inés was not very enthusiastic about this distribution, even when the *encomienda* was assigned to her own daughter, for she was willing to fight this legal battle against her. Thus, in 1538 she and her husband Francisco de Ampuero presented a *probanza de servicios* demanding a royal compensation for Doña Inés's nobility and her active participation in the conquest of the Incas.

Doña Inés opened her *probanza* by emphasizing the pivotal role her mother Contarguacho played in the defeat of Manco Inca's army, a role that was verified by a number of Spanish and indigenous witnesses. These witnesses testified that during the siege of Lima at the hands of Manco Inca's army, Doña Inés's mother saved the lives of many Spanish men attacking the Inca army with their own troops. Their testimonies state that Contarguacho:

> …uino con muchos yndios a ayudar al gouernador y a los xpianos y estubo con su gente hasta que los yndios de guerra se fueron e rretiraron lo qual hizo mucho serbicio a los xpianos y que por estar siempre de paz con su gente los yndios de

> guerra le an quemado muchos pueblos de la d[ic]ha prouincia de Huaylas y le han muerto muchos yndios. (AGI, Lima, 204, N.5)[29]
>
> […came with many Indians to help the governor and the Christians, and that she was there with her people until the Indian warriors left and withdrew, which was a great service to the Christians. And because she had always been at peace with their people (the Christians), the (other) Indian warriors burned many villages in the province of Huaylas, and many of her Indians died.]

Clearly, the testimony of her witnesses place Doña Inés in the midst of the conflict. According to them, her mother was in peace with the Spaniards and she was willing to help Pizarro (the governor) and "the Christians" due to their relationship. As a result of this help, the Indian rebels retaliated against Contarguacho burning many of her villages, which caused a great loss for this female *curaca*. Nevertheless, the *probanza* states that despite of the loss of many of her Indians and villages, both Contarguacho and Doña Inés continued supporting the Spaniards.

In the following Indian revolts after the siege of Lima, Doña Inés demonstrated her own support of Pizarro and the Spaniards denouncing the ambush that her half-sister Azarpay had planned against the Christians in Lima. Let us remember that the Spanish chronicler Pedro Pizarro referred to this episode to attribute the ill behavior of Doña Inés against her half-sister to the past Inca customs. The witnesses of this case, however,

[29] An explanatory note about the transcriptions is necessary here. In order to maintain the language used in the archival documents I quote, I chose to modernize the use of upper case letters for proper nouns, but I do not add accents or change the original spelling in the Spanish version of the quotes.

referred to Doña Inés's actions as an example of the internal divisions that occurred among the Inca descendants. Their unanimous testimonies stated that:

> …una hermana suya que hera gran señora en esta tierra le uesitaba para uer de que parte estaba en su tierra y que xpianos auia en ella…para matar todos los xpianos e tomar la tierra e [doña Inés] dio auiso dello al señor gobernador [Pizarro] y benido a su notiçia ser la berdad la mando matar secretamente [a Azarpay] por no alborotar los yndios por donde uino a esta tierra mucho probecho por ella… (AGI, Lima,204,N.5.)

> […one of her sisters, who was a principal lady in this land, used to visit her to see which faction was being supported by the people of this land and how many Christians were there…(in order to) kill the Christians and to take the land. And (Doña Inés) told the governor about it, and when he found out the truth he secretly ordered (Azarpay) to be killed so that the Indians would not be so agitated. For which, this land was greatly benefited because of her…]

This episode, albeit tragic, also depicts the conflicts between the Spanish factions, which also fomented such dreadful events among the natives. Nevertheless, Doña Inés's story about her support of the Spanish causes at that time, even at the price of her sister's life was successful. She regained her mother's property for herself and her kin, as I will explain later.

A few years after producing her *probanza* Doña Inés switched her allegiance to side with her nephews Don Diego Ilaquita, Don Francisco Ninancoro and Don Juan Quispe Topa against the late Francisco Pizarro. In 1555 these three siblings presented a

probanza de hidalguía requesting royal benefits for being Atahualpa's children. Don Diego, Don Francisco and Don Juan declared that at the moment of his death, their father had entrusted Pizarro with their future and wellbeing. However, neither Pizarro nor any other Spaniard had favored them and that at the time of this *probanza* they were very needy and poor. Doña Inés's testimony in this case was crucial because she had been a witness to Atahualpa's capture and death and to his dealings with Pizarro. She confirmed Atahualpa's wishes that Pizarro provide for his children and she accused the conquistador of not providing for them. She testified that:

> el d[ic]ho Atabalipa antes que fallesciese e hablando con el d[ic]ho Marques le encomendo sus hijos y a esta t[estig]o y a sus hermanos y particularmente le encomendo a los d[ic]hos don Fran[cis]co e don Diego e don Juan sus hijos e dixo que queria mucho al d[ic]ho don Diego Ylaquita e que a aquel señalaba por sucesor en su señorio e que despues de su muerte no sabe ni a visto esta t[estig]o que el d[ic]ho marques ni otro ninguno governador les aya dado cosa alguna e [de] no les aver faborescido en la d[ic]ha casa de Santo D[omin]go donde se an allegado obieran padescido mas necesidad de la que han padescido. (Gangotena y Jijón 121)
>
> [Before Atabalipa died, he talked to the Marquis entrusting to him his children, this witness and his brothers. And particularly (he asked Pizarro to care for) Don Francisco, Don Diego and Don Juan his children. And (Atahualpa) said he loved Don Diego Ylaquita very much and he appointed him as his successor. (However,) after (Atahualpa's) death neither the Marquis nor any other governor

had given them anything that this witness saw or knew about. And if the house of Santo Domingo would not have sheltered them, they would have suffered more than what they have already suffered.]

Doña Inés's statement employs two main arguments: first, that Pizarro did not fulfill his word to Atahualpa; and second, that the Inca nobility of that period were living off the mercy of others. She wanted to demonstrate that her nephews had been victimized. They had been robbed by Pizarro and destituted, and for this reason they were unable to provide for themselves. The message was clear: only through granting her nephews the royal benefits they were claiming could the king be absolved of Atahualpa's death and discharge his conscience. The result of this *probanza* was successful, the Crown awarded Atahualpa's heirs an annual pension of 600 pesos of silver, among other benefits (Gangotena y Gijón 135).

That same year, Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanki and Francisco de Ampuero (her Spanish husband) served as witnesses for the *probanzas de servicios* of the *curaca* of Lima, Don Gonzalo Taullishusco. In 1555 and again in 1559, Don Gonzalo requested royal compensation for having lost his arable lands on which the Spaniards had built and populated the city of Lima. He declared that after he aided Pizarro and his men during the siege of Lima, the Marquis stripped him of all his lands and left him destitute. On this occasion, Doña Inés took sides in favor of Don Gonzalo Taullichusco and against the late Francisco Pizarro and the old *encomenderos*.[30] Don Gonzalo requested Doña Inés's support because all these events happened at the time that Doña Inés and Pizarro were

[30] Pizarro was assassinated by the Almagrist faction in 1541.

living together. She had been an eyewitness to these events because she had known Don Gonzalo and his father from the time that she was very young.

In the *probanza,* Doña Inés declared that when she was very young (*jovencita*), she heard that when Pizarro and his men were exploring the valley of Lima they were well received by Don Gonzalo's father. The document reads:

> …quando el dicho Marques don Françisco Piçarro uaxo a este valle de Lima, esta testigo no bino entonces con el sino tres semanas o quatro despues poco mas o menos y entonces bio como el dicho Taullichusco, padre del dicho don Gonçalo y sus yndios seruian al Marques" (AGI Lima 204,N.55).

> [that when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro came down to this valley of Lima, this witness did not come with him until after about three or four weeks. Then she saw how Taullichusco, Don Gonzalo's father and his Indians served the Marquis.]

She also saw:

> quando el dicho Mango Inga se rebelo y los yndios binieron a dar çerco a esta ciudad…que el dicho Don Gonzalo siendo muchacho y Taullichusco su padre y Guachinamo su hermano y sus yndios seruian al dicho marques e le traian de comer e yerba para los cauallos. (AGI Lima 204,N.55)

> [when Manco Inca rebelled and the Indians came to besiege this city […] Don Gonzalo was still very young, and Taullichusco, his father and Guachinamo, his brother, and his Indians served the Marquis. And they brought him food and straw for their horses.]

According to her testimony, Don Gonzalo and his entire family had served the Spaniards at such an important time. She stated that these native lords received them peacefully, brought food and provided their labor for the Spaniards, and yet Pizarro did not acknowledge their actions.

Doña Inés added that Pizarro seized most of Don Gonzalo's property leaving him and his Indians with very little arable land, which did not even produce enough to pay their tribute. Moreover, she said that Francisco Pizarro told this *curaca*:

> …que no abia donde poblar la ciudad si no hera aqui y que de fuerza se auian de tomar [las tierras]. (AGI Lima 204,N.55)
>
> […that there was no (other) place to populate the city if it was not here, and that (his lands) would have to be taken by force.]

From this testimony, it is clear that Don Gonzalo and his Indians were never consulted when the Spaniards chose the location for their city. The Spanish appropriation of these lands, however, affected not only Don Gonzalo and his Indians. According to Doña Inés, the expansion of the City of the Kings was also destroying the Andean landscape. She declared:

> …que saue e uio que al tiempo que el dicho marqués uino a este valle de Lima auia muchas arboledas e frutales y en el sitio donde esta esta cibdad de Los Reyes auia muchos frutales y esta testigo los bio cortar para hazer casas, pero que no saue que arboledas ay agora en el valle. (AGI Lima 204,N.55)

> […she knows and she saw that at the time that the marquis came to this valley there were many groves and fruit trees, and on the site where the City of the Kings is now. And this witness saw [the Spaniards] cut the trees in order to build houses, but that she does not know what kind of groves there are in the valley now.]

As a witness to the dramatic environmental changes in the valley of Lima, she condemned Pizarro and the old encomenderos by emphasizing the many groves and fruit trees that this valley used to have before the city was built there. Though I do not know whether the resolution of this case was favorable for the *curaca* Don Gonzalo, Doña Inés's testimonies at the end of the civil war reveal that like other colonial subjects, she allied herself with political factions, and did so switching her allegiance back and forth between the Spanish and Andean causes.

Meanwhile, the internal divisions of Spanish and Andeans delayed the appeasement of the Inca rebels of Vilcabamba. Only in 1557, Viceroy Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, the Marquis of Cañete reached an agreement with Sayri Tupac, Manco Inca's successor in Vilcabamba. The terms of this agreement were that Sayri Tupac would leave his stronghold and reside in Cuzco in exchange for a full pardon and the right to maintain his remote fortress-city (Andrien, *Andean* 197). This agreement would not have been possible without the intervention of an indigenous noble woman, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac. Doña Beatriz was another of Huayna Capac's daughters and she was also Sayri Tupac's aunt.

A *probanza de hidalguía* initiated in 1559 by Juan Sierra de Leguizamo, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac's illegitimate son by Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo, reveals her

intervention in the appeasement of the Inca Sayri Tupac. In this document, Juan Sierra de Leguizamo recalled the Spaniards's failed attempts at negotiation with the Incas of Vilcabamba until his mother asked Sayri Tupac to receive him peacefully. Juan Sierra de Leguizamo, in the name of his mother, was able to convince the Inca to surrender and to accept an agreement with the Spaniards. He states:

> que por ser el d[ic]ho Joan Sierra primo hermano del d[ic]o Sayre Topa Ynga y ser la d[ic]ha doña Beatriz su madre tutriz y guarda de sus hermanas [de Sayri Tupac]…el d[ic]ho Joan Sierra fue a donde estaua el d[ic]ho ynga el qual le rrescibio muy bien como a su primo y le persuadio a que dexase entrar a los frailes…e asi mismo a los capitanes que con el uinieron…(AGI, Lima 205,N.1)
>
> [that because Joan Sierra was the Inca Sayri Tupac's first cousin, and his mother Doña Beatriz was the governess of [Sayri Tupac's] sisters, […] Joan Sierra went to see the Inca, who received him very well, like his cousin. And [Joan Sierra] persuaded him to let the priests enter […] and so, too, the captains who came with him.]

According to Juan's testimony and as confirmed by the depositions of his witnesses, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac played a very important role in convincing Sayri Tupac to accept this treaty of surrender to the Spaniards. She asked Sayri Tupac to welcome her son and the priests that accompanied him reminding the Inca she was taking care of his sisters. Apparently, Sayri Tupac had no other choice but to accept this agreement for the benefit of his relatives. Nevertheless, Doña Beatriz's intervention was considered

successful for which she obtained an *encomienda* in the valley of Yucay (AGI, Lima 205, N.1).

Doña Beatriz's agency in persuading Sayri Tupac to dialogue with the Spanish delegation shows that Andean women took independent actions in colonial society. Andean women such as Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanki and Doña Beatriz Manco Capac shifted their alliances to one or another faction just as the Spaniards themselves did. In doing so, they sought the greatest benefit for themselves or their kin.

Indigenous Women as Estate Owners

The study of colonial documents that refer back to the early years of the Spanish conquest makes it possible to glimpse the lives of indigenous women (and men for that matter) before the arrival of the Spaniards. In a prehispanic context, the *ayllu* (a political and social unit based upon fictive or real kinship ties) was more than a territorial designation; it entailed mutual rights and responsibilities that involved labor and other types of support. The members of an *ayllu* enjoyed the benefits of community-held lands and natural resources based on their needs. This does not mean, however, that private property did not exist. Rostworoski argues that during the Inca empire, rulers had private property, which was maintained by the labor of their *yanaconas* (servants), their wives and children; although other natives could also use those lands if necessary ("Nuevos datos" 139). Spanish laws respected some of these native customs and traditions that defined the rights and privileges of the Andean elites.[31]

As early as 1541, Bishop Vicente de Valverde and the ecclesiastical judge (*Provisor*) Luis de Morales had recommended that the Spanish king provide financial

[31] These customs and social differences were preserved throughout the seventeenth century. See for example the case of Doña Magdalena Mama Guaco in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

restitution to Huayna Capac's children, particularly his daughters, for having taken the Inca's land (Konetzke 212). Out of moral obligation toward the destitute female Inca descendants, the Spanish Crown granted *encomienda*s and annual incomes to several noblewomen who could prove their noble status with legal documentation such as *probanzas de hidalguía* (proofs of nobility). During the sixteenth century, several Inca women asserted their private rights to particular fields and to the labor of *yanaconas* (a worker on a rural estate with not kinship ties), some of which were initially distributed as *encomiendas* to the Spanish conquistadors or their desdendants. In order to claim what they considered their private property, these women appealed to both Spanish inheritance laws as well as the Andean practice of parallel succession.

I would like to return to Doña Ynés Huaylas Yupanki's example of how she regained her mother Contarguacho's property to examine the ways in which some Andean women demanded royal compensation for the lands that belonged to their royal ancestors. As I have stated previously, Doña Inés's mother, Contarguacho, had enjoyed the labor and tribute of the natives of Huayllas and Tocas, which at her death should have been transferred to her for she was Contarguacho's direct female successor according to the Andean system of parallel succession. Nonetheless, as stated by Doña Inés, Pizarro gave these lands to their daughter Francisca. In the eyes of Doña Inés, this distribution was unfair because it also undermined her rights as a direct descendant of Contarguacho and Huayna Capac. Her testimony reads:

> …que ella es hija unica de Guaynacaba y de Contarguacho su muger señores que fueron desa tierra y de la prouinçia de Guaylas y que siendo de la d[ic]ha su madre los yndios de la d[ic]ha prouinçia de Guaylas y heredandolos ella como su

> hija el Marques don F[rancis]co Pizarro los auia encomendado y depositado en doña F[rancis]ca Pizarro su hija e suplica que en rrecompensa de los d[ic]hos yndios la hiziese m[e]r[ce]d de mandar que se le diesen hasta en cantidad de mill yndios uesitados y no los auiendo al presente se le diesen de los primeros que uacasen porque no hera justo que auiendosele quitado la d[ic]ha prou[inci]a de Guaylas q[ue] hera de su madre no se le rrecompense o haga m[e]r[ce]d. (AGI Lima,204.N.27)

> […that she is the only child of Huayna Capac and his wife Contarguacho who were the lords of this land and of the province of Guaylas, and the Indians of this province belonged to her mother. And she inherited the land and its Indians, but the marquis Don Francisco Pizarro had given them to Doña Francisca Pizarro, their daughter. And she implores that in reward for those Indians [the King] order that she be awarded one thousand inspected Indians. And if these Indians were not available, that [the King] give her the first one available because it was not fair that [the King] not compensate her, as she had been removed from the province of Guaylas, which was her mother's.]

In this document, Doña Inés laid out the reasons why she should be compensated by the Spanish king. In her *probanza* she combined two traditions: one Andean and the other one Spanish. Following the Andean tradition of gendered parallel succession, Contarguacho's lands and her Indians should have been passed down to Doña Inés because Doña Inés was Contarguacho's direct female descendant. Doña Inés also took advantage of the Spanish genealogic tradition, which required her to prove her direct

bloodlines to her wealthy ancestors (Graubart, *With Our Labor* 176). As the previous quote exemplifies, Doña Inés opened her *probanza* by stating that she was the daughter of two principal people: Huayna Capac and Contarguacho. She asserted that her mother was the wife "la mujer" of this Inca. Thus, she compared their relationship to a Catholic marriage. For these reasons, she as the only daughter of these two Andean rulers could claim legitimacy on both sides.

As part of her combined strategy the witnesses upheld her right under Andean tradition declaring that:

> la madre de doña Ines es y a sido señora de la prouincia de Guaylas e como tal señora a poseydo e tenydo e mandado la d[ic]ha prouincia porque le uiene de herencia de sus antepasados e que no tiene otra hija ni hijo que la pueda heredar sino es ella porque es costumbre que los yndios que en muriendo la madre herede la hija. (AGI Lima,204.N.27)

> [Doña Inés' mother is and has been the principal lady of the province of Guaylas, and as such, she has owned, possessed and ruled that province because it comes as an inheritance from her ancestors. [Moreover Contarguacho] does not have another daughter or son who could inherit [the land] besides [Doña Inés], because it is a custom among the Indians, that the daughter succeeds the mother upon her death.]

The testimony of these witnesses asserted Doña Inés's rights to regain the *encomienda* of Huaylas under the Andean tradition of parallel succession. Moreover, as one of Huayna Capac's daughters, she was also entitled to receive a royal compensation. The

combination of the narrative of the paralleled gender transmission and her close relationship with Inca Huayna Capac proved to be successful. In1556, Doña Inés regained the *encomienda* of Huaylas and the labor of numerous Indians, which were administered by her husband Francisco de Ampuero. Years later, Doña Inés engaged Spanish inheritance laws to bequeath her property in Huaylas to favor her two sons Francisco and Martín de Ampuero (AGI Lima, 204, N.27, f. 148). This example shows that indigenous women were well versed in both, the Andean and the Spanish inheritance traditions, and they used either one to obtain personal benefits.

Another example in which an Andean woman engages the Spanish genealogical tradition to defend her rights is the case involving Doña Juana Marca Chimbo, Don Felipe Topa Yupanqui, and Don Alonso Tito Atauchi. In 1552 in the city of Cuzco, these three siblings claimed to be the direct descendants of Inca Tupac Yupanqui for which they requested the lands and labor that had belonged to Inca Tupac Yupanqui's grandfather from time immemorial. Besides their royal ascendancy, these siblings emphasized their support for the Spanish rule in the Andes. They said that:

> como nietos legitimos del gran Topa Inga Yupanqui señor que fue del Peru…se nos de y otorgue y conceda las posesiones de tierras chacaras casas solares y buhios con los yndios yanaconas que tienen y han tenido de que hemos poseido desde el tiempo de nuestros abuelos y antepasados…por la memoria que ante nuestra soberana altesa presentamos como a rey y señor natural, que conocemos y obedecemos, el ser basallos leales y fieles como lo hemos manifestado en las batallas e desenciones que tuvo en la conquista, ayudamos a la pasificacion y sugesion verdadera como a rey y señor nuestro oponiendo nuestra leal fidelidad y

> servicios que emos fecho mandarnos otorgarnos e concedernos las dichas tierras posesiones y casas como entre tres partes hemos tenido…pues en ello nos hara grande honra y favor (Roswtorowski, "Nuevos datos" 157-58).

> […as the legitimate grandchildren of the great Topa Inca Yupanqui, who was the ruler of Peru…(we should) be given and granted the lands, fields, houses, plots and huts with the yanacona Indians that have inhabited them from the time of our grandparents and ancestors … By the report that we bestow before your sovereign highness, as to a King and natural lord, whom we recognize and obey, [we declare ourselves] loyal and faithful vassals, which we have demonstrated in the battles and quarrels in the conquest. We helped in the pacification and true subjection (of this land) to the King, our lord offering our loyal faithfulness and services. (For this) may you grant us the said lands, possessions and houses divided in three parts as we used to have…for in this you will honor and favor us greatly.]

The discursive strategy of these three siblings is complex. First, they claimed to be the legitimate grandchildren of Inca Tupac Yupanqui who extended the borders of Tahuantinsuyu. Second, they requested the property and laborers that belonged to their grandfather from previous generations. Third, they authorized their narrative by portraying themselves as "faithful vassals" of the Spanish King, which they said they demonstrated during the conquest period. These reasons seem to have convinced the King, who granted these three siblings the lands and the labor of the Indians they demanded. The royal cedula sent by the King and his council states:

Y por nos considerado y atentamente mirando lo que nos haueis servido e informado y nos estar ciertos en ello que uos los dichos don Felipe Topa Yupanqui don Alonso Tito Atauchi y doña Juana Marca Chimbo coya hijos y descendientes del gran Topa Ynga Yupanqui y de Guayna Capac Ynga señores naturales que fueron deste tierra reynos del Peru nos hauedes servido en lo que a ofrecido…y a que heredes fieles vasallos nuestros buenos cristianos porque uos y uuestros hijos descendientes seais mas honrados en nuestra voluntad…hacemos merced que vos vuestros hijos nietos y descendientes gosedes paseades para siempre jamas las tierras referidas conforme uuestras relaciones y aprouecharedes de sus frutos…con condicion que…las dichas tierras no sean uendibles ni enajenarlas a las personas sin orden de nuestros uisorreyes y gobernadores…y esten entre uos y uuestros hijos… (Rostworoski, "Nuevos" 163-164).

[We have considered and attentively observed how you have served us and kept us informed. And (we) are certain that you Don Felipe Topa Yupanqui, Don Alonso Tito Atauchi and Doña Juana Marca Chimbo Coya, children and descendants of the great Topa Ynga Yupanqui and of Guayna Capac natural lords of this land -the kingdom of Peru- have served us in whatever we have needed. And because we know that you are our loyal vassals and good Christians (we want) you and your children (and their) descendants to be honored…(We) grant that you, your children and descendants enjoy the referred lands according to your account. And (may you) take advantage of its fruits… with the condition that the lands not be sold or transferred to other people without permission of your

> viceroys and governors…and (these lands) should remain for you and your children.]

According to the King's distribution, Doña Juana Marca Chimbo inherited a few small parcels of land in San Blas (Cuzco), while her brothers received bigger estates outside Cuzco (Rostworoski, "Nuevos" 163). However, the location of Doña Juana's property was as beneficial as that of her brothers because it was located right in the center of Cuzco, where many powerful *encomenderos* would have desired to have land.

Like Doña Juana other female descendants of Inca rulers received *encomiendas* in their ancestor's former territories. For example, in 1558, Doña Angelina Yupanqui and her husband Juan de Betanzos requested to retain three farming lands (*estancias*) located in the valley of Yucay. Doña Angelina had given Betanzos a power of attorney to represent her in this case, which he used to retain several pieces of land including the labor of its native inhabitants for his wife. The power of attorney stated that Doña Angelina was the daughter of Topa Ynga Yupanqui and Mama Anahuarque who owned those lands as well as the labor of several native families. Therefore:

> …que todo ello es y pertenece a doña Angelina que lo tiene y posee libremente desde el tiempo que el Marques don Francisco Pizarro entro en esta ciudad y fueron de los dichos sus padres los quales las tenyan y poseyan y poseyeron y hubieron siendo biuos haciendolas labrar y sembrar y coxiendo el fruto dellas pacificamente y que eran de los señores yngas naturales deste reyno (Rostworoski, "Nuevos" 145).

> […that all of it belongs to Doña Angelina, who has it and possesses it freely from the time when the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro entered this city. And [these lands] belonged to her parents, who had them and possessed them when they were alive. They had laborers who farmed and sowed them, and [Doña Angelina's parents] gathered the harvest in peace, for these lands belonged to the Incas, natural lords of this kingdom.]

Doña Angelina's administration over these lands and its people is described as protective for the native population. In these lands the indigenous people farmed and harvested in peace. In a time at which the majority of the Indian laborers died as a result of overwork and disease, the continuation of such benevolent treatment of those Indians was important for the Crown. Doña Angelina and Betanzos knew this only too well, and they used it to persuade the Spanish authorities.

Yet, more than to emphasize their benevolent treatment of these Indians, Doña Angelina and Betanzos wanted to prove that she deserved to retain these Indian laborers for being the daughter of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui and Coya Mama Anahuarque. Although she claimed these noble Andeans were her parents, she was perhaps their granddaughter, the truth of her lineage was clearly being questioned. The testimonies of several natives were divided between those who affirmed that this Inca and his Coya were Doña Angelina's grandparents, while others testified that she was their granddaughter. It seems, however, that this discrepancy did not keep her from retaining these lands. That same year, the Spanish rural magistrate (*corregidor*) declared:

> habiendo bisto el pedimento e ynformacion dada por el dicho Juan de Betanzos en nombre de la dicha doña Angelina su muger y atento a que por ella consta aber

> tenido y poseydo las dichas tierras y chacaras y cosas en el dicho pedimento contenidas, [el corregidor] dixo que mandaua dar su mandamiento de amparo para que la dicha doña Angelina sea en ello amparada y que dello no sea desposeida y primeramente y ante todas cosas sea oyda y vencida por fuero y derecho (Rostworoski, "Nuevos" 136).
>
> [having seen the petition and information given by Juan de Betanzos in the name of Doña Angelina, his wife, and considering that she had and possessed these lands and plots and other things included in this petition, [the *corregidor*] ordered that Doña Angelina's rights be protected in this matter, so that nobody would take those lands away from her. And first and foremost she would be heard as guaranteed by privileges and rights.]

Despite the fact that Betanzos legally represented Doña Angelina, the rural magistrate made clear that no one could take away her property, not even her husband. These lands, as the document states, had only twenty-four *yanaconas* with their families working on it (Rostworoski, "Nuevos" 136). Yet, preserving the valuable indigenous population, even in the smallest settlements by not overworking the indigenous population, was worthwhile for the Crown. Moreover owning private property in this valley gave Doña Angelina and Juan de Betanzos a lofty position and a basis of economic security.

A different portion of the valley of Yucay belonged to Doña Beatriz Manco Capac for being Huayna Capac's daughter. In 1567 her second husband, the Spanish Diego de Hernández, in an attempt of dispossessing her from this property, requested in her name a field of chilies (*una chacra de ají*) of about four and a half miles (*un topo y*

medio) in length as well as the labor of one *yanacona* (servant) and his family that inhabited that land. For this *probanza*, Diego Hernández presented Francisco Chuchue principal *curaca* of the valley of Yucay as a witness who, contrary to what Hernández expected, declared that only Doña Beatriz Manco Capac and no one else owned the rights to that *encomienda*. His testimony reads:

> que es verdad que las dichas tierras con los yndios que la peticion dice son y pertenecen a la dicha doña Beatriz Manco Capac sin tener en ello parte alguna otra persona y que como cosa suya propia se la puede su merced dar y adjudicar por ser como dicho es suyo propio y no de otra persona alguna. (Rostworowski, "Nuevos" 152)
>
> [that it is true that the lands and Indians included in this petition are and belong to Doña Beatriz Manco Capac, and no one else. And your honour can give it to her because, as it was said, it is her property and no one else's.]

The testimony of the *curaca* Francisco Chuchue is interesting because it emphasizes that no one could take that field away from Doña Beatriz Manco Capac; this statement can be read to exclude even her husband from such a challenge to her ownership. The judge García de Melo, considering this petition stated:

> que declaraba y declaro a las dichas tierras y los yndios que en ella tienen la dicha doña Beatriz ser y pertenecer a la dicha doña Beatriz Mango Capac y como tales suyas propias se las adjudico y mando se le de posesion de ellas como de cosa suya propia y de ella no sea desposeida sin que primero sea oida y vencida en juicio. (Rostworowski, "Nuevos" 152)

> [He declared that the lands and the Indians belong to Doña Beatriz Mango Capac, and for this reason he granted them to her. He allocated the possession of the lands to her as her property and he ordered that no one would dispossess her (of the lands and the Indians) without first initiating a trial.]

This field of chilies in the valley of Yucay and the *encomienda* of Urcos, which she received previously from Emperor Charles V, were considered her inalienable private property under Spanish law. Keeping a portion of land and labor in this valley not only maintained Doña Beatriz Manco Capac's elite Andean status, it also gave some status to her Spanish husband, of whom it was said used to be a tailor (Garcilaso, *Historia* 11).

The native woman known to possess the largest *encomienda* in the valley of Yucay was Doña Beatriz Clara Coya. The daughter of Sayri Tupac and María Cusi Huarcay, Doña Beatriz Clara was born in Vilcabamba, possibly in 1557 (Dumbar "El testamento" 170). In 1558, her father agreed to leave Vilcabamba and accepted Christianity, for which he was named *adelantado* or marshall of Yucay. Besides this large *encomienda*, Sayri Tupac owned other estates in Jaquijahuana and Pucara. When he died in 1561, Sayri Tupac endowed his young daughter all his *encomiendas*, which were administered by Atiliano de Anaya (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 175).

During a general official inspection (*visita general*) to the valley of Yucay in 1571, Viceroy Toledo resettled the indigenous inhabitants of this valley into different villages. He did that without regard for the royal provisions that protected Sayri Tupac and his descendants, and in so doing, he took advantage of Doña Beatriz Clara Coya. Moreover, after the capture and execution of the last Inca rebel, Tupac Amaru in 1572,

Viceroy Toledo offered the hand of Doña Beatriz Clara in marriage to Don Martín García de Loyola, Knight of Calatrava, who played a pivotal role in the capture of this Inca. At the time of their betrothal she was no more than fourteen years old (Dumbar, "El testamento" 171). Following the marriage contract, Toledo made a provision in which he granted Loyola and Doña Beatriz Clara one of the *encomiendas* in the valley of Yucay.

In 1574 Don Martín Garcia de Loyola instigated a lawsuit against Viceroy Toledo and Pedro Gutierrez de Flores, the inspector of the Indians of Yucay arguing that Doña Beatriz Clara had been stripped of her other *repartimientos* and the labor of 563 indigenous tribute-payers. Loyola argued that:

> Al tiempo que se hizo la visita del dicho valle…por ser la dicha doña Beatriz menor de edad y estar debaxo de la curadoria de Tito Cusi Yupanqui, que estaba rebelado contra el servicio de Dios y de su Magestad, y Atiliano de Anaya, que tenia su poder y entendia en el beneficio de las haziendas de la dicha Doña Beatriz por mandado del Visorrey en aquel tiempo entro en la prouincia de Vilcabamba a traer de paz al dicho Tito Cusi, donde el dicho Atilano de Anaya murio: y asi la dicha Doña Beatriz quedo indefensa sin tener quien boluiese por ella, ni hiziesse sus negocios y asi todo lo hecho y actuado contra ella en la dicha visita era ninguno, y por tal pidio se declarase… y se reuocasse juntamente con lo que hauia proveido el Virrey en que puso en la Corona Real los dichos indios, declarando ser propios del dicho Martin Garcia de Loyola, y de la dicha su muger…y pidio justicia… (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 174).

> [At the time of the inspection of this valley…Doña Beatriz was still very young and she was under the guardianship of Tito Cusi Yupanqui, who rebelled against the service of God and the King, and of Atiliano de Anaya, who was administering her property until the Viceroy ordered him to enter the province of Vilcabamba to appease Tito Cusi, where he died. And thus, Doña Beatriz was helpless, without anyone who would look out for her or who could manage her financial affairs. Therefore, all that has been done against her in this past inspection should be disregarded and reversed including what the Viceroy provided, which was to put her Indians under the control of the crown when they belonged to Martin Garcia de Loyola and his wife…and he demanded justice.]

Loyola's argument stresses the vulnerability of Doña Beatriz Clara. In his version, she is a frail orphan who had no one, particularly no men to look out for her. The two men who were supposedly her legal guardians –her uncle Tito Cusi and her legal advisor Atiliano de Anaya—were engaged in appeasing the Vilcabamba rebels. However, now he as her husband could legally represent Doña Beatriz Clara and defend her interests. Yet, the prosecutor of Lima rejected Loyola's ambitious claims.

> In 1576 the prosecutor responded negatively to Loyola's petitions. He said:
>
> …que el Virrey hauia puesto en la Corona Real los yanaconas sobre que era el pleito y asi no auia lugar lo pedido por el dicho Martin García de Loyola concluyo en que se declarase no auer lugar lo pedido de contrario y si era necessario se absoluiese el fisco dello declarando no se deuer admitir la apelacion ni seguirle en la audiencia… (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 175).

> […that the Viceroy had placed the *yanaconas* who are the subject of this lawsuit under the jurisdiction of the Royal Crown and that there was no reason to listen to Martín Garcia de Loyola's requests. He invalidated this petition and (he said) it should not be appealed in this court again...]

This negative answer prompted Doña Beatriz Clara's reaction. That same year, she appeared in court to demand the service of 332 *yanaconas* for her lands. Under the legal representation of Hernando de Atrandolaça she reminded the prosecutor of Lima that the previous Viceroy had granted this *encomienda* to her father, and as the legitimate heir of Sayri Tupac, she should regain it as her private property. The document reads that:

> … teniendo e posseyendo la dicha *encomienda* por justos y derechos titulos los indios del valle de Yucay que es en terminos de la ciudad del Cuzco que son don Diego Rimachi e don Pedro Meloguay y los demas que el Licenciado Fray Pedro Gutierrez Flores visito…y teniendolos assi encomendados por virtud de vuestros reales poderes y comisiones que el Marques de Cañete visorrey que fue destos reynos tuuo y teniendolos assi mesmo poseido encomendado a don Diego Sayre Topa Inga padre de la dicha mi parte la qual estando en la dicha su quieta y pacifica possession de los dichos indios sin contradicion de persona alguna, el Licenciado Fray Pedro Gutierrez Flores por una manera de visita que hizo por mandado de vuestro Visorrey don Francisco de Toledo…quitaron y despojaron a la dicha mi parte de la dicha possession…sin la oir de que ha recebido notorio agrauio en la despojar de hecho de la dicha su possession… a V[uestra] A[lteza] pido e suplico ante todas cosas mande reintegrar y boluer a mi parte en la antigua y quieta posesion en que estaua de los dichos indios…declarando no auer podido

> ser despojada ni desposseida de los dichos indios y pertenecerle y deuer gozar de la dicha *encomienda*, reuocando todo lo hecho y actuado por el dicho vuestro Visorrey (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 176).

> […she had and possessed the said *encomienda* by just and right titles as well the (labor) of the Indians of the valley of Yucay (located) at the end of the city of Cuzco, which are Don Diego Rimachi and Don Pedro Meloguay and the rest of the Indians inspected by friar Pedro Gutierrez Flores…And that (she) had them as part of the *encomienda* by virtue of your royal powers, and the assignment of the marquis of Cañete, who was the Viceroy of these kingdoms. These possessions were previously given to Diego Sayri Tupac Inca, the father of my party. And while she was in the quiet possession of the Indians without any contradiction, the friar Pedro Gutierrez Flores, ordered by your Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, inspected and took away from my party the mentioned possessions…And they did not hear her complaints about the evident insult she suffered when they took away her possessions…Therefore, above all things I implore your highness to return the possession of the Indians to my party…(May you) declare that she would not be dispossessed of the Indians and that she would enjoy the *encomienda*, reversing everything your Viceroy did…]

Now, old enough to appeal her case, Doña Beatriz Clara denounced Viceroy Toledo and Pedro Gutierrez for their misconduct in the name of the King. She argued for her inheritance rights, stating that the Viceroy Cañete granted her father, Sayri Tupac, the lands of Yucay as well as the labor of its native inhabitants. In addition, she complained

that Viceroy Toledo had insulted her by not listening her requests. Therefore, she did not have any other choice than to appeal in a higher court, petitioning the King to reverse Toledo's actions.

Her requests, however, were rejected once again by the same Lima prosecutor who argued that those Indians were not paying tribute at all. For this reason Toledo had ordered those Indians placed in a *repartimiento*, where they would pay tribute to the King, instead of leaving them in the valley of Yucay. Moreover, he told her she did not have any right to make this demand and that neither the Viceroy not the inspector had insulted her (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 177). This negative answer was not pleasing to Doña Beatriz Clara, who immediately warned the prosecutor of Lima that if he did not return these *encomienda*s to her, she would appeal to the highest Spanish court, the Council of the Indies. The document reads:

> doña Beatriz replico a la respuesta del Fiscal pidiendo se hiziesse como tenia pedido. Porque como auia sido despojada por despojo actual de los indios que tenia y posseia, assi con la misma facilidad se le hauia de boluer a reintegrar en su possession. Y el audiencia [sic] auia de conocer el despojo y quando por alguna uia se ouisesse de remitir al Consejo de Indias para que en el se conociesse dello auia de ser primero y ante todas cosas bueltole en la quieta y pacifica possession tan antigua que tenia de los indios de su *encomienda* y a lo que estaua probado… (Rostworoski, "El repartimiento" 177).

> [Doña Beatriz replied to the prosecutor's answer, requesting that he do as she had requested because she had been dispossessed, by the actual plundering of her

> Indians. (And she said) she was going to retrieve her possessions with the same ease with which they took them away from her. And that the [Royal] Audience would know about this plundering, and if there was a way to refer this case to the Council of the Indies, so that they know about it, they would return the *encomienda* Indians to her to have them in her former and pacific possession…]

This portion of the legal suit reveals Doña Beatriz Clara's tenacity in defending her property. When the legal representation of her husband Don Martín García de Loyola failed, she turned to another legal representative to appeal for a second time. Despite the mediation of her discourse it is clear that she fiercely accused Viceroy Toledo and his inspector for the abuses they committed against her. Nevertheless, she trusted the judgment of the Council of the Indies for she anticipated that they would return the *encomienda* and the labor of the Indians to her. While the conclusion of this legal suit was not included in the bundle of documents (*legajo*), her will written in 1600[32] shows that indeed she regained the control of her other *encomiendas* in Urubamba, Pucara, Yucay and Jaquijaguana.

As Doña Beatriz Clara's case illustrates, married women engaged in legal activities without licence from their husbands, particularly if those actions were beneficial to maintaining their states. As Kimberly Gauderman reminds us "the intent of Spanish legislation was to safeguard wives' property rather than to preserve male authority within the family" (42). If a husband coerced his wife to make economic decisions over her private property, she could claim that such maneuvers were invalid. As

[32] See Dumbar's article "El testamento inédito de Doña Beatriz Clara Coya."

we shall see, this was the case of Doña Beatriz Manco Capac and her Spanish husband Diego de Hernández.

In 1571, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac[33] used her testament to denounce that Diego Hernández had mortaged her private property for the sum of 1,700 pesos of silver without her knowledge. Unable to do anything else due to her frail health, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac used her testament to achieve justice. Her testament was dictated in Quechua to her nephew Alonso Martin de Ampuero. In this legal document, she accused all those who, in one way or another, misused her property and abused her. Doña Beatriz Manco Capac's testament reads:

> I declare that due to the persuasion of Martín and Cristóbal de Bustinza and Juan Palacios, I agreed to various deeds and documents in favour of the brothers and heirs and debtors of Diego Hernández, my second husband, now deceased; and that in all this I was deceived, and which I did against my will; and because of which to this day certain court cases are outstanding, and I declare that I owe them nothing, and that my heirs defend my property.

[33] Doña Beatriz Manco Capac was the daughter of Huayna Capac and his sister queen Coya Raua Ocllo. She participated actively in appeasing the Inca rebels of Vilcabamba by sending her eldest son, Juan Sierra de Leguizamo to convince the Inca Sayri Tupac to establish an agreement with the Spaniards for which she received an *encomienda* in Urcos. In 1541 when she married Pedro de Bustinza a poor hidalgo and citizen of Cuzco, the Spanish autorities provided her a dowry that consisted of a few parcels of land in the valley of Yucay. In 1547, Bustinza was strangulated during the Spanish civil wars (Dumbar, "La descendencia" 132). After this events, governor La Gasca forced Doña Beatriz to marry another Spaniard, Diego Hernández. Doña Beatriz's nephew, the mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega describes the episode of her forced wedding. He depicted Doña Beatriz as a courageous woman who was not was not afraid to express her vexation for this forced union, yet he suggests that she accepted her new life with stoicism (Garcilaso, *Historia* III:12). While, there is not enough information that describes the actual marital life of Doña Beatriz and Hernández, her last will provides a window to interpret a few aspects about their life.

I declare that Juan Palacios owes me 800 pesos, more or less, from the time he collected the tribute of my Indians, and for which he has never given me an account, and I order that this be obtained from him.

I declare that the houses of my dwelling, where now I am, were paid for with my money, and that the letter of ownership of Diego Hernández is not valid, for they are mine and of my heirs.

I declare that at the time of my marriage to Diego Hernández we possessed and purchased that farm and estate of Pancarbamba, which lies below the old fortress of Urcos, between the river and the road, and also the farms of Yaguaci and those of Mollebamba and Cachebamba, the one at Urcos, part of which we bought, and the other that were given to us by the Crown; and during our marriage we constructed the mill at Yaguaci, which was paid by me, and the half ownership of which I granted my husband, and which is now the property of his heirs, and worth some eight or nine thousand pesos; for that is what the letters of payment made by Diego Perez Ballesteros and Cristóbal de Lugones demonstrate, and which I was forced to re-pay because of the debts of Diego Hernández and the demands made upon me by his heirs and relatives, due to the promises he had made them for their dowries. And I order that what can be retrieved from them be held for my heirs.

I declare it is my wish that all the Indians of my distribution, as named in the seals of my *encomienda*, be inherited according to the law by my eldest legitimate son Pedro de Bustinza, son of Pedro de Bustinza, my first husband, and whom I name my heir and successor to all my Indians.

> I order that the farms of Quipevarpata and Guachas Puquio that I own in the valley of Yucay be inherited by my son Pedro de Bustinza.
>
> I order that the farmlands of coca I own at Paucarbamba and at las Salinas be inherited by Martin de Bustinza, my younger son. (Stirling 115-16)

This portion of the testament denounces the numerous abuses Doña Beatriz suffered during her marriage to Diego Hernández. However, it also shows the significant assets she amassed during her life. Besides receiving a royal land grant in Urcos for her participation in the appeasement of Sayri Tupac and the dowry she received for her first marriage to Pedro de Bustinza, she possessed other estates in different regions. After her marriage to Hernández, their joint property multiplied rapidly. Half of these earnings were legally entitled to Hernández, and they were supposed to be divided equally upon the dissolution of their marriage or the death of one partner under Spanish law (Graubart, *With Our Labor* 99). Since they did not have offspring, Doña Beatriz decided to buy Hernández's part at his death. However, he had mortaged all their property among his own relatives, including her enourmous share.

Hernández's mismanagment was punishable under law, for he was obligated to guarantee the value of his wife's property. In addition, under Spanish law, her property was clearly marked as destined to her heirs (Gauderman 34). Her legitimate children Pedro and Martín de Bustinza could not be dispossessed. Thus, she used her testament to reverse Hernández's actions. While she could not punish her late husband with this document, she left a significant weapon against Hernández's relatives who hoped to receive their share of her property. As the law mandated, she divided her estate equally

among her sons, who along with her executor would be sure to regain her property for their own benefit.

Indigenous Women as Litigants

As we have seen with the previous examples, many native elite women were benefited by the Crown in different ways and fought to retain their access to Indian labor. Nevertheless, commoner women could also access the Spanish legal system to protect their social and economic interest and their welfare. A number of civil cases and petitions illustrate how these women's rights, like those of other individuals and groups, were recognized and guaranteed in order to counterbalance and limit the authority of others. These women, like their male counterparts, took advantage of the protective laws that favored the indigenous populations by allowing them to obtain their freedom if they were enslaved and to be reunited with their children who had been taken away from them by their Spanish fathers.

The voices of indigenous women who were enslaved emerge in some documents requesting their release. These women were in many cases, non-Andeans who either accompanied the Spaniards on their journey to the Andes or were brought later to the new Spanish cities. Indigenous slaves from New Spain, Nicaragua, and Guatemala were imported from the Venezuelan coast and many continued to be slaves in Peru. According to Lockhart, there are apparently conflicting statements about whether or not the Spaniards enslaved Peruvian Indians. It is known, however, that Indians from the northern region of Piura were kidnapped by passing Spaniards and taken to Lima to be sold as slaves (*Spanish Peru*, 227). Though the enslavement of indigenous people by Spaniards seems to have been more prevalent before the promulgation of the New Laws

of 1542, sources from late sixteenth century show that indigenous people were still enlaved. Nevertheless, these slaves could also have access to the Spanish legal system to denounce their mistreatment and to obtain their freedom.

In 1561, Marina and Madgalena "yndias" began a lawsuit against Mencia Hernández and José Villarroel, residents of Charcas, for having brought them to these kingdoms by deception. Marina and Magdalena were originally from New Spain and had lived there for about twenty-eight years. They accused the archbishop who sold them to Mencia Hernández and her husband:

> como si fueran esclavas…quienes las tienen al presente sirviendose dellas…sin titulo y con mala fe siendo como ellas son libres de su nacimiento (AGI, Justicia, 1132, N.6).
>
> [as if they were slaves…and now they have them as servants without any legal title and in bad faith because they are and were born free.]

Marina and Magdalena rejected their actual enslavement and accused this couple of acting in bad faith (*mala fe*). By using this term they emphasized that this couple had a malicious motive from the begining, which if proven in a legal case would be effective for obtaining remedy. In order to prove their accusations, these indigenous women said that Mencia Hernández and José Villarroel abused them physically:

> …pegandolas y azotandolas varias veçes lo qual no se a lugar por eso suplican a Vuestra Alteza auida su relacion por uerdadera darles su libertad y volver a la Nueua España de donde son naturales… (AGI, Justicia, 1132, N.6)

> [..beating and whipping them several times, which should not happen. For this they request Your Highness to accept this account as true in order to obtain their liberty and to return to New Spain, where they are from…]

Despite the mistreatment and possible retaliation from their "masters" for this accusation, Marina and Magdalena boldly claimed not to be slaves and demanded their freedom. Their lawsuit was pending for a year; however, the prosecutor of Charcas provided them protection until the final resolution of their case. Finally, the Spanish autorities granted them their freedom, after which, nothing else is known about them.

By the last decades of the sixteenth century, indigenous slavery was an uncommon phenomenon. Spaniards who were suspected of having enslaved indigenous people were rigorously questioned, for this was against several royal provisions written from 1493 and throughout the sixteenth century that prohibited the enslavement of Amerindians (Konetzke 418). In 1572, the royal prosecutor accused Doña Ana de Velasco the wife of Marshal Don Alonso Alvarado, both residents of Seville of enslaving an Andean woman. He accused Doña Ana de Velasco of bringing Juana de Mendoza, a dwarf indigenous woman to Seville against her will. Juana de Mendoza was originally from Tucuman, but she had lived in Lima until she became acquainted with Doña Ana de Velasco. In her defense, Doña Ana de Velasco replied that the Viceroy Conde de Nieva had given Juana permission to go to Seville with her. She said she offered to pay all the expenses related to Juana's overseas trip because she wanted to come to Seville of her own will. Doña Ana declared:

> …que la d[ic]ha yndia uino de su uoluntad e ella es libre e que [Doña Ana de Velasco] la tiene en su seruicio para le hazer bien e gran agrauio se le haria a la

> d[ic]ha Doña Ana de Velasco e muy mayor a la d[ic]ha yndia si la sacan de su poder… (AGI, Justicia 1133, N.1,R.2).
>
> [That the said Indian woman came of her own will, and that she is free and that (Doña Ana de Velasco) has [Juana] in her service to do her well. [Therefore] Doña Aña de Velasco and this Indian woman would be very offended if they remove [Juana] from (Doña Ana's) guardianship.]

According to Doña Ana, the indigenous woman was not coerced to come to Seville because she was free to make that decision. However, the royal prosecutor could not rely solely on this woman's word. Thus, he placed Juana under the supervision of a royal official until her deportation to her homeland.

After several months of litigation and uncertainty about Juana's future, the prosecutor of his majesty, López Faría allowed Juana to give her own version of the events. In her testimony she said that:

> …[ella] no se a querido ni quiere yr aunque la d[ic]ha Doña Ana la a querido ynuiar con dos criadas suyas a las d[ic]has yndias … (AGI, Justicia 1133, N.1,R.2)
>
> [(She) had not wanted and she does not want to leave despite Doña Ana's efforts to send her back to the Indies with two other maids…]

Juana's desire to remain in Seville by her own will, however, was not enough to convince López Faría. That same year he sent her back to Peru as a free woman and commanded Doña Ana de Velasco to pay about one hundred thousand maravedies for Juana's return

expenses. This case exemplifies how the Spanish legislation protected an indigenous woman such as Juana from slavery. Indigenous people who were not enslaved were free to travel abroad.

The following cases illustrate that the Spanish authorities did allow other women to travel to and from Spanish kingdoms when they could justify their reasons. For example, a few non-slave commoner women, who appear in notarial records, petitioned the Audiencia judge to reunite them with their *mestizo* children who had been taken away by their Spanish fathers. This is the case of Helena, an indigenous woman from Nicaragua who wanted to join her daughter in Peru. The year of 1549, Helena "yndia" approached the notary Alonso Gutierrez to present her case to the judge of the Audiencia and its president. According to Helena's testimony:

> …ella tiene una su hija que ouo en un hombre español la qual se llama Ysabel y al presente diz[e] questa y rreside en la prouincia del Peru y porque ella siempre ha sido y es libre e como tal se queria uenir a estos rreynos a bibir y permanecer en ellos y traer consigo su hazienda q[ue] seria en cantidad de quinientos o seiscientos castellanos y me a suplicado que para el d[ic]ho efecto y para cobrar su herencia por tenella la d[ic]ha su hija en estos reynos de los bienes del d[ic]ho su padre le diese liçençia para libremente pudiese uenir a ellos (AGI, Lima 566,L.6)
>
> […she has a daughter whose father is a Spanish man. Her name is Ysabel, who at the present is and resides in the province of Peru. And because [Helena] is and has always been free, she wants to come to these kingdoms to live and to remain in

> them. And she wants to bring her possessions, which total five or six hundred castellanos, and she has requested that in order to collect her daughter's inheritance from her father's funds, she be allowed to come to these realms.]

This brief document does not provide many details about Helena's life. However, her testimony suggests that she was a determined woman. Helena emphasized that she was a free person, probably because the Spaniards had a strong inclination to assume that all Nicaraguan Indians were slaves (Lockhart, *Spanish Peru* 227). Despite her status as a commoner woman, her assests totaled five or six hundred castellanos, which was a considerable amount. Once in Peru, she planned to increase her cash flow with her daughter Ysabel's inheritance so both could enjoy a share of it.

That same year Pero Rodriguez, on behalf of the Viceroy of Peru declared that:

> …fue acordado que…no auiendo ynconueniente en que la d[ic]ha Helena uenga a estos reynos para el efecto que piden ueais en ello lo que uiere del que conuiene y sea justicia fecha (AGI, Lima 566, L.6).

> […it was decided that…there is no objection to Helena coming to these realms to do what she has requested. (We request you) see if that is advisable and do justice to her.]

Helena's use of the Spanish legal system authorized her to travel to Peru and to reunite with her daughter. Neither her condition as a commoner indigenous women, nor her foreign native ancestry were a hindrance to obtaining justice in colonial Peru.

One last case regarding a commoner Andean woman is very similar to the previous one. Ysabel was an indigenous woman from Jaquijaguana who desired to join

her children in Spain. In the year 1559, Ysabel, with the help of a notary, made this request to the Royal Audiencia in Valladolid:

> que ella ha muchos que está biuda y tiene un hijo e una hija que hubo en ella Alejo Gonçales gallego el qual reside en estos reynos de España con los d[ic]hos sus hijos e que [ella] desea uenir con ellos ansi por ser de poca hedad como para tener quenta con la d[ic]ha su hija y uiuir y morir con ella y me fue suplicado la mandase dar liçençia pa[ra] ello (AGI, Lima,578,L.9).
>
> [that she has been a widow for many years and she has a son and a daughter, whose father is the Galician Alejo Gonzales, who resides in the kingdoms of Spain with them. And that (she) wants to come with them because they are still young and might still remember her […], and [she wants] to live and to die with them. I was asked to give her permission to do that.]

The testimony of this woman is a very compelling one. Her children were taken away from her, and she was married and unable to do anything for them. Once she became a widow, her immediate desire was to join her mestizo children, who in her own words, were still young and she could still raise them accordingly. Though nothing is said about the current situation of her children's father, the Galician Alejo Gonzales, her case was considered for review.

In response to her request, the Audiencia members agreed that the Peruvian authorities would have her declare that she wanted to come to the Spanish kingdoms by her own will rather than being induced to do so. Once she declared that, the Spanish

authorities granted her permission to go to Spain to rejoin her children (AGI, Lima 578,L.9).

Conclusion

Indigenous Andean women were neither passive victims of the Spanish conquest nor central figures of the historical events of the sixteenth century. Noble and commoner indigenous women like the Spaniards, acted as supporters or detractors of one or another faction in this period. An examination of the discourses that emerge in *probanzas de hidalguía* and *probanzas de servicios* (proofs of nobility and services), notarial and civil records as well as criminal cases demonstrate the ways in which noble and commoner indigenous women took independent actions to advance their personal agendas and those of their kin.

Several noble natives including Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanki, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac, Doña Juana Marca Chimbo, Doña Angelina Yupanki and Doña Beatriz Clara Coya took advantage of the king's moral obligation to provide for them. They shaped their discourses by bringing together the Andean practice of parallel succession and the Spanish emphasis on genealogy to obtain *encomiendas* and annual incomes. In addition, a few of them used their testaments to achieve justice and to preserve their personal property for their legitimate heirs. Commoner women, in turn, called the attention of Spanish authorities in other matters such as reuniting them with their mestizo children, migrating to and from Spanish kingdoms and punishing those who enslaved them by using shorter civil and criminal proceedings.

Archival sources provide an interesting window onto these women's lived experiences as active participants of the Spanish conquest and colonization, as property

owners and as women who pursued their rights through their interventions in the discursive arena of early colonial Peru.

Chapter III

Ethereal Women; Venal Women: The Portrayal of Indigenous Andean Women in the Works of Guaman Poma and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega

At the turn of the seventeenth century Guaman Poma de Ayala and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wrote the history of the Andean past as a response to the previous versions of the chroniclers of Indies and the polemics surrounding the conquest.[34] Garcilaso addressed educated Christian European readers accustomed to the debates about religion and history. His *Comentarios reales de los incas* and *Historia General del Perú* (1613) were widely read and translated throughout Europe and seem to have been more influential in other European countries than in Spain.[35] Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615?), in turn, addressed an idealized Spanish king who probably never read his work. In regards to their sources, Garcilaso chose among the available historiographical debates and rhetoric of the early modern period and appropriated those that best fit his project of vindicating the story of his mother's people, and including them in the history of Christianity (Zamora 1988). Guaman Poma, on the

[34] It must be noted here that during the Renaissance period, eyewitness reporting was valued as a criterion for historical truth. The chroniclers of this period developed a complex rhetoric of trust in an effort to compensate for the lack of tradition of authoritative written sources. In the Renaissance art of reading, audiences and editors treated the character and social standing of the witness as paramount when doubts about the reliability of an account surfaced. Thus, Garcilaso's high social standing in Inca society was his most important asset for credibility (Cañizares-Esguerra 20-21). His distorted accounts of Andean reality were regarded as the final word on the history and culture of the Incas until the rise of rationalist and positivist historiography (Zamora, "Historicity" 5). Guaman Poma, likewise, must have been aware of the Renaissance concept of historical truth, and he considered it as he wrote his *Nueva corónica*. Nevertheless, his recovery of Andean history had much more to do with his own political arguments than with the rigorous demands of writing history (Adorno, *Writing* 11). In that regard, Inca Garcilaso and Guaman Poma's writings form part of the multiplicity of discourses produced during this period that served variously to contradict, complement or compete with one another for the production of knowledge and power.

[35] His emphasis on justice, tolerance and good government provided perfect material for the Enlightenment, particularly for the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Marmontel and other French philosophers (Poole 1997).

other hand, employed the polemic discourses about the conquest, as well as moralist literature and sermons, both in Quechua and Castilian, to defend the inherent good moral values of his ancestors and to contrast them with the sinful Spaniards (Adorno 1986). Writing the history of the Andean past and denouncing the misdeeds of the Spaniards became a political act in the hands of these mestizo and Amerindian authors.

Garcilaso sought to use his history to empower the indigenous noble descendants of the Incas as well as their mestizo offspring. He argued that the Incas governed the Andean polities "according to the dictates of natural law, venerating a single god and imposing justice and order in their empire. In his account of the conquest, the Incas voluntarily submitted to the Christians rather than being conquered militarily." (Andrien, *Andean* 120) With this argument, he subverted the polemic discourses that attempted to justify Spanish rule in the Andes. His *Comentarios* criticize some of the actions of colonial authorities, particularly those of Viceroy Toledo who had commissioned reports that created a propaganda against the descendants of the Incas and the memory of their empire in order to justify his reforms.[36] Garcilaso's version of the Andean past, unlike the previous versions of the Spanish eyewitnesses, was well regarded by his European readers because they valued his high social position, his access to oral history through his Inca relatives, and his mestizo racial identity (Zamora 1988; Cañizares-Esguerra 2001). As a mestizo, the product of the union between a Spanish conquistador and an Andean noblewoman, he attempted to demonstrate that a stable colonial society could only emerge from a fusion of Andean and European cultures in which noble Andean women and their kin played the prominent role of expanding the Spanish empire in America.

[36] I discuss the Toledan reforms in Chapter 1.

While Garcilaso sought to empower the royal descendants of the Incas and their mestizo children, Guaman Poma advocated a high status for himself and his Andean lineage. He proposed his son for the position of “prince of the Indies” (1987: 949). Moreover, he argued that his son would be a loyal servant of the Spanish king, and a defender of the Catholic faith unlike the sinful and immoral Spanish officials and clerics. For Guaman Poma, “Andeans were the only ‘civilized’ Christians in Peru” (Andrien, *Andean* 121). He stated that pre-Inca Andeans had adhered to Christian values before the arrival of the Spaniards, but they were corrupted by the Inca usurpers who brought pagan beliefs and idolatry to the Andes. Although Guaman Poma criticized the Inca religious beliefs, he stated that these Andean rulers, in contrast to the Spaniards, imposed strict social and moral controls that promoted the commonwealth.

Guaman Poma also established that there had been no conquest (“no hubo conquista”) because there had been no resistance from the Andean leaders, who voluntarily submitted to the Spanish government (1987: 388). However, for him, the Spanish authorities and particularly the ecclesiastical bureaucracy were incompetent, corrupt and sinful rulers who were annihilating the Andean population. Thus, Guaman Poma urged the Spanish king to establish a sovereign Andean empire with rigid barriers between social classes and where racial and ethnic groups would remain distinct. In his view, this separation between Andeans and Spaniards would decrease the sufferings of the Indians and the immorality of contemporary native women, whom he saw as the “symbol of social decay for they chose to bear the bastard children of Spaniards rather than proper Indians who would increase social productivity” (Graubart, “Indecent” 228).

His numerous accusations of the Spanish men's lust and the whorishness of indigenous women becomes the center of two thirds of his work.

The discursive strategies utilized by Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega allowed them to rewrite the history of the Andean past and of the colonial period, but provided a narrow vision of pre-Columbian and colonial indigenous Andean women. In vindicating the story of the Incas, Garcilaso wrote with an elitist attitude that placed Inca women and their descendants at the top of Andean society. The exclusive privileges of Inca women (and men), however, was being threatened in a colonial society that allowed upward social mobility for non-elite Andeans. Garcilaso rejected this social mobility and sought to establish a clear difference between elite and non-elite women in his text. For him, Inca women both pre-Columbian and colonial were virtuous and moral people, completely different from the vain, idolatrous and immoral non-Inca women. In his text, Inca women serve as an example of good deeds to both Andeans and Spaniards.

On the contrary, for Guaman Poma, it was the first Inca queen, Mama Uaco, who corrupted the Andean women who formerly lived according to Christian precepts. With the arrival of the Spaniards and the proliferation of mestizaje, he declared that all native women who had been in contact with men of other social groups, particularly Spaniards and blacks, had become liars, drunkards, disobedient, whores and accomplices of the Spaniards in the downfall of the Andean world. In his text, he expresses his anguish at a world turned upside down where Indians were being abused and native women's preference for non-Indian sexual partners was utterly destroying the indigenous culture and population. He presents a moral vision of the past exhorting all indigenous women in

colonial society to look back to their virtuous ancestors, and, upholding the Christian faith, repent of their sins.

Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, in their attempt to portray the Christendom of their respective female ancestors for their European audiences, fashioned a dichotomous representation of native women that has been influenced by the humanist and moralist discourses of the Renaissance that both praised the virtues of some women and criticized the vices of others.[37] These prescriptive European discourses of the time sought to promote exemplary womanhood for emulation, and to call women's attention to negative behaviors that they should eliminate from their lives. Humanist discourses regarding women's ideal moral conduct were quite popular throughout the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.[38] Following the humanist tradition, Garcilaso argued that the first Inca woman, Mama Ocllo, came to civilize and educate the primitive and immoral pre-Inca women transforming them into obedient wives, chaste women, exemplary mothers and most of all, showed them a path towards Christianity. Nonetheless, he also depicted non-Inca native women as vile, frail, vain and idle. Guaman Poma, in turn, portrayed all native

[37] Discourses about the virtues and vices of women in most European countries were inherited from classical and medieval writers. The most important textual source for early modern Europeans was the Christian Bible, which was interpreted by numerous commentators who disagreed with one another about its meanings regarding gender roles. According to the different interpretations of the biblical tradition, Eve, and by extension all women were the source of evil and sin in the world. The ideal woman and mother should be a submissive wife, a hard-working individual and a silent receptor of the word of God. In addition, virginity and chastity were among the highest virtues of women and were later encouraged through the belief in the Virgin Mary. On the contrary, women's vices such as pride, lascivousness, obstinacy, desire for mastery, jealousy, talkativeness, vanity, greed, extravagance, infidelity and physical and moral frailty were fiercely attacked in religious treatises, sermons and literary works (Wiesner-Hanks 27). The juxtaposition of women's vices and virtues gave writers enough material to write all types of works both religious and secular including prescriptive literature.

[38] The abundance of prescriptive literature and conduct manuals is staggering. For a detailed study of the moralistic discourses about men and women in early modern Spain and Spanish America, see Morant (2006) and Rivera (2006). The inventory of Garcilaso's library, published by José Durand (1948), indicates that he was very familiar with the prescriptive literature written by European humanists that aimed to advise, instruct, praise and criticize the actions of young and adult women. His collection of books include the works of Luis Vives, Baltazar de Castiglione, Boccaccio, Juan de Mora and other humanists of this period.

women in the light of the Judeo-Christian beliefs, which characterized some women as either saintly, like the Virgin Mary, and labeled others as corrupted like Eve. For him indigenous pre-Inca women were virtuous and law-abiding members of a civilized, almost Christian society that existed long before the Incas. Nevertheless, just as Eve's original sin corrupted all womanhood, the arrival of the first Inca queen, Mama Uaco, says Guaman Poma, defiled many Andean women and lead them into idolatry and immorality. Finally, the Spanish colonial state, under the banner of Christianity, corrupted all indigenous women and transformed them into unrepentant sinners. In his attempt to persuade colonial Andean women to repent, Guaman Poma employed the models of moralist literature to exhort all women to convert to Christianity and to transform their wicked ways.[39] The portrayal of native women that Garcilaso and Guaman Poma present respond to these authors' personal agendas and draw on Western representational modes that influence the meanings they give to indigenous women's lives. The rhetorical discourses of native women in these chronicles treat the topics of virginity and chastity, the fall of humanity (and its repercussion in the Andes), the feminine virtues and the feminine flaws.

Guaman Poma and Inca Garcilaso on Virginity and Chastity

a) Ancient Andeans

The *Comentarios reales* and the *Nueva corónica* contradict each other regarding their portrayal of the morality of ancient Andean women. According to Guaman Poma,

[39] Rolena Adorno (1986) states that it is quite likely that Guaman Poma was familiar with the moralizing discourses of Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y Semblanzas* and Rodriguez de Almela's *Valerio de las historias de la Sagrada Escritura y de los hechos en España*. He may also have had access to religious literature and sermons due to his contacts with different religious orders.

ancient Andeans were direct descendants of Adam and Noah, and though they did not remember where they came from, they worshiped the creator with their deeds and prayers (1987: 50). On the contrary, Garcilaso states that pre-Inca natives were barbarous, immoral and devil worshipers. Guaman Poma attributes to the quasi-Christian women of the first Andean generations the ability to populate the earth with people "sin ydulatría ni seremonia alguna" [without any idolatry or ritual] (1987: 52), a people who even so already had a vague idea of God the creator.

Throughout all the Andean ages, as Guaman Poma narrates them in the *Nueva corónica*, women's virginity gave evidence of good governance among the Andean people. Guaman Poma declares that:

> …no se halló adúltera ni avía puta ni puto porque tenían una rrecla que mandaba que las dichas mugeres no le avían de dalle de comer cosa de sustancia ni vevía chicha. Tenía esta ley y ansí no se hacía garañona ni adúltera en este reyno las yndias mugeres…se casavan vírgenes y doncellas y lo tenían por onrra de ellos y la virginidad te [sic] de edad de treynta años…(1987: 59)

> […there were neither adulterous women nor female or male prostitutes, because they had laws that prohibited giving any food or *chicha* to such women. Therefore, there were no adulterers or loose women in this kingdom…they were virgins and maidens before their marriage, and they held this as an honor. (Many women) remained virgins to the age of thirty …]

As stated by this author the law that prohibited giving any food or drink to the adulterers and prostitutes was so harsh that no women (or men) dared to break it. Guaman Poma

emphasizes the chastity of pre-Inca women by saying that all of them were virgins before entering into a marriage relationship around the age of thirty.

Moreover, other women preferred not to get married to preserve their virginity and remain chaste for life. These women, he says could readily be classified as nuns. He writes:

> … harta monja avía si las mugeres eran de treynta y quarenta años donzellas. ¡O, que buena monja ci se convertiesen en el servicio de Dios entonses! (1987: 68)

> […there were many nuns because women of thirty and forty years old were maidens. Oh what good nuns they would have been had they entered into God's service then!]

Guaman Poma compares the choice of ancient Andean women's celibacy to that of Catholic nuns. His concern to underscore Andean women's chastity participates in a complex ideology of virginity, an ideology that intertwines patristic discourses in which marriage was good, but virginity was better, and was understood as the ideal of a Christian life (Castelli 68). By proclaiming that ancient Andean women preferred to remain chaste and virtuous, the Amerindian author depicts them as exemplary women.

The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega contests Guaman Poma's depiction of the chastity of pre-Inca women claiming that ancient Andeans were vile people who despised virginity. He writes:

> En las demás costumbres, como el casar y el juntarse, no fueron mejores los indios de aquella gentilidad que en su vestir y comer, porque muchas naciones se juntaban al coito como bestias, sin conocer mujer propia, sino como acertaban a

> toparse, y otras se casaban como se les antojaba, sin exceptuar hermanas, hijas ni madres…en otras provincias era lícito y aún loable ser las mozas cuan deshonestas y perdidas quisiesen…En otras provincias las madres cuando concertaban de casar a sus hijas las sacaban en público y en presencia de los parientes que se habían hallado al otorgo, con sus propias manos las defloraban…(1976, I: XIV)
>
> [In their other customs, such as marriage and cohabitation, the Indians of those heathen days were no better than in their eating and dressing. Many tribes cohabited like beasts without having any special wife, but with anyone they chanced to fall with. Others married as their fancy directed them without excepting sisters, daughters and mothers…In other provinces it was lawful and even praiseworthy for girls to be immodest and abandoned as they pleased…In other regions…mothers kept their daughters with great circumspection and when they were arranging to marry them, they brought them out in public and deflowered them with their own hands…] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 38-39)

With a total inversion of Guaman Poma's depiction of the quasi-Christian ancient Andean peoples, Garcilaso labels them as gentiles who lived a disorderly life. He portrays all of them as animals, and the young girls as loose. For him, these women's sexuality differed according to social groups, but in general terms, they were promiscuous and perverse.

Besides their immorality, he also accuses these people of being idolaters and worshipers of the devil. Garcilaso writes:

> Hubo también hechiceros y hechiceras y este oficio ordinario lo usaban más las indias que los indios: muchos lo ejercitaban solamente para tratar con el demonio en particular, para ganar reputación con la gente, dando y tomando respuestas de las cosas por venir, haciendose grandes sacerdotes y sacerdotisas. Otras mujeres lo usaron para enhechizar más a hombres que a mujeres o por envidia o por malquerencia y hacían con los hechizos los mismos efectos que con el veneno. (1976, I: XIV)
>
> [There were also wizards and witches, but this function was performed more oftern by women than by men. Many exercised it only to be able to deal privately with the Devil and gain a reputation among their people for giving and taking replies about things to come and make themselves great priests and priestesses. Other women used the art of bewitching people, more often men than women, for envy or some grudge, and produced with spells the same effect as with poison.] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 39)

Garcilaso's accusations of sorcery (*hechicería*) fell mostly on pre-Inca Andean women. Moreover, he associates sorcery with witchcraft, which aggravates the idolatry of pre-Inca peoples. Griffiths (1996) defines the term *hechicera/o* as a person who cured and gave remedies for illnesses or who manufactured love filters and protective potions. However, a witch was a person who consciously and malevolently harmed people and worshiped the devil. Garcilaso's use of the term *hechicera* (sorcerer) as *bruja* (witch) is a fierce attack at the integrity of pre-Inca people.

b) Mama Uaco and Mama Ocllo

In Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*, all Andean peoples previous to the Incas were lost in their idolatrous, immoral and rustic lifestyle until the arrival of the royal Inca couple Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo. As a child, Garcilaso had been told a version of the Inca myth of origins in which the Sun had sent this couple, who were his children by the Moon to found the imperial city of Cuzco (MacCormack 339). The problem with this myth was that Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo were spouses/siblings. Thus, in an apologetic tone, Garcilaso explains that only the firstborn children were allowed this (incestuous) practice (1976, IV: IX). According to him, Mama Ocllo, the Inca queen (*coya*) was the civilizer and the educator of all the female population. He writes:

> La Reina Mama Ocllo Huaco, enseñó a las indias a hilar y tejer y criar sus hijos y a servir sus maridos con amor y regalo y todo lo demás que una buena mujer debe hacer en su casa. (1976, II: I)
>
> [The Queen Mama Ocllo Huaco taught the Indian women to spin, weave, bring up their children, and serve their husbands with love and joy, and everything else that a good wife should do at home.] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 67)

For Garcilaso the first "civilized" occupation of the non-Inca women was spinning and weaving followed by raising their children and serving their husbands. The order in which Garcilaso lists these activities is important, because each one relates to a different stage in a woman's life. Young women should be initiated in the domestic life knowing how to spin and weave. Garcilaso's idea about young women's first exercises is consistent with Juan Luis Vives's proposal for women's education in *De Institutione*

Foeminae Christianae (*The Instruction of a Christian Women)*.[40] In this influential conduct manual for women, Vives writes:

> En la edad en que la muchacha pareciere apta para…el conocimiento de las cosas, comience por aprender aquellas que… conciernen al regimen y gobierno de la casa…Aprenderá pues la muchacha…a traer en sus manos la lana y el lino, dos artes que aquella famosa edad dorada y aquel siglo innocuo enseñaron a la posteridad, convenientísima a la economía doméstica…de la cual conviene sobre manera que sean las mujeres curiosas guardadoras. (1947: 92)
>
> [When the young woman is ready to learn about many things, she should start learning those activities concerning the good governance of the house…The young woman will learn to carry wool and linen in her hands (to spin and weave), two activities that that famous golden age and that innocent century, so opportune for the household economy, taught to posterity,...and over which women should be in charge.]

[40] Luis Vives was a Spanish humanist who studied in Paris and Italy under the direction of Nicolas Bérault and Gerhard Groote. Along his career he maintained contact with influencial thinkers such as Erasmus and Thomas More. His work *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* (1523) [*Instruction of a Christian Woman*] was the most influential conduct manual of the sixteenth century. He originally composed this text in Latin and dedicated it to Queen Catherine and Henry VIII's daughter. Later on this text was translated to several romance languages. In this book, Vives gives advise on the education and conduct of women from maidenhood through married life to widowhood. He argued that girls must be educated from birth. In early childhood, he said, play was essential, but the playthings should be such as will prepare them for their domestic chores. At the age of 7, girls were to be introduced to reading and writing and also to other manual. According to Vives, a woman should never be idle. One of her tasks was to read good books and whatever contributed towards good conduct. He goes on to recommend the classics of the Greek and Roman world and lays special emphasis on the Fathers of the Church, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine and the New Testament. Although he concerned himself with the education of a princess, he was adamant that women should not use cosmetics, dye their hair or wear showy jewellery or lavish clothes, that is to say anything that implied arrogance or provocation to a person of austere temperament (Marín Ibañez 751).

Vives's conduct manual emphasizes the importance of spinning and weaving to young girls, because these activities, he says, would contribute to the increment of her family's estate. As the young girls advance in age, they must be trained to be good wives, mothers and widows.

Besides her instruction to young Andean girls, Mama Ocllo also addressed married women. In the words of Garcilaso, raising children and serving their husbands voluntarily and with love "is what all good women should do." The Inca's use of the concept of good womanhood also refers to Fray Luis de León's instructions to married women in *La perfecta casada* [*The perfect married woman*][41] when he says, "el servir al marido y el gobernar la familia y la crianza de los hijos se debe al temor a Dios" [Serving one's husband and administering the family and the raising of children are the actions of one who is God-fearing] (1944: 207). The representation of Mama Ocllo as an exemplary wife and mother had a specific purpose. Garcilaso wanted to convince his European Christian readers that Inca women had always lived as good "Christians."

Guaman Poma, however, provides a very different story about the first Inca queen (*coya*). In his view, the appearance of the first *coya* –whom he calls Mama Uaco, is detrimental to ancient Andeans. He describes Mama Uaco as a false idolater and an immoral being who invented the fable that Manco Capac was the son of the Sun and the Moon to deceive the ancient Andeans. This author states that Mama Uaco and her son

[41] In *La perfecta casada*, Fray Luis combines his ideals and religious beliefs about the best possible behavior of a proper Christian wife. This text embodies the humanistic ideas of the Renaissance such as the interest in educating women and writing about marriage and motherhood. He believed that his writings would help wives have a better sense of their feminine roles, which basically dealt with raising their children and running their household. According to Fray Luis, women needed wisdom to be able to do this, and this wisdom was best found in books such Fray Luis's own writings. Through the acquisition of wisdom, wives would achieve harmonious relationships with their husbands and become exemplary members of society (Rivera 2006).

Manco Capac belonged to the caste of the serpent (*amaru*) rather than being descendants of Noah (1987: 80). He adds:

> Esta dicha muger dizen que fue gran fingedora, ydúlatra, hichesera, el qual hablava con los demonios del infierno y hazia serimonias y hecheserías. Y ací hazía hablar a las piedras y palos y zerros y lagunas porque le rrespondían los demonios. Y ací esta dicha señora fue enbentadora [de] las dichas uacas ydolos y hecheserías, encantamientos, y con ello les engañó a los dichos yndios…Y ací fue obedecida y servida esta dicha señora Mama Uaco, y ací le llamaron Coya y rreyna del Cuzco. Dizen que se echaua con los hombres que ella quería de todo el pueblo, como este engaño andava muchos años, según cuentan los dichos muy biejos yndios…
>
> Se llamó Mama Uaco después que se cazó con su hijo [Mango Capac] y entró a ser señora y rreyna… (1987: 81)

> [This woman was, they say, a great deceiver, idolater and sorceress, who spoke with the demons of hell and who performed ceremonies and sorcery. She could make stones and cliffs and sticks and hills talk, because the demons replied to her. Thus, this woman was the first inventor of *wacas* (idols), sorceries and enchantments, and she used them to fool the Indians…Thus this woman Mama Waco, was obeyed, and so they called her *Coya* (queen) of Cuzco. They say that she slept with every man she wanted to in the whole pueblo and she kept this fraud going for many years, according to the stories told by very old Indians…

> She was called Mama Waco; after she married her son and became lady and queen…] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 32-33)

According to Guaman Poma, the first *coya* did not come to civilize the Indians as Garcilaso argued, but to deceive and corrupt them. Her practice of pagan religions thus lay at the very roots of Inca dominion (MacCormack 318). The association of Mama Uaco (and Manco Capac) with the caste of the *amaru* is quite symbolic. In the Christian tradition, which is the one Guaman Poma upholds first, the serpent is the representation of the devil. Hence, for him Mama Uaco was not a civilizer, but a messanger of the devil who was in charge of bringing sin into the world. In addition, Guaman Poma also uses the Andean symbolism of the serpent to condemn Mama Uaco. According to María Garcés, in the Andean world the serpent is related to the underworld, shamanism and divination and it also represents a mythological being that connects the celestial and earthly worlds (74). By linking the meanings of *amaru* to the European concept of a sorcerer (*hechicera*), Guaman Poma intends, ultimately, to blame Mama Uaco for leading the ancient Andeans, particularly women, to idolatry and sexual immorality.

Guaman Poma's accusatory tone towards Mama Uaco is softened in a second version he provides about her, to which I will return later. His first version of the arrival of the Incas serves to compare the previous moral character of the ancient Andeans to what he sees as the gradual degradation of the Andean world under Inca rule. However, he also contradicts himself by praising some of the Inca institutions, which according to him helped to preserve women's virginity. He refers to the *acllas* (chosen women who

performed economic and religious activities enclosed in an *acllahuasi)*[42] as passive and obedient women whose virginity elevated the good fame of the Andean past.

c) The Acllakuna[43]

In Guaman Poma's opinion, the contemporary Andean women, whom he accuses as loose, should look back to the lives of the *acllakuna* (chosen women) to learn about morality and chastity. The preservation of the *acllas*' chastity was one of the aspects he highly respected about the Incas. According to him, these women were chosen from the different Andean regions because of their purity. He writes:

> Daquí sacauan para uírgines perpetuas para el sol y tenplos y luna y luzero y para el *Ynga* y para los dioses y… [señores poderosos]…
>
> …La grandesa que tubo este dicho Mundo Nuebo de la Yndias de tener donzellas…lo qual se estaua en sus casas y andauan en el canpo cin que la mosca le tocase.
>
> ¡O qué lindo ley, no tan solamente de la tierra cino de Dios! Ci estaua en la ley de crístiano, quéstas se sacauan para calles y para uírgenes, no lo a tenido tan linda ley enperador ni rreys del mundo. Estas dichas seruían en todo lo que eran mandado del *Ynga* y justicia… (1987: 224[226])

> [(Some of these virgin maidens) were chosen to be perpetual virgins for the sun and the temples of the moon and the morning star. (Other were chosen) for the Inca, the gods, the princes…

[42] A building that contained these women.
[43] Plural of *acclla*.

> What greatness there was in this New World of the Indies, to have women who were maidens…(who) could stay in their houses or wander through the countryside without being touched by so much as a fly.
>
> Oh what a lovely law, not only of this world but also of God! If only the Christians' law would allow young women to go out into the street and remain virgins! No emperor or king in the world has had such a lovely law. These women served in every way they were ordered by the Inca and by justice…] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 80)

Despite the idolatrous practices of the Incas such as worshiping the sun, moon and lightning, Guaman Poma praises the morality of this groups of Andean women who could remain chaste and walk safely "without even being molested by so much as fly" in that land. Guaman Poma changes his initial negative attitude towards the Incas. Now he praises the Inca law, which he compares to "la ley de cristiano" ["The Christian Law."] This, according to him was a very respected law in the Andes.

Garcilaso's treatment of the virginity of the *acllakuna* is similar to that of Guaman Poma. He praises the virginity of these women and compares them to Christian nuns. He argues that the Inca laws protected these women's virginity and punished those who attempted to defile them. He writes:

> … Para la monja que delinquiese contra su virginidad había ley que la enterrasen viva y al cómplice mandaban a ahorcar…[Pero] esta ley nunca se vio ejecutada, porque jamás se halló que hubiesen delinquido contra ello, porque…los indios del Perú fueron temerosísimos de sus leyes y observatísimos de ellas, principalmente de las que tocaban en su religión o en su Rey. (1976, IV: III)

> [There was a law that a nun who forfeited her virginity should be buried alive and her accomplice hanged… This was the law. But it was never applied, for no one ever transgressed it. As we have said, the Peruvian Indians were very fearful of breaking the laws and extremely observant of them, especially those relating to their religion or their king.] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 199)

According to Garcilaso, the punitive Inca laws not only guarded women's morality, they also promoted the commonwealth. He states that since the Inca punishments to those who attempted against these women's virginity were so drastic, no one dared to break them. Thus the purity of these women was guaranteed.

The ideal state of virginity that both authors claim for their respective ancestry can be compared to that of the moralizing discourses of this period. The moralist and religious writers of early modern Spain argued that women should either read or hear devotionals, saint's lives (*Vidas*), sermons and conduct manuals, and attacked other type of literature such as fantastic adventure or theater (Nalle 92). By endorsing moralist literature, the European authors of this period sought to inspire men and women to virtuous actions and noble deeds. Thus, their works were filled with exemples of the life of the Virgin and the chastity of other virtuous women (Nalle 82). Since the lives of these women were the ideal of female behavior, moralist authors of this period, including Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, emphasized on women's virginity and chastity.

During the early modern period, female chastity was the regular subject of both humanist and literary texts composed by Spaniards. Authors such as Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de León emphasized that chastity was the highest virtue of a woman, and

without it she had nothing (Poska 136). For example, in his discussion of virginity and chastity, Luis Vives states that:

> …sola una cosa se requiere de [la mujer] y es la castidad, la cual, si le falta, no es más que al hombre le faltase todo lo necesario… '¡Ay dolor, y qué puede haber salvo en la mujer, perdida su castidad!...Yo no digo esto porque ninguna se mate, sino porque la virgen tenga firme propósito de morir antes que mancillar ni corromper su virginidad…(1940: 56-57)
>
> […Only one thing is required of woman, which is her chastity because if she lacks chastity, it is no more than if a man should lack everything… 'Oh what sorrow! And what in a woman is safeguarded if she loses her chastity!... I do not say this so that any woman should kill herself for not being chaste, but a virgin should prefer to die rather than lose her virginity…]

As this passage states, failure to maintain one's chastity not only damaged a woman's reputation, but could lead to her death as the only means for her to restore her honor and that of her family. According to Vives, even the gentiles upheld the value of virginity so much that:

> …no consentían, por una tan brevísima y momentánea imaginación de falso deleite, destruir tan gran bien, y que querían antes que otro cualquiera fuese autor de acometer aquella vileza que no ellos. (1940: 50)
>
> […they did not consent nor even thought, for a brief moment of imagined false delight, to destroy such a great possession. Rather they preferred that anyone else be responsible for commiting such a vile act, but not they themselves.]

Pedro García Pilán argues that one of the most important aspects of Vives's instruction to women is the message to preserve their virginity. He states that Luis Vives, along with other humanists of his time, considered virginity to be the only treasure that women possessed and saw it as a symbol of their entire family's morality (162). Like Vives, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma considered Andean women's virginity a symbol of the greatness of their ancestors. While Garcilaso emphasizes the virginity of the *acllakuna* imposed by the Incas, and argues that the chastity of Inca women continued in the colonial period, Guaman Poma laments the destruction of colonial indigenous women's chastity under Spanish rule. For these Andean authors, particularly for Guaman Poma, the frail nature of women made them easy prey for sinful acts. Although Guaman Poma prasises the virginity of some Andean women such as the acllakuna, he also denigrates other native women whose sins were comparable to those of Eve's.

The Fall of Humanity: Mama Uaco and Eve

The rhetorical influences of sermons in the *Nueva corónica* become evident in the *Nueva corónica*'s references to Eve and the fall of humanity in the Garden of Eden. Assuming the role of a preacher, Guaman Poma portrays himself as a just, charitable, pious Christian man. Nevertheless, it is his sermonizing, rather than his self-portraits that creates the voice and character of the narrator as pious Christian (Adorno, *Writing* 74). Making reference to women's inferiority claimed by numerous Church fathers such as Tertulian, St. Augustine and St. Jerome, Guaman Poma situates himself in a position of superiority to exhort women to repent.

Guaman Poma compares the sins of Mama Uaco to the sins of Eve to remind his female audience of their frailty. In his prologue to female readers, he addresses all ranks

of Andean women, including elites and commoners, “A los letores mugeres, Coya, Capac Uarmi, Curaca Uarmi, Allicac Uarmi, Uaccha Uarmi [To women readers: consorts of the Inca, consorts of the powerful lords, women of the *kurakas*, women of the lords promoted by the Inca, women poor and lowly] (Adorno, *Writing* 75) saying:

> No os espantéys, mugeres. El primer pecado que acometió fue muger. La Eua pecó con la mansana, quebró el mandamiento de Dios. Y ací el primer ydúlatra comensastes, muger, y ciruistes a los demonios. Todo ello es cosa de burla y mentira. Deja todo y tiene deboción a la Sactísima Trinidad, Dios Padre, Dios Hijo, Dios Espíritu Sancto, un solo Dios, y a su madre de Dios, Santa María ciempre Uirgen. Que ella os faboreserá y rrogara por bosotras del cielo para que gozemos y nos ajuntemos en el cielo y en este mundo, para que no nos tiente Satanás.
>
> Armaos con la crus y rreza el Padrenuestro y el Auemaría y acordándoos de la pación de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, digamos el credo, para que seamos con la Santícisma Trinidad y con Jesucristo y con su Madre Santa María y con sus sanctos y santas ángeles de la corte del cielo. Para esto armémonos con la señal de la Sancta Crus. De nuestros enemigos líbranos, Señor, de todo mal del mundo, de la carne y del demonio. ([1615] 1987: 144)

> [Do not be shocked women! Woman committed the first sin: Eve sinned with the apple, breaking God’s commandment. Thus, you began the first idolatry, woman, and you served the demons. All of that is a matter of mockery and lies. Leave it all behind and devote yourself to the Most Holy Trinity –God the Father, God the

> Son, God the Holy Spirit, the one and only God- and to the Mother of God, St. Mary, ever virgin. May she favor you and pray for you in heaven, that we may delight and join together in heaven and in this world, and that Satan might not tempt us.
>
> Arm yourself with the cross and pray the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and recall the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us say the Credo so that we may be with the Most Holy Trinity, with Jesus Christ, with his mother St. Mary, and with his saints and angels in the court of heaven. To this end, let us arm ourselves with the sign of the Holy Cross. From our enemies deliver us, Lord: from all the evil of the world, from the flesh, and from the Devil.] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 50)

Guaman Poma appropriates the discourses of the Church fathers who wrote harshly against women to depict himself as morally superior. He reminds his readers of his previous depiction of Mama Uaco, mother of the Incas, whom he accused of being the first idolater of the Andes. According to Rolena Adorno, "the juxtaposition of the biblical and the Andean figures elevates the first *coya* to the ranks of humanity's greatest sinners and imports the alien, Christian concept of Original Sin into the Andean World." (75) In a moralistic tone, he urges his female readers to direct their eyes to God for forgiveness and salvation.

Having introduced Andean women into the history of Christianity, Guaman Poma engages the European discourses of his time to comment on Mama Uaco and Eve. The idea that Eve sinned because she was frail was a common topic for European writers and thinkers. For example, Thomas Aquinas, the most brilliant and thorough of the

Scholastics, synthesized classical and Christian ideas about women stating that "women's inferiority was not simply the result of Eve's actions but was inherent in her original creation." (Wiesner-Hanks 22) Thus, in order to encourage the good instruction of women, numerous writers attempted to persuade their female readers to emulate the good behavior of exemplary women and to eliminate negative behavior from their lives. In this light, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma uphold a moralistic rhetoric to expose the virtues and vices of indigenous women so that their European readers would easily recognize these Western representational modes.

The best way for Guaman Poma to write about the virtues and vices of the Inca rulers and their wives was by appropriating the Castilian biographical genre. Rolena Adorno (1986) has explored how this Amerindian author adapted the moralist rhetoric of the biographical genre common in Castilian literature to write about intimate and mundane details from the lives of the twelve Incas and *coyas*. Consequently, when Guaman Poma provides a second description of Mama Uaco, which is different than the one I exposed previously, he highlights some of her qualities at the same time he maintains that she left the legacy of idolatry in the Andean world. He states that Mama Uaco:

> Fue muy hermosa y morena de todo el cuerpo y de buen talle. Dizen que fue gran hechizera, según cuentan su vida y historia que hablava con los demonios. Esta dicha señora hacía hablar a las piedras y peñas, ydulos guacas. Desta señora comenzaron a salir rreys Yngas. Y dizen que ella no le fue conocida su padre ni de su hijo Mango Capac Ynga cino que dijo que era hija del sol y de la luna y se

casó con su hijo primero, Mango Capac Ynga. Para se casar dizen que pedió a su padre al sol dote y le dio dote y se casaron madre e hijo.

Y la dicha Mama Uaco…murió en el Cuzco de edad de duzientos años en tienpo de su hijo, Cinche Roca Ynga…Y esta señora dejó la ley del demonio muy entablado a todos sus hijos y nietos y desendientes. Pero fue muy amiga de los caballeros y demás gentes…Fue muy hermocícima muger y de mucho saber y hazía mucho bien a los pobres en la ciudad del Cuzco y de todo su rreyno… Y ací creció mas bien su gobierno de su marido de esta señora coya porque reynaba el Cuzco y su jurisdición. (1987: 121)

[She was very beautiful, and her whole body was dark and fine of figure. They say she was a great sorceress; according to the tales told of her life and history, she spoke with the demons. They say this lady made the rocks, crags, and idols (*wacas*) talk. It was from this lady that the first Inca kings descendend. They say that neither her father nor the father of her son, Manco Capac Inca, was known; rather, she claimed to be the daughter of the sun and the moon, and she married her first son, Manco Capac Inca. To get married, they say that she asked her father the sun for her dowry; he gave the dowry, and mother and son were married.

This Mama Waco…died in Cuzco at the age of two hundred, in the time of her son, Cinche Roca Inca…Although this lady left the demon's law well-established for all her sons and grandsons and descendents, she was a good friend of gentlemen and other people. She governed more than her husband Manco Capac Inca did. The whole city of Cuzco obeyed and respected her throughout her

> life…The realm of this lady's husband grew mainly because she ruled in Cuzco and its territory.] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 47)

This time Guaman Poma describes Mama Uaco's physical and moral characteristics, her supposed lineage and her political importance. She was a beautiful woman who claimed to be the daughter of the sun and the moon, and she was important, albeit in a negative way because she brought idolatry and immorality to the Andes. The mythical elements about Mama Uaco such as Guaman Poma's assertions that she lived two hundred years and made stones speak are softened with her benign personality and wisdom. This combination, says Adorno, brought these characters down to a human dimension, which allowed him, then, to produce a moralizing commentary about their activities (*Writing* 47). Contemporary Andean women could relate to Mama Uaco at least in some aspects of her life, to emulate her positive actions and to reject her flaws. The rhetorical strategy of moralistic literature that combined fantasy with reality was a common trend for humanist writers. Therefore, Guaman Poma used it to appeal to his European readers.

Galen Brokaw states that the biographical genre developed by Castilian biographers such as Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Diego Rodríguez de Almela provided a convenient structure for the writings of many conquistadors. He argues that while educated writers might have had easy access to the Castilian biographies, it is possible that Guaman Poma became familiar with this genre either indirectly through his readings of the Spanish chroniclers or directly through access to Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y Semblanzas* (1450) and Rodríguez de Almela's *Valerio de las historias escolásticas de España* (1487) (121). According to Brokaw, the structure of Guaman Poma's biographies of the Incas and *coyas*, including his second biography of Mama Uaco, is consistent with

the three main structural features of the Spanish biographical genre described by Brian Tate (1965), which are: 1) the lineage of the individual; 2) the person's physical and a moral description such as temperament, moral qualities; and 3) the individual's significant accomplishments and the date and place of death as well as his/her age (122). Nevertheless, Guaman Poma's first description of Mama Uaco does not follow this structure.

In this first description of Mama Uaco, Guaman Poma writes about her in an accusatory tone and does not provide details about the *coya*'s life as he does in the second one. This discrepancy suggests that Guaman Poma adopted this structure after writing the first version and continued using this model for the rest of his biographies. By later employing this Castilian genre structure, he softens his earlier criticism of the Incas. In a moralistic tone, now he wants his readers to remember the most remarkable facts about the women he described even if they belonged to the Inca lineage. Thus by appropriating the biographical genre structure, Guaman Poma also employs the discursive moralist tradition of highlighting the feminine virtues and rejecting the feminine flaws.

Guaman Poma and Garcilaso on The Feminine Virtues

Without a doubt, the women that both Guaman Poma and Garcilaso praised most highly were their own mothers. Garcilaso's mother, Chimpu Ocllo (later named Isabel Suárez), was an Inca princess, and in Garcilaso's opinion, a virtuous woman in colonial Peru. Like Garcilaso, Guaman Poma describes his mother, Curi Ocllo as an Inca princess who later converted to Catholicism along with his father. For Guaman Poma some indigenous women like his mother, were exemplary Christians and thus served as a model for all the native and non-native women in colonial society. Similarly, Garcilaso

argues that women like his mother, Chimpu Ocllo, were exemplary mothers and wives. He also praises other Inca women for their good habits and morals.

Garcilaso refers to Chimpu Ocllo as a royal descendant of the Incas. He proudly remarks that she taught him Quechua, the language he later used to authorize part of his text. As a child, he listened to the traditions of his mother's people, preserved by the *quipucamayocs* (record keepers) and some members of his family who used to visit her often. He says that his mother was very respected in her native Cuzco. In addition, her good reputation was not only due to her nobility, but also due to her virtuous life. He associates her name with that of a group of women that:

> …en sus casas vivían en recogimiento y honestidad…Estas eran tenidas en grandísima veneración por su castidad y limpieza y por excelencia y deidad las llamaban Ocllo... (1976, IV: VII)

> […(women of the royal blood) who lived in their homes, having taken a vow of chastity, though not of reclusion…Such women were greatly respected for their chastity and high-mindedness, and as a mark of their excellence and divinity they were called Ocllo…] (Livermore 204)

Garcilaso states the "Ocllo" women were not only honest, but they were also part of a clean lineage. Thus, this author equated Chimpu Ocllo's clean lineage with the notion of *limpieza de sangre* "clean blood." In doing so, he was employing the medieval discourses that associated clean blood with Catholic orthodoxy. The medieval philosophical theory stated that blood was the vehicle of religious faith. According to this theory, the mother's blood fed the child in the womb and then, transformed into milk, fed the baby outside the

womb as well (Kuznesof 160). Hence, a child acquired his purity of blood from his mother's milk. Garcilaso adapts this idea in his text to refer to his mother's role in his early life by which she transmitted to him her good lineage and her culture.

The phrase "esta relación que mamé en la leche" [This story that I suckled in my mother's milk] refers indeed to the role of his mother in his formative years. He emphasizes that his mother breastfed him, and it was through this act that he acquired Quechua and his royal Inca heritage. The importance Garcilaso gave to his mother's milk suggests that he was following a humanistic rhetoric based on philosophical, medical and theological discourses produced in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This rhetoric upheld the importance of maternal breastfeeding in forming the moral and social identity of children (Rivera, "La leche" 208). Olga Rivera claims that the Renaissance humanists stated that the duty of a woman from a clean lineage was to breastfeed her children:

> [L]a reiterada afirmación de que la madre que no lactaba pertenecía a un linaje imperfecto, partido por el medio, que remite a la antigüedad clásica y se le atribuye a Aulio Gelio, se constituyó en un *topoi* en el discurso de los humanistas del siglo XVI ("La leche" 208).

> [T]he repeated assertion that the mother who did not breastfeed her children belonged to an imperfect lineage, split down the middle, which refers to classic antiquity and it is attributed to Aulus Gellius, constituted a *topoi* of the humanists of the sixteenth century.]

Humanists such as Fray Luis de León, Luis Vives, Antonio de Guevara and Pedro de Luján, says Rivera, began an intense campaign against wet nurses and mothers who avoided breastfeeding (Rivera, "La leche" 208). These humanists argued that wet nurses, servants or apprentices, significantly mediated the role of parents in subject formation. They, along with theologians, legal professionals and doctors propagated the belief that vice, disease, and physical and moral character were transmitted through the wet nurses' milk. Thus a noblewoman who assigned her task of breastfeeding to wet nurses was making her children villains and bastards (Rivera, "La leche" 209). Garcilaso assures his readers that his noble mother breastfed him, and with that, she transmitted to him her noble lineage.

In his works, Garcilaso returns repeatedly to this topic. He praises Inca women, particularly the female nobility, for breastfeeding their children. His text reads:

> La madre propia criaba su hijo; no se permitía darlo a criar, por gran señora que fuese, si no era por enfermedad. Mientras criaban se abstenían del coito, porque decían que era malo para la leche y encanijaba a la criatura…(1976, IV: XII)
>
> [The mother reared the child herself, and never gave it out to nurse, even if she were a great lady, unless she were ill. During this time they abstained from sexual intercourse, considering that it spoiled the milk and caused the baby to pine and grow weak…] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 212)

To illustrate the importance of a breastfeeding mother, Garcilaso gives the example of a noble woman, a *palla* (princess) who was in need of a wet nurse to breastfeed her child. In his story, the Inca tells that the wet nurse lied to the *palla* and either had sexual

relations with somebody or had a contagious disease. The mother realized that her child became ill and she decided to breastfeed her daughter again. The child, says the Inca:

> …se puso como ética, que no tenía sino los huesos y el pellejo. La madre, viendo a su hija *ayusca* (al cabo de ocho meses que se le había enjugado la leche), la volvió a llamar a los pechos con cernadas y emplastos de yerbas que se puso a las espaldas y volvió a criar a su hija y la convaleció y libró de muerte. No quiso dársela a otra ama, porque dijo que la leche de la madre era la que le aprovechaba. (1976, IV: XII)

> […grew weak and seemed almost consumptive, a mere bag of skin and bones. The mother seeing her child *ayusca* eight months after her milk had dried up, brought it back to her breasts with plasters and herbal poultices applied to her back, and resumed suckling the child, and brought it back to health, rescuing it from death. She would not entrust it to another nurse, saying that it was her mother's milk that had save it.] (Livermore 213)

Garcilaso uses this example to convince his readers that Inca women were good mothers who already practiced what the European humanists wanted all women to do. In his text, breastfeeding their children was a priority for indigenous women, particularly for native noblewomen.

According to La Fountain-Stokes, the metaphoric meaning of Garcilaso's phrase "Yo protesto de decir llanamente la relación que mamé en la leche" [I confess that I tell plainly the story that I suckled in my mother's milk] refers clearly to his mother and the closeness he felt with her; and it also refers to the closeness he felt to his land (74). The

affirmation of his indigenous heritage establishes his identity as a member of the royal family of pre-Hispanic origins because his mother was the niece of a brother of Inca Huayna Capac whose name was Hualpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui (1976; IX: XXXVIII). Thus, stressing that his mother breastfed him, he corroborates that Chimpu Ocllo belonged to the civilized lineage of the Incas, and not to an imperfect ancestry.

In his *Nueva corónica,* Guaman Poma also strives to highlight the nobility and Christianity of his mother Doña Juana Curi Ocllo. Although he claims to be a descendant of the royal lineage of the Yarovilcas on his father's side (1987: 6), Guaman Poma states that his mother was an Inca princess and the daughter of Topa Inca Yupanqui (1987:15). However, the representation the Amerindian author gives of his mother as well as the interpretation of numerous scholars has raised doubts about his noble ascendancy. According to Elvira Tundidor, claiming that Juana Curi Ocllo was the youngest daughter of Inca Topa Yupanqui was physically impossible for she would have been in her sixty's when her children (Martín de Ayala and Guaman Poma) were born (162). The logical kinship would be that Curi Ocllo was the great granddaughter of Topa Inca (Tundidor 163). Zuidema adds that Guaman Poma and his ancestry belonged to a group called Incas-by-privilege rather than blood, and he describes this group so succinctly because he himself was of non-Inca descent ("Hierarchy" 54). In any case, it seems evident in Rolena Adorno's research that Guaman Poma was descendend from *mitmaqkuna* (members of an ethnic community sent by the Inca to settle a newly conquered area) who originated in Huánuco and eventually settled in Huamanga ("Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala" 142). Yet, his strategy of assuming Inca nobility through his mother's side is

problematic. His views of Inca women (i.e. Mama Uaco and the *acllas*) are contradictory for he accuses them of idolatry and then he praises their chastity.

His mother's supposed conversion to Christianity is not fully explained either. Yet he represents her as an old Christian despite her "idolatrous" Inca heritage. He depicts her in a few drawings, always inside a church. Quispe-Agnoli argues that Guaman Poma's drawings depict both of his parents as devout Christians:

> "El dibujo…los presenta como buenos cristianos. Vestidos como indígenas nobles, ambos llevan rosarios en las manos... De esta manera, Guamán Poma traslada la cristiandad y santidad al lado nativo y familiar…"(242)
>
> [The drawing…shows them as good Christians. They are dressed as noble Indians, both carrying rosaries in their hands…In this way, Guaman Poma attributes Christianity and sanctity to his native family…]

Later on, he confirms the Christianity of his mother and all her kinship by saying "don Martín de Ayala y su madre doña Juana, y con todos sus hermanos serbieron a Dios y tubieron mucha auilidad y fe en Dios" [Don Martín de Ayala and his mother Doña Juana, and all of his brothers served God and they were skillfull and had faith in God] (1987: 20). The textual descriptions of his mother are brief, perhaps because he realized that she was a contradictory figure in his narrative. Nevertheless, she occupies a prominent space in his drawings, where she appears as a devout Christian and a faithful wife.

Yet, the most complete example of good womanhood provided by Guaman Poma is that of the twelfth coya, Chuquillanto. This woman, he says, was a good wife who endured the bad habits of her husband, Huascar Inca. As with the rest of the biographies

he wrote, he provides a physical and a moral description of this coya. According to Chang-Rodríguez, Guaman Poma's description of Chuquillanto is very similar to Hernando del Pulgar's description of Queen Isabella of Castile (299). Pulgar's text reads:

> Esta Reyna era de mediana estatura, bien compuesta en su persona y en la proporción de sus miembros, muy blanca e rubia; los ojos entre verdes y azules, el mirar gracioso e honesto, las facciones del rostro bien puestas, la cara muy fermosa e alegre […] Guardaba tanto la continencia del rostro, que aún en los tiempos de sus partos encubría su sentimiento, e forzábase a no mostrar ni decir la pena que en aquella hora sienten e muestran las mugeres. Amaba mucho al Rey su marido, e celábalo fuera de toda medida […] (quoted by Chang-Rodriguez 299-300)

> [This Queen was of an average stature, she was well formed and her body was well proportioned. Her hair and skin were very fair. The color of her eyes was blue-green. Her gaze was honest and graceful. The features of her countenance were well composed. Her face was beautiful and bright…The expressions in her countenance were so restrained, that even in childbirth, she hid her feelings. She never revealed her sufferings as many women do. She loved the king, her husband, very much and cared for him beyond all measure…]

The description of Queen Isabella suggests that her external beauty comes from her internal virtues. Her eyes reflect her honesty and her countenance her strength. The author emphasizes Isabella's role as a mother and wife. As a mother she demonstrated her strong spirit when giving birth and as wife she loved and cared for her husband

"beyond all measure." The attitudes and moral character of Queen Isabella described by Pulgar served as an example for other women and as a model for writing moralizing discourses for other humanist writers (Chang-Rodríguez 296).

Chang-Rodriguez argues that Guaman Poma may have read or heard summaries of these biographies due to his contacts with different religious orders, particularly the Jesuits (300). Thus, his description of Chuquillanto is very similar to that of Queen Isabella. Guaman Poma writes of this *coya*:

> … fue muy muchas ueces hermosa y blanquilla, que no tenía ninguna dacha en el cuerpo. Y en el pareser y muy alegre y cantadora, amiga de criar paxaritos. Y no tenía cosa suya, aunque su marido era auariento; de puro auariento comía media noche y por la mañana manecía con la coca en la boca.
>
> … De puro buena y alegre [Chuquillanto] le contentaua a su marido, aunque era emperrado y ací duró pocos años.
>
> Primero murió su marido Guascar Ynga. Se cubrió todo de luto. Y se murió en Yucay en tiempo de la conquista de los cristianos. Y no se escriue de su hijo ni hija ni lo auía legítimo ni uastardo.
>
> Y ací en este rrey y rreyna, Ynga, coya, se acauaron los rreys, capac apo Yngas. Y murió de edad de cincuenta y nueve años. Se acabó la uida triste desta señora. (1987: 143)

> [They say she was exceedingly beautiful and fair. She had no blemish on her body or face and was very cheerful, full of song, and fond of raising little birds. She owned no possessions of her own, even though her husband was avaricious. Out

> of sheer greed, he would eat in the middle of the night, and he could be seen in the morning with his mouth stuffed with coca.
>
> (Chuquillanto) was so good and cheerful that she pleased her husband, even though he was stubborn and thus did not live many years. Her husband Wascar Inca died first; she wore mourning clothes and died in Yucay, in the time of the Christians' conquest. Nothing is written about her sons or daughters whether she had legitimate or bastard children. Thus, with this king and queen, the kings came to an end. She died at the age of fifty-nine; the sad life of this lady came to an end.] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 49-50)

Similar to the description of Queen Isabella, Guaman Poma portrays Chuquillanto as a physically and morally perfect woman ("sin ninguna dacha en el cuerpo"). According to him, she had a good personality, but most of all she was a great wife. Although Guascar, her husband, was greedy and ill-tempered she tried to please him in any possible way. The good example of Chuquillanto in the *Nueva corónica* is also the example of a good wife in Luis Vives's text.

Like Guaman Poma, Vives admonishes wives to patiently suffer the hardships of a difficult husband with the purpose of transforming him. His manual reads:

> Hay diversidad entre los maridos. Todos se deben amar, acatar, reverenciar; a todos se les debe obedecer; pero no se les ha de tratar de manera uniforme…La vida es como un juego de dados; si el juego te sale mal, enmiéndalo con tu arte. Así, si el marido te saliese como no lo deseas, a fuerza de habilidad, si puedes has de enmendarle o volverle menos incómodo. (104)

> [There are different types of husbands. All of them must be loved, obeyed, reverenced. All of them should be loved, but not all of them should be treated in the same way…Life is like a dice game, if the game goes wrong, you must change it with your abilities. So, if your husband is not as you desire you must change him with your abilities, or at least make him less annoying.]

This type of discourse aims to convince women to be godly wives and to be an example for others. Guaman Poma's depiction of a good wife is comparable with the goals of moralistic literature, which sought to convey good habits through that most widely used means, the exemplum (Hafter 1966: 9-10 in Adorno, *Writing* 51). Therefore, Chuquillanto's goodness and patience towards her husband serves as an example to Guaman Poma's female audience.

While Guaman Poma's examples of good womanhood mostly refer to pre-Columbian women, Garcilaso provides examples of colonial indigenous women that he considers worthy of praise. He says that native women, particularly the *pallas*, were never idle and they took advantage of any free time they had to continue spinning. He writes:

> Las indias eran tan amigas de hilar y tan enemigas de perder cualquiera pequeño espacio de tiempo, que yendo o viniendo de las aldeas a la ciudad, y pasando de un barrio a otro a visitarse en ocasiones forzosas, llevaban recaudo para hilar y torcer…mas las pallas que eran de la sangre real, cuando se visitaban unas a otras llevaban sus hilados y labores con sus criadas…

> La buena costumbre de visitarse las indias unas a otras, llevando sus labores consigo, la imitaron las españolas en el Cuzco y la guardaron con mucha loa de ellas…(1976; IV: XIII- XIV)
>
> [The Indian women were so fond of spinning and so reluctant to waste even a short time that as they came or went from the villages to the city or even from one quarter to another, visiting one another for necessary purposes, they carried equipment for the two operations of spinning and twisting…the pallas who were of the royal blood were accompanied by servants carrying their yarn and distaffs. Thus both the callers and ladies of the house were occupied and not idle while they conversed…
>
> The good custom of the Indian women had of visiting one another carrying their work with them was imitated by the Spanish women in Cuzco and preserved in very creditable fashion…] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 215-16)

According to Garcilaso, the Spanish women imitated the industriousness of their native counterparts. Indigenous women, both noble and commoners were a living example of what the humanist authors taught to European women. They were diligent people and fulfilled their gendered duties with a positive attitude.

For instance, when the *ñustas* (princesses), daughters of Inca Huayna Capac (whom he calls "infantas") lost their Spanish husbands in the civil wars, the Spanish governors gave them in marriage to other Spanish men. Though many of them disliked their new husband, says the Inca, they accepted that marriage and lived decent lives. Garcilaso gives the example of Doña Beatriz Coya, his aunt, who was required by

Governor La Gasca to marry an ordinary Spaniard, of whom it was said that he had been a tailor. As the Inca narrates this episode, he says that when this princess found out the low condition of her fiancée, she said:

> que no era justo casar la hija de Huayna Capac Inca con un *ciracamayo* que quiere decir sastre, y aunque se lo rogó e importunó el Obispo del Cozco y el capitán Diego Centeno, con otras personas graves, no aprovechó cosa alguna. (*Historia* III, 11)

> [that it was not fair that Huayna Capac's daughter should marry a *ciracamayo*, which means a tailor, and despite the requests of the Bishop of Cuzco and the captain Diego de Centeno and other important people, she refused to accept.]

It was only her brother, Don Cristobal Paullu, who persuaded her to accept, by advising her that refusing that marriage would bring hardship to the royal family. Nevertheless, when this *coya* and Hernández were exchanging vows, she responded saying "*Ichach munani, ichach manamunini"* which translates as "Maybe I want it, maybe I don't want it" (*Historia* III: 12). Although the Inca recognizes that Doña Beatriz Coya entered into this marriage with notorious discontent, he suggests that she accepted her new life with stoicism. When he departed Cuzco, says the Inca, "yo los dejé vivos que hacían vida maridable" [I left them living like a married couple] (*Historia* III:12). He adds that many other marriages happened in a similar fashion, and in many cases neither the wife nor the husband were content, because as he states "en este mundo no se halla contento que sea entero" [nobody finds full contentment in this world] (*Historia* III: 12). This allusion to the acceptance of a less than desirable married life is similar to Juan Luis Vives and Fray

Luis de Leon's ideas that the wife who accepts a less-than-desirable married life and supports her husband, demonstrates moral superiority.

Guaman Poma and Garcilaso on Feminine Flaws

Both Andean authors employed the discursive humanistic tradition of speaking highly about some native women and condemning others for their flaws. In doing so, they created internally inconsistent histories of the Andean past, which drew on Western representational modes and ideas about women and gender. Garcilaso continues to maintain a clear division between elite and non-elite women arguying that non-elite women were more likely to expose their flaws than elite women. On the contrary, the difference between elite and non-elite indigenous women almost disappears in Guaman Poma's text when he exposes what he considers the major flaw of colonial Andean women, their sexual appetite. With the exception of a few native women whom he considers good Christians (1987: 590, 823), for Guaman Poma, the rest of the indigenous women willingly collaborated with Spaniards and blacks in their sexual exploitation.

While Garcilaso does not accuse native women of prostitution, he characterizes them as feeble beings. For example when Garcilaso describes the tools and everyday instruments that the Incas developed, he refers to the mirrors. According to him, the mirrors were made of polished silver, and they were exclusively used by women because

> …los hombres nunca se miraban al espejo, que lo tenían por infamia, por ser cosa mujeril (1976; II: XXVIII)
>
> […the men never looked in a mirror: they held it as a shameful and effeminate.] (Livermore 132)

For him, the action of looking at oneself in a mirror was only reserved for women. This action would be shameful for a man, perhaps due to the implications of women's vanity, pride and concern about their physical appearance. The attack on women's pride and vanity was used in satirical works and imagery dating back from the medieval period in which women are depicted with mirrors in their hands.[44] Even Guaman Poma's image of Mama Uaco [1987: 121 [121]) represents her holding a mirror in her right hand, which appears to be a subtle criticism to her vanity.

Garcilaso employs Plato's idea that women are cowardly together with the Christian notion that women are frail. He explains that women's fearfulness has inspired many proverbs in the Andean world. He explains that:

> Los Incas para decir cobarde tienen un refrán más apropiado que el de los españoles [que es "gallina"]; dicen *huarmi*, que quiere decir mujer…(1976 IX: XXIII)

> [The Incas have an epithet for a coward that is even more appropriate than the one used by the Spaniards (which is "hen"); they say *huarmi*, that is, 'woman'…]

His association of 'cowardice' with the word 'woman' (*huarmi*) is in conflict with his depictions of other women to whom he refers elsewhere as fearless and courageous.[45] However, the difference is that the fearless and courageous women are almost always Inca women, or women associated with the Inca rulers while the cowards and frail

[44] See for example drawings in Lopez-Baralt (1992) and Humberto Eco (2004) in which women are holding mirrors in their hands.
[45] Garcilaso describes a non-Inca woman as courageous in his *Comentarios*. See the episode of the Chachapoya woman, who saves her people by begging Inca Huayna Capac to spare their lives (1976; IX: VIII).

women are usually commoner, non-Inca women. In his elitist view, non-Inca women had always been prone to despicable acts.

For example, he recounts the episode of a commoner woman trying to pass as a descendant of the royal Inca elite by dressing as an Inca princess (*palla*). This story, he says, happened in Potosí around 1554:

> Hubo un papagayo de los que llaman *loro*, tan hablador, que a los indios e indias que pasaban por la calle les llamaba por sus provincias, a cada uno de la nación que era, sin errar alguna, diciendo Colla, Yunca, Huairu, Quechua, etc., como que tuviera noticia de las diferencias de tocados que los indios, en tiempo de los Incas, traían en las cabezas para ser conocidos. Un día de aquellos pasó una india hermosa por la calle donde el papagayo estaba; iba con tres o cuatro criadas, haciendo mucho de la señora Palla, que son las de sangre real. En viéndola el papagayo, dio grandes gritos de risa, diciendo "¡Huairu, Huairu, Huairu!," que es una nación de gente mas vil y tenida en menos que otras. La india pasó avergonzada por los que estaban adelante, que siempre había una gran cuadrilla de indios escuchando el pájaro; y cuando llegó cerca escupió hacia el papagayo y le llamó zúpay, que es diablo. Los indios dijeron lo mismo, porque conoció a la india, con ir disfrazada en hábito de palla (1976, VIII: XXI).

> […there was a loro that spoke so well that when the Indian men and women passed by in the street it would call them by their respective tribes, saying 'Colla,' 'Yunca,' 'Huairu,' 'Quechua,' and so on, without any mistakes, as if it realized the meaning of the different headgear they used to wear in Inca times to

> distinguish themselves. One day a beautiful Indian woman passed down the street where the parrot was: she was attended by three or four servants, who treated her as a lady palla, or member of the royal blood. When the parrot saw her, it shrieked and laughed: 'Huairu. Huairu, Huairu!' the name of the tribe that is looked down on by all the rest. The woman was very much humbled in front of the bystanders, for there was always a crowd of Indians listening to the bird. When she was opposite it, she spat at the bird and called it súpay, 'devil'. The Indians said the same, for it recognized the woman though she was disguised as a *palla*.] (Livemore 525-26)

The story of the garrulous parrot and the fake *palla* serves Garcilaso to complain that the plebeians were now using the Inca insignia to obtain undeserved benefits lying about their real lower status. This fictional narration reveals a very real social pattern in colonial society, which I will develop in the following chapter, that of the social climbers. The example of this native lower class woman, who, thanks to her beauty and her fine Andean garments, appropriated a higher social rank for herself, suggests that many indigenous women (and men) benefited from the laws and regulations of the Spanish rule, which Garcilaso sees as injurious. Rhetorically, Garcilaso treats this woman's disguise as a way in which she elevates herself from a low social condition to obtain benefits denied to lower-class Indians.

This woman used her disguise in a similar fashion that women used cosmetics (*afeites*) to enhance their natural appearance. According to the European moralist discourses the women that changed their natural appearance either by wearing luxurious fashions or by wearing make up committed a sin of arrogance (Rivera, *La mujer* 104).

Garcilaso adds that the arrogance and fakeness of women in general makes them fools because seeking beauty, they suffer a lot of pain. He narrates some of the beauty-related practices that he claims he had seen both in Peru and Spain. His text reads:

> Son las indias naturalmente amicísimas del cabello muy negro y muy largo porque lo traen al descubierto; cuando se les pone de color castaño o se les ahorquilla o se les cae al peinar, los cuecen al fuego en una caldera de agua con yerbas dentro…Para meter los cabellos dentro en la caldera, que con los mejunges hervía al fuego, se echava la india de espaldas; al pescuezo le ponían algún reparo porque el fuego no le ofendiese. Tenían cuenta que con el agua que hervía no llegase a la cabeza, porque no cociese las carnes; para los cabellos que quedaban fuera del agua también los mojaban con ella…De esta manera estaban en aquel tormento voluntario, estoy por decir casi dos horas…mas no dejé de admirarme del hecho por parecerme riguroso contra las mismas que lo hacían. Pero en España he perdido la admiración, viendo lo que muchas damas hacen para enrubiar sus cabellos, que los perfuman con azufre y los mojan con agua fuerte de dorar y los ponen al sol en medio del día, por los caniculares, y hacen otros condumios que ellas se saben, que no sé cual es peor y más dañoso para la salud, si esto o aquello. (1976; VIII: XIII)

> [As the Indian women wear their hair uncovered they are naturally very fond of having it very long and black. If it goes brown or splits or falls out when combed, they boil a cauldron of water with herbs in it over the fire…In order to get their hair in the cauldron which was boling away with this decoction on the fire, the

> woman would lie on her back with some protection so that she did not burn her neck. They also took precautions against the boiling water touching the head and scalding the flesh. The hair that was not covered with water was wetted so that it too should enjoy the virtues of the brew. They would submit to this voluntary torment for, I was going to say, nearly two hours…I did not fail to wonder at the ordeal, which seemed to me a severe one for those who submitted to it. However, in Spain I have ceased to wonder, after seeing what many ladies do to bleach their hair by perfuming it with sulphur, wetting it in gilder's aqua fortis, exposing it to the sun at midday in the dog-days, and other processes they have contrived. I do not know which treatment is worse and more injurious to the health, the Indian or the Spanish.] (Garcilaso, *Royal* 506-7)

As stated by Garcilaso, while indigenous women (or "las indias") sought to make their hair darker, Spanish women aimed to be blonder. Nevertheless, none of them realized or cared about their safety. Such beauty practices, says the Inca, were harmful both for their bodies and soul. The rhetoric he employs in his criticism of women's pursuit of beauty comes from well-known humanists such as Fray Luis de León. According to Rivera, Fray Luis attacked women's use of cosmetics and other beauty treatments because he said that those women who were occupied in enhancing their beauty wanted to deceive men. They wanted to present themselves as somebody different, with a fake beauty to provoke men's sensuality and to dominate them (*La mujer* 53). Interestingly, for Garcilaso, these feminine pursuits were more noticeable in the commoner "entre el mujeriego de la gente común" (1976; VIII: XXV) than in the elite women.

Commoner women also became the target of Guaman Poma's harshest criticism. He blames contemporary native women for most (if not all) evils of the colonial society. Guaman Poma bitterly calls them disobedient, liars, thieves, and whores. The Amerindian author offers a series of invectives against women, particularly commoners. His one-sided version of the events blurs his judgment about contemporary native women who were making a decent living. According to Guaman Poma the arrival of the Spaniards turned the Andean world upside down and corrupted the Andeans. Although Guaman Poma thought that the Inca empire had degraded the naturally moral character of the Andean population through its idolatrous religion, he still believed the Incas had encouraged good citizenship (Adorno, *Writing* 1986). In contrast, the Spanish colonial state, under the banner of Christianity, produced a chaos that only fostered immorality. For Guaman Poma, the immoral effects of the Spaniards upon his society were most often manifested among Andean women (Osorio 294; Graubart "Indecent" 228). Thus, many of his moralizing discourses are addressed to both Spanish men and Andean women. He states that since their arrival to the Andes, the Spaniards had been moved by their covetousness:

> Como después de aver conquistado y de aver rrobado comensaron a quitar las mugeres y dozellas y desvirgar por fuerza y no queriendo, le matavan como a perros y castigava cin temor de Dios ni de la justicia. Ni avía justicia. (1987: 397)
>
> [Having conquered and robbed, they began to take away the women and to rape the maidens by force. And if they resisted, they would kill them like dogs and they punished them without fearing God or justice. There was no justice.]

According to Guaman Poma, the unrighteous actions of the Spaniards transformed Andean women into prostitutes. He adds that neither the Spanish magistrates (*corregidores*) nor the governors (*justicias*) provided justice, rather:

> Con poco temor de Dios y de la justicia y de la ley de cristiano, andan rondando y mirando la güergüenza de las mujeres casados y donzellas y hombres principales. Y andan rrobando sus haziendas y fornican a las cazadas y a las doncellas los desvirga. Y así andan perdidas y se hazen putas y paren muchos mesticillos y no multiplica los yndios. (1987: 504)
>
> [Without fearing God or justice or the Christian law, they hang around looking at married and single women's private parts. And they rob the principal men's estates and have sexual intercourse with married and single women. And they become prostitutes and give birth to many mesticillos and the Indians don't multiply.]

Here Guaman Poma exposes several major problems of colonial society, the Spanish men's lust that contaminated native women, the proliferation of mestizaje –which he condemns, and the decrease of the indigenous population. In his letter, Guaman Poma urges the King to stop the ill conduct of Spaniards and to restore Andean population by segregating Spanish from Indians and by preserving the chastity of native women (Osorio 296). This segregation, however, was not possible if indigenous women kept migrating to cities and working in Spanish households or inns (*tambos*).

Guaman Poma accuses native women working as cooks, laundresses, bakers, weavers and innkeepers of prostitution through contact with Spaniards, blacks and men

of other castes, whether sexual or not. It was this interdependent contact between indigenous women and men of other social groups that Guaman Poma identified as the heart of the crisis in the Andean world (Graubart, “Indecent” 229). The *tambo* for example, a place in which many native women worked for the Spaniards as servants and cooks is represented as a brothel, and the women that worked there as mere prostitutes. He says:

> El dicho tanbero tiene media dozena de yndias putas de mal bevir y a otras yndias tiene con color de dezir mugeres de yanaconas [criados] o chinaconas [criadas] y algunas cazadas mugeres. Y déstas se cirven y hazen grandes ofenzas del servicio de Dios y piden mitayas solteras y biudas o cazadas. Y allí se dañan, corronpen y se hazen grandes putas y a estas no se les paga y ellas se huelga y se ponen nuevas bestiduras de colores y se enbijan las caras para hazerse putas y bellacas. (1987: 542)

> [The *tambero* keeps a half dozen Indian women as disreputable whores, and keeps other Indian women under the pretext that they are the wives of their *yanaconas*, or that they are *chinaconas* (female servants). Some of them are married women. The *tamberos* take advantage of them and do great offense to the service of God. They demand *mitayas* (Indian women forced to give labor tribute) without regard to whether they are unmarried women, widows or wives. In the *tambos*, these women are harmed, corrupted and become tremendous whores.] (Guaman Poma, *The First* 189)

The European moralist discourses of this era stated that evil women with no honor wore indecent garments to show off their bodies and excessive makeup to appeal the men (Vives 72). According to Guaman Poma, this is exactly what the native women of the *tambos* were doing. Regarding this view, Mónica Meléndez calls the *tambo* a hybrid place, in which indigenous women are transculturated. That is, they accept foreign values, such as prostituting themselves. Their transculturation, she says, eventually makes them lose their own identities (73). Nonetheless, Guaman Poma depicts almost all contemporary native women (transculturated or not) as vicious and whores, and contrasts them with the pure and virginal ancient Andean females. If contemporary Andean women were idlers, whores and women of ill repute who fear neither God nor justice, pre-Hispanic women were the inverse (Graubart, "Indecent" 229). While he blames the Spaniards for perverting native women, his contempt for the latter is equally severe.

Colonial Andean women's dishonesty, says Guaman Poma, begins early in their lives because "las dichas mismas madres lo alcaguetea y…les envía a los llanos" [their own mothers prostitute them and…they send them to the lowlands] (1987: 529). When these women grow up "ya no se quieren casar con yndio, cino con españoles y se hazen grandes putas y paren todo mestizos…" [they don't want to marry Indians anymore, but Spaniards and they become prostitutes and give birth to mestizos] (1987: 539). The mestizas that suckle the milk of their promiscuous Indian mothers's are in turn "mucho peores para las dichas yndias…[por]que son contra los prógimos pobres yndios" [worse for those Indian women…because they are hostile toward their fellow poor Indians] (1987: 541). In general, the disorder of colonial society has turned native women into unrepentant sinners.

In the following examples Guaman Poma illustrates how the evil conduct of Spaniards has damaged indigenous women's character. He recreates two different dialogues, one in which some Spanish women plan to take advantage of the natives by prostituting them, and the other were native women seek to live an evil life. The first dialogue between two Spanish maidens is as follows:

- 'Mi señora, no sé qués lo que hagamos para pasar la vida.'
- 'Señora, a de saver vuestra merced que muy bien se puede pasar: Buscar media dozena de yndias *chinas* [criadas] y otras mestizas y le bistamos. Como vea esto, se juntarán los mosos y galanes y vendrán y trayrán plata a nosotras y a las mestizas, yndias *chinas*. Con ello cin travajar comeremos, bisteremos y pasaremos la vida en esta ciudad. Y ací mejor ací que no casado. Esto me parece.' (1987: 717/731)

- ['My señora, I don't know what we shall do to get throughout this life.' 'Señora, you should know that we can manage it very well. Let's find a half dozen Indian *chinas* [serving girls], and another half dozen mestizas, and dress them up. When the young fellows see them, they'll all gather together to come here, bringing money for us and for the mestizas and Indian *chinas*. That way without having to work, we'll eat, dress up, and have a good life in this city. It's better to do this than to get married, it seems to me.'] (Frye 244)

In this example, Guaman Poma presents the Spanish women as wicked and the indigenous women as too weak to reject the imposition of such a lifestyle. However, the representation of native women becomes even worse when it is they who seek to

prostitute themselves. In the following example, Guaman Poma recreates the dialogue between indigenous women gathered in a circle. In this conversation, one of them says:

> Hermanas rameras, vámonos al Cuzco, a Potosí, a Huamanga, a las minas, a Lima …los españoles y los negros [nos darán] dinero. No nos moramos alla, moramos con españoles, padre, cura y no *mitayo*. (1987: 717)

> [Sister, dear, let's go to Cuzco, to Potosí, to Huamanga, to the mines, to Lima…The Spaniards and the blacks will give us money. Let's not die, perhaps we'll die with the adulterers, with the Spaniards…it won't be with the Indian *mitayos*.] (Frye 245)

This group of native women, according to Guaman Poma, has become worse than the Spanish women who used to prostitute them. Now the indigenous women are offering themselves in exchange for money. According to Guaman Poma, they would prefer to die with the Spaniards than to live among Indians.

The Andean author dares to consider all the women of certain villages as prostitutes while the historical record reveals only a small percentage of women who dedicated themselves to this profession (Osorio 314). For example he accuses half of the women of the villages of Lurin Uanca and Jauja of being "yndias hechas putas [que] traen faldilines, mangas, botines y camisas, todas cargadas media dozena de mestizos y mulattos, cholos, sanbahigos" [Indian prostitutes that wear skirts, sleeves, boots and shirts. All of them have half a dozen mestizos and mulattos, cholos and sambaigos](1987: 1015/ 1125). Women of other towns, he says, are also living in sin (*amancebadas*) with Spanish and mestizo men.

Guaman Poma concludes that native women are not only “grandes putas,” [great whores], they are responsible for many evils of colonial society. He writes:

> …estas putas son causa y dan occasion a que se maten unos a otros por ellas.
>
> …le causa la luxuria mucho mas a las mugeres porque son más borrachas que los hombres. Questando ellas borrachas, ella propias buscan a los hombres y no se harta con un solo. Quantos borrachos ay, le furnica y se huelga de ello. (1987: 878)
>
> [...(Men) kill each other over these prostitutes.
>
> …(Indian women) are more lecherous because they are more drunkards than men. When they are drunk, they themselves seek the men. They are not happy with only one. They have sex with as many drunks as there are, and they are happy about that.]

In brief, these women are so lost that they could only be saved by the restoration of the ancient Andean morals that once protected the virginity of the *acllakuna* and repudiated fornication and adultery, morals that mirrored Christian values. Guaman Poma proposes several solutions to the colonial moral corruption, which include native women’s admission into convents (1987: 867), the teaching of doctrine as well as reading and writing to female children (1987: 775). But most importantly, he requests the expulsion of the male clerics from indigenous villages (*doctrinas*) so that the girls could be taught the Chrisitian doctrine in their own homes just as the women of Castile (1987: 879).

Women of Castile are for Guaman Poma a model of purity of race and Christianity (Osorio 318). Thus, native women (and men) should follow their example. Castilian Spanish men and women are in his words:

de mucha honrra y bien dotrinados. Tienen todo entero de fe de cristiano y tienen esperanza y caridad, amor de prógimo y tiene justicia y letra de Dios…Y oyen el santo evangelio amorosos, caritativos, umildes. Más quieren ser pobres que rricos y grandes travajadores, amigos de todos.

Y ací todas las cosas, aunque sea paxa quemado, vale todo lo de castilla. No se puede escrivirse de tanta cristiandad, obra de misericordia y limosna y servicio de Dios y de su Magestad…

…Y ací son las mugeres cristianas. Y todo es travajar y dar limosna y no dar ocación ni enojo a los pobres yndios, que bien sauen que esta tierra lo dio Dios y su Magestad a los yndios deste rreyno. Y ací es grandesa lo de Castilla, cristiano biejo (1987: 557)

[(honorable) and have learned the doctrine well. They have complete Christian faith and are filled with hope and charity, love for their fellows, and keep God's justice and writings…They listen lovingly, charitably and humbly to the holy gospel. They would rather be poor than rich, and they are hard workers and friends of everyone. That is why, although all things may be as burnt chaff, everything from Castile is valuable. It is impossible to put so much Christianity, works of mercy, alms, deeds and service to God and his Majesty into writing…

…That is what Christian women are like. All they do is work and give alms, while rise to anger among the poor Indians in this kingdom. This is the greatness of Castile and the Old Christians.] (Frye 203)

By stating that old Christians of Castile were, righteous, humble and benevolent, Guaman Poma aims to inspire Andean men and women as well as other Spanish people to see them as an example to follow. In this description, the author provokes immediate introspection and a personal commitment to undertake these moral values. Here, the author of the *Nueva corónica* displays fully his moralistic agenda. As Rolena Adorno states, Guaman Poma "attempts to persuade the reader to take action against a world filled with vice and corruption." (*Writing* 51) Returning to a true Christianity in which Andean women's chastity is respected will set the world right again.

Conclusion

The *Comentarios reales* and the *Nueva corónica* participate in the polemic discourses about the conquest of the Incas and the establishment of the Spanish rule in the Andes. Both texts argue that the Incas (and other Andean groups) voluntarily submitted to the Christians rather than being conquered military. With this argument, they undermined the writings that justified European rule of the Andes by right of conquest (Andrien, *Andean* 120). Writing the history of the pre-Columbian past, the arrival of the Spaniards, and of the colonial period was a political act in the hands of these mestizo and Amerindian authors. While Garcilaso sought to use his history to empower the indigenous noble descendants of the Incas as well as their mestizo offspring, Guaman Poma advocated a high status for himself and his Andean lineage. The discursive strategies utilized by Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega allowed them to rewrite the history of the Andean past and of the colonial period, but provided a narrow vision of pre-Columbian and colonial indigenous Andean women that draws on Western representational modes.

The intended audiences of Garcilaso and Guaman Poma –an educated influential minority of Christian Europeans for the former, and an idealized Spanish king for the latter– as well as the sources that influenced their works are crucial to understanding these authors's portrayal of indigenous women. Garcilaso vindicates the story of his mother's people and incorporates them into the history of Christianity to transform the barbaric images of the Incas in the minds of influential European thinkers. Guaman Poma, in turn, defends his ancestors as followers of the Christian laws even before the arrival of the Spaniards to convince the Spanish king that Andeans were capable of governing themselves apart from the Spaniards.

In their representation of women, these authors seek to reconcile the experiences of indigenous Andean women with the experiences of their European counterparts in the textual arena. There are strong indications that the rhetorical representations of indigenous women in the *Nueva corónica* and the *Comentarios* were influenced by the prescriptive and moralizing discourses of early modern Europe. The intertextuality of the works of Juan Luis Vives, Fray Luis de León as well as the moralizing rhetoric of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Diego Rodríguez de Almela appear in these Peruvian texts as their authors praise and criticize women's actions to correct and shape their behavior to the ideal image of a Christian woman.

In this light, Garcilaso praises his female ancestry and kinswomen for their good morals and Christian attitudes. He agues that the first Inca woman, Mama Ocllo, came to civilize and educate the primitive and immoral pre-Inca females transforming them into chaste women, obedient wives, exemplary mothers and most of all, she showed them a path toward Christianity. Nevertheless, he accuses commoner women for their

immorality, weakness, vanity and laziness. Guaman Poma, in turn, states that indigenous pre-Inca women were virtuous members of a civilized, almost Christian society that existed before the Incas. For him the arrival of the first Inca queen, Mama Uaco, led ancient Andeans into idolatry and immorality. However, it was the Spanish colonial state, under the banner of Christianity that corrupted all native women and transformed them into liars, drunkards, disobedient, whores and accomplices of the Spaniards in the downfall of the Andean world.

Following a moralistic rhetoric Guaman Poma urges his female readers, both Andeans and Spaniards, to meditate on the sins of Eve and Mama Uaco and to repent. He juxtaposes these two characters to convey the message that women were frail and easily deceived. Yet, he argues that they can overcome their "natural" flaws by following the examples of good Christian women. He portrays himself as a righteous, just and pious preacher who provides his readers with examples of good morals. Garcilaso's text is different. For him, Inca women were morally superior to people from other racial groups. Thus, they receive all his praises for being good mothers, patient wives and industrious women. He reserves his severe criticism for commoner women who, like the fake *palla*, attempted to pass as a noblewoman by disguising herself with Inca clothes.

Commoner women became the primary target of Guaman Poma's bitter complaints. For him these immoral women along with their non-Indian sexual partners were responsible for most (if not all) of the evils of colonial society. Assuming the position of a preacher, he exhorted these women to look back to their Andean past and to the examples of the Virgin Mary and the good Christian women (i.e. pre-Inca women, the

acllas and women of Castile) to recover their moral integrity and to change their ways. Only in this way the world would be set right again.

As we reconsider our reading of these sources in the field of colonial literature, we must recognize that despite all the wealth of information these chroniclers provide about the "history" of the Andean past, their representations will not reveal for us the actual discursive interventions of native women in colonial Peru. In the following chapter, I examine the voices of native women of the seventeenth century that emerge from a variety of archival sources. These non-literary sources serve to challenge the dichotomous representations of indigenous women written by colonial authors such as Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega.

Chapter IV

In the Affairs of Colonial Religion and Society: Indigenous Andean Women's Voices and Agency in Archival Sources of the Seventeenth Century

When the Inca Garcilaso and Guaman Poma wrote about women, they subordinated their portrayals to the specific aims of their textual enterprises. Garcilaso's text vindicates the story of his mother's people, and incorporates them into the history of Christianity. Guaman Poma's work, in turn, defends the inherent good moral values of his feminine ancestors to contrast them with the immorality of the Spaniards, which turn the Andean world upside down. In doing so, these chroniclers do not achieve or even attempt a thorough representation of Andean women's identity, character, and agency in the pre-Hispanic or colonial periods. Thus, their dichotomous portrayal of women as either virtuous or corrupt, limits our understanding of native women, and in particular ignores three important areas of agency that seventeenth-century Andean women exercised: the ways in which they constructed their own religious identities, negotiated their social status, and exercised economic power to improve their lives and provide for the future of their families.

In this chapter, I examine native women's voices and agency in sources such as civil proceedings and notarial records (including wills and testaments, dowry contracts and property sales from the seventeenth century). These records from various Andean regions (Lima, Cuzco, San Francisco de Quito and La Paz) provide a window onto these women's lived experiences and their discursive skills in religious, social and economic realms of colonial society. Native women involved in religious organizations such as *cofradías* (sodalities) and *beaterios* (lay religious institutions) carved a place for

themselves in colonial society. Their discourses have to do with creating a collective decent reputation and proclaiming a Christian identity, at least in appearance. On the contrary, the discourses of indigenous women who continued practicing Andean rituals show that native beliefs were harder to erradicate than what the extirpators of idolatries expected. In the social aspect, elite women sough to defend their pre-colonial Andean nobility by employing the discourse of *calidad*.[46] Commoner women, in turn, took advantage of the new colonial circumstances to achieve upward mobility through the rhetoric of clothing.[47] Lastly, indigenous women's success and failure on the economic realm depended in their manipulation of the cultural norms and the legal discourses of colonial society. Taking advantage of the protective legislation for women, a number of them achieved economic stability in this period.

Andean Women Construct Their Religious Identity

a) Active Participation in Catholic Organizations

Religion justified the overthrow of the Inca empire in the hope to gain numerous indigenous souls for the Roman Catholic faith. Native people responded to the spiritual conquest in various ways. While many seemed enthusiastic converts and accepted baptism as a sign of their Christianity, others sought to maintain their native rituals. More often, however, Andeans responded by incorporating the new rituals and dogmas into their traditional religious structures. Despite the sporadic attempts to eradicate Andean beliefs and rituals through anti-idolatry campaigns in some regions of colonial Peru, the

[46] Translatable into English as "quality" or "status," the identification of "calidad" is more precisely understood as the differentiating, defining and ordering of the diverse people who lived and inhabited a specific region (Carrera 6).

[47] Mariselle Meléndez (2005) used the concept of rhetoric of clothing in "Visualizing Difference." In this article, she argues that in colonial society, clothing constituted a rhetorical vehicle to establish power relationships, social categorizations and degrees of civilization.

incorporation of the natives into Catholic organizations, such as *cofradías* and *beaterios,* actually helped them maintain their own tradition and practices.

By the seventeenth century, Andeans were allowed to establish *beaterios* and *cofradías*, which gave them the chance to participate actively in religious and secular affairs. *Beaterios* or *recogimientos* were communities of lay women housed in a modest building that required the approval of local ecclesiastical authorities, which, in many cases, could be accomplished quickly (van Deusen 188, n.3). Kathryn Burns' research on *beaterios* in Cuzco (2002) shows that these institutions of devout women formed quite early, and throughout the seventeenth century affluent indigenous people supported these institutions financially. *Cofradías* were in turn lay confraternities that grouped people with related occupations for the purpose of forming mutual aid societies and the annual procession of a religious saint. Indigenous people who took part in *beaterios* or *cofradías* negotiated a collective identity as Christian Indians, at least in appearance.

According to Kathryn Burns, the indigenous *beatas* of Cuzco were among the protagonists of a collective creation of a "decent" identity (82). Most *beaterios* in Peru served a variety of functions: they operated as a depository for divorced, abandoned, pernicious and wayward women as well as for women who sought physical refuge or temporary asylum (van Deusen 70-71). For this reason, *beatas*, regardless of their ethnicity were either venerated or slandered. Let us consider the different opinions about the indigenous *beatas* of the *beaterio* de Nuestra Señora del Carmen in Cuzco. In October of 1689, Magdalena de San Juan Bautista the abbess of this *beaterio* denounced Don Pedro de Roa Izquierdo, protector of the Indians for slandering publicly the maidens of this house of seclusion. According to her testimony, one evening some mestizas, ordered

by Don Pedro, attempted to kick the door trying to get in, and because they were not allowed inside, they left. Later that night Don Pedro also came demanding to enter the *beaterio*, but the *beatas* did not open the door because they were saying their prayers and, besides, it was too late to receive a man in such a decent house. Angered by this, Don Pedro kicked the door and publicly accused all of them of being prostitutes. Magdalena de San Juan Bautista initiated a legal suit for defamation against Roa Izquierdo. Her testimony reads:

> …ayer treinta de octubre a las sinco o seis de la tarde binieron unas mestiças con biolencia a las puertas de d[ic]ho n[est]ro rrecogimiento por orden del d[ic]ho Protector las quales yntentaron entrar dando muchos golpes a la puerta y porque no las abrimos se fueron…. [Y] como se fueron sin conseguir el degradamento que trayan, bino como de a una [h]]ora el d[ic]ho Protector…dando de patadas a la d[ic]ha puerta diciendo que le abriesemos. Y como no se le respondio por ser ya tarde de [h]ora sospechosa y no decente para que el rrecogimiento de tantas doncellas se abriese como el queria, el susod[ic]ho, con poco temor de Dios y en menosprecio de la rreal justicia y faltando al miramiento de unas pobres doncellas rrecogidas debajo de clausura –en bos alta y con grande indignaçion, pu[bli]camente nos trat[ó] a todas que eramos unas putas. [Y] que de noche metiamos hombres por ensima de las paredes y que pariamos ay dentro todo con fin de deshonrrar dicho beaterio y quitarnos la [h]onra y presuncion de todas nosotras… (ARC Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Legajo 25, Exp. 505, f.1)

> [Yesterday, October 30th around five or six in the afternoon some mestizas ordered by the said protector [of the Indians] came to the doors of our cloister and violently knocked on them trying to get in, and since we did not open the doors, they left…And leaving without humiliating us as they intended, the said Protector of the natives came about an hour later…kicking the doors demanding us to open it. And because it was late and the timing suspicious and not decent for opening the cloister of so many maidens as he desired, we did not respond. (And the said Protector of Indians) with little fear of God and in an affront to royal justice and disrespecting these poor cloistered maidens, in a loud voice and with great indignation publicly called us all whores and said that at night we brought men in over the rooftops and that we gave birth inside, all for the purpose of dishonoring this beaterio and stripping away the honor and prestige of us all.]

The "mestizas" who attempted to knock the door down were actually indigenous women who had been expelled from the *beaterio* by the Jesuit Domingo Gonzales, their confessor and guardian. According to the accounts of the various Spanish and indigenous witnesses, Domingo Gonzales expelled these women because they were loose and rioters. Clearly, Magdalena de San Juan Bautista did not want to associate herself or the rest of the indigenous *beatas* with these women, so she decided to label them as "mestizas" rather than "Indians". Moreover, by portraying Don Pedro as an execrable man who neither feared God nor justice, she made the "poor cloistered maidens" worthy of the authorities' support.

Madgalena de San Juan Bautista builds her argument using the concept of honor, which refers to women's discretion and sexual control[48] to demonstrate that the indigenous *beatas* were the complete opposite of the "mestiza" *beatas*. While the first were maidens, the latter were loose. When the indigenous *beatas* were praying and dedicating themselves to spiritual exercises, the mestizas were organizing banquets and letting men inside (ARC Corregimiento, Causas ordinarias, Leg. 25, Exp. 505, f. 2-12). Eleven witnesses applauded the actions of father Domingo Gonzales as he expelled the "mestizas" from the *beaterio*, and condemned Don Pedro de Roa Izquierdo for slandering the indigenous *beatas*. Magdalena as well as the neighbors of the *beaterio* saw the excessive authority of the Protector of the Indians as disruptive for the whole neighborhood, so they were willing to declare in favor of the Indian *beatas* who remained inside, and against Don Pedro and the Indian rioters. According to the testimonies of the eleven neighbors, the Indian beatas were virtuous, God-fearing maidens who prayed all the time, and did not cause any problems in the community (ARC Corregimiento, f.10). On the contrary, they said, Don Pedro accused the Indian beatas because he hated them and wished them ill and because he had been bribed by the evil rioters (ARC Corregimiento, f. 11-12). Thus, by employing the discourse of honor and by challenging the excessive authority of Don Pedro, Magdalena de San Juan Bautista elaborated a persuasive defense in favor of the decency of the enclosed indigenous women.

[48] According to Patricia Seed (1988), honor was the most distinctive of all Spanish cultural traits. For women, the defense of honor as virtue was tied to sexual conduct. A women's reputation could be destroyed by even the appearance of impropriety, public disclosure of evening visits to a woman's home was seen as scandalous, and was therefore sufficient reason for church, neighbors to intervene to protect a woman's honor.

Whereas some native women negotiated their religious identity within the enclosure of a *beaterio*, others did it by joining one or more *cofradía*s in indigenous villages or in urban centers. Membership in *cofradía*s was voluntary within each parish, but it required funding for religious celebrations, donations and chapel constructions (Celestino and Meyers 11). In the eyes of the Catholic authorities *cofradía*s helped recruit and retain native people in the faith and provided funding for indigenous burials and other expenses. Being a *cofrade* was associated with being a Christian.

Native women participated actively in *cofradía*s, sometimes being members of many at the same time, yet they negotiated their religious identity by being loyal to a particular religious order. For example, Doña Clara Ñusta Cuxirimay, a noble woman of Cuzco, declared in her 1690 testament that she belonged to ten different *cofradía*s and that her family had built a chapel to be used by several *cofradías*, which was administered by Don Juan de Herrera (AAC, Testamentos LXXV, 4, 67, f.6). Apparently, this private chapel served to celebrate the masses in honor of her deceased relatives and other *cofradía* members. She stipulated that at her death, the chapel was to be donated to the Augustinian order. Due to Doña Clara Ñusta's membership in numerous *cofradía*s, she obtained so many indulgences that it was hard for her to decide where to be buried. Her testament reads:

> [Q]uiero que [mi cuerpo] sea enterrado en la Capilla de Nuestra Señora de Gracia fundada en la iglesia de mi padre San Agustin con el abito de nuestro padre San Francisco por gozar de las yndulgencias y grassias que estan consedidas a los que se entierran con el dicho abito…

> …[Y] porque soy cofrade de Nuestra Señora de las Nieves en la Catedral tienen la obligación de enterrarme ahí… (AAC, Testamentos LXXV, 4, 67, f.7)
>
> [I want (my body) to be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace founded in the church of my father Saint Augustine with the habit of our father Saint Francis because I am a beneficiary of the indulgences and favors granted to all those who are buried with the said habit…
>
> …(And) because I am a member of the cofradía of Our Lady of Nieves in the cathedral, they have the obligation to bury my body there…]

As a member of different *cofradía*s to which she contributed throughout her life, Doña Clara, as a descendant of noble Andans, could have the privilege to be buried in the Cathedral rather than in a parish church.[49] Her loyalties were divided between two orders, the Augustinian and the Franciscan. She donated her private chapel to the Augustinian order, but chose to be buried in the cathedral wearing a Franciscan habit.

Similarly, Ynes Quispe, a successful businesswoman who drew up her will in 1623 in Santiago del Cercado, was a member of ten different *cofradías* around the city of Lima. In her testament, she specified the place of her burial and requested that all her fellow *cofrades* accompany her body to the Church of El Cercado (an indigenous settlement in Lima) to pray for her soul. She ordered:

> …que quando Dios fuere servido de llevarme de esta presente vida mi cuerpo sea sepultado en la yglesia del pueblo del Cercado en la capilla de Nuestra Señora del

[49] The old practice of burial within churches began in Spain in the ninth century (Gauderman 23). The place of burial for an individual denoted their rank and social status. Andean nobility usually had assigned chapels inside the churches to be buried (Ramos 462).

> Pilar de Zaragoza frente del altar y acompañen mi cuerpo [con] la cruz alta un sacristan y todas las cofradias de la dicha yglesia juntamente con la cofradia de Nuestra Señora de Loreto que está en el hospital de Santa Ana de Lima, la de San Miguel que esta en el convento del Señor San Agustin y de todo se pague la limosna de mis bienes… (AGN, PN 1623, Tamayo 1851 f.143)
>
> [When God may want to take me from this present life (I want) my body to be buried in the town of El Cercado's church in the chapel of our lady of Pilar de Zaragoza in front of the altar. May my body be accompanied by an acolyte with a high cross and all the cofradias of the said church along with the cofradia of Our Lady of Loreto, which is at the hospital of Santa Ana of Lima, the one of San Miguel, which is in the convent of the Lord Saint Augustine and all this be paid from my property…]

Despite her many affiliations, Ynes Quispe seems to have felt a special obligation or loyalty to the *cofradía* de Nuestra Señora del Pilar for she made it her universal heir. As a childless woman, Ynes Quispe's activities seem to have revolved around the pious works of this *cofradía* as she fulfilled various duties such as moneylender for the benefit of the organization, benefactor of poor Indians and safe-keeper of some *cofradía's* items such as silver goblets, silverware and candleholders. In return for her services and devotion, she requested to be buried in the chapel of the *cofradía* de Nuestra Señora del Pilar and to be accompanied by her other fellow *cofrades*. As suggested by her testament, her burial might have been a magnificent public procession with numerous sung and recited masses for her soul and the souls of her parents and her deceased husband. As a conscientious

cofrade, she also bequeathed an equal amount of money to her other *cofradía*s so that these funds would support fellow *cofrades*' burial expenses.

In spite of the active role of indigenous women in *cofradías,* it is hard to know whether the religious indoctrination within these associations was effective or not. Consider the case of Lucía Cusi, who acted as safe keeper of her *cofradía'*s patron saint without even knowing the saint's name. When transferring this responsibility to another native woman named María de los Angeles, Cusi enumerated the *cofradía* property as follows:

> Un fulano que tengo de santo
>
> Dos sabanillas de lino
>
> Una sobremesa de pedazos de paño de Quito
>
> …
>
> Una cabeza de bulto pequeña
>
> Seis cascabeles pequeños
>
> Una hechura de niño Jesus de yeso
>
> Once estampas de devoción yluminadas… (AGN, PN, 1624, Tamayo 1851 f. 396)

> [A so-and-so saint I have,
>
> Two silk sheets,
>
> A table cover made of pieces of Quito cloth,
>
> …
>
> An image with a small head,
>
> Six small shakers,

A baby Jesus of plaster,

Eleven illuminated images for devotion…]

Lucía's lack of awareness of the name of her *cofradía's* patron saint or the other image (*bulto*) she had kept for years, reveals that in many cases native people were attracted to these associations for the benefits they could obtain rather than for religious devotion. Her testament reveals that she was a poor woman who perhaps received an income for taking care of the *cofradía* items. Moreover, she added that the *cofradía* officers had promised her a place for her burial in the *cofradía's* chapel. However, if they are unable to do so, she requested them to bury her "donde entierran a los pobres" [where the poor people are buried] (AGN, PN, 1624, Tamayo 1851 f. 397). Thus, this suggests that Lucía's interest in being a *cofrade* was not spiritual, but secular. Perhaps her Catholic religious identity was only visible or apparent when she participated in the *cofradía* processions.

Indigenous people put their membership in *cofradías* to other uses during their lifetimes. Karen Spalding notes that in the rural areas, indigenous villages employed *cofradías* as a means to retain and to expand communal property of lands that were bought collectively or had been donated by devoted members (*Huarochirí* 45). The collective ownership of these lands also served to provide the members with a stable income and foodstuffs. In the urban centers, indigenous immigrants joined *cofradías* for various reasons. They were drawn to them with a sense of belonging (Charney 384) or joined them to show their new wealthy status through the funding of public processions (O'toole 169). Overall, a combination of religious devotion and financial interests characterized *cofradía* affiliations.

b) Resistance to Cultural and Religious Erasure

Despite the active participation of natives in religious organizations, Catholic authorities had realized that the spiritual conquest was superficial and that Andeans continued worshiping their *huacas* (a deity or sacred site or object). Catholicism did not displace native beliefs; instead, its presence provokes a series of mutual exchanges between Catholicism and Andean religions (Farris 1984). This process of exchange might be explained by the existence of heterogeneous religious practices in the Andes previous to the introduction of Christianity. Even Guaman Poma and Garcilaso talk about the variety of Andean beliefs, albeit obscured by their personal agendas.[50] Despite their claims about the Christianity of their respective ancestry, it is clear that most Andeans did not convert fully to Catholicism, at least in this period.[51] Andean men and women resisted the attempts of Catholic institutions to erase their pre-Columbian beliefs, continuing practices such as feeding *huacas*, chewing coca leaves and curing with herbs well into the seventeenth century. Local priests and ecclesiastical judges labeled these practices as idolatrous.

Thus, the Third Council of Lima (1582-83) resolved to eradicate Andean practices through a series of anti-idolatry campaigns that continued through the eighteenth century (O'toole 163). These anti-idolatry campaigns, however, were not systematic attempts at eradicating Andean beliefs; rather, they depended on the individual agendas of the archbishops, ecclesiastical judges and clerics from secular orders. According to Alan Durston, the archdiocese of Lima was more concerned with implementing these

[50] I discuss the arguments of Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega regarding the Christianity of their Andean ancestors in Chapter 3.
[51] Nicholas Griffiths (1996) and Kenneth Mills (1997) argue that in mid-colonial Peru, indigenous people in the Andes did not internalize Christian concepts or allow their religious beliefs to be displaced.

campaigns against idolatry than the other Peruvian dioceses (30). Hence, during 1649 to 1670, anti-idolatry campaigns in Lima and the surrounding regions were at their peak. There were various indigenous responses to these anti-idolatry campaigns. Some individuals feared them and did not cooperate with the extirpators. Morover, some used these campaigns as political tools against their enemies.

Numerous Andean men and women were brought to trial accused of *hechicería* (sorcery) or *brujería* (witchcraft) mostly denounced by other Indians. Though I focus on the textual discourses of native women who were the targets of such accusations, it is necessary to clarify that women were not singled out as victims of anti-idolatry campaigns solely on the basis of their gender as some scholars suggested.[52] Griffiths's study of anti-idolatry campaigns in the Andes concludes that, "women and men appear as victims in about equal proportions, with, if anything, a slight predominance of men" (250). Nevertheless, the anti-idolatry trials in which native women appear provide a unique opportunity to explore the narratives in which these women actively reinterpret both Catholic and Andean religious practice and belief.

In 1650 Phelipe Curichagua and Isabel Chacpa denounced Juana Ycha, a native woman from the province of Yauyos (Lima region), for causing the death of their sheep, and for retaliating against many people by means of witchcraft. The village's priest, Antonio de Cáceres, without the authorization of any of his superiors, conducted the interrogation of several witnesses who wanted Juana's removal from the community. Most of her detractors admitted being Juana's enemies or at least recognized they were angry with her (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatries, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f. 3]. Yet, Cáceres never

[52] Irene Silverblatt (1987) concludes that indigenous women, in particular, were marginalized and accused of witchcraft in colonial Peru.

dismissed their accusations. According to the witnesses, Juana Ycha worshiped straw, fire, and the stars; she was seen dragging her buttocks on the ground and foretelling events through her pact with the Devil. She retaliated against the native *alcalde* (mayor) for he had whipped her daughter, Violante, after she had an argument with another woman. On this occasion, the witness declared, that Juana Ycha said "si el alcalde azoto a mi hija y la hizo sacar sangre, [él] no ha de vivir porque se lo va a llevar el diablo" [if the mayor whipped my daughter until she bled, (he) will cease to live, for the Devil will take him] (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1). As this witness stated, a few days after this event, the *alcalde* died throwing up blood from his mouth. Phelipe Curichagua e Isabel Chacpa, Juana's enemies, concluded their accusations advising Cáceres to punish her and to discover other evidence of Juana Ycha's wickedness.

A few days later, Antonio de Cáceres arrested Juan Ycha, seized her goods and brought her to his house. Cáceres locked Juana's feet in a wooden stock and persuaded her to give an account of her initiation, her ambiguous relationship with an Andean deity called Apo Parato, the wayward life of her daughter Violante, and her curing practices. Yet, what stands out in Juana Ycha's confessions is her reinterpretation of Catholic concepts and practices, which never displaced her understanding of the Andean spiritual realm.

Juana Ycha confessed that she learned herbal healing, divining and feeding the Apos[53] (Andean deities) from a man of Casapalca who had reciprocal relations[54] with a silver figurine that represented an Andean deity. After she learned all these rituals, she

[53] Also spelled Apu in other sources.
[54] In the Andean context, reciprocity defined the relations between humans and the divine, rulers and subjects. Reciprocity was a moral obligation, particularly if they were due to one's ancestor or deity.

started her own reciprocal relations with Apo Parato, a being who dressed like an Indian man with a black cape. While she was in charge of feeding Apo Parato with *chicha* (maize beer), white and blue corn flour, coca leaves and llama fat, he helped Juana by cultivating her crops, curing the sick, and advising her about what to do about her enemies. Unlike the Devil, who is conceived of as an evil creature, Apo Parato was simultaneously benevolent and harmful.

In Juana Ycha's confession:

> [Cuando Apo Parato] llegaba callado [ella] se apuraba a darle chicha, harina de maiz blanco y negro, coca…y no teniendo ella chicha en su casa la pedia prestado y despues de todo [Apo Parato] se acostaba con ella y si acaso estaban unos niños que tiene la dicha confesante…se echaba junto a la candela y no con ella. Y no estando los niños solia entrar y darle a esta confesante de puñetes y bofetadas hablando entre dientes que no le entendia lo que decia…(ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.9)
>
> [(When Apo Parato) arrived very quietly (she) quickly gave him chicha, blue and yellow corn flour and coca …and when she did not have chicha in her house, she borrowed it from somebody. And after all this (Apo Parato) lay with her, but if this confessant's children were around…he lay down next to the heath and not with her. And when the children were not there, he used to come to punch her and to slap muttering in such a way that she did not understand what he said…]

Juana describes Apo Parato as if he were a human being who ate and drunk whatever she could provide for him. As her description shows, sometimes he would arrive quietly, but

then suddenly turned violent. She declared that one day he came and ate in a hurry and because her children were there, he slept by the heath rather than in Juana's bed. But on other occasions, she says, when the children were not around, he turned violent and hit her with no reason. On this particular visit, Apo Parato's incomprehensible words and violent behavior, said Juana, exasperated her to the point that she yelled at him saying "Zupay, que me estas maltratando si te estoy dando de comer tanto" [Zupay, why are you hurting me if I am giving you food] (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.9). After which, she says, Apo Parato left very annoyed.

What is interesting about this scene is Juana Ycha's actual word choice when she refers to Apo Parato. While Antonio de Cáceres insisted on labeling him as a 'demon' throughout the whole document, Juana called him 'zupay'.[55] Zupay, in the Andean tradition was an ambivalent supernatural entity who could be either benevolent or malevolent (Griffiths 117). Juana's description of Apo Parato refers more to this Andean concept than to the Christian depiction of the Devil. It was the tendency of Spanish lexicographers and churchmen that associated the concept of Zupay as an approximation with the Devil (Mills 232). By using the word 'Zupay' instead of Devil, Juana Ycha was shaping her religious identity as Andean.

As explained by Juana Ycha, her relationship with Apo Parato was very conflictive. Juana stated that Apo Parato did not always fulfill his word and lately, instead of helping her to improve her economic situation, he was demanding too much from her leaving Juana very poor (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.12r). Although she could not rely completely on his help, she continued convincing the people of Yauyos

[55] Also spelled Supay.

she had supernatural powers. As she states in her confession, she used this empowered image to make a living, to protect her daughter from the excesses of her non-Indian lovers, to provide immediate answers to her clients' concerns and to protect herself from her detractors (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f. 13-15).

Regarding her religious beliefs she stated that, afraid of the village's priest Fray Pedro, "[ella] andaba huyendo por no confesarse…y que fingia algun achaque por no rezar…" [(she) fled from him staying away from confession…and pretending she had ailments in order to avoid praying] (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.10). Moreover, Juana said that she preferred not to say the Catholic prayers because "ni su p[adr]e ni su m[adr]e no sabian rezar y que le decian que no rezase que para que era rezar" [neither her father nor her mother knew how to pray and they used to tell her not to pray because praying has no worth] (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatrías, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.16). However, there was a stronger reason than fear or ignorance to avoid saying her prayers. As Juana confessed later, she did not pray in the church because:

> …los bultos de los santos y de Nuestro Señor crucificado no son imagenes de los mismos sanctos ni del mismo Dios…que el Dios de arriba es solo el verdadero que desde alla mira lo que todos hacen…" (ALL, Hechicerías e idolatries, Leg. 3, Exp. 1, f.29)
>
> […the images of the saints and that of our crucified Lord are neither the true images of those saints nor the image of God…that God is in heaven and only he is true. He watches everything we do…]

With this bold statement, Juana Ycha was reinterpreting the actual meaning of idolatry. In her view, she herself was not idolatrous; the idolatrous were those who worshiped the idols in Catholic churches. Unlike the people who replaced the true image of God with the *bultos* and *santos* of the church, she did not worship or pray to Apo Parato. Standing before this ecclesiastical judge she reminded him that God watches everything people do. Juana's words provoked Cáceres's wrath and he forced her to repent, which she eventually did in order to be released.

Despite the fact that Juana Ycha's declarations were coerced, her discursive interventions show that Andean religious beliefs and cultural practices were not displaced; they were transformed. On one hand, Juana Ycha continued practicing her Andean rituals and feeding Apo Parato; however, she was also disappointed by his constant mood changes and unfulfilled promises. On the other, she was not completely convinced about the ways the Catholic Church approached God and openly rejected praying to man-made images. Juana Ycha's case is one example of how indigenous people brought together their Andean beliefs and their new Christian instruction to resist the cultural erasure sought by the Church.

Andean Women Negotiate Their Social Identity and Social Status

a) Defense of Pre-Colonial Andean Nobility

When the Spaniards arrived in Peru, they found a complex and stratified society composed of elites and commoners. The Incas had subjugated highland and coastal societies through warfare, reciprocity and cosmological ideologies, yet many cultural groups remained distinct from the Inca elite. An individual's place in Andean society was defined by his or her position in the web of kinship relations. Members of the collective

Inca cultural identity, for example, legitimized their higher status by claiming divine origin (Ramírez 2005) and by wearing a whole array of distinctive insignias, clothing and titles connoting ethnicity as well as rank (Cahill 1994). Karen Spalding notes that in this society, the allocation of wealth, power and prestige through kinship ties suggests that social mobility was limited because there was the need to consolidate dynastic relations.

However, as the Spaniards introduced new methods of obtaining wealth and power, they also introduced new avenues of social mobility and cultural change (654). Iberians also made a distinction between noble and commoner people; but "nobility was as much a set of attitudes as it was a matter of lineage." (Lockhart and Schwartz 4) This means that in Iberian society, nobility could be acquired or created through economic success, intermarriage or by the set of networks a family could establish to gain wealth and prestige. In this light, Spaniards recognized pre-Columbian social distinctions based on their lineage, but they also gave natives the opportunity to rise in colonial society using Andean or European means.

A variety of civil proceedings reveal that noble colonial Andeans referred to themselves, or were referred by others as people of *calidad*, a Spanish concept that expressed one's occupation, wealth, purity of blood, honor, integrity, and place of origin (Carrera 6). However, for some natives, the term *calidad* referred to their identity as royal Inca descendants, as I will show with the examples below. The use of the Spanish concept of *calidad* to refer to the native elites reminds us of James Lockhart's notion of "double mistaken identity." He explains that at the heart of cultural interaction between Europeans and indigenous people, the process of double mistaken identity happens when each side presumes that a given form or concept is operating in the way familiar within

its own traditions ("Nahua Concepts" 477). The importance of establishing the differences and similarities of the concept of *calidad* serves to argue that not all natives were Hispanized or absorbed into the culture and language of their conquerors. In many cases, they used these superficial commonalities to serve their own interests.

Numerous civil proceedings, often involving land tenure or pending royal grants, as well as other notarial documents, reveal the elite attitudes of noble Andean women that survived the Spanish conquest. In these documents, elite women express their nobility by declaring both their royal ascendancy and the Spanish concept of *calidad*. The year 1561 in San Francisco de Quito, Doña Isabel Atahualpa and her first husband, the Spanish soldier Estaban Pretel requested an annual income of 600 pesos arguing that Doña Isabel, being Atahualpa's daughter, was facing poverty (*padece necesidad*). According to Oberem, an annual income of 600 pesos would have been enough to live well since even the royal officials made only about 300 pesos annually (29). However, after receiving those 600 pesos for two years, Esteban Pretel went to Zaragoza in 1563 to request an increase of their annual income to 1,000 pesos, which he obtained by once more emphasizing his wife's nobility. At Pretel's death in 1564, this annual income benefited their son Diego Pretel, but he died in 1570 leaving Doña Isabel "poor" once more (Oberem 30). Doña Isabel, however, did not want to deal with poverty for long, and in 1571 married Diego Gutierrez de Medina, son of the conquistador Juan Gutierrez de Medina, seeking to improve her chances for a new royal grant.

Together in 1572, they presented a new petition to the royal judges (*oidores*) of Quito requesting the promised annual income of 1,000 pesos, which Pretel had obtained

due to Doña Isabel's royal ascendancy. The couple not only reiterated Doña Isabel's nobility, but also highlighted the merits of Gutierrez's father. The document reads:

> …Vuestra alteza quando hizo merced al dicho Esteban Pretel de los dichos mil pesos fue por se aver casado con ella y *atento a su calidad* por ser hija del dicho Atavalipa y quedando como quedo muy pobre no seria justo que por haber muerto el dicho Esteban su marido ella quedase sin la dicha merced para poderse sustentar y atento a que el dicho Diego Gutierrez de Medina segundo marido es persona benemerita y en quien concurren todas las calidades necesarias para que asi mesmo se le haga merced por ser hijo de Juan Gutierrez de Medina…uno de los primeros descubridores y conquistadores de la dicha ciudad de San Francisco de Quito…A Vuestra Alteza pide y suplica le haga merced de mandar hazer la mesma merced que se le hizo por su respecto al dicho Esteban Pretel su primer marido… (AGI, Quito, 22, N.41 Italics are mine)

> […When Your Highness granted the said Esteban Pretel the said one thousand pesos it was because he had married her, *a woman of quality*, the daughter of Atavalipa and she had been left very poor. It was not fair that after the said Esteban, her husband, died she would be left without the said grant with which she could support herself. And acknowledging that Diego Gutierrez de Medina, her second husband, is a also worthy person who has all the necessary qualities to be granted a benefit for being the son of Juan Gutierrez de Medina…one of the first explorers and conquistadors of the said city of San Francisco de Quito…

> May Your Highness order that [Diego Gutierrez de Medina] be granted the same benefit as [Doña Isabel's] first husband Esteban Pretel received…]

As this long petition remained unresolved for quite some time, the couple moved to live with Doña Isabel's brother, Don Francisco Atahualpa, who supported them annually with 200 pesos. Only in 1591 Doña Isabel received a royal order (*cédula*), which entitled her, but not her husband, to receive the promised annual income of 1,000 pesos. Her husband was not even mentioned in the document (Oberem 32). This long process reveals that both Spaniards and Andeans recognized and valued the concept of *calidad* on their own terms. Thus, it was Doña Isabel's nobility and not her marriage to a Spaniard that eventually earned her a substantial annual income.

The discourse of *calidad* was also used by Doña Paula Mama Guaco Ñusta of Cuzco, who called herself a woman "honrada y de calidad" who deserved to be respected by commoner Indians (ARC Top. 9, Leg. 5. f.10r). In a legal suit that lasted twelve years (from 1626 to 1638) Doña Paula Mama Guaco Ñusta, her mother Magdalena Mama Guaco Coya and other nobles from Callispuquio (the lands just behind Sacsahuaman in Cuzco) participated in a legal suit against the priest Antonio Rubio over the ownership of those lands. Earlier in the process, Doña Paula Mama Guaco brought a private prosecution (*querella*) to the Crown against two commoner Indians, Baptista de Molina and a woman called Isabel, who were plowing these lands without her permission. She declares that when she went to examine her and her mother's property:

> …hallé algunos indios barbechando en las dichas mis tierras sin ser dueño[s] dellas y requeriéndoles yo con el mandamiento de v[uestra] m[erced] el sussodicho con poco temor de Dios y en desacato de la real justicia ynbistio

> conmigo diziendo que no hazia quenta ni caso del d[ic]ho mandamiento y me asio de los cabellos y mesiendome dellos me arrastro por los suelos dandome de bofetadas y moxicones diziendome palabras muy feas. Y la dicha yndia Ysabel asi mesmo, me deshonrro con palabras mayores sin tener atencion a que soy muger de español, honrrada y *de calidad* en que fui notablemente agraviada y el susodicho y la yndia cometieron grave delito digno de castigo exemplar para que a ellos les sea y a otros escarmiento. (ARC Top. 9, Leg. 5. f.10r. Italics are mine)
>
> [I found some Indians plowing my lands as if they were its owners. And I let them know the order from Your Highness, [but] the said [Indian], with little fear of God and disobeying the royal justice attacked me saying that he would neither listen nor pay attention to the said order. And he grabbed my hair and pulling it dragged me on the ground while he slapped me on the face and punched me uttering insults. And the said Indian women, Isabel, dishonored me with even more insulting words, ignoring the fact that I am the wife of a Spaniard, *and an honorable woman of quality* for I was quite offended. And the said Indians committed a serious crime worthy of an exemplary punishment so that they and others might learn a lesson.]

According to Doña Paula Mama Guaco, these commoner Indians committed several serious offenses. They insulted her verbally, they abused her physically, and most importantly, they appropriated the lands that belonged to her noble family. The latter was very significant in this case for in the Andean context, “rulers and nobles had not only personal dependents but lands which belonged specifically to themselves or their

families." (Lockhart and Schwartz 43) This was the situation of Doña Paula and her noble relatives who claimed to be the descendants of Topa Inca Yupanqui (ARC Top. 9, Leg. 5. f.8r). Thus, as she states, she had the right to complain about the trespasses of these commoner Indians and to seek the protection of the Spanish officials.

The lands of Callispuquio were of particular interest to the noble descendants of Topa Inca Yupanqui, because the remains of his burned mummy were found there sometime around the 1550s (Ramírez 73). This finding might have been very meaningful for Doña Paula and her relatives, and it probably served to strengthen their collective cultural identity as royal descendants of the Incas. Their close relationship to an Inca ruler rationalized the subordination of local ethnic groups and enabled them to assume the all-embracing controlling attitude.

According to Silverblatt, it was Doña Paula Mama Guaco's marriage to a Spaniard that caused her to state she was a "woman of quality." Silverblatt argues that "by dint of her marital ties with a Spaniard, [Doña Paula] acquired prestige and assumed the characteristics of one who entered the top echelon of a caste society." (119) However, this interpretation fails to attribute agency to Doña Paula and gives more importance to this unnamed Spanish man. Despite the symbolic cultural Hispanism attached to Doña Paula's marital ties to a Spaniard, everything leads me to think that she considered herself a "woman of quality" based on her Andean kinship ties. First of all, she claimed to be a descendant of Topa Inca Yupanqui, the original owner of the lands of Callispuquio. She held the Inca title of Ñusta (princess), which was rarely used by noble women in this period. Moreover, her surname, Mama Guaco, referred to one of the most important

queens in Cuzqueñan historical legend.[56] Hence, it was her words, name and royal ascendancy that justified her elite attitudes, not her relationship to a Spaniard. Elizabeth Kuznesof (1995) reminds us that we cannot assume as Silverblatt does that native women, particularly those who married Spaniards, simply "absorbed" their husbands' race and other status.

The cases of Doña Paula Mama Guaco and Doña Isabel Atahualpa reveal that both, Spaniards and Andeans experienced the process of double mistaken identity when defining nobility. The Spanish concept of *calidad*, which encompassed wealth, purity of blood, honor, integrity and place of origin, did not describe the experiences of the descendants of the Incas in its narrow sense. However, neither the Spanish notaries, nor the Spanish authorities were troubled by the discrepancy between what *calidad* meant in Spain and the qualities of the native noblewomen to whom they applied the description. Likewise, Doña Paula and Doña Isabel employed this concept to refer to their ties to Inca nobility, and they were either unaware or unimpressed by the Spanish side's interpretation. By using the concept of *calidad*, Doña Paula and Doña Isabel established their own social identity as Inca women and their noble social status in colonial society.

b) Social Upward Mobility

While some native women crafted their discursive representation by reinstating their pre-Columbian cultural identities as Andean elites in colonial society, others did so by reconstructing their cultural identities though different patterns of social mobility. In most cases, lower class Andeans employed the rhetoric of clothing as a strategy of upward social mobility. Habits of dress played a vital role in distinguishing one sector of

[56] In Chapter 3, I discussed Mama Guaco's (Uaco) symbolism in the *Nueva corónica and buen gobierno* and other Andean myths.

society from others. Spanish and Creole aristocracy used clothing to visually state their social power and distinction over the rest, but the rhetoric of clothing was also used by lower sectors of the society to gain social access to places that were prohibited to them (Meléndez, Mariselle 24-25). Documents such as wills and testaments, show that indigenous women from different regions made conscious decisions about adopting or maintaining a particular dress style, whether Andean or European.

In the Andes, as well as in other societies, clothing has long been used as a marker of social and cultural identity and a signifier of one's economic status. The Incas in particular, says Graubart, "were said to have encouraged a visual stratification for the purposes of imperial control, and local weaving techniques as well as other stylistic differences were of clear cultural importance, at least judging from the archeological record" (Graubart, *With Our Labor* 123). Both Guaman Poma and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega emphasize the importance of clothing in Andean societies. For Garcilaso, clothes were the most important head tax that Inca subjects paid to the Inca ruler (1976, V:VI). Guaman Poma, on the other hand, identifies the specific ranks of people through the motifs, colors and accessories of their clothes (Zuidema "Hierachy" 50). Commoners, say both chroniclers, were forbidden to wear a range of garments and materials reserved for political elites, including insignias made of feathers, *cumbi* (an indigenous fabric made of vicuña wool) as well as gold and silver accessories.

The clothing of an Andean woman living in the Sierras would have included an *anaco* (dress), a *lliclla* (shawl) fastened with *tupus* (pins), a *chumbe* (girdle) and a *ñañaca* (a cloth headdress) made of a variety of materials such as different textures of *awaska*[57]

[57] Also referred to as *abasca*.

(plain weave cotton and llama wool). As colonial society introduced new avenues of social mobility through alternative methods of obtaining wealth and power, many commoner native people saw it as convenient to redefine their cultural identity through their clothing. The documents of this period reveal various tendencies: commoners who started wearing quality indigenous garments, natives who wore clothes made of European fabrics, and those who acquired both European and Andean fashions to associate themselves with both cultures.

The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega complained about commoners manipulating the traditional social hierarchies and cultural Andean practices through their dress style. In his *Comentarios reales*, he criticizes a native lower class woman, who, thanks to her beauty and her quality Andean garments, appropriated the title of *palla* (princess), but was eventually discredited by the people around her (2; VIII: XXI).[58] Like this woman, numerous indigenous people sought to improve their status in colonial society. Passing as a noble person was economically very beneficial for commoner Indians because noble Andeans were free from labor demands and tribute.

Wills of this period suggest that non-elite or impoverished Andean women conveyed cultural Inca ties through the rhetoric of clothing. While none of them expressed Inca genealogy verbally, their collections of Inca imperial clothes and accessories such as fine *cumbi* fabrics and gold and silver *tupus* (pins) referred to a supposed pre-Hispanic high status. For example, Juana Cuxirimay of Cuzco, who drew up her will in 1569, provides an inventory of three *anacos* of high *cumbi* quality, two green and blue *llicllas* and one gold *tupu* (AGN, PN 33, Esquivel, 1569-72). Although

[58] I discuss Garcilaso's account of the fake *palla* and the parrot in the previous chapter.

Juana bore an Inca surname, she was not a wealthy woman. Yet, her clothes created the appearance of high status, in pre-Hispanic terms. Her will does not indicate how she acquired her specialty clothes; however, it is possible that they were obtained from the wardrobes of elites.[59] Apparently, her clothing and accessories were her most valuable assets for which reason she bequeathed them to her mother.

Another example of fine Andean cloth accumulation comes from the will of Juana Goncaya of La Paz. Juana was non-elite "india soltera" with numerous children. She had inherited a blacksmith workshop along with several tools from her parents and made a living by renting her shop to Indian or Spanish men. She was not a poor Indian. Her will states that besides the profits of her business, she had large amounts of cash, two plots of land, at least five pairs of silver *tupus* and many *awasca* and *cumbi* dresses (ALP/RE, 1654, Leg 52). Her fashionable native clothing and accessories clearly belonged to a pre-Columbian high status style that complemented her current affluent situation. Her preference for Andean high fashions suggests her conscious decision to associate herself with the pre-Columbian Andean nobility through the rhetoric of clothing.

On the contrary, the wills of Catalina Carguay Chumbi and Catalina Yacsa Nurma suggest that some native women preferred to wear European rather than Andean style clothing. This seems to have been more common among native women living in urban centers. Catalina Carguay Chumbi was originally from Huarochirí. She and her husband were landowners in the valley of Pisco. In 1608, Catalina ordered her testament in El Cercado (an indigenous settlement in Lima). Among her personal possessions she had two velvet shirts, a felt hat and a colorful *lliclla* with a purple and red silk border, and a

[59] Selling clothes in the *almoneda* (public auction) was a common practice in this period.

sash of violet tafetta (AGN, PN, TI, Leg. 1). Likewise, Catalina Yacsa Nurma ordered her testament in Lima in 1600. She was originally from Jauja, but she lived and worked in El Cercado. Catalina was a seamstress who had access to all types of European fabrics, which she used to sew clothes for her clients and for herself. Although the long list of clothes she enumerates in her testament probably belonged to her clients, she stated that she owned two *llicllas* of green and purple damask, one taffeta skirt, two bodices of *paño* and one blue Spanish *sayuelo* (AGN, PN, Jiménez 1559-1600, f. 667). These native women's notorious preference for high quality European fashion reveals the dress tendencies of many urban Indians who were in constant contact with Spanish people as well as people of other *castas*.

The tendency to wear European rather than Indian clothes was bitterly criticized by the Andean author Guaman Poma de Ayala. In his *Nueva corónica*, he "called upon his compatriots to maintain their 'own dress…so that each is known, respected and honored.' In particular, he called upon caciques to differentiate themselves from plebeian Indians, mestizos and Spaniards" (Graubart, *With Our Labor* 138). But as much as Guaman Poma supported this cultural differentiation, colonial authorities encouraged Indians, particularly those of higher status, to wear European fashions.

Around 1566, the judge (*oidor*) of the Real Audiencia and advisor to Viceroy Toledo, Juan de Matienzo, argued that Andeans should be allowed to wear Spanish garments as a way to further their appreciation of the Spanish culture and to strengthen the colonial economy. An edict in his *Gobierno del Perú* reads:

> El vestirse de ropa de españoles no solo no es malo, pero es muy bueno por munchas causas. Lo primero porque tomen amor con nosotros y con nuestro

> traxe; lo segundo, porque comiencen a tener algun ser de hombres, y esto digo que se les debe permitir a los caciques y principales; lo tercero porque estando vestidos como españoles, habrán vergüenza de sentarse a la plaza publicamente a comer, beber y emborracharse, y lo cuarto, porque cuanto mas gastaren tanto mas plata sacarán de la tierra, y tanto mas mercaderías de España se venderan, que todo sera en aumento de los quintos reales…(1967: 60-70)
>
> [Wearing Spanish clothing not only is not bad, but it is very beneficial for many reasons. First, because they would come to love us and our clothing; second, because they would begin to have some humanity, and I say this should be allowed for the caciques and lords; third, because being dressed as Spaniards are, they will be ashamed to seat themselves in the public plaza to eat, drink, and get drunk; and forth, because however much money they spend, that much more silver will they take out of the earth, and that much more merchandise from Spain will be sold, all of which will increase the royal fifth. It will be, finally, a great benefit to the Spaniards, without harm to the Indians, since they have no need for either silver or gold, nor do they use it for the business they have with each other, but only that business which they conduct with Spaniards.] (quoted in Graubart 2007: 41)

Clearly, Matienzo's objectives were mainly economic, for the benefit of the Spanish Crown rather than for the Indians' appearance. Yet, Graubart's research shows that by the time of the edict, not only the native elite but also a significant number of commoner Indians were already purchasing European commodities with cash and credit (*With Our*

Labor 41). This example shows how both groups interpreted the importance and use of the rhetoric of clothing. In Matienzo's view, he was requiring the Indians to buy Spanish goods for it would benefit the Spanish businesses. The Indians, however, seized the opportunity to acquire European goods, seeking upward mobility in the form of acceptance into Spanish culture, or to pass as mestizos in order to avoid paying tribute. According to Lowry, the 1613 census in Lima gives evidence that numerous Indians were passing as mestizos and even as "white" people in the records (38). This suggests that indigenous people understood that racial differences were cultural rather than phenotypical, and they used clothes and other commodities to pass as noble Andeans, mestizos or Spaniards.

As the purchasing power of the natives increased, their access to both European and Andean commodities also improved. Spalding points out that by 1614 the salary received by an Indian artisan in Lima was essentially the same as that received by a Spaniard of equivalent rank ("Social climbers" 647). Thus, native urban indigenous laborers who could afford spending their money on clothes, developed diverse associations to use them later to move upwardly in colonial society. The will of Inés Hernández Palla is characterized by her numerous Andean and European outfits. Inés Hernández Palla was originally from Cuzco. She migrated to Potosí and married Pedro Hernández, a Spanish man with whom she owned a vineyard and a plot of land (*chacra*). When she ordered her last will in 1624, she declared that her estate consisted of half of the earnings from the vineyard and the plot of land as well as two *llicllas* of *cumbi*, two shirts of ruán (a French linen), four ruffs with different patterns and a silver *tupu*. She commanded her executors to distribute her estate between her two daughters, María

Serbantes and Inés Hernández de Ayala, and to sell all her clothes to pay for the necessary alms and posthumous prayers for her soul (AGI, Contratación, 524, N.2, R.3, f.14r-35v). Although she carried an Inca noble surname, *palla*, she did not establish any connections with a pre-Hispanic noble ancestry, but she was not Hispanized either. Apparently, she was one of those indigenous women who preferred to circulate among the middle and upper strata of colonial society without being part of any of them. This type of native woman, as Frank Salomon has argued, "developed a hyper-esthetic version of the outer, visible *yndia* identity, deemphasizing the restrictions of ethnic tradition, and inventing styles attractive to eyes familiar with European textile craft." (337) In other words, women like Inés Hernández Palla, used a strategy that allowed them to maintain their indigenous cultural background, and at the same time, to be accepted and perhaps even respected in Spanish society.

Andean Women Engage the Colonial Legal System to Exercise Economic Power

Women of all civil statuses and ethnic groups in colonial society, had access to the Spanish legal system to pursue their economic interests. Korth and Flusche (1987) note that centuries before the conquest, the rights of women to own, bequeath, and inherit property had been established in Visigothic Spain. The principles of the Visigothic code (*Fuero Juzgo*) were preserved, augmented and recodified in the *Fuero Real* in the thirtheen century. Along with the *Siete Partidas*, which were based on Roman and canon law, the *Fuero Real* was the basis of the *Leyes de Toro* enacted in 1505. The statutes of the *Leyes de Toro* gave particular attention to portions of private law regarding females in Spanish society both in Spain and Spanish America. These included the role of women in legal transactions, their appearances in court, the dimensions of a husband's authority,

and questions concerning community property, inheritance, the dowry and the *arras* (groom's wedding gift to the bride). In this light, women in Spain and colonial Spanish America were not seen as the *imbecilitas sexus* as some scholars have argued,[60] but as individuals who could exercise agency in economic and legal transactions.

Indigenous women were not barred from gaining access to the Spanish legal system. By the seventeenth century most single, married and widowers had a good grasp of the Spanish concept of private property, monetary exchange and the meanings of the written law. Indians had a significant advantage compared to other ethnic groups in colonial society. They had free access to legal representation in the Spanish *audiencias*. According to Haring, "a defender of the Indians was to be placed in every considerable community to protect them from exploitation" (56). Besides this legal representation, native people could also use the services of a notary to certify contracts, sales, and other formal documents including wills and testaments.

Native women's participation in the economic realm of colonial society proved to be pivotal for the Spanish colonial market.[61] Documents such as wills and testaments, *donaciones*, sales records and dowry contracts depict native women involved in a wide range of activities such as buying, selling and renting lands, claiming inheritances, protecting their dowries, becoming market vendors, businesswomen and even slave

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[60] Joan Cammarata (2003) using prescriptive literature and literary pieces of the early modern period states that women along with children were considered invalid in the eyes of the law.

[61] In her research on colonial Quito (2003), Kimberly Gauderman argues that indigenous market women "dominated street marketing to such an extent that references to vendors in ordinances and litigation always referred to them in the feminine, as if no men ever participated in this occupation." (93). Similarly, Jane Mangan's book on colonial Potosí (2005) shows that women and indigenous peoples played essential roles in the city's economy though a myriad of commercial transactions. Karen Graubart's recent addition to the study of native women's economic activities in Trujillo and Lima (2007) examines female agency in the material realm through hundreds of wills and testaments. The conclusion of this comprehensive study shows that native women learned to use the Spanish legal system and the European preconceptions about gender and politics to their advantage.

owners. All these activities required their visible presence in colonial society and their agency in the discursive terrain. These women's economic successes and failure depended on their manipulation of the cultural norms and of the legal discourses of Spanish society. Under Spanish law, single men and women under the age of twenty-five had to have the express consent of their fathers before entering into legal contracts. Married women as well were supposed to have their husband's authorization, but this was rarely enforced (Graubart, *With Our Labor* 99). Following a legal format, the notaries were obligated to let a woman know of her rights under the law before initiating any legal action. Thus in documents such as property sales, *donaciones* (advances on inheritance) and dowries, women needed to state their knowledge, acceptance or relinquishment of these laws.

For example, when Francisca Pasña and her daughter María Vispa of Cuzco decided to sell "un buhio cubierto de paja" [a hut covered with straw] to Pedro Sayra in 1614, they both had to state that in selling this property they were relinquishing the legal protections and privileges (*fueros*) that protected women against those who attempted to alienate them from it. They relinquished this legal protection because the transaction was not done under coercion. The document reads:

> Y nos las dichas Franscisca Pasña y María Vispa, por ser mugeres, renunciamos las Leyes del Emperador Justiniano y Leyes de Toro y Partidas que son en favor de las mugeres de cuyo efecto fuimos avisadas por el presente escribano que nos los dio a entender…y otorgamos por esta escriptura que vendemos y damos en venta real para agora y siempre jamas a Pedro Sayra yndio de la parroquia de San

> Blas desta ciudad es a saber un buhio cubierto de paja con su patio cercado que tenemos y poseemos…para suplir nuestras necesidades…" (ARC, Top.9, Leg. 5).
>
> [And we the said Francisca Pasña and María Vispa being women renounce to the Laws of the Emperor Justiniano and the Leyes de Toro and Partidas, which are favorable to women for we have been told about them by the notary and he has clarified them for us…And we give this deed stating that we legitimately sell it, now and forever to Pedro Sayra, an Indian from the parish of San Blas of this city, a hut covered with straw with a fenced courtyard that we posses…in order to fulfill our needs…]

Despite the seeming insignificance of this property, these women's private estate was safeguarded in the eyes of the law. The notary was obligated to make these women aware of the protective laws, and they could only sell them after renouncing to such protection. As this document illustrates, the notary advised Francisca Pasña and María Vispa of the content of the legislation in favor of women. Then, they stated they were selling their property out of their own free will rather than being forced to do it. Finally, they declared their reasons for selling it, which in this case was to meet their economic needs. Such procedures show that women, despite their ethnicity could take independent decisions when it came to the administration of their private property.

A married woman needed her husband's permission to enter into legal contracts, but this requirement could also be negotiated if necessary. Consider the case of Juana Chimbo, Martin Mayuchi and Clara Payco. Juana Chimbo owned a land parcel (*un topo de tierra*) in Canta, a town near Cuzco, which she inherited from her parents. When she

married Martín Mayuchi, she retained that estate as part of her private property. In 1622, Juana Chimbo decided to sell half of her state to Clara Payco, a single native woman of Cuzco. In order to do that, she asked her husband for general permission, which he granted and she accepted. As usual, Juana Chimbo renounced a series of laws protecting women. After all the renunciations and the description of the lands, Clara Payco took possession of the land and the two women asked a witness to sign their names at the end of the document (ARC, Top. 9, Leg. 56, f. 6).

A few months after the sale, Martín Mayuchi and Juana Chimbo had an argument and he beat her leaving her in great physical pain and in bed. Fearing death, Juana called the notary and ordered a different type of document, a *donación* (advance of inheritance) to Clara Payco that would be added to the documents of the previous sale. Because the *donación* did not require a new permission from Mayuchi, Juana Chimbo donated Clara Payco the rest of her estate so she could use it, sell it, or rent it for her benefit. Juana Chimbo declared she was doing so:

> …porque el dicho mi marido no tiene derecho a las dichas mis tierras y me quiere matar…[quiero] que Clara Payco bea juntamente todo el solar que tengo… y mando tambien la cassa de teja donde al presente vivo con su patio…y que esta mi declaración la dicha Clara Payco guarde y lo tenga cosida e junta con la carta de venta que tengo otorgada y los guarde para su derecho siendo varios testigos españoles… (ARC, Top. 9, Leg. 56, f.8)
>
> […because my husband does not have any right to my lands and he wants to kill me…(I want) Clara Payco to have my plot of land…and I also want her to have

> the tile-roofed house where I now live including the courtyard…and (I want) Clara Payco to keep this document and to sew it to the document of sale that I have given her. And she should keep them to defend her rights before various Spanish witnesses…]

Juana Chimbo's actions show that a husband's legal authorization was not absolutely required for a wife to act individually, particularly if she decided to donate her own property. According to Juana Chimbo, her husband had no rights whatsoever over her lands and her house, and because he wanted to kill her, Spanish law protected her and allowed her to distribute her estate as she pleased. On her death bed, she decided to donate all her property to Clara Payco, even the house in which her husband was currently living. While the purpose of a *donación* was to preserve property within the direct line, this case shows that since Juana Chimbo and Martín Mayuchi had no children or surviving parents, she had the liberty of disposing of her estate as she saw fit.[62] In order to validate the document, Juana Chimbo asked Clara Payco to stitch up the *donación* to the previous sale document, so it would appear as one. Nevertheless, she requested at least five witnesses (Spanish and Indian men) to sign their names at the bottom of the *donación* in case of further litigation.

Donaciones, as advances of inheritance, were regularly done in the event of the marriage of a child or a relative, or as the previous example shows, to dispose of a person's estate at the moment of their death. Generally, women could make *donaciones* without their husband's approval, especially if they were widows. This was the case of Francisca Sisa Ocllo, a widow of La Paz. Francisca donated her granddaughter, Isabel de

[62] Korth and Flusche state that according to the law, a person who lacked both descendants and ascendants could dispose of their estates as they saw fit (399).

Betanzos, the portion of her deceased mother's estate to preserve their property within the direct line. In 1625, her granddaughter Isabel de Betanzos was going to marry Alonso Gutierrez and Francisca formalized the *donación* before their wedding. In this document Francisca donated to Isabel 428 pesos in clothes (numerous *llicllas, acsos, ñañacas* de *cumbi,* and Castilian fabrics) and the house in which she lived near the parish of San Sebastian valued at 100 pesos.

The amount of the *donación,* plus the special wedding gift of 250 pesos from her groom (known as *arras*), and her grandmother's house were counted as Isabel's dowry and personal property. The dowry, according to the *Siete Partidas* and the *Leyes de Toro,* was an economic shelter for women. It was the foundation of a wife's estate, and though administered by her husband, it remained her private property. The husband's legal authority over his wife's property was not absolute. According to the legislation, "his function as an honest, prudent manager was to redound more to the good of wife and family than to his personal aggrandizement and profit" (Gauderman 33). Isabel's estate was protected by the legal stipulations and by her future husband's promise of administering her property with rectitude. He declared that in the event of mismanagement, "yo pagare a la dicha mi esposa o a quien causa suya oviere los dichos setecientos y setenta y ocho pesos de la dicha su dote y arras a donde los señalare sin retencion alguna…" [I will pay my wife or her representative the said seven hundred seventy eight pesos of her dowry and *arras* without any hesitation] (ALP, RE, Caja 18, Leg. 29-31). Once Gutierrez made that statement, they both signed the document in the presence of four witnesses.

A dowry, however, was not required for a woman to get married. Poor women married men who were equally destitute (Gauderman 32). This was true for many native women like Juana Cuxirimay who said "cuando me case con el dicho mi marido no teniamos bienes mas que el bestido" [when I married my husband we did not have possessions other than the clothes we were wearing] (AGN, PN 33, Esquivel, 1569-72 f.298). Though Juana Cuxirimay's husband was poor, he helped her to improve her economic situation. At the time of her death in 1572, she declared having numerous clothes, some even of the quality of the Andean nobility and two parcels of land, which she left for him to administer (AGN, PN 33, Esquivel, 1569-72, f. 298). However, not all married women were so fortunate to have their husband's support. Rather than working together with their wives, many husbands stripped them of their capital. Such is the case of Julio Choque, María Titima's husband. When Titima and Choque got married in La Paz, she had a capital of 400 pesos and he had nothing. As Titima declared:

> …cuando me case con el dicho mi marido yo tenia capital de quatrocientos pesos poco mas o menos y el no tenia caudal alguno y con este matrimonio y mediante los malos tratamientos que me hizo y la hacienda que me consumio le puse denuncia de separacion de matrimonio y de rreparo…(ALP, RE, Caja 25, Leg. 41, f. 605)

> […when I married my husband I had a capital of four hundred pesos more or less and he had nothing. And with this marriage and the ill treatment I received from him and all the possessions he took away, I asked him for a separation and I demanded that he compensate me…]

Though Maria Titima's formal complaint against Julio Choque was not available at the time of my research, her testament reveals that after she brought charges against her husband, he preferred to flee and to hide rather than repay her. She declared that she had not seen him in the last ten years of her life (ALP, RE, Caja 25, Leg. 41, f. 606). He probably knew that in the event of his return, the local authorities would prosecute his violent and criminal behavior, and he would be forced to repay Titima. The government prosecution and punishment of husbands, says Gauderman, suggests that male authority in the household was not officially defended (69). That is, the local authorities considered the empowerment of an individual as disruptive of the social order, and thus, they intervened to bring stability back.

Despite the fact that Titima faced abuse earlier in her life, she managed to become a successful street vendor and a moneylender. Her will enumerates a list of debts owed to her by Spanish and indigenous men and women as well as cash she kept under the administration of a Jesuit priest. Most of her cash bequests were destined to the numerous *cofradía*s in which she was a member, and since she had no children, she left her splendid Andean outfits to her female servants (ALP, RE, Caja 25, Leg. 41, fs. 604-606). A remarkable phrase she repeated throughout her testament was "todo lo que oy tengo lo he adquirido con mi trabajo" [all that I have today, I had attained with my work], which alludes to her great efforts in overcoming poverty and abuse.

Although taking legal actions against violent and corrupt men guaranteed social order and justice, some native women avoided marriage altogether. For example Juana Goncaya of La Paz had six children by several different men, but she preferred not to get married. Her status as a single mother did not cause her any problems, for throughout her

life she participated in *cofradía*s and other religious activities with no objections. She probably did not see the need to get married for she had inherited a blacksmith shop (*fragua*) from her parents and had earned a good living by renting it to Spanish and Indian men (ALP, RE, Caja 34, Leg.52, f. 90). Throughout her life, she had provided one of her sons with an inheritance advance, and when she ordered her testament in 1632, she distributed the rest of her assets among the children who had not previously received anything.

While she provided her two daughters with numerous clothes and cash, she distributed the tools from her black smith shop to one of her sons and the shop itself to her two remaining sons. However, she specifically requested that the shop would not be sold to anyone, but instead, rented. By renting the shop, her children would continue to earn a living from it and would remain together (ALP, RE, Caja 34, Leg.52, f. 90). The document reads:

> …la dicha fragua quiero y es mi voluntad que la hayan y hereden Cristobal y Gabriel mis hijos naturales los quales no puedan vender ni vendan ni enajenar ni disponer de la dicha fragua sino que la arrienden y con la dicha rrenta se sustenten los susodichos… (ALP, RE, Caja 34, Leg.52, f. 90)

> […I want and it is my will that the blacksmith shop be inherited by Cristobal and Gabriel my illegitimate children. They (however) may not sell it or transfer it, instead they may rent it and with the said income they would support themselves…]

By bequeathing her children the administration of her black smith shop, Juana aimed to preserve her property within her direct descendants. This was stipulated by law, for it was necessary that four-fifths of a parental state had to remain within the direct line of the testator (Korth and Flusche 398). In addition, this distribution would also contribute to keeping the family members together. Ultimately, Juana Goncaya's last will would serve to protect all her children's economic future.

While Juana Goncaya's heirs remained in La Paz, a small city that linked major cities such as Cuzco and Lima (Wierum 5), numerous indigenous people migrated to bigger urban centers to take advantage of the new colonial circumstances and exercise economic self-determination. The 1613-14 census of Lima, states that 2,177 Indians lived and worked there (Lowry 196). Throughout the seventeenth century, many natives rose from domestic workers to entrepreneurs, property owners and even slave owners. Though it might sound like a contradiction that Amerindians owned slaves, it is not hard to find documents in which native women mention African slaves as part of their property. The relationship between black and indigenous people, particularly in the early colonial period has usually been understood as primarily antagonistic. In the seventeenth century Guaman Poma condemned the black slaves of corregidores, encomenderos and priests for raping Indian women and for stealing from their owners to buy these women's sexual favors (1987: 709[723]). The depiction of this racial antagonism not only degraded black men, but also condemned indigenous women.

Nevertheless, Indians and blacks also had other types of interactions. Many blacks actually became the slaves of indigenous women. The findings of Harth-Terré (1973) suggest that indigenous people, who did not necessarily belong to higher ranks in colonial

society could obtain African slaves, if they had the means to do so. More recently Karen Graubart (2007), in her study of native women's wills from Lima and Trujillo in the seventeenth century, found a significant number of them who reported having at least one African slave. In many cases, these women were neither wealthy nor noble.

An ordinance from the governor García de Castro reveals that native people owned slaves as early as 1565. This decree admonished the *corregidores de indios* (Spanish rural magistrates) not to allow noble and commoner Indians to buy slaves for their personal service. The text reads:

> …no consentireís que los caciques ni otros indios tengan esclavos negros ni mulattos, y los que tuvieren se los hareis vender luego, por los muchos insultos que se han visto que estos tales han hecho a los indios estando en su poder (*Gobierno del Perú* 1967: 43).
>
> […You will not allow the caciques or other Indians to own black slaves or mulattos. And those who have them should sell them soon because of the many insults the blacks have thrown to their Indian owners.]

Although Garcia de Castro's prohibition sought to "defend" the natives from the many insults of the blacks, it did not stop the commodification of Africans as slaves among indigenous people.

Blacks were considered an important capital and a symbol of status for some indigenous women. Some "indias ladinas" (indigenous women fluent in Spanish) were able to buy slaves directly from the slave traders, while others bought them from their previous owners. For example, in 1597 Isabel Bilbao an indigenous widow of a Spaniard in Lima, "ladina en lengua española" bought:

> un negro bozal de tierra bran no bautizado de diecisiete años en precio y cantidad de quatrocientos noventa pesos del mercader portugues Gaspar Fernandez (AGN, PN, Alonso de Castillejo, 1597-98, f. 1211).
>
> [A seventeen-year-old unacculturated black native of the Bran country who is not baptized for the price of four hundred ninety pesos from the Portuguese merchant Gaspar Fernandez]

Likewise, Francisca Guacha a resident of El Cercado bought:

> una negra de tierra bran de veinte años al mercader de esclavos Manuel Gomez en precio y cantidad de quinientos pesos de a nueve reales (AGN, PN Cristóbal de Pineda, 1612-18, f.26).
>
> [A twenty-year-old female black slave native of the Bran country from the merchant Manuel Gomez for the price of five hundred pesos of nine reales]

As these documents indicate, Isabel Bilbao and Francisca Guacha negotiated directly with the slave traders using the Spanish language, and more importantly, cash.

These documents of sale do not reveal Bilbao or Guacha's occupations, but the fact that they paid in cash suggests that they were well off in colonial society. Interestingly, none of them are called "Doña," which could also mean that this purchase was considered an investment. Indigenous women of lesser means, says Graubart, saw black slaves as an important capital investment to help them carry out difficult tasks in their commercial enterprises (*With Our Labor* 89). Such is the case of Catalina Payco a native of Cuzco and a resident of El Cercado. Her will reveals she was a chicha vendor who also acted as a moneylender. She possessed neither a house nor a hut, but she owned

a “negro criollo de doze años” [a twelve-year-old creole boy](AGN, PN 33, Esquivel, 1569-72, f. 509-510). Graubart suggests that since *chicha* production was so labor intensive, Payco might have bought the twelve-year-old slave to help her with the onerous parts of *chicha* production such as monitoring the boiling liquid for hours at a time (*With Our Labor* 89). At the time of her death in 1675, Clara Payco ordered her young slave to be sold, together with everything else she owned, in order to pay for her funeral expenses and to distribute the rest of the money among poor Indians and other alms.

Slave owning had many benefits for colonial natives. Having a black slave was a sign of prestige for the *curacas*, and they represented a good investment for the market women. Nevertheless, the importance of these examples in this study is not to emphasize the exploitative nature of the Indian-black relationships, but the degree of autonomy that native women acquired in the seventeenth century to own one. Although many native women profited from the work of a black slave, not all the interactions between blacks and Indians were that of slave and master. Graubart argues that free blacks and Indians living in urban cities had a sense of connection that was expressed in their wills, through debts, bequests, and other social ties (*With Our Labor* 90). These different types of interactions between natives and blacks provide a different image than the one given by Guaman Poma de Ayala, in which he claims that indigenous women were mere prostitutes of black men (1987: 709). The interracial contact between Indians, blacks and other castes provoked visible adaptations and their economic and commercial interactions proved to be beneficial for the natives rather than harmful as the Spanish authorities or Guaman Poma suggested.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a counterpoint to Guaman Poma's and Inca Garcilaso's representation of indigenous women in the seventeenth century. Their dichotomous portrayal of colonial women –where elite women were good and the non-elite wicked, or where ancient Andean women were virtuous and contemporary indigenous women prostitutes- responded to their personal agendas and drew on Western representational modes, which ultimately obscured the agency of actual native women in this period. In this chapter, I have discussed three important areas of native women's agency in the seventeenth century: the ways in which these women constructed their religious identities, negotiated their social status and exercised economic power in colonial society.

Native women participating in religious organizations such as *beaterios* and *cofradías*, considered themselves Catholics, or at least created the outward appearance of being one. Seeking a contemplative life in the *beaterios* or public participation and recognition in *cofradías*, indigenous women crafted a discourse of decency and devotion to carve a place for themselves in colonial society. Yet, other indigenous women preferred to resist Catholicism altogether by maintaining their traditional Andean rituals and practices for which they were accused of sorcery and witchcraft in the anti-idolatry trials of this period. The case of Juana Ycha, an impoverished native women accused of witchcraft by her enemies shows that native women's ambiguous religious identity allowed them to preserve their Andean beliefs and practices to make sense of the new religious order.

The documents of this period show that the social differences between Andean noble and commoners were not so easily eliminated. Members of the Inca elite had been

granted the privileges of European nobility by Spanish law, but the indigenous hierarchy that emerged throughout the colonial period was not only composed of these noble Andeans. Documents such as requests of royal grants and other civil proceedings in which noble native women appear, reveal a continuity of indigenous elite attitudes towards commoner Indians. Discourses about indigenous women's *calidad* referred to their high rank in colonial society and justified the subordination of other local ethnic groups.

Andean people with no kinship ties to pre-Columbian elites employed a different discursive strategy in order to gain social ground: the rhetoric of clothing. Clothing had been used as a marker for social and cultural identity from pre-Columbian times and it continued, albeit differently, throughout the colonial period. There were many tendencies to use clothing as cultural and socio-economic markers among the commoner Indians. While some acquired high quality Andean clothing such as *cumbi* fabrics and gold and silver *tupus*, others preferred to wear European rather than Andean clothes or a combination of both.

Nonetheless, indigenous women were not only concerned about their social and religious identity, they were also interested in improving their economic welfare. They learned that their economic success or failure depended on their manipulation of the cultural norms and the legal discourses of Spanish society. Taking advantage of the protective legislation for women, a number of them rose from domestic workers to entrepreneurs, property owners and even slave owners. These women's agency in colonial society and more specifically their agency in the discourses of this period was

only possible within the system of decentralized power and authority that characterized the Spanish society.

Conclusion

The inclusion into the colonial literary canon of the chronicles written from the fifteenth through the eighteen centuries has been critically problematic. As Margarita Zamora has pointed out, in order to justify the use of these narratives in both their pedagogical and critical mission, critics had to examine these texts as if they had formal literary characteristics (i.e. literary devices, complex syntax, flow of writing), and "insist on anachronistic affirmations regarding the supposed similarity of this or that colonial text to a modern literary genre, or to invent a series of literary values, which they can 'discover' retrospectively in these texts." ("Historicity" 335) The problem with these readings was that critics were severing these texts from their historical context in order to find some aesthetic traits in them. For this reason, several scholars (Zamora 1987; Adorno 1993; Mignolo 1995; Moraña 2000; Castro-Klarén 2002) proposed a cross-disciplinary exchange to promote new learning as well as new critical theoretical reorientations to avoid divorcing these texts from the circumstances that produced them and to expand the field. As the field of colonial literature has expanded, critics have gradually integrated reading practices that take into account the discursive plurality and diversity of the colonial period. In this dissertation, I have engaged in this interdisciplinary dialogue by analyzing the discursive representation of indigenous women in the colonial texts and comparing these representations to the voices and agency of actual indigenous Andean women that emerge from archival sources.

I have situated my textual sources, both literary and non-literary, within the socio-cultural context in which they were produced, and have employed critical theory as well as recent scholarship in colonial history that explores the limitations of the patriarchal model for explaining colonial gender relations. The examination of these sources shows that colonial texts provide numerous and contradictory representations of indigenous women from the very beginning of contact. Rather than obeying a unifying patriarchal code of representation as some critics have suggested, they respond to the personal and political agendas of their authors and sponsors. Literary criticism about indigenous women's representations in Andean colonial texts is very limited and despite insightful literary and cultural approaches, what has been produced so far is mostly entrenched in maintaining the paradigm of "indigenous women as victims."[63] This paradigm, however, has been contested by historians and anthropologists of this period (Salomon 1998; Gauderman 2003; Mangan 2005; Graubart 2007) through their examination of indigenous women's activities in civil proceedings, court records and notarial documents. An examination of these archival sources has shown that male domination of women was neither so monolithic nor so absolute to be classified as patriarchal authority.

My own archival research that focuses on the investigations of the native women mentioned in the colonial texts as well as other indigenous Andean women from Lima, Cuzco, Quito and La Paz suggests that the persuasive discourses of elite and non-elite indigenous women convinced the royal authorities to grant them their favor and to sanction their abusers. Their discursive agency in documents treating the religious, social and economic realms also served these women to carve a place for themselves in colonial

[63] A paradigm criticized by Karen Vieira Powers (2002).

society. Furthermore, their own version of the historical events of the Spanish conquest and colonization provide more details about indigenous women's lived experiences and thought processes than the information about them in the colonial chronicles.

The colonial chronicles of the sixteenth-century Andean region, which were mainly written by Spanish explorers, official chroniclers and conquistadors, are characterized by the continuous transformations of the representation of indigenous women. These transformations were shaped by the historical events surrounding the production of these texts, which can be chronologically divided into the conquest period (1532-1553), the establishment of the colonial society (1554-1560s) and the period of colonial reorganization (1569-1582). Around 1534, the first Spanish conquistadors and the official chroniclers were the first ones to introduce their readers to what they saw as the appalling and dirty coastal women from the northern Peruvian villages that had been recently added to the Inca empire. According to these writers, the coastal women could not compare to the beautiful, decent and judicious women they had later encountered and conquered in the highlands. This comparison between coastal and highland women served these writers to magnify their conquest of the Inca empire in the eyes of their readers.

In contrast, the chroniclers of the following decades (1554-1557) stated that in the coastal Peruvian regions as well as in the Inca capital (Cuzco), there were many powerful and wealthy native women (i.e. the daughters of the former Inca or Andean rulers and the remaining female *curacas*) with whom the Spaniards could establish fruitful alliances to better govern the new Spanish territories. These texts reframed the accounts of the initial encounters offering favorable depictions of indigenous noblewomen to promote marriage

alliances as well as a political *mestizaje* that celebrated an idealized union of Spanish and Andean elites (Graubart, “Indecent” 220). Their narratives also served to reinforce their position as loyal to the Crown in the establishment of the colonial administrative system.

For the chroniclers of the late sixteenth century (1569-1581), however, neither coastal nor highland women were of any value, for they were vicious and immoral. These reports had two main characteristics. First, they vilified an Inca past that could be linked to the rebellious Incas who retreated to Vilcabamba, which excluded the remaining male and female indigenous elite and non-elite groups that supported the colonial order. Second, they established that the contemporary low and immoral condition of Andean women was the result of the deviant customs of the Incas. The contrasting depictions of native women in these early colonial texts demonstrate that these changing versions of the conquest and colonization were used as political tools by the authors and sponsors of these narratives. Thus, they are not governed by a unifying patriarchal code of representation.

In counterpoint to this complicated vision of indigenous women, the archival records of the sixteenth century show that native women, like Spanish and Andean men, also had changing versions of the events that occurred in this period. Their personal agendas colored their depictions of the relations between the Spanish conquistadors and the Andean native peoples. Documents such as *probanzas de hidalguía* and *probanzas de servicios*, petitions, legal suits and testaments reveal the process by which these women understood the decentralized relations of power and authority in colonial society.

The voices and agency of noblewomen such as Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanki, Doña Beatriz Manco Capac, Doña Juana Marcha Chimbo, Doña Angelina Yupanki and

Doña Beatriz Clara Coya as well as those of numerous non-elite women who left their mark in the colonial records suggest that they quickly learned to utilize the legal system to serve their particular needs and expectations. Women who belonged to the upper sectors of the Inca elite, for example, legitimized their discourses using *probanzas de hidalguía* or *probanzas de servicios* to appeal the king's moral obligation to provide for them and their kin. In addition, wills and testaments show how some noblewomen manipulated the Andean practice of Spanish succession and the Spanish emphasis on lineage to obtain *encomiendas* and annual income. Commoner women, in turn, petitioned the Spanish authorities regarding matters such as reuniting them with their mestizo children, migrating to and from Spanish kingdoms and denouncing those who abused them through a variety of civil proceedings.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the mestizo Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and the Amerindian Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote the history of the Andean past as a response to the previous versions of the chroniclers of Indies, engaging in the polemics surrounding the Spanish conquest with mestizo and indigenous projects. Their representations of pre-Columbian and colonial Andean women aim to compare these women's past and present experiences with those of their female European counterparts. Guaman Poma and Garcilaso provide an idealized version of their respective female ancestors and a critique of the rest of the indigenous women. For Garcilaso, the first Inca women, Mama Ocllo (along with her husband Manco Capac), came to civilize and educate the primitive pre-Inca women that were lost in their immorality and idolatry. Mama Ocllo's instructions transformed native women into obedient wives, chaste women and exemplary mothers. According to Garcilaso, Inca women in colonial society

maintained these values and continued living virtuous lives. In contrast, many non-Inca women continued being vain, weak and lazy.

Guaman Poma, in turn, depicts pre-Inca women as virtuous and law-abiding members of Andean society, who later were corrupted by the first Inca coya, Mama Uaco. Mama Uaco, whom he compared to Eve, was a sinful woman, albeit beautiful, who deceived all Andeans with her mysterious supernatural powers and enticed them to worship idols. However, women like Guaman Poma's mother, Doña Juana Curi Ocllo, were exemplary Christians and an example for the lost colonial Andean women who had been completely corrupted by the lustful and greedy Spaniards.

This dichotomous representation of native women –as good or evil- resembles the Eva-Ave axis with which classical and early modern writers depicted women in their literary productions. Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega, in their attempt to capture the attention of their respective audiences –an idealized Spanish King for the former, and an educated, influential minority of Christian Europeans for the latter- subordinate their representations of indigenous women to the influences of the humanist and moralist discourses of this period. As studied by Rolena Adorno (1986) and Margarita Zamora (1988), both Guaman Poma and Garcilaso had been exposed to the historiographical debates and the rhetoric of the classical and the early modern period as well as to the humanist and moralist discourses emerging from conduct manuals and sermons written in Castilian and Quechua. Following these rhetorical and discursive traditions, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma praise the virtues of their female ancestors and criticize the vices of other Andean women. This narrow representation limits our understanding of seventeenth-century Andean women regarding the ways in which these women

constructed their own religious identities, the ways in which they negotiated their social status, and the ways in which they exercised economic power.

Through an analysis of archival documents of the seventeenth-century, I have explored the voices and agency of noble and commoner indigenous women involved in religious, economic and social activities in colonial society. Records such as civil proceeding and notarial documents show that in this period, numerous women were involved in religious organizations such as *cofradías* and *beaterios*. As members of *cofradías*, some native women expressed the ways in which they were able to participate in public activities, exercise decision-making power and fund or be funded for burial expenses. Native women who joined *beaterios* often lived a quiet life. Nevertheless, they portrayed themselves as decent women with a high reputation. Their discourses suggest that by participating in religious organizations, they were proclaiming a Christian identity and carving a place for themselves in colonial society. On the contrary, the discourses of native women who continued practicing Andean rituals show that their native beliefs were harder to eradicate than what the extirpators of idolatries expected.

The social differences between elite and non-elite Andean people were not eradicated either. Noble Andeans continued to distinguish themselves from commoners in their dress style, their titles and their access to land and labor. However, as the Spaniards introduced a system of constraints and possibilities, they also introduced new patterns for social mobility. While the noble Andeans sought to defend their status in colonial society by employing a discourse of *calidad*, commoner natives pursued upward mobility through the rhetoric of clothing. Social mobility could also be acquired through these women's participation in the colonial economy. The records show that numerous

indigenous women, taking advantage of the protective legislation for women, were able to buy and sell property, become entrepreneurs and even slave owners. The experiences of these women are more than case studies; their agency in the colonial affairs help us more fully to understand their lived experiences, which have been obscured by their assumed status as voiceless victims.

Although I recognize the mediation that exists in archival sources, I consider that indigenous women were not simply objects or consumers of a male discourse. Their voices and agency appear between the lines of these sources revealing issues of agency. As the field of colonial literature becomes interdisciplinary, our analysis of non-literary sources allows us to learn the techniques and embrace the theoretical approaches to study the voices and agency of colonial Andean women within the historical events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The theories that invite us to understand power and gender social relations beyond the patriarchal and monolithic discourses help, I believe, to expand the conceptualization of gender studies to include the voices of other marginalized actors of colonial society.

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AAL Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (Peru)

Hechicerías e Idolatrías

AGI Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)

Lima

Justicia

Indiferente

AGN Archivo General de la Nación (Peru)

Protocolos Notariales (PN)

Testamentos de Indios (TI)

Derecho Indígena (DI)

ALP Archivo Departamental de La Paz (Bolivia)

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