Women's Textile Primacy: Inca-Style Garments in Portraits of the Colonial Peruvian Elite, 17th-18th Century

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Abstract

Although portraits of the colonial Peruvian elite have been included in recent scholarly inquiries, little attention has been paid to the women depicted in these paintings, many of whose identities remain anonymous. While an analysis of visual iconography is informative in contextualizing these works within the colonial dichotomy of "Spanish" and "Andean" cultures, a focus on the clothing and garments included in these works allows for a new way of viewing these portraits. While the men in these images often are adorned in more European-style clothing, women remain connected to pre-Columbian forms and styles of dress through their specific and purposeful display of native textiles.

Textiles played a large role in Andean society, functioning as ritual objects, gifts, tribute payment, in addition to being day to day clothing. I suggest that women had their own distinct textile primacy as evidenced by the visual continuities of women's garments seen in a corpus of colonial portraits. Women's deep involvement in the textile production process in Inca society, as well as women's primordial connections to cloth in origin myths manifested through the mythical first queen, Mama Huaco, both support a claim to this primacy. I propose that an understanding of women's specific textile primacy can be reached not only through examining colonial portraits of elite women but also by looking to women's roles in Inca origin myths and in the Inca reality which highlight women's ties to textiles. By offering an alternative way to view these colonial paintings and examining Inca women's connections to cloth, clothing, and cloth production, a definition of women's textile primacy can begin to be unveiled.

S'il est vrai que des portraits des membres de l'élite péruvienne de l'époque coloniale ont été inclus récemment dans des investigations académiques, il faut noter que l'on y fait peu cas des femmes qui y sont représentées et que beaucoup d'entre-elles restent anonymes. Nous reconnaissons que l'iconographie visuelle offre un support informatif pour contextualiser ces œuvres dans le cadre de la dichotomie coloniale des cultures « espagnole » et andéenne ». Toutefois, une approche plus focalisée sur les vêtements et l'art vestimentaire décrits dans ces œuvres offre une nouvelle perspective pour l'analyse de ces portraits. Alors que les hommes sont souvent représentés en parures de style plus européen, les vêtements des femmes restent connectés aux formes et styles précolombiens dans le but spécifique et intentionnel de présenter les textiles autochtones.

Les textiles jouaient un rôle important dans la société andéenne, servant à la fois d'objets rituels, de présents, de manière de rendre hommage, en sus de leur usage quotidien. Je présume que les femmes possédaient leur primauté unique dans le domaine des textiles comme le suggèrent les continuités visuelles des vêtements féminins représentés dans le corpus des portraits de l'époque coloniale. La relation profonde des femmes avec le processus de production des textiles dans la société Inca, ainsi que la connexion essentielle entre les femmes et les étoffes dans les mythes décrivant l'origine du monde se manifestent par le biais de la première reine de la mythologie, Mama Huaco, sur lesquelles s'appuie l'argument de cette primauté. Je propose qu'il n'est possible de comprendre la primauté spécifique des femmes dans le domaine des textiles qu'en examinant les portraits des femmes appartenant à l'élite coloniale, mais également en étudiant le rôle des femmes dans la mythologie Inca relative à l'origine du monde et la réalité Inca qui souligne les liens entre les femmes et les textiles. Il est possible de commencer à déchiffrer la définition de la primauté des femmes dans le domaine des textiles en proposant une

approche différente pour examiner les œuvres de l'époque coloniale et en analysant le tissage intime entre les femmes et les étoffes, les vêtements et la production des vêtements dans la civilisation Inca.

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Introduction

The Inca can be defined, in part, for their distinct "textile primacy."[1] However, the significance of textiles extended well past conquest into the Viceroyalty of Peru (1532-1824), as textiles remained integral to colonial society as tangible ties to the Inca past that were highly valued. Although the Inca expressed their cultural values through many forms of art, such as ceremonial drinking cups, feather work, and silverwork, textiles were present in almost all aspects of Inca life. Garments, like other Inca media, were complex objects, and had a variety of uses: in political negotiations, as gifts, in religious rituals, as well as being significant markers of social status. Textiles often possessed more meanings than simply being aesthetically pleasing, actively incorporating abstract, geometric motifs, and embodying a complex system of iconography that is still not completely understood today.[2]

Textiles also performed one basic function: as clothing. Clothing in the Inca period was itself similarly multi-dimensional as it communicated codified messages: garments could reveal social status, occupation, and ethnic identity, but perhaps most obviously, dress communicated

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[1] This is a term used by Rebecca Stone-Miller to describe the centrality of textiles in the Andes as compared to other cultures. See Stone-Miller, "Introduction." In *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 13–18. This phrase is also employed in her 1990-1991 article, "The Representation of the Wari State in Stone and Thread: A Comparison of Architecture and Tapestry Tunics." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 19/20 (1990/1991): 53–80. Other scholars have referenced Stone-Miller's phrase as well: Thomas Cummins, "Let Me See! Reading is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects 'Como es costumbre tener los Caciques señores.'" In *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 91–148, Footnote 12; Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency: Private Art Collecting in the Colonial Andes." *Colonial Latin American Review Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 3 (2009): 339–64.

[2] Tom Cummins, "Inka Art," 165-167. For more on textiles see: John V. Murra, "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State." *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 710–28; Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes." In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 16–39; Ibid, "Garments, Tocapu, Status, and Identity: Inca and Colonial Perspectives." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 646–68; Stone-Miller, "'And All Theirs Different from His': The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context." In *Variations in the Expressions of Inka Power a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008), 385–422.

gender. As illustrated in both the watercolor and pen-and-ink drawings by the colonial chroniclers Martín de Murúa and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Figures 1-4), men and women wore distinctive garment ensembles. While men wore knee-length tunics, or *uncu*, women were dressed in a long dress or *acsu* and a shawl known as a *lliclla,* fastened around the shoulders with *tupu* pins (see Figures 1-4).

The significance of textiles and clothing, however, is perhaps most notably realized in its absence. As relayed in Inca origin myths, the time before the Incas was characterized by people living without "clothing…for they did not know how to weave cotton or wool."[3] Similarly, people "did not know how to do anything, not even how to make clothes; they wore tree leaves and straw mats."[4] Explaining how the Incas came to be, these writings clearly desired to place them at the center of a narrative which associated the Incas themselves with civilization, development, and culture.[5] Yet the centripetal force in their associations with these notions is cloth (or the lack thereof). Not only were the Incas associated with "civilization" in these myths, but it is implied they possessed it because of their specific knowledge about textiles and clothing.[6]

In this thesis I suggest that the visual continuities observed in elite women's dress as seen in colonial paintings stem, in part, from a gendered "textile primacy" specifically possessed by women. In examining several portraits that depict colonial women (Figures 20-23, 28-33), I observed a particular continuity[7] in women's clothing—particularly in its form and style—that

[3] Garcilaso De La Vega and Harold V. Livermore, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2006), 3. These myths are discussed in the subsequent chapter.
[4] Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and David L Frye, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government, Abridged* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2006), 25.
[5] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 18-19.
[6] Idem; Stone-Miller, "Introduction," 13.
[7] The notion of addressing continuity and change in the colonial period, as well as the concepts of hybridity and agency, are addressed in Dean, Carolyn, and Dana Leibsohn. "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America*." *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (June 1, 2003): 5–35. See also:

was not present in the clothing of their male counterparts. This continuity is one that does not negate a lack of innovation and change, but instead, reveals a continuous foundation in pre-Columbian conventions of dress while incorporating new elements. This continuity in the form of women's clothing reveals that the basic components of the Inca women's clothing ensemble survived long after conquest, and remained relevant to women throughout the colonial period. I hope to illustrate that the longevity observed in these colonial portraits can be contextualized and located within Inca origin myths (as written by colonial chroniclers) as well as through women's participation in the textile production process prior to the Spanish conquest. Women's primordial connections to textiles and textile production, as told through origin myths and observed in women's roles in textile making, are not coincidental and function to link the clothing conventions displayed in colonial portraiture with the Inca past. This gender-specific connection can illuminate why women in colonial portraits use traditional garments more often than men of a similar social status. And though transformations in women's garments and styles do take place over time, the basic components of Inca women's dress remain the same, spanning a period of more than three-hundred years.

Due to observations of clothing continuities in several colonial images, both in individual and donor portraits, questions about how to analyze the particular trajectory of women's garments, as well as their cultural, material, and personal significance to the people wearing them, are relevant. In addition, asking what changes, if any, took place during this period of time that altered or transformed these particular garments is important. However, why colonial

Stephen W. Sillman's chapter dealing with change and continuity in a colonial context in Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison, and Michael V. Wilcox, *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2014).

women in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries are depicted wearing the same clothing ensembles as their pre-Columbian antecedents remains the essence of my inquiry. To form answers to these questions required a regression, tracing women's clothing conventions as seen in colonial-period images back to their visual genesis, recorded in both image and text in colonial chronicles. Although my chapters progress chronologically, it was necessary to approach these questions in reverse and to move towards the beginning of Inca conceptions of time.

Chapter One, "Gender Divisions in Inca Origin Myths: The First *Coya* as 'Mistress of the Women'" introduces the roles of the first Inca king and queen, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, within Inca origin myths as retold by two colonial chroniclers, Garcilaso de la Vega and Bernabé Cobo. Mama Huaco is considered the prototypical representative of all Inca women, and the channel through which knowledge about cloth and cloth production was transmitted specifically to other women. The bifurcated division of labor in origin myths is introduced, and Mama Huaco's association with this particular craft is analyzed alongside the Inca conceptions of the female "gender world."

Chapter Two, "Beyond the Myth: Inca Women, Inca Men, and Textile Production" analyzes women's roles in textile production during the Inca empire. Using Guaman Poma's written descriptions and illustrations of twenty Inca "age groups," the expectations for men and women are revealed as being very different, yet in some ways, overlapping. These categories as well as the presence of the specialized sect of weavers, the *acllacona*, exhibit the perpetual bond that women had with textile production. Although men's participation in this craft complicates the notions of the "gender worlds" introduced in origin myths, it is apparent that women had certain expectations pertaining to textile production and that weaving and spinning were a large part of an Inca woman's life. The final chapter, "Inca-Style Textiles in Colonial Portraits of

Peruvian Elites, 16th-18th Centuries" examines a corpus of eleven portraits from two distinct genres to illustrate that women in particular retained, used, and displayed traditional garments more than their male counterparts. Women's garment ensembles remained rooted in pre-Columbian traditions, while men often actively incorporated and wore more Europeanized clothing, expressing their claims to the Inca past in different ways.

Why refer to the garments depicted in paintings as "Inca-style" and not simply "Inca," if they are stylistically similar, if not the same? Under the Inca, there were many styles of dress, and many different occasions on which specific garments were worn. When the Incas conquered other polities, assimilating these groups into their vast territory, often newly colonized groups were encouraged to wear their own ethnic clothing as identification.[8] The term "Inca," therefore, is not truly homogenous, and is quite broad in scope. In addition, due to the fact that I primarily consider images produced within the colonial period (post-1532), women's dress cannot strictly be called "Inca." However, clothing from the Inca period still survived, coexisting alongside new textiles that were produced during this time. The images of clothing included in Guaman Poma's chronicle, for example, can be defined as "Inca," as they depicted Inca men and women, even though the images in chronicles I use were written and illustrated after 1532.[9] I use "Inca-style" to refer specifically to the garments that are illustrated in paintings and manuscripts depicting people after conquest. Not only were these images located within the colonial period, but over time, the garments themselves must be considered distinctly "colonial."[10] Although colonial

[8] Friedrich Katz, "The Inca," in *The Ancient American Civilizations* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2004), 279.
[9] This is discussed below.
[10] See Dean and Leibsohn for their definition and characterization of this term. Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (June 1, 2003): 5–35.

garments share many similarities with Inca textiles, they should be considered their "cousins," and not necessarily their "twins."

What did Inca women wear? Fortunately women's garments, and how exactly they were worn, has been documented from quite early on in the colonial period. Writing in 1653, Bernabé Cobo described three main components:

> The woman's garment, which served them as a dress and a cloak, consists of two blankets. They wear one of them like a sleeveless soutane or tunic the same width at the top as at the bottom; it covers them from the neck to the feet…this dress or soutane is called *anacu*…the other blanket is called *lliclla*…they wind it around the body under the arms, and pulling the edges over the shoulders, they bring them together and fasten them with their pins.[11]

For many years, glimpses into Inca women's dressing styles came from female burials, which contained fragments of garments such as mantles and belts that were positioned on the mummified body in the same way they would be worn in life.[12] Not many examples of women's garments have been preserved,[13] making a more tangible knowledge about women's dress somewhat limited; therefore, textual description and visual evidence serves an important purpose in illuminating how women wore their clothes.

As my investigation began, several concerns arose pertaining to the available source material. As no sources were authored, drawn, or painted by women themselves, there exists a historical chasm between women's lived experiences during these time periods and what has become available through accessible source material, making it difficult, if not impossible, for women in these time periods to truly become "visible." Most, if not all, of what is perceived about both Inca and colonial women is mediated and filtered through what others have

[11] Father Bernabe Cobo and Roland Hamilton, Inca Religion and Customs (University of Texas Press, 1990), 187-188.
[12] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 20.
[13] Ibid, 20-21. Extant women's clothing should not be confused with other extant Andean textiles.

perceived, inferred, and imposed upon them, and these "others" are, almost always, men.[14]Although certain women remain literally visible through the survival and reproduction of colonial visual images, such as portraiture, in textual accounts, women are often overlooked or disregarded completely.[15] It is therefore necessary to question and examine how exactly women's presence can be unveiled and their roles made known.

In viewing a colonial textile, we are examining something that was produced by a woman, or even by multiple women. Although the garments I highlight in this thesis do not have extant matches, as they are painted imaginations of each artist, the textiles depicted in portraits nonetheless remain allegorical or abstract representations of the primary medium through which women were, and are, seen. Though I examine painted textiles, women's visibility becomes elevated nonetheless due to their involvement in the making of the tangible object as represented in oil paint.[16] The presence of the painted garment in the portrait implies the presence of the actual garment as worn by the subject, and is one small avenue through which women are embodied and symbolized.

In addition to the issue of visibility, the notion of mediation is vital when considering colonial chronicles. These writings were all composed and published after the conquest and by

[14] Recent studies about colonial wills, testaments, and court documents have worked to highlight women's presence in colonial society. For more on wills and testaments, as well as colonial women in broader textual discourses, see: Frank Salomon, "Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as Seen Through Their Testaments," *The Americas* 44, no. 3 (1988): 325–41; Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents," 5–35; Karen B. Graubart, "Indecent Living: Indigenous Women and the Politics of Representation in Early Colonial Peru," *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 2 (December 1, 2000): 213–235; Ibid, Catalina de Aguero: A Mediating Life," in *Native Wills from the Colonial Americas: Dead Giveaways in a New World* (2015), 19–39; Sara Guengerich, "Indigenous Andean Women in Colonial Textual Discourses" (PhD Diss., The University of New Mexico, 2009); Ibid, "Inca Women Under Spanish Rule: Probanzas and Informaciones of the Colonial Andean Elite," in *Women's Negotiations and Textual Agency in Latin America, 1500-1799* (ed. Mónica Díaz and Rocío Quispe-Agnoli, 2017), 106–29.

[15] However it should be noted that most women in colonial portraits remain unidentified. This is discussed more in Chapter 3.

[16] What I call "painted textiles" are not to be confused with the technique of painting textiles used primarily in the Early Horizon period (ca. 950 B.C.E.–200 C.E.), and mostly for funerary purposes. See Hans Barnard et al., "Painted Textiles: Knowledge and Technology in the Andes," *Ñawpa Pacha* 36, no. 2 (2016): 209–28.

Spaniards, with a few exceptions of native authorship. The earliest chronicle I draw from, Juan de Betanzos' *Suma y narración de los Yngas,* was written in 1557, almost thirty years after conquest. It is therefore necessary to examine these chronicles not only for their content, but especially for their perspectives. They are significant sources of information regarding Inca origin myths, society, and history, partly because of the fact that it is in these specific texts that the only written sources of Inca history lie; there are no written narratives of Inca history that predate the conquest.[17] In addition to this literal historical distance, chroniclers were almost always getting their information from outside sources, which opens a dialogue about the process of transforming oral forms of history into written Spanish narratives created for a foreign audience.[18] In this vein, origin myths located in these chronicles have been coined "mythohistories," due to their amalgamous quality, hovering between traditional definitions of "history" and "myth."[19]

[17] Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inca History,* 3. These chronicles were addressed to or commissioned by the King of Spain or other colonial government officials such as Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. See also: Adam Herring, "Inca Aesthetics and Scholarly Inquiry" in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018), 585–600; Alan Covey and Sonia Alconini, "Conclusions: Colonial Incas and the Myths of Conquest," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas*, 777–84; Joanne Pillsbury, "Writing Inca History: The Colonial Era," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas*, 9–30.

[18] Not to mention chronicler's own racial animi. In fact, many stages of change took place before these authors even brought pen to paper. Other processes of change include but are not limited to translation (Quechua to Spanish), and the details and names that were lost or transformed over subsequent oral tellings, depending on the informant's own knowledge of Inca history and myths. In addition, when speaking about origin myths, it should be noted that there is no single "original" myth that was communicated to chroniclers; each author includes these myths in their work yet each time it is told slightly differently. However, due to the variables present when translating and transmitting these myths, I would avoid using the word "version" to describe each myth in each separate chronicle. Some myths overlap greatly, while others do not, yet there is no proven "first" myth on which all others are based. For more discussion of these issues within the context of origin myths, see Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) and Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History* (University of Iowa Press, 2002).

[19] Urton, *The History of a Myth,* 11-14. What concerns me in considering these myths within these chronicles is the fact that they were believed to be true. See Niles, *The Shape of Inca History,* 2-3. See also Isabel Yaya, *The Two Faces of Inca History: Dualism in the Narratives and Cosmology of Ancient Cuzco* (Leiden, UNITED STATES: BRILL, 2012).

Current scholarship surrounding textiles conducted by historians and art historians alike has primarily focused on the motifs present in colonial textiles, and finding their pre-Columbian antecedents to explain the close relationship between Inca textiles and those produced in colonial Peru.[20] As studies become more interdisciplinary and investigate the global discourse opened

[20] See Tom Cummins, "Tocapu: What Is It, What Does It Do, and Why Is It Not a Knot?," in *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), 277–317; Ibid, "La fábula y el retrato: Imágenes tempranas del Inca," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 1–41; Marie Timberlake, "Tocapu in a Colonial Frame: Andean Space and the Semiotics of Painted Colonial Tocapu," in *Lenguajes visuales de los Incas; BAR International Series 1848* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Archaeopress, British Archaeological Reports, 2008), 177–93; Peter Eeckhout and Nathalie Danis, "Los tocapus reales en Guamán Poma: ¿Una heráldica Inca?," *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 8 (2004): 305–23; Giorgia Ficca, "Los tocapus del Codex Galvin y de la Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno: ¿Una o más formas de escritura colonial?," in *Sublevando el virreinato: documentos contestatarios a la historiografía tradicional del Perú colonial*, (Quito, Ecuador: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 2007), 351–74; Juan Ossio, "Inca Kings, Queens, Captains, and Tocapus in the Manuscripts of Martín de Murúa and Guaman Poma," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2015), 291–483; Elena Phipps, "Garments, Tocapu, Status, and Identity: Inca and Colonial Perspectives," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 646–68; Ibid, "'Tornesol': A Colonial Synthesis of European and Andean Textile Traditions," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* 1-1–2000 (2000): 221–30; Ibid, "Woven Documents: Color, Design, and Cultural Origins of the Textiles in the Getty Murúa," in *Manuscript Cultures of Colonial Mexico and Peru: New Questions and Approaches* (2014), 65–84; Ibid, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, 1996, 144–56; Ibid, "The Iberian Globe: Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America," in *Interwoven Globe* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 28–45; Ibid, "Rasgos de la nobleza: los uncus Virreinales y sus modelos incaicos," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 68–91; Ibid, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 16–39; Ibid, "Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2013), 120–35; Ibid, "Andean Textile Traditions: Material Knowledge and Culture, Part I," *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII* 10 (2017): 162–75; Ibid, "Garcilaso and the Uncu: Observations on Dress and Identity among the Inca," *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 42, no. 2 (November 1, 2009): 236–45; Ibid, "Color in the Andes: Inca Garments and 17th-Century Colonial Documents," *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 19 (2003): 51–59; Ibid, "Aspects of Nobility: Colonial Andean Uncus and Their Inca Models," *Hali* 167: 97-111; Ibid, "Andean Textile Traditions: Material Knowledge and Culture, Part I," *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII* 10 (2017): 162–75; Ibid, "An Andean Colonial Woman's Mantle: The New World and Its Global Networks," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings 727*, 2012, 1–7; Gaby Greenlee, "Threshold Objects: Viewing Textiles in a Colonial Andean Painting," *World Art* 0, no. 0 (January 26, 2017): 1–27; Penny Dransart, "Thoughts on Productive Knowledge in Andean Weaving with Discontinuous Warp and Weft," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes* (2014), 216–32; Mary Frame, "The Question of Symmetry in Andean Textiles," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, January 1, 2006; A. H Gayton, "The Cultural Significance of Peruvian Textiles: Production, Function, Aesthetics," 1961; Cathy Lynne Costin, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy in Late Prehispanic Peru," *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14 (1993): 3–28; Joseph Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, eds., "Textiles in Colonial Latin America," in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 146–63; Penelope Dransart and Helen Wolfe, *Textiles from the Andes* (London: The British Museum Press, 2011); Blenda Femenías, "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII* 17 (2017): 341–48; William J Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 29, no. 1 (1997): 109–31; Hans Barnard et al.,"Painted Textiles: Knowledge and Technology in the Andes," 209–28; Jade Anne Gutierrez, "Moving

during the colonial period as trade, imports, and exports had profound effects upon Peru's own material culture, new perspectives have entered the general field of Peruvian textile studies, imbuing it with complementary and informative studies from scholars working with relevant issues of gender, pre-Columbian and colonial textile production, symbols and motifs, colors and colorants, dyestuffs, global trade networks, and the depiction of Andean textiles in different media (chronicles, paintings and religious images). In addition to the work of historians, art historians, and anthropologists, these studies have been enhanced with developments in technology as provided by research in chemistry, particularly the chemical analysis of colors, colorants, materials, and thread quality present in colonial textiles and other artistic media.[21]

Between Worlds: Global Trade, Luxury Culture, and Textiles in Viceregal Peru" (Master of Arts, University of Colorado Boulder, 2017); Denise Arnold, "Introduction," in *Textiles, Technical Practice, and Power in the Andes*, 1–20; Johanna Hecht, "The Past Is Present: Transformation and Persistence of Imported Ornament in Viceregal Peru," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 43–57; Tom Cummins, "Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity," in *The colonial Andes: tapestries and silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2004), 2–16; Gabriela Ramos, "Los símbolos de poder inca durante el Virreinato," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 44–65; Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, "La descendencia real y el 'renacimiento Inca' en el Virreinato," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 178–244; Elena Phipps and Lucy Commoner, "Investigation of a Colonial Latin American Textile," (2006). Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, Paper 358; Natalia Majluf, "De la rebelión al museo: Genealogías y retratos de los Incas, 1781-1900," in *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), 253–316;; Jade Anne Gutierrez, "Fashioning Identities: Sacred Presence and Social Significance in Colonial Inca Textiles" (University of Colorado Boulder, 2015); Andrea Heckman, "Contemporary Andean Textiles as Cultural Communication," in *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum* (Denver, Colo: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 171–92; Adriana Von Hagen, "Cloth of Many Kinds, Cloth for Many Purposes: The Symbolism and Technology of Textiles," in *The Inka Empire: And Its Andean Origins* (New York; London: Abbeville Press, 1993), 185–203; Schevill, Margot Blum, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer. *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology* (University of Texas Press, 1996).

[21] See specifically: Ana Roquero, "Identification of Red Dyes in Textiles from the Andean Region," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2008, 1–11; Ana Claro et al., "Identification of Red Colorants in van Gogh Paintings and Ancient Andean Textiles by Microspectrofluorimetry," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 27–34; Katarzyna Lech et al., "Identification of Unknown Colorants in Pre-Columbian Textiles Dyed with American Cochineal (Dactylopius Coccus Costa) Using High-Performance Liquid Chromatography and Tandem Mass Spectrometry," *Anal Bioanal Chem* 407 (2015): 855–67; Elena Phipps, "Textile Colors and Colorants in the Andes," in *Colors Between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún* (Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut : Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies; Harvard University Press); Gabriela Siracusano, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2011); Ibid, *El poder de los colores: de lo material a lo simbolico en las practicas culturales andinas: Siglos XVI-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 2008); Alicia M Seldes et al., "Green, Yellow, and Red Pigments in South American Painting, 1610 1780," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 41, no. 3 (2002): 225–42; Ibid, "Blue

As such, an interdisciplinary investigation requires an interdisciplinary approach. I purposely draw on sources from multiple disciplines to aid in my own research, as art historical, historical, and anthropological, and gender studies have all provided valuable contributions and perspectives without which my inquiries could not begin to be interrogated and answered. Integral to my own study were questions surrounding women in the Inca empire, and their status and lifestyle, and in order to analyze women in the proper context it was necessary to incorporate recent studies of gender, both in the Inca empire and more general studies about women's agency, space, performance of dress and gender identity, and studies which complicate perceptions of the "public and private" spheres as well as the Inca "gender worlds." These findings are well within but also reach beyond the realm of Andean studies.

Due to the nature of my specific research questions, it was necessary to look at several modes of scholarship in order to connect different issues and to create a dialogue between them. The crux of my investigation, resting on women's clothing continuities that bridge the pre-Columbian and colonial periods, has been analyzed primarily by women working in Andean studies.[22] However insightful these studies are in describing the nuances, transformations, and innovations in women's clothing styles during the pre-Columbian and colonial periods and the

Pigments in South American Painting (1610-1780)," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 38, no. 2 (1999): 100–123.

[22] See Christine Beaule, "Andean Clothing, Gender and Indigeneity in Colonial Period Latin America," *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 2015): 55–73; Ibid, "Indigenous Clothing Changes in the Andean Highlands Under Spanish Colonialism," *Estudios Atacameños,* No. 59 (2018), 7-26; Blenda Femenías, "Structure, Design, and Gender in Inka Textiles," *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII/Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII* 17 (2017): 341–48; Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 16–39; Ibid, "Textiles as Cultural Memory," 144–56; Lee Anne Wilson, "Survival, Resistance, and Acculturation: Guaman Poma's Use of Costume and Textile Imagery," *Studies in Iconography / Western Michigan University.*, 1998, 177–210; Ana María Presta, "Undressing the Coya and Dressing the Indian Woman: Market Economy, Clothing, and Identities in the Colonial Andes, La Plata (Charcas), Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries." *Hispanic American Historical Reveiw* 90, no. 1 (2010): 41–74; Ann Rowe and Lynn A. Meisch, *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador* (University of Texas Press, 2011), 309; Isabel Iriarte, "Las túnicas en la pintura colonial." In *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes: la figura y la palabra* (Cusco, Perú: Centro de estudios regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993), 53–86; Gridley McKim-Smith, "Dressing Colonial, Dressing Diaspora," in *The Arts in Latin America: 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 155–63.

significance of this longevity, I nonetheless find that they provide inadequate conclusions explaining the endurance of women's garment styles. For example, one study by Rowe suggests that women's clothing remained the same because of modesty; whereas Inca-style men's garments were very revealing (consisting of only the knee-length *uncu*), women's clothing was much more conservative.[23] Men's traditional clothing did little to cover the arms or legs, and was therefore more exposing than the traditional dress and shawl worn by women. The Spanish, Rowe states, urged men to adopt more European styles of clothing which covered arms and legs, while women kept their same garments.[24] It has been suggested in this same study that women, confined to the home, were simply not exposed to the same sartorial scrutiny that their male counterparts were; therefore, they did not need to adapt their clothing.[25] Beaule suggests that the Spanish were less troubled by and concerned with native women's clothing than they were by men's, stating that women's clothing was "of little concern" to Spanish officials.[26]

That women were "confined to their homes and local communities"[27] is somewhat true. Yet there is also evidence that women found political and social mobility during this time period; though these instances are rare, they suggest that women could manipulate the colonial system and maintain agency. Many colonial women are notable in their material possessions, amassing enough wealth to own multiple houses, cattle, mines, and art collections.[28] Further, the home as a purely "private" space can be complicated. The colonial home has developed into a "semi-public" realm, with studies surrounding access analysis, and where women entertained guests

[23] Rowe and Meisch, *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, 109.
[24] Idem.
[25] Idem.
[26] Christine Beaule, "Andean Clothing, Gender and Indigeneity in Colonial Period Latin America," *Critical Studies in Men's Fashion* 2, no. 1 (March 1, 2015), 64; Ibid, "Indigenous Clothing Changes," 15.
[27] Beaule, "Andean Clothing, Gender and Indigeneity," 64.
[28] Silverblatt, "The Political Culture of Andean Elites," 180; Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency," 339-342, 352.

and displayed works of art.[29] Although not a completely "public" space, parts of the home existed for display and were not entirely private.

Further, women's clothing was not less "offensive" to Spanish officials. As early as the 1570s, the *anacu,* was deemed inappropriate and too revealing as it exposed women's legs while they walked.[30] Several sumptuary laws enacted later in the colonial period reveal that in fact, how women dressed and comported themselves in public was of great importance to Viceregal officials. Silk worn by women was altogether banned in one 1571 law, as it specified the use of the material in mantles (*llicllas*).[31] Chinese silk was also banned at least four times.[32] These laws are tangible proof that both women's and men's clothing styles were heavily regulated. Their transience suggests these laws changed with the times, like fashion itself.

In this study I hope to offer an alternative way in which to view colonial portraits of women.[33] My aim is to illustrate that the clothing continuities observed in these paintings are not

[29] Access analysis in this case refers how people move through space, and what architecture reveals about the restriction or encouragement of movement through it. See Judith Squires, "Public and Private," in *Political Concepts* (Manchester University Press, 2003), 131–44; Stanfield-Mazzi, "Possessor's Agency," 342; Jorge F. Rivas Pérez, "Domestic Display in the Spanish Overseas Territories." In *Behind Closed Doors: Art in the Spanish American Home, 1492 – 1898* (Brooklyn, NY: 2013) 66-67. The homes of the wealthy elite included public rooms for entertaining which gradually gave way to semi-public and then completely private spaces for the family such as the *estrado* and bedrooms, as well as salons where portraits were displayed known as the *salón de dorsel.*

[30] Phipps. "Iberian Globe," 43.

[31] Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory," 152. Phipps notes that at the time of the conquest (1532), the production of textiles in Spain was regulated by the *Cortes* of Toledo, Madrid, Burgos, and Valladolid. This included regulations on guilds, restrictions on types of cloth produced, who could use and wear certain fabrics, the cost, and the technique, such as the tools, yarns, and dyes, used. These regulations were then applied to colonial Peru. See idem, 145. Mexican silk was banned as an import to Peru in 1634. See Phipps, "The Iberian Globe," 41.

[32] Ibid, 315.

[33] Studies that use and discuss these portraits in various ways include: Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru.* (Duke University Press Books, 2012); Ibid, Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraits and Paradox in Colonial Peru," in *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium* Denver, CO: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2005), 80–103; Ibid, "The After-Life of Inka Rulers: Death Before and After Spanish Colonization," *Hispanic Issues Series* 07 (2010): 27–54; John Howland Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," in *Selected Papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists* (New York: Krauss Reprint, 1976), 258–68; Carol Damian, "Inka Noble Portraits: The Art of Renewal," *SECOLAS ANNALS* 29 (1998): 13–20; Nenita Ponce de León Elphick, "Memory, Presence, and Power: The Social Life of Peruvian Portraits" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2007); Diana Fane, "Portraits of the Inca: Notes on an Influential European Engraving," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 29, no. 3 (2010): 31–39; Thomas Cummins, "We Are the Other:

coincidental, and are not necessarily tied to issues of modesty, regulation by law, or what is traditionally seen as a woman's "space." Instead, women's textile continuities can be traced back to the primordial beginnings of Inca time, as well as glimpsed in the primary role women possessed throughout the textile production process in the Inca empire, and because of these connections, the display of women's garments was multifaceted. Guaman Poma noted the significance of women's garments when he translated a Quechua festival song:

> Chay *llikllay*kita rikuuykuspa,/Chay aqsuykuta qawaykuspa. Manañam pachapas chisiyanchu,/Tuta rikchariptiypas,/Manañataqmi pacha paqarinchu/Qama quay qampasra.[34]
>
> Looking at that shawl of yours,/Gazing at that dress of yours/Though the world no longer enters evening,…/ The world even no longer dawns,/You, you are still *coya*.[35]

Though specifically referencing a queen (*coya*), this song nonetheless reveals the dynamic nature of women's garments, and is testament to the longevity of the themselves; they possess a power which transcends time.

Peruvian Portraits of Colonial Kurakakuna," in *Transatlantic Encounters: European and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 203–31.

[34] Translation in Bruce Mannheim, "What Kind of Text is Guaman Poma's Warikza Arawi?," in *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guaman Poma and His Nueva Corónica* (2015), 222.
[35] Translation as it appears in Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 17.

Chapter One

Gender Divisions in Inca Origin Myths: The First *Coya* as "Mistress of the Women"[36]

The Incas had no known system of writing. So how did recollections of Inca history survive? The Spanish conquered the Inca empire in 1532, and were faced with a vast, multi-ethnic territory stretching from modern-day Ecuador into Chile. The subsequent political and cultural upheaval that occurred in transforming the Inca empire into the Viceroyalty of Peru led missionaries, priests, and colonial government authorities alike to record in writing their impressions of pre-Columbian and colonial society. These chronicles remain some of the most important sources that historians currently use to examine Inca customs, history, politics, religion, and society.

The Incas had their own complex system of expressing and recording information that still remain opaque to scholars today. *Qhipu*, knotted cords that were used for record keeping, served as one mnemonic device for recording memory and history.[37] It has been proposed in

[36] "In short, there was nothing relating to human life that our princes failed to teach their first vassals, the Inca king acting as master for the men and the Coya queen, mistress of the women." See Garcilaso de la Vega and Harold Livermore, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2006), 6.

[37] Susan Niles, "Genre and Context in Historical Narratives." In *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (University of Iowa Press, 1999), 4-6; Catherine Julien, "Introduction." In *Reading Inca History* (University of Iowa Press, 2002), 11-12. For more on *khipu* (also spelled *qhipu*) see Gary Urton's "Khipu Database Project" sponsored through Harvard University: https://khipukamayuq.fas.harvard.edu. For titles, see: Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records* (University of Texas Press, 2009); Ibid, *Inka History in Knots: Reading Khipus as Primary Sources* (University of

addition to the *qhipu* that the Incas also recorded certain dynastic information visually in the form of the now lost "paños," although no evidence of a dedicated sect of painters in Inca society exists.[38] The Incas did, however, have specially trained men who could recall the past through oral epics and poems, known as *amautas* and *harauicus*.[39] What was previously oral knowledge primarily recalled by memory and mnemonic media therefore became transformed into written. histories.[40]

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how Mama Huaco, the first mythical *coya*, or queen, is fundamental understanding Inca conceptions of gender and gender worlds through her personification of the Inca feminine domain in origin myths recorded by chroniclers. Inhabiting the role of weaver and spinner, she is an exemplar of feminine skill.[41] At the same time, however, Mama Huaco's character is not static, and her role in these stories is multifaceted as she is depicted straddling the Inca gender binary of male/female.[42] Primarily drawing on the writings of two chroniclers, Garcilaso de la Vega, who wrote his *Royal Commentaries* in 1609, and Father Bernabé Cobo, who wrote *History of the Inca Empire* in 1653, I position her as an emblem of Inca feminine identity due to her status as a mediator of knowledge surrounding

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Texas Press, 2017); Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu* (University of Texas Press, 2010).

[38] Julien, *The Shape of Inca History,* 8, 11 and ibid, "History and Art in Translation: The Paños and Other Objects Collected by Francisco de Toledo." *Colonial Latin American Review* 8, no. 1 (June 1, 1999): 61–89. I discuss this discrepancy in my undergraduate thesis, "The Unofficial Iconographies of Mama Huaco: Portraits of the First Inca Coya in Viceregal Peru" (Brown University, 2018), 4-6.

[39] Mentioned specifically by Niles, *The Shape of Inca History,* 7-8 citing Garcilaso de la Vega.

[40] See Introduction.

[41] Irene Silverblatt, "Andean Women in the Inca Empire," *Feminist Studies* 4, no. 3 (1978): 37–61; Ibid, "Gender Parallelism in the Imperial Order," in *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), 40–66; Cathy Lynne Costin, "Gender and Textile Production in Prehistory." In *A Companion to Gender Prehistory* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 180–202; Ibid, "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 123–41; Ibid, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy in Late Prehispanic Peru." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14 (1993): 3–28; Ibid, "Cloth Production and Gender Relations in the Inka Empire." In *Research Frontiers in Anthropology* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1995), 55–80.

[42] For example, I point to the chroniclers Sarmiento de Gamboa, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Pedro Cieza de León, Martín de Murúa, and Juan de Betanzos.

textiles and textile production. I emphasize how Mama Huaco is depicted by chroniclers as the "mistress of the women," who, through her person, becomes an emblem or symbolic representation of Inca ideals about femininity. As such, marked gender divisions are visible through these origin myths as the differing expectations for men and women in the Inca are revealed.

Who were the first Incas, and what do chroniclers write about them? In the chronicles. I have examined, all authors recall the emergence of eight siblings from a cave called Pacariqtambo (also spelled Pacarictambo or Pacari Tanbo). These siblings then went on to populate the Inca empire, traveling from their origin point towards the Cuzco valley. Perhaps the most widely circulated account describes four men and four women, brothers and sisters, emerging from this cave. Two of the siblings, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco (also known as Ocllo), were the first king and queen of the empire, and are subsequently considered the progenitors of the empire as a whole. Juan de Betanzos described how:

> …the earth opened up a cave…[at a place] which today they call Pacarictambo, which means house of origin. The opening of this cave would allow a man to crawl in or out. After this cave opened up, four men came out with their wives.[43]

After a journey which included many apparitions and adventures, they eventually claimed Cuzco as the place they would begin to populate their empire due to the fact that a golden staff sank into the ground, signifying the fertility of the valley.[44]

The origin myths of the Ayar siblings do not simply explain how the Incas came to be; they also provide the foundations for the ideological divisions of gender that Inca men and

[43] Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas* (University of Texas Press, 2010), 13.
[44] For a comprehensive overview of this origin story involving the cave emergence and the journey to Cuzco, see Gary Urton, *The History of a Myth.* Chroniclers that write about this myth include: Bernabé Cobo, Cristóbal de Molina, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Juan de Betanzos.

women were expected follow within their own highly stratified society.[45] Symbolizing the two "gender-specific worlds"[46] of the traditional male/female binary are the progenitors of the empire: Manco Capac and Mama Huaco. The origin myths included in chronicles function to solidify the seemingly innate nature of this gender separation by reinforcing, strengthening, and further segregating Inca men and women from each other. That is, the stories that portray Manco Capac and Mama Huaco as separate, but complementary, forces at the beginnings of Inca time explain the inherent essence of these gendered worlds while simultaneously providing the evidence which buttresses them. Mama Huaco and Manco Capac become inseparable from these allocated tasks and their gendered connotations.[47]

The Andean world itself was divided along a strict gender binary of "male/female."[48] While men traditionally[49] held positions of political power and were tasked with agricultural and

[45] Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton University Press, 2002 [1987]). Silverblatt writes: "[The] structure of social relations that shaped the lives of Andean peoples divided the experienced universe into two interdependent, sexually linked spheres. Andean peoples, whether of the Inca nobility or of the vanquished peasantry, perceived their social world as divided along gender lines. This perception made sense of Andean patterns of inheritance, and was confirmed in the social relations embodying obligations, claims, and coercion which marked out rights to the critical resources of the imperial Andes. Andean men and women experienced their lives in gender-specific worlds, yet these worlds were also interdependent" (7-8). For more on what Silverblatt terms "gender parallelism" and its many manifestations in the Inca empire, see Idem, "Gender Parallelism in the Imperial Order," in *Moon, Sun, and Witches,* 40–66 and Carolyn Dean, "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men." In *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996* (Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 143-182.

[46] Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 7-8; Ibid, "Andean Women in the Inca Empire," 36-38; Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor," 537–61; Costin, "Gender and Status in Inca Textile and Ceramic Craft Production," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* (2018: University of Oxford Press, 2018), 283–302.

[47] Brian S. Bauer, "Legitimization of the State in Inca Myth and Ritual." *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2 (1996): 327–37. Bauer explains that "…within the general confines of state ideologies, rituals and myths are used to support the ruling elites' privileged positions, and through them the powers of the state become inextricably mixed with the maintenance of the social order." Ibid, 334. Myth can then function to perpetuate ideologies that reinforce a social hierarchy, including gender hierarchies.

[48] Irene Silverblatt, "Gender Parallelism in the Imperial Order," 40; Carolyn Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 143–82. It is only recently that this notion has been complicated and concepts such as the "third gender" and a focus on androgyny has emerged. See Michael J. Horswell, "Transculturing Tropes of Sexuality, *Tinkuy*, and Third Gender in the Andes." In *Decolonizing the Sodomite: Queer Tropes of Sexuality in Colonial Andean Culture* (University of Texas Press, 2005).

[49] I posit that "traditionally" these standards were true in Inca society, however, it does not mean that these "gender worlds" were always strict, as they were often complicated. For more on this see Chapter 2.

other pursuits such as terracing, plowing and irrigating fields, and going to war, women brewed *chicha* (ceremonial corn alcohol), wove textiles, spun cloth, and reared children.[50] In addition to these gendered activities, two pillars of Inca society—complementarity and hierarchy—embodied this distinction as well: *yanantin* or *qhariwarmi*, meaning "man-woman" in Quechua.[51] Inca religious cults similarly reinforced these principles: *inti,* the sun god, was male whereas the moon goddess female; men and women, respectively, were ritually "responsible" for these cults.[52] Men and women were viewed, therefore, as two necessary parts of a larger whole; they were interdependent in many ways, and their contributions to society required both cooperation and collaboration.[53]

The sister and wife (and sometimes mother) of the first king, Manco Capac, Mama Huaco is primarily recognized as the first queen and as one half of the first dynastic pairing in a succession of twelve Inca rulers. She is associated with several hallmarks of Inca society: agriculture, cloth, the worship of the moon,[54] and, somewhat surprisingly, violence. Though she is credited with teaching women to weave and spin cloth, these are not her only achievements. Cristóbal de Molina wrote that Mama Huaco, "the sister of Manco Capac…planted the first

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[50] Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 14.

[51] Quechua was the language of the Incas. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches,* xxviii; Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Possessor's Agency," 454-455. Michael Horswell has also discussed this term, stating that *yanantin* is the "expression of dualistic symmetry of inclusion." He also describes *quariwarmi* as "[men-women] shamans" who "mediated between the symmetrically dualistic spheres of Andean cosmology and daily life by performing rituals that at times required same-sex erotic practices." See Horswell, "Transculturing Tropes of Sexuality, *Tinkuy*, and Third Gender in the Andes." In *Decolonizing the Sodomite*, 2, 17.

[52] Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches,* 40, where she quotes Hernández Príncipe, a chronicler writing in 1621: "…women were in charge of the cult to her [the Moon], as was the case regarding [the cult to] Mama Huaco, the sister of Manco Capac, [which was established] because she sowed the first corn there was." Idem, 40.

[53] Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 8, 44.

[54] Bauer, "Legitimization of the State," 327-330; Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 47-51. Garcilaso de la Vega describes Mama Huaco as being a part of the temple of the moon: "One of these halls was dedicated to the Moon, the wife of the Sun, and was the one nearest the principal chapel of the temple. All of it and its doors were lined with silver, which by their white color showed it to be the hall of the Moon. Her image and portrait was placed like that of the Sun and consisted of a woman's face drawn on a silver plate…on the other side of the figure of the moon were the bodies of the dead queens, arranged in order of antiquity. Mama Ocllo, mother of Huaina Capac, was placed in front of the Moon and face to face with her, being thus distinguished from the rest as the mother of such a son." De la Vega and Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 181-182.

maize,"[55] while Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala stated that she was the first woman to worship *huacas,* teaching this practice to others; this lead Guaman Poma to denounce her as a demonic "sorceress."[56] Curiously, Mama Huaco is sometimes depicted as a chameleon character, simultaneously cast as the domestic "mistress of the women"[57] but also as a "fierce and cruel"[58] warrior queen.

Sarmiento de Gamboa noted that Mama Huaco was the sibling who discovered the fertility of the Cuzco valley, a key event in the origin myths. He specifically describes how:

> Mama Huaco, who was very strong and skilled, took two golden staffs and threw them toward the north. One…did not sink in well because the earth was loose…the other one…sank well…and so they knew the land was fertile.[59]

Through this particular event, she becomes a key protagonist and an amalgamation of Inca feminine and masculine characteristics. She is described here as "very strong and skilled," throwing the golden staffs that would reveal the siblings' destiny. The staffs penetrating the

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[55] Cristóbal de Molina et al., *Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 72. See also Richard Steele and Catherine J. Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology* (ABC-CLIO, 2004), 203-206.

[56] *Huacas* refer to any sacred object, believed to have powers and divine potential. These objects can be material, natural, or supernatural and are often associated with ritual and veneration at the site of the *huaca* or shrine. One of the Ayar brothers was said to have been turned into a stone pillar, which then became a *huaca* that was worshipped by the other siblings. See Gary Urton, *Inca Myths* (University of Texas Press, 1999), 51; Frye and Guaman Poma de Ayala, *First New Chronicle and Good Government,* 47: "Here begins the story of the queens (*Coyas*), the wives of the Inca kings, the first of whom was named Mama Waco. 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… this lady left the demon's law well-established for all her sons and grandsons and descendants…It was from this lady that the first Inca kings descended. 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 moon."

[57] Garcilaso de la Vega and Harold V. Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 6.

[58] Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa et. al, *The History of the Incas* (University of Texas Press, 2007), 61.

[59] Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas,* 68. Similarly Bauer also postulates that the place where the Huallas battle took place and where Mama Huaco inflated lungs and killed pregnant women is the same location as the field where the Incas sowed the first corn. See Bauer, "Legitimization of the State," 333. Further, her association with corn is not limited to her life deeds; she was worshipped as a mummy during rituals twice a year at harvest times. Ibid, 332-333 and Steele and Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology,* 204-205.

ground similarly link her with distinctly male attributes, but this is not the only case in which she seems to embody less "feminine" attributes.[60]

Mama Huaco is depicted by certain chroniclers as a war-like and ferocious woman. Several chroniclers describe how in a territorial war against native peoples from Huallas, she murdered a man. She aimed her "ayllos [sling] at an Indian of this coca town," killing him.[61] Similarly, she was believed to have put his "heart and lungs into her mouth."[62] This anecdote is further echoed in another account:

> Quickly…opened him up and took out his lungs and heart. In full view of everyone else in the town, she blew into the lungs, making them swell up. Seeing that incident, the Indians became very frightened.[63]

Aside from inflating the lungs and hearts of her enemies, she has also been occasionally tied to decapitation and infanticide, and the use of ceremonial knives to carry out these acts of aggression.[64] She is constructed through these episodes as a brutal warrior, almost monstrous, as

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[60] Rostworowski states that this particular instance reveals an interesting binary, where Mama Huaco is the bearer of the divine mandate that sinks into the earth, and subsequently, depicts her as a woman with sexualized male attributes. See Laura Gómez and Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "La mujer en la época Prehispánica." https://www.academia.edu/11977038/Maria_rostworowski._La_mujer_en_la_%C3%A9poca_prehisp%C3%A1nica.

[61] Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 16. It is important to note that some authors like Sarmiento describe this campaign against the Huallas as a campaign of terror, because the Incas, in his view, had a history of violence. In Sarmiento's case, this explanation was used to legitimize Spanish rule in the empire, as the Incas were viewed as having a violent past utilizing campaigns of terror; Sarmiento wrote his history under the orders of Francisco de Toledo, the Viceroy of Peru from the years 1569-1581. Interestingly, the Incas did carry out massive campaigns of expansion and war, resulting in the incorporation of different ethnic polities into their own empire for political and economic purposes. For more on the history of Inca expansion and polity incorporation, see Maria Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 3–21 (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Friedrich Katz, "The Inca," 263–309.

[62] de Gamboa et al, *The History of the Incas*, 71. Murúa also wrote that she killed a man, "…taking out the lungs, and, having blown into them…causing horror and fright among the dwellers." See Murúa and Ballesteros, *Historia general del Perú,* 57-58.

[63] Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas* 16. This same incident is mentioned in other recollections of Mama Huaco. See Burr Cartwright Brundage, *Empire of the Inca* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 11; Paul Richard Steele and Catherine Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology* (ABC-CLIO, 2004), 60; Isabel Yaya, *The Two Faces of Inca History: Dualism in the Narratives and Cosmology of Ancient Cuzco* (BRILL, 2012), 171-172; Peter O. Koch, *The Spanish Conquest of the Inca Empire* (McFarland & Company, 2008), 61.

[64] The ceremonial knife is also likened to a *tupu* pin. This is most commonly associated with the fictional figure of the ñusta Chanan Cori Coca, who Carol Damian describes as a descendant of the "'viscious' Mama Huaco" in "The Virgin of the Andes: Inka Queen and Christian Goddess," In Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin America (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 84. Similarly, Vetter and Parodi in their "Introduction," In *El tupo: simbolo ancestral de identidad femenina* (Lima, 2009), 18, describe the *tupu* as a weapon, further citing a colloquial saying: "When

"horrid and inhuman,"[65] suggesting that these actions were not considered standard for Inca women, or for queens. She is depicted through these violence episodes as a warrior woman; however, she is not praised for it. In this way she actively defies placement inside the Inca feminine domain.

This violent characterization of Mama Huaco is significant. Yet she is predominantly viewed as the archetypal Inca female. Chroniclers portray her as the epitome of the female domain and the quintessential Inca woman. These descriptions tend to concern her appearance and proficiency in particular tasks that are seen as distinctly "feminine," such as weaving and spinning.[66] Guaman Poma described her as "very beautiful,"[67] while Murúa noted that she wore a dress made from precious metals and changed clothing three times a day.[68] It is Garcilaso de la Vega, however, who solidifies Mama Huaco's place in the female gender world by describing her as the "mistress of the women."[69]

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women get out their tupos, men make themselves scarce." More on how these two female figures established or encouraged a reputation for, and are often associated with, violence, specifically decapitation, see Luis Ramos Gómez, "Mama Guaco y Chañan Cori Coca: Un arquetipo de dos mujeres de la historia Inca. (Reflexiones sobre la icoconografía de un cuadro del museo de la Universidad de San Antonio de Abad Del Cuzco)," Revista Española de Antropología Americana 31 (2001): 165–87. See also: Paul Richard Steele and Catherine J. Allen, *Handbook of Inca Mythology* (ABC-CLIO, 2004), 203-204; Bauer, "Legitimization of the State," 332-333.

[65] Which he describes happening thus: "They say that Mama Huaco was so fierce that in killing a Huaylas Indian, she cut him into pieces, tore out his entrails, and put the heart and lungs into her mouth. And with a *haybinto* (which is a stone tied on a rope, with which she fought) in her hands, she fought against the Huaylas with diabolical determination. When the Huaylas saw this inhuman spectacle, they feared that she would do the same to them, and being simple and timid, they fled. Thus they abandoned their native land." Sarmiento and Bauer, 71.

[66] These tasks, as I will discuss below, have to do with weaving and spinning, considered primarily a female activity. Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 134.

[67] Guaman Poma, 47.

[68] "El vestido que usaban eran de oro y plata y el tipqui, que también al presente se usa con sus cascabeles, que era el que con que prendían y enlazaban la liclla ante el pecho. Mudaba cada día tres vestidos por grandeza y ostentación sin ponerse segunda vez ropa ya puesta" (The dress that she wore was of gold and silver and the tipqui, which is also used with [her] bells, was the same one with which they fastened and tied together the liclla across the chest. She changed clothing three times a day [due to] greatness and ostentation without putting on clothing she had already worn"). My own translation. See Murúa and Ballesteros, *Historia general del Perú*, 57-58. However, as Surette notes, Inca kings were also described as changing multiple times a day (she notes up to four), never wearing clothes they had already worn. These clothes were kept and preserved, to be buried with him upon death and mummification. See Flannery Katherine Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women in History and Archaeology." (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2008), 8; John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inca State*. PhD Dissertation (University of Chicago: Chicago), 122.

[69] See Page 1 of this chapter.

In his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* (1609), Garcilaso re-constructs the origin story of the Incas as told to him by members of his mother's family, who claimed descendancy from the Incas.[70] He sets a nostalgic family scene for the reader, describing the visits throughout his childhood to his family, where he remembers the same topic of conversation being "always the origin of the Inca kings, their greatness, the grandeur of their empire."[71]

According to Garcilaso, Mama Huaco instructed women:

> …in all the feminine occupations: spinning and weaving cotton and wool, and making clothes for themselves and their husbands and children. She told them how to do these and other duties of domestic service.[72]

This passage from Garcilaso's story is significant in determining those activities or tasks that the Inca considered "proper" to assign to women: making clothing, but also preparing the material for the creation of garments, the "spinning and weaving" of both cotton and wool. Garcilaso states that she also performed other "duties of domestic service," perhaps meaning cooking, and rearing children. She is posited here as the mediator and teacher of this particular knowledge to other women.

The king, Manco Capac, on the other hand, is described as "show[ing] the male Indians which tasks were proper to men."[73] This included:

> …breaking and tilling the land, sowing crops, seeds, and vegetables which he showed to be good to eat and fruitful, and for which purpose he taught them how to make ploughs and other necessary instruments…and showed them how to draw irrigation channels from the streams that run through the valley of Cuzco, and even showed them how to make the footwear we use.[74]

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[70] de la Vega and Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 2-4.
[71] Ibid, 2.
[72] Ibid, 6.
[73] Ibid, 6.
[74] Ibid, 6.

Manco Capac is depicted as introducing agricultural innovations teaching men in particular how to grow crops, plough and irrigate land, and to discern which foods were "good to eat and fruitful." The additional mention of the "footwear we use" suggests that, though women clearly held the responsibility of producing textiles for both men and women, the making of shoes was restricted by gender as well. These activities are described as being taught only to "the male Indians" by Manco Capac, corroborating the separation and widening the gap between the gender worlds. The phrase "proper to men" indicates that the Inca clearly conceived of these activities through the lens of gender, and that women possessed their own distinct "proper" tasks, as exhibited my Mama Huaco.

Almost all of what Manco Capac taught men surrounds manual and physical labor which takes place out of doors, while Mama Huaco's contributions are strictly confined to activities that were most likely not done in public. Cobo echoes similar sentiments when he wrote that Mama Huaco:

> …took care to teach the women to spin and weave wool and cotton, as well as other tasks and occupations of their profession.[75]

Mama Huaco is again depicted as being involved in spinning and weaving both wool and cotton, and also as "teaching," and passing on her knowledge to other women. Cobo's allusion to "other tasks and occupations of their profession," most likely refers to what Garcilaso described as being the "duties of domestic service," such as raising children. That these activities were considered the "occupations of their profession" echoes Garcilaso's phrase of particular tasks being "proper to men." That this was women's "profession," indicates a strict separation but also suggests that this was implied as being a woman's inescapable vocation.

Cobo goes on to describe Manco Capac passing on his own knowledge to men:

[75] Cobo and Hamilton, *Inca Empire*, 108.

> The king set himself to teach the men all of the tasks that are theirs, such as the work in the fields, how to make ditches from the rivers in order to irrigate, and the proper times for sowing and harvesting their crops. He instructed them in the use of clothes and footwear of the type they used thereafter and the majority still use today.[76]

Like Garcilaso, Cobo depicts Manco Capac as the "teacher" of men, communicating how to work outdoors, and to plant, irrigate, and harvest crops—skills necessary for survival. These are similarly described in Garcilaso's chronicle. Cobo emphasizes that these teachings were "the tasks that are theirs," implying that only men knew how to do these tasks and further, that there was a particular gendered ownership over these activities. One curious detail Cobo includes is the fact that Manco Capac "instructed [men] in the use of clothes." As Mama Huaco is described imparting knowledge about the making of clothing, Manco Capac is depicted as showing men in this instance how to wear garments. The king and queen, therefore, were further distinguished by enlightening people "in the use of clothes" and, on the other hand, teaching people how "to spin and weave," two fundamental but different aspects surrounding cloth production and textiles.

Notably, in both of these chroniclers' recollections of the Inca origins, Mama Huaco plays a central role by training women in in domestic duties, specifically in how to weave and spin cloth. Though each author alludes to "other tasks and occupations" performed by women, each time it is Mama Huaco's proficiency in and knowledge of weaving and spinning, and producing cloth, that is explicitly mentioned as being her primary responsibility. The queen is similarly referred to in each chronicle as the first woman to communicate these practices to other women, the "teacher" of this practice, and subsequently the first woman to have knowledge of these skills. Perhaps underscoring her contributions, Garcilaso wrote that Manco Capac dressed people only "through the industry and skill that the queen Mama Ocllo Huaco had given to the

[76] Idem.

Indian women in spinning and weaving."[77] Mama Huaco is therefore the originator of this particular knowledge that was so integral to Inca society.

Manco Capac and Mama Huaco had distinctly separate, but complementary, roles in Inca origin myths. The activities associated with each ruler are clearly gendered according to Inca conceptions of male/female realms of work, contribution, and influence.[78] Manco Capac, the model of Inca men in the myths, is mainly focused on agricultural pursuits, while Mama Huaco is portrayed as domestic, although clearly her character was more complex in some recollections. Both king and queen function as complementary figures, communicating basic skills that were viewed as harmonizing, not opposing, forces in structuring Inca society. Both of their roles in Garcilaso's and Cobo's myths have well-defined and unyielding boundaries that are constructed within these origins; "feminine occupations," fail to overlap with the "tasks that are proper to men," further widening the gap between what was seen as men's work and women's work.

Is Mama Hauco associated with weaving and spinning because she was a woman? Or do these origin stories in turn define Inca feminine identity because of the fact that Mama Huaco imparts these particular skills to other women? These questions are complex, but are important to consider when examining these chronicler's descriptions of the Inca women's "gender world." It is also difficult to quantify the influence that these origin myths had on the Inca reality. How did men and women in the Inca empire conceive of themselves? Were these origin myths a large part of people's lives, or simply considered to be "fairy tales?" Through these myths, Mama Huaco possesses a specific feminine ownership over the knowledge of spinning and weaving, as cloth

[77] Ibid, 7-8.
[78] "Housewives, Chosen Women," 123–41; Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 16–39; Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor," 537–61.

production becomes her longtime legacy. She illustrates the idealized juxtaposition between the Inca gender binary that was promoted and buttressed by these myths, as she performed tasks suitable to her specific “gender world.”

Chapter Two

Beyond the Myth: Inca Women, Inca Men, and Textile Production

Guaman Poma wrote that women and girls were taught how to weave and spin from a very young age; in fact, they were introduced to these activities as children.[79] Women in the Inca empire produced the most cloth, whether to meet tribute obligations,[80] for their own households, or for the Inca elite. Therefore, all women could be considered weaving specialists.[81] Inca women are described repeatedly as "never idle…spinning endlessly as [they] stood, sat or even walked,"[82] suggesting a permanent attachment to textile production. Dean proposes that to understand the definition or the "making" of Inca men, it is necessary to problematize how the Inca manifested differences between genders.[83] I propose that the same strategy can be used in turn to begin to define what "made" an Inca woman. Besides differences in customs of dress, Inca women can be, in part, defined by their gender-specific links to textile production (and further, to the mythical queen Mama Huaco).

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[79] "…Sepan desde chica hilar." The Guaman Poma Website, 232. http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/titlepage/en/text/?open=idm46287306382352. See also Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Roland Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).

[80] The Inca demanded tribute in the form of goods and also labor through the *mita* system, requiring all members of society to participate in work for the state.

[81] Cathy Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 129.

[82] John Murra, "Cloth and its Functions in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962): 711. He cites Martín Murúa, [1590], book. 3, chapter 29 (1946, 233).

[83] Carolyn Dean, "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, ed. Cecelia F. Klein and Jeffrey Quilter (Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 151.

In this chapter I will examine Guaman Poma's "age groups," "age divisions," or "paths" that he includes his *Nueva corónica*, juxtaposing groups of Inca men with the groups of Inca women (Figures 6-18).[84] Both Guaman Poma's textual description and visual images are integral to my analysis, as they reveal different, and sometimes contradictory, notions about women's affinity with textile production. Both image and text indicate that women's roles in textile production were much more prevalent than the roles of their male counterparts in the same process. Also integral to this chapter are the *acllacona*, or cloistered women, who also contribute to women's involvement in the weaving process.[85] I note that although there were male specialist weavers, the *aclla* in particular possessed certain characteristics that were integral to their contributions to cloth production and that appear to be gender-specific. I hope to show that women's involvement in textile production extended beyond the myths written about Inca origins that introduced textile production as strictly "women's work," and was, in some ways, a significant part of the Inca female reality; however, the textile production process was also complex and not always divided along a strict gender binary.

Textile production was not exclusively a "female task" as the origin myths imply; men participated as well. One of Guaman Poma's early images in his *Nueva corónica* depicts an Inca man and woman standing in front of a house, spinning thread (Figure 5), albeit with different tools. Similar images can be found in another colonial manuscript, detailing the involvement of

[84] In the online Guaman Poma chronicle produced by the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliotek), also known as the "Guaman Poma Website," these age divisions appear in Chapter 10. In the version of Guaman Poma's chronicle translated and edited by Hamilton, the groups begin on page 148. See Guaman Poma de Ayala and Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government,* 148. Carolyn Dean also analyzes some of these images in "Andean Androgyny," 151-159, where she teases out differences suggested between each gender/sex.

[85] For more on the *aclla,* their lifestyle, and role in Inca society and ideology, see Richard Guzmán, "The Acllawasi And its Interrelated Functions under the Inka Empire," (University of California, Riverside, 2017), 1-13; Katherine Surrette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women in History and Archaeology." (Thesis, Trent University, 2008); Bethany Turner sand Barbara R. Hewitt, "The Acllacona and Mitmacona: Diet, Ethnicity, and Status." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas*s (Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-21.

both men and women in various aspects of textile production, including collecting cotton and dyeing indigo.[86] Men's participation in the Inca empire is necessary to understand the totality of society's involvement in textile production; further, men's involvement complicates the conceptions of the "gender worlds"[87] and reveals the variations in expectations for different members of Inca society. Yet women's specific affinity with the production process is a large part of how a definition of an Inca woman can begin to be constructed. The ties to textile production that women possessed can be glimpsed most clearly in the descriptions and images of Inca women (and men) provided by Guaman Poma in his *Nueva corónica.*

Cloth was not just a part of Inca female life, but of everyone's life. It had a certain multiplicity: it was the main signifier of wealth and prestige, and, as noted by Stone-Miller, had a particular "primacy" in the Inca empire.[88] Different people produced different kinds of cloth; the production process itself was also highly specialized and stratified.[89] Standard cloth, known as *ahuasca*, was produced by most households, while *cumbi,* cloth of a fine material, was woven only by specialists and worn by elites. According to Cobo, there were five different kinds of cloth: "abasca…coarse and ordinary; another, called cumbi, was fine and valuable; the third was made with colored feathers…the fourth was like cloth of silver and gold…and the fifth was a very thick and coarse cloth."[90] In addition, textile production involved much more than the physical act of weaving. Herding camelids and other animals, harvesting cotton, collecting

[86] Known as the Codex Trujillo by the Bishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, this manuscript dates from 1782-1785 and documents life in his diocese in colonial Peru. The manuscript includes over 1,000 watercolor illustrations of life as well as traditional songs. It is currently in the possession of the National Library of Madrid, Spain. For an analysis of some of the watercolors that detail men and women producing textiles, see Elena Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean Garments in the Colonial Period." In *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America* (Brooklyn Museum, 1996) 144–56.
[87] Silverblatt, "Producing Andean Existence," 3-5.
[88] See the Introduction to this thesis, page 1.
[89] Phipps, "Garments, Tocapu, Status, and Identity," 657–58.
[90] Cobo and Hamilton, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 225.

dyestuffs and feathers, and spinning thread were all key processes involved in the production of a single textile.[91] The labor intensity required, and the number of people involved and dedicated to producing textiles in the Inca empire, are also a testament to its significance and value.[92]

All adult women were weavers in some way or another.[93] Married women in particular, however, were described as devoting a majority of their time to weaving. Garcilaso stated that:

> The life of married women was generally devoted to the perpetual care of their houses. They busied themselves with spinning and weaving wool in the cold districts and cotton in the hot. Each woman spun and wove for herself, and for her husband and children …the women made the clothes for the household.[94]

Aside from looking after for the household, these women clearly focused much of their time on cloth production, whether for themselves and their families or to meet tribute obligations. Weaving was not just a personal pursuit, but also political one.[95] This work was "perpetual," and Garcilaso suggests that although there are differences in materials used depending on the climate, all women were nonetheless engaged in this activity.

The preparation of raw materials to be used in weaving, or, the actual construction of the thread through spinning, was performed at almost all times of day. Garcilaso stated that "Spinning and twisting on the road was done by the common people,"[96] suggesting that this part of the weaving process did not require the same focus or tools as other parts of the process; it was a malleable and mobile part of the craft. To do this, women used drop spindles and whorls, which appear repeatedly in Guaman Poma's illustrations (Figures 10-12). Garcilaso implies that

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[91] Phipps, "Garments, Tocapu, Status, and Identity," 657–58.
[92] Stone-Miller, "Introduction," In *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 13–18. She states that one "measure of the importance of a particular pursuit to a people is the amount of physical and creative energy they have devoted to it over the millennia."
[93] Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 129.
[94] Garcilaso de la Vega, and Harold V. Livermore, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 2006), 214.
[95] Karen Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru." *American Indian Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (2000), 540-541.
[96] De la Vega and Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 214-215.

women were so proficient at "spinning and twisting" that they could pursue it while doing other tasks. Women most likely had to constantly spin thread for practical purposes, so as to meet their tribute obligations.[97] Garcilaso explained that elite women were equally as dedicated to spinning and twisting thread, writing that "[noblewomen] who were of the royal blood were accompanied by servants carrying their yarn and distaffs…both the callers and ladies of the house were occupied and not idle while they conversed."[98] Clearly, this activity also worked to bring women together.

As it was a portable part of the textile production process, spinning and twisting thread was done both in private, domestic settings and in public spaces, along the roads, and in the company of other women. In these texts, weaving is depicted as an extension of the women themselves; it is described like a bodily necessity. Cobo echoed this sentiment when he said that "Indian women spin not only at home, but when they go outside, whether they are standing in one place or walking. As long as they are not doing something else with their hands, walking does not interfere with their spinning."[99]

Chronicles that described women's involvement in textile production are not the only evidence from which their participation can be discerned; visual images (which I will discuss below) as well as archaeological evidence similarly point to the majority of women being involved in this particular activity. Studies by Costin[100] indicate that almost all domestic households produced large amounts of cloth, as indicated by both the concentrations of spindle

[97] Flannery Katherine Surrette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women in History and Archaeology." (Trent University, 2008), 4; Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 134; Costin, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy," 5; Silverblatt, "Andean Women in the Inca Empire," 42.
[98] De la Vega and Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 214-215.
[99] Graubart, "Weaving and the Construction of a Gender Division of Labor," 543.
[100] Costin, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy," 10-11; Ibid, "Cloth Production and Gender Relations," 17-18.

whorls and blanks recovered at various settlement sites.[101] Households located in close proximity to pastures for camelids contained a higher amount of these objects than those at lower elevations, revealing another level of analysis for involvement in textile production.[102] Whorls, spindles, and blanks, the tools used by women, were also found in greater quantities in elite households, suggesting that these women produced more textiles or cloth than non-elites in certain contexts; the tools used were of varying materials such as metal, clay, stone, and bone.[103] Women were almost always buried with these objects as well, solidifying their association with this activity.[104] These tools, recovered from tombs or sacrificial sites, were considered just as essential to women in death as in life.

Guaman Poma devotes an entire chapter in his chronicle to what he calls the age groupings in Inca society, or "paths," describing the roles of people of different ages and genders. He provides examples of twenty categories of men and women (ten groups for each gender), providing written descriptions which he accompanies with a single black-and-white

[101] Costin studied Wanka II and III settlements before and after Inca conquest, concluding that Wanka III textile production increased greatly after its absorption into the Inca empire as seen by the frequency of whorls and blanks excavated. Similarly, Surrette points to archaeological evidence when discussing the *aclla*. See Costin, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy," 3–28; Ibid, "Cloth Production and Gender Relations," 261-279; Surrette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," Chapter 3.
[102] Costin, "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy," 11.
[103] Ibid, 11-12.
[104] Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 159. Arriaga described how in burials, "The women have their spindles and skeins of spun cotton, the men their tacllas or hoes to work the fields, or the weapons they used in war." See Pablo José de Arriaga and L. Clark Keating, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 27-8. However, women are also buried with other objects besides just weaving implements, such as ceramics and pottery, gold and silver figurines, jewelry, food offerings, and textiles. For more see Bethany L. Turner and Barbara R. Hewitt, "The Acllacona and Mitmacona: Diet, Ethnicity, and Status," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–21; Johan Reinhard and María Constanza Ceruti, "Descriptions of Llullaillaco Summit Offerings," in *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains: A Study of the World's Highest Archaeological Sites* (Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2010), 204; Valerie A. Andrushko, Elva C. Torres Pino, and Viviana Bellifemine, "The Burials at Sacsahuaman and Chokepukio: A Bioarchaeological Case Study of Imperialism from the Capital of the Inca Empire," *Ñawpa Pacha* 28, no. 1 (June 1, 2006), 90-92; Catherine Julien, "Las tumbas de Sacsahuaman y el estilo Cuzco-Inca," *Ñawpa Pacha* 25, no. 1 (June 1, 1987): 31-32, 36, 39, 40, 47; Mary Frame and Rommel Ángeles Falcón, "A Female Funerary Bundle from Huaca Malena," *Ñawpa Pacha* 34 (June 1, 2014): 27–59; Joyce Marcus, "Studying the Individual in Prehistory: A Tale of Three Women from Cerro Azul, Peru," *Ñawpa Pacha* 35 (June 1, 2015): 1–22.

illustration. Men are depicted as young warriors, livestock herders, and messengers, whereas women are shown raising children, serving the community, and, primarily, weaving. Out of ten categories of females, eight age groups have references to textile production or tasks which aid in the process of textile production, in contrast to only four of the male categories referencing the same activities.[105]

Only very young girls (babies of one year old or less) and very old women (eighty years old) are not illustrated with any kind of tool or material used in textile making (see Figure 9, for example); however, the older women are *described* as having a hand in textile production.[106] Five of the illustrations of the female groups directly reference textile production, either by showing the women and girls weaving, spinning thread, watching herds, or gathering dyestuffs, while only two drawings of men merely show them herding flocks or catching birds (the feathers of which were used in *cumbi* cloth). None of the images of men contain imagery relating to spinning thread or weaving a garment. Although there are twenty images in total in Guaman Poma's chapter, I purposely do not include the final two categories of each grouping in my analysis because they are not involved in textile production or other activities due to their age.

Guaman Poma describes the first group of women as "weavers of thirty-three years of age," also called the *auacoc huarmi* (Figure 6). These women, considered to be in their "prime" years of life, are described in his text specifically as "weavers." This nomenclature suggests that Guaman Poma translated the Quechua terms *auacoc huarmi* as meaning "weaver," but a more direct translation offered by Costin suggests a more compelling and perhaps accurate meaning: "married woman [of] common cloth."[107] The phrase could also be roughly translated to "married

[105] Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 130-132.
[106] Ibid, 131.
[107] Costin, "Gender and Textile Production in Prehistory," 192.

woman cloth-giver."[108] Besides their occupation at this age being a weaver and married, the language itself implies that women were physically described as connected to cloth, almost as if the cloth itself was anthropomorphic.[109] This woman is described as having "the job of weaving clothes of fine *ahuasca*, and spinning [thread] for *cumbi*."[110]

The weaver illustrated in his drawing of an example of the *auacoc huarmi* (see Figure 7) kneels on the ground near a tree, where her loom is attached to a branch. The strap around her waist secures the loom to her body, further emphasizing the literal connection to the body required to weave a garment. She is shown in the act of weaving, making sure that the threads are not tangled, and perhaps pushing down the shuttle or beater which ensures the threads are pushed together. She is alone, and wears a long garment that exposes her legs, with an embroidered band around her middle. She is also described as a "woman of tribute" at the bottom of the image, alluding to the use of cloth as a tribute item, and to one of the main duties women were assigned of producing cloth for that purpose. This image can be juxtaposed with Guaman Poma's illustration of her counterpart, who is depicted as a strong warrior, holding tools of war instead of weaving, and a decapitated head of an enemy in his hand (Figure 7).

Other groups of women described as being involved in textile production are the *payacona* (Figure 8), the *puñuq paya* (Figure 9), the *oncoc cumo* (Figure 10), the *sipascona* (Figure 11), the *coro tasque* (Figure 12), the *pauau pallac* (Figure 13), and finally the *pucllacoc uamra* (Figure 14).[111] All of these groups watch over and herd camelid flocks, collect raw

[108] Costin, "Gender and Status in Inca Textile and Ceramic Craft Production," 288.
[109] Interestingly, sometimes the tools used for cloth production are also given human attributes. See Gaby Greenlee, "Threshold Objects," 9, where she includes the Quechua riddle: "Something that gets pregnant just by spinning? A drop spindle."
[110] "Tenían oficio de texer rropa [tejer ropa] de auasca [*ahuasca*] delgada y hilauan [hilaban] para qumbis [cumbis]." Guaman Poma Website, 218. Translation from Costin, "Houswewives, Chosen Women," 130.
[111] These translations are taken from Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 130. I have changed only one category, that of the *unquq k'umu* or "woman with disabilities," as in the original article it read "handicapped woman."

dyestuffs, spin thread for *cumbi* and regular cloth, and weave textiles and women's accessories, such as bags and sashes. The images that accompany these groups (see Figures 6, 8-14) echo their roles and purposes in textile production, highlighting the women and girls weaving, holding spindles and thread, or collecting dyestuffs and herding camelids while spinning thread.

The *payacona* are described as weaving "rough cloth,"[112] while elderly women "weave bags and spin rough thread," although Guaman Poma describes them as "only sleeping and eating."[113] Women with disabilities, similar to men of the same situation, also weave and spin. Guaman Poma writes that those that could, "would spin yarn and weave. These…women knew a thousand ways to weave."[114] Women and girls who took part in textile production through the processing of raw materials were generally younger girls and teenagers. The *coro tasque*, for example, worked for "their fathers and mothers and grandmothers and began service under the principal women to learn to spin and weave delicate things and they served as herders of livestock."[115] The image of this girl (see Figure 12) in contrast to her male counterpart of the same age (see Figure 17) is informative, as she can partly be differentiated from the *mactacuna* by her prominent display a distaff and spindle as she follows her herd.

The final two groups involved in textile production reveal the young age at which children entered into the Inca labor force, but also indicate that from a young age, girls were specifically taught the skills of weaving and spinning. Girls under twelve, according to Guaman Poma, collected raw dyestuffs from flowers in order to use them in coloring thread and *cumbi* cloth. He wrote that they "collect flowers to dye wool, for *cumbi* [fine cloth] and clothes and

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[112] "…[ropa] gruesa de comunidad." Guaman Poma Website, 220. Translation from Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 130.
[113] "…sólo dormir y comer," and "texer [tejer] costales y hilar cosa gruesa." Guaman Poma Website, 220-222.
[114] Guaman Poma de Ayala and Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, 169.
[115] "…sus padres y mades y [abuelas] y [entraban] a [servir] a las señoras [principales] para [aprender] a hilar y [tejer] cosas delicadas y [servían] de pastoras de ganados." Ibid, 228. Translation my own.

other things."[116] The *pucllacoc uamra,* he notes, "also started to work, spinning delicate thread as well as they could…which is a woman's job. They learned from their parents."[117] In addition to community elders, parents also taught their children, in this case young girls, skills seen as being appropriate to their gender.[118] The specific knowledge surrounding these aspects of textile production becomes gendered in the transmission of knowledge; there is no example of a woman instructing a young boy in similar activities. This phenomenon of passing on skills from one generation of women to the next is first introduced in the origin myths, where the *coya* are positioned as "communication channels" between one another.[119] Women functioned as mediators of this specific knowledge, linking girls and women of all ages simultaneously to each other and to weaving itself.

It would be impossible to analyze women's participation in textile production fully without mentioning the *acllacona,* or "chosen females."[120] Full-time, female weaving specialists who were recruited from a young age and sent to specific weaving centers around the empire, the *acllacona* were trained in weaving, spinning, making *chicha,* as well as instructed in the making of clothing for the Inca elite. In addition, they served as human sacrifices in rituals and were sometimes gifted as wives to other elites.[121] In addition to weaving for Inca royalty, one of the *acllacona's* main duties was weaving cloth for various idols.[122] The *aclla* were isolated, lived in

[116] "…coxían flores para tiñir [teñir] lana, para *cunbi*s [tejido fino] y [ropas] y otras cosas." Ibid, 230. Translation my own.
[117] Guaman Poma de Ayala and Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government,* 177.
[118] This occurred among all classes of women, and with specialist weavers as well. See Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 135 and the Guaman Poma Website, 220. The *Payakuna* are also described as the *mamaconas* who watch over the *acllacona*.
[119] Silverblatt, "Andean Women in the Inca Empire," 45.
[120] Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 134. For etymology, see Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women,"18-22.
[121] Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 137.
[122] Ibid, 134; Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 24; Valerie Andrushko et al, "The Burials at Sacsahuaman and Chokepukio," 76.

all-female communities, and were expected to be chaste throughout their life. However, there was also a category of male weaving specialists, known as the *cumbicamayoc,* who similarly wove *cumbi* for the state.[123]

Though they share a similar status with *cumbicamayoc* in terms of their specialization in weaving only coveted textiles (*cumbi*), in virtually all else they cannot be considered the female complement to the male weaving specialists. The *acllacona* were recruited from ages as young as ten, were unmarried virgins, and were permanently resettled within the *acllahuasi*, in contrast to the *cumbicamayoc* of which there is no evidence of extreme isolation or celibacy.[124] Cobo described these women as being trained in:

> …all of the women's work and activities such as spinning, weaving wool and cotton, preparing food, making their wines or *chichas,* as well as other jobs that are appropriate for women.[125]

Guman Poma provides a visual image of these women, set within a courtyard (Figure 19). In the illustration, several women are shown kneeling or seated on the ground, while a larger woman labeled "mamacona" oversees their work. The *aclla* in this image are engaged in a variety of activities related to weaving, with the ones most prominently in the foreground spinning and twisting thread, as well as processing raw materials.[126] Although these women performed other duties, Guaman Poma chooses to draw them participating specifically in the textile production process: several of them hold distaffs and spindles, while one *aclla* on the left seems to be

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[123] *Cumbicamayoc* can be translated to "man skilled in the making of fine cloth," "master weaver," and also "possessor of a specific energy." See Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 135; Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 24. *Cumbi* could me made from vicuña wool, or even bat hair. See Elena Phipps and Lucy Commoner, "Investigation of a Colonial Latin American Textile" (2006). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings.* Paper 358, 488; Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 5; John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton, *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World* (ISD LLC, 2012), 401-403. For more on the *cumbicamayoc* and their possible hereditary status, social status, ethnicity, and recruitment for the state, see Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 135-137.

[124] Ibid, 134.

[125] Cobo and Hamilton, *Inca Empire,* 236.

[126] Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 31.

holding raw thread material. The *mamacona* similarly holds a spindle and whorl, instructing the younger *aclla.*

Virginity was a prerequisite for *acllacona*,[127] and because of this they are often compared to nuns by chroniclers. Cobo wrote that they were "cloistered women, dedicated to the service of their gods in the manner of nuns or like the vestal virgins of Rome,"[128] and Betanzos called them specifically "cloistered nuns."[129] These comparisons are perhaps not surprising, as chroniclers attempted to understand the institution of the *acllacona* through a familiar lens, and their chastity was specially guarded.[130] Meanwhile, the *cumbicamayoc* were never compared to monks, but were simply described as no "ordinary craftsmen,"[131] immediately differentiating the *aclla* from these other specialists.

Although virginity is a defining trait of these women, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to situate their chastity in a purely "Andean" context, due to the sources that mention these women as well as current understandings of the notion of chastity within Inca society itself.[132] Men did have contact with the *acllacona*, but it was selective and restricted,[133] suggesting that there was indeed some significance placed on the *aclla's* virginity. If their chastity was not considered a prized feminine virtue in the same sense it was by the Spanish, it

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[127] Ibid, 33.
[128] Cobo and Hamilton, *Inca Empire,* 236.
[129] Surette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 28.
[130] Cobo and Hamilton, *Inca Empire*, 236: "...there were also overseers who were in charge of supplying them with what they needed and watching over them very carefully with the object of protecting their virginity."
[131] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 24. In reference to virtuosity with *cumbi* cloth.
[132] Surette, "The Acllacona: sThe Inca Chosen Women," 33-34.
[133] Juan de Betanzos and Hamilton et. al, *Narrative of the Incas*, 110: "…and the guardians who looked after them were castrated Indians." See also Surrette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 39-40.
This is not dissimilar to eunuchs who guarded and worked in Ottoman harems. See Jane Hathaway, "The Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch in Ceremonies and Festivals," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2019): 21–37 and Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

was nonetheless a valuable part of their identity.[134] This suggests that their virginity was an important element that permeated their work with *cumbi* cloth, especially as male weavers did not have these same personal expectations; this was something only these women could provide through their celibacy. Even though this aspect of the *aclla* remains somewhat opaque, what is clear is that their virginity set them apart, was valued in some capacity, and in this way, was important in all aspects of their productive capacities, including in textile production.

The notion that Inca men and women were confined to their specific gender worlds can be complicated, as men also participated in other ways in textile production, albeit in a limited scope. In addition to the *cumbicamayoc,* Guaman Poma describes of four groups of men who aid in textile production through the spinning of thread, weaving garments, and collecting feathers. The *oncoc runa* (Figure 15), *sayapayac* (Figure 16) *mactacuna* (Figure 17) and *tocllacoc uamra* (Figure 18) all aid in some manner with textile production, but their illustrations do not depict them involved in this process (see Figures 15-18). Men, on the whole, were not expected to participate in textile production during their "prime years," as indicated by Guaman Poma's descriptions and images of men involved in other tasks; they were involved only as young boys and elderly men. On the other hand, women and girls were perpetually bound to the craft, no matter her age, ability, or specialist occupation.[135] Men's contributions to this process should not be overlooked, as they can provide insights into the more nuanced layers of the textile production process, and in turn help discern women's significant role in this process.

[134] Surrette, "The Acllacona: The Inca Chosen Women," 42-44. See also the chroniclers that describe the punishments for transgressing against this chastity, such as Acosta, who described *aclla* being buried alive and put to death. Similarly, in a legend included in Murúa's chronicle, a shepherd falls in love with an *aclla* and both are punished and turned into stone. See Alicia Maria Houtrouw, "Forbidden Love in the Andes: Murúa and Guaman Poma Retell the Myth of Chuquillanto and Acoytapra," *Getty Research Journal* 11 (January 1, 2019): 161–84.
[135] Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women," 131: "Importantly, men in the prime of their productive and reproductive lives were not required to participate in activities associated with cloth production."

Craft is often tied to social identity, and for the Inca, textiles were a medium that was deeply connected to different aspects of society, to people of multiple ages and genders, as well as to their conceptions of what defined men and women.[136] Although origin myths suggested predictable patterns of gendered labor, the social reality established by the Inca proves that these partitions of gender were reinforced while simultaneously complicated. While men participated in textile production as young boys, elders in the community, and as part of the specialized weaving sect of *cumbicamayoc,* men on the whole were not expected to participate in textile production their entire lives, and their roles within the production process remained limited because of this distinction. Meanwhile, women of all ages were engaged in all aspects of the textile production process, beginning from girlhood and extending well into old age. While men and women certainly shared some of these responsibilities, especially as young children, there was undoubtedly an emphasis on women's specific ties to textile production and their gendered obligation to produce cloth.

This connection is notable in both descriptions provided by chroniclers of Inca women spinning while they walked or went about other tasks, as well as the age groups outlined by Guaman Poma. Women emerge as the primary producers of cloth, and are linked to this practice from a very early age. They are also described in some cases as an extension of the textile itself, and the fact that Inca women are buried with the tools used daily in life signifies a connection that extends beyond their own mortality. The *acllacona* strengthen women's functions within the textile production process, weaving specialized cloth which perhaps had specific significance attached to it due to their isolation with other women weavers and their protected chastity. Women's affinity with textiles and textile production continued into the colonial period,

[136] Costin, "Craft and Social Identity," 7.

although it took on new forms of expression, as women expressed their ties to the Inca past through the display and ownership of traditional garments and clothing.

Chapter Three

Inca-Style Textiles in Colonial Portraits of Peruvian Elites: Case Studies

Textiles continued to be objects of value in the colonial period. While pre-Hispanic textiles were produced by households, as well as by the specialized weaving sects, the colonial period saw the dissolution of this structured system of textile production.[137] Although *cumbi* continued to be made and *cumbicamayoc* participated in weaving it as late as the 1550s, there was a general decline in textile quality due to the disbanding of the weaving specialists.[138] Textiles that were produced during this time tended to incorporate new techniques, methods, fabrics, and iconography.[139] Silk, lace, metallic threads, and other imported materials and styles contributed to textile and *cumbi*'s colonial transformations; for example, embroidered textiles became popular enough that there were master embroiderers and workshops in Peru, and there was a new craze for tapestry-woven textiles.[140]

In addition to these innovations and changes, new dyestuffs were introduced from Asia and other parts of the Americas; dyes were no longer limited to local geography.[141] Even with all

[137] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 25.
[138] Idem. In response to this decline in quality Viceroy Toledo instigated *visitas*, where administrators would visit towns and identify tribute requirements and household inventories. He was particularly interested in *cumbi* weavers, telling officials to look for people who "if in the time of the Inca and after [that time]…had worked clothing of *cumbi*; and for whom, and if they paid them; and if *cumbicamayos* are in each *repartimiento* [mita] and how many were [there] in the time of the Inca."
[139] The Spanish set up artisan guilds and systems of production for textiles called *obrajes*, and weavers from Spain traveled to Peru to set up shop, implementing their own style of weaving. However, textiles made in Peru were also exported to Spain, such as vicuña bedcovers. The Spanish weavers brought hand operated as well as water-powered spinning wheels, and foot-treadle looms used for weaving long, patterned cloths. See Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 25-26 and Ibid, "Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade," 33, 39.
[140] Ibid, 36-37; Ibid, "Woven Silver and Gold: Metallic Yarns in Colonial Andean Textiles," *Source: Notes in the History of Art Special Issue, Paradoxes and Parallels in the New World* 29, no. 3 (2010): 4–11.
[141] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 27. For example, by the 1700s one *obraje* in Peru was importing indigo dye from Guatemala. Ibid, "Global Colors: Dyes and the Dye Trade," 40. For more on pre-Columbian and colonial dyestuffs, see Phipps, *Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color* (New York, NY: Museum, 2010); Ibid, "Color in the Andes," 51–59; Gabriela Siracusano, "Colors and Cultures in the Andes," in *Colors Between Two Worlds,* 367-

of these transformations, there was still sustained production of "new" *cumbi* textiles and other garments made in the Inca-style, as in, new textiles produced that purposefully echoed pre-Columbian styles and forms. Women, for example, had garments made that corresponded directly to Inca garments yet were infused with colonial touches—silk, linen, lace borders, new colors, and new motifs such as flowers and animals.[142] Their materials and motifs were distinctly "colonial,"[143] but the garment itself remained rooted in Inca traditions of style and demeanor. Women's wills and testaments from this time period highlight the fact that these objects made in the Inca-style still had significance; for example, one woman's inventory contained a "*lliclla* with a purple and red silk border,"[144] while another had "two *llicllas* of green and purple damask."[145]

Widely speaking, portraiture in Peru is considered to be an adopted European convention, as prior to the Spanish conquest there was no established tradition of figure painting; no one drew or painted portraits of the pre-Hispanic Incas and *coyas* during their lifetimes.[146] An imported artistic tradition stemming from virtually the beginning of the Spanish conquest, portraiture became a fashionable genre that not only visually commemorated

379; Ibid, "Colores en los Andes: Sacralidades prehisánicas y Cristianas," *(In)Disciplinas: Estética e historia del arte en el cruce de los discursos*, 1999, 1–14; Ibid, *El poder de los colores: de lo material a lo simbolico en las practicas culturales andinas : Siglos XVI-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 2008); Ibid, *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800* (London: Archetype Publications Ltd, 2011); Ana Roquero, "Identification of Red Dyes," 1–11.

[142] "New," as in, made in the colonial period; "old" *cumbi* refers in some contexts to those made during pre-Hispanic period that survived into colonial times. See Cummins, "Let Me See!" 116, Note 48.

[143] Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and its Discontents," 5-6.

[144] Guengerich, "Indigenous Andean Women in Colonial Textual Discourses," 181.

[145] Ibid, 182.

[146] Some of the ideas expressed in this chapter have a basis in my undergraduate thesis, "The Unofficial Iconographies of Mama Huaco: Portraits of the First Inca Coya in Viceregal Peru" (Brown University, 2018). Catherine Julien proposed that there was a painting tradition in Inca Peru, as evidenced by the now lost *paños* commissioned by Francisco de Toledo. See Catherine Julien, "The Paños and Other Objects," 61–89, and Monica Barnes, "A Lost Inca History." *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal 12(2)* 12 (1996): 117–31.

ancestors but also tangibly connected the pre-Columbian Inca past with the colonial present. Spanning a period of almost 300 years, portraits from the colonial period did not always retain the same significance and purpose. Primarily beginning as a means of representing past Inca royalty (genealogies) to a foreign audience, portraits then transformed into a social and political tool as *kurakas*[147] (*caciques*) and other colonial officials utilized this medium for their own agendas.

Portraiture became a unique instrument of agency and legitimacy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as *kurakas* and other elites harnessed visual images in order to elevate their own claims to Inca nobility, which in turn elevated their social standing in colonial society. By desiring to visually connect themselves to their Inca ancestors (whether real or imagined), *kurakas*, as well as noble men and women, transformed portraiture from a medium used primarily to record Inca dynastic information and instead used it to represent living (or on occasion, dead) ancestors and family members, often with the intention of creating a true "likeness."[148] As cultural mediators, *kurakas* were representatives separating the Spanish government from the greater Andean peasantry,[149] and the ways in which they straddled these two realms is visually documented in the portraits that they commissioned. Although primarily

[147] *Kurakas* were community leaders both in the Inca empire and in the colonial Viceroyalty. For more on their role in colonial society and the portraits commissioned of these elites, see David Garrett, "Cacical Families and Provincial Nobility." In *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cusco, 1750-1825* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 75–113; Cummins, "We Are the Other," 203–231; Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 258–68; Damian, "Inka Noble Portraits: The Art of Renewal," 13–20; Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraits and Paradox in Colonial Peru," 80–103; Ibid, "The Renewal of Old World Images and the Creation of Colonial Peruvian Visual Culture." In *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America* (Brooklyn NY: The Museum, 1996), 171–82.
[148] Emily Engel, "Changing Faces: Royal Portraiture and the Manipulation of Colonial Bodies in the Viceroyalty of Peru." In *Spanish Royal Patronage 1412-1804: Portraits as Propaganda* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 156-157. For a classical definition of a likeness, see Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting,* 25 and Nenita Ponce de León Elphick, "Memory, Presence, and Power: The Social Life of Peruvian Portraits," (PhD diss, Harvard University, 2007), where she introduces the idea of an "evolving portrait" in her dissertation, citing Alberti's definition. Natalia Majluf mentions other uses for these portraits in "Manuela Tupo Amaro, Ñusta" in *La colección Petrus y Verónica Fernandini : El arte de la pintura en los Andes/The Petrus and Verónica Fernandini Collection: The Art of Painting in the Andes* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2015), 171-177.
[149] Cummins, "We Are The Other," 208-210.

works of art that hung in private homes, these portraits were often involved in legal cases and presented as evidence to support claims to a title of nobility via Inca ancestry, making the medium of visual images a centripetal force in colonial society.[150]

The purpose of this chapter is to visually illustrate that the clothing depicted specifically in colonial portraits of women (Figures 20-23, 28-33), is not solely an indicator of women's clothing's continuity[151] during this time period, but instead, functions to evoke the Inca past through women's distinctive ties to textile production as explored in the previous two chapters. In juxtaposing the individual portraits of *ñustas* (noblewomen) with portraits of *kurakas*, as well as with donor portraits, women's and men's uses of traditional Inca-style garments emerge as being drastically different. Where women proudly display native garments, introducing a performative aspect to their fashion, men often allude to their Inca ancestry in in other ways and instead are shown wearing more Europeanized clothing.[152] Examining the clothing each subject wears, as well as considering the manner in which these images were manipulated and consumed by both subjects and viewers alike, reveals the ways that traditional textiles remained culturally potent long after conquest. Though parts of a larger iconographic program and genre, each painting is individually valuable as both a work of art and a statement about textiles, their place, and their meaning in colonial society.

Portraits I will analyze (Figures 20-33) include four individual portraits of women, commonly referred to as *ñustas* as well as four individual portraits of male *kurakas*. I also include three donor portraits, two which were individually commissioned and one that is a part of a larger series. Two out of the nine individual portraits are currently lost (see Figures 22 and 23)

[150] Ibid, 209-212 and Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 263-264.
[151] See Introduction.
[152] Questions of the painting's audience, and issues of class, social hierarchy, and race are also relevant here, but will not be investigated in this chapter.

and therefore I use the lithographs that were modeled on the paintings made in 1854. Only one portrait out of the nine paintings where women are present can be identified, and this particular image was discovered underneath a cult image of Christ of the Earthquakes in the 1970s.[153] All of the individual men depicted (see Figures 24-27), on the other hand, can be identified with the exception of Figure 26; however, there is evidence of an identifying text that has since been covered with white paint (see Figure 26). The artists of each image, however, are all anonymous, and therefore it is difficult to assess basic information about the provenance of each work; this individual and artistic anonymity is very common specifically in portraits of *ñustas* from this time period. However, scholars and museum curators alike have worked to date these images and locate them within a particular time frame.[154]

My specific interest in examining the subject's clothing in each portrait, however, is not whether the painted textiles mimic extant garments in current museum collections; for example, painted *tocapu,* a prominent motif in almost all of the portraits I include in this chapter, have been heavily studied, and attempts to link these motifs to extant garments have been made.[155] Instead, I wish to investigate broader questions of material meaning, visual continuity, and

[153] The concept of the "anonymous women" opens up interesting questions about elite women's visibility and roles in colonial society at this time. See Natalia Majluf, "Manuela Tupa Amaru, Nusta," in *La colección Petrus y Verónica Fernandini: el arte de la pintura en los Andes* (2015), 168–85.
[154] I specifically use the dates and centuries suggested by these scholars in their discussions of these images.
[155] *Tocapu* is a Quechua term for one of the signifying motifs of Inca royalty, found most often in textiles. They are geometric, abstract motifs in the shape of a square that usually appear in groups, rows, or pairs. These symbols retained some of their significance in the colonial period, but were manipulated by colonial elites, specifically women, as a sign of Inca nobility, instead of being specific to the Inca king. Women in the Inca period were not allowed to wear *tocapu,* as the Inca heavily regulated who could utilize this motif. For more on *tocapu,* its use, suspected meanings, and its variations, see Isabel Iriarte, "Las túnicas en la pintura colonial," 53–86; Tom Cummins, "Tocapu: What is It, What Does it Do, and Why is it not a Knot?" 277–317; Ibid, "Inka Art," 165–96; Peter Eeckhout and Nathalie Danis. "Los tocapus reales en Guamán Poma: ¿Una heráldica Inca?" 305–23; Giorgia Ficca, "Los tocapus del Codex Galvin y de la Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno," 351–74; Juan Ossio, "Inca Kings, Queens, Captains, and Tocapus," 291–483; Elena Phipps, "Garments, Tocapu, Status, and Identity," 646-668; Rocío Quispe-Angoli, "Para que la letra lo tenga en los ojos," 133–46; Marie Timberlake, "Tocapu in a Colonial Frame," 177–93. For an investigation of extant "painted textiles," and this technique used in the Andes, see Hans Barnard et. al, "Painted Textiles," 209–28.

specific display and ownership of these Inca-style garments in images of women. Although the painted textiles that are present in these portraits do not usually "match" extant garments or motifs, the intention of the artist was to represent (albeit abstractly) these traditional Inca symbols, connecting the subject to the Inca past in a tangible way.

The first portrait I will examine in the collection of the Museo Inka shows an anonymous *ñusta* standing formally in an interior setting (Figure 20). Scholars have debated whether this portrait belonged to a set, and also whether the noblewoman belonged to the Chiguan Topa family.[156] There are several direct allusions to her Inca heritage through the specific iconography the artist has incorporated: the coat of arms[157] in the upper left corner, the table draped with a red cloth on which rests a *mascaypacha*,[158] and the dwarfed attendant[159] holding a feathered parasol over the *ñusta*'s head on the right of the frame. These elements all have well-known pictorial antecedents, particularly in images of Mama Huaco, and these "formulaic elements," also echo European iconographic conventions as seen in royal portraiture produced during this same time.[160] The *ñusta* herself, however, remains the focus of the image; she is centrally located, making direct eye contact with the viewer, and the use of a sort of *chiaroscuro* differentiates her figure from the darkness of the background. This manipulation of light additionally functions to highlight the garments that she wears.

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[156] Ibid, 160-162.

[157] Coats of arms were commonly adopted and incorporated in these portraits, and were also actively purchased during this time period. For more on indigenous coats of arms, see Mónica Domínguez Torres, "Emblazoning Identity: Indigenous Heraldry in Colonial Mexico and Peru." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, edited by Ilona Katzew and Luisa Elena Alcalá, 97–115 (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New Haven distributed by Yale University Press, 2012).

[158] The traditional Inca headdress worn by the king.

[159] Augusta Holland, "Importancia de los enanos y corcovados en la Nueva corónica." In *La memoria del mundo Inca: Guaman Poma y la escritura de la Nueva corónica* (Jean-Philippe Husson, 2016, 273–300.

[160] For a full analysis of the iconography of Mama Huaco, see my undergraduate thesis, "The Unofficial Iconographies of Mama Huaco." See also Wuffarden in Catalogue Entry #21 in *The Colonial Andes,* 160-162, where refers to this particular iconographic pattern as "formulaic."

Her right hand gestures to the *mascaypacha,* an object that remained a relevant cultural symbol to colonial elites.[161] Women did not wear this accessory, unlike their male counterparts (see Figures 24, 25, and 27); instead, they placed it in close proximity to, but not physically on, their own bodies, to indicate their affinity. The headdress itself is clearly a colonial interpretation of the red fringe worn by the Inca in pre-Columbian times, and is depicted in this image more like a European crown. A circular headband embroidered heavily with pearls and other gems is the base for four *tocapu* motifs sitting above the red fringe. A miniature figurine of an Inca man wearing an *uncu,* holding a shield and royal standard, and sporting his own version of the headdress, is placed on top of the fringe, while above his head there are feathered flags of black, white, and red that frame three red stems of the *cantuta* blossom.[162] This headdress is echoed in the heraldic motifs of the coat of arms, which includes a Habsburg eagle and a red fringe in two separate horizontal registers.[163]

The most prominent aspect of this portrait, however, are the garments that this *ñusta* is wearing. She wears a traditional ensemble of an *anacu* and *lliclla* fastened together at the chest with a large *tupu* pin, although her dress appears slightly Europeanized; her waist is tapered. The mantle and dress form a set, as they contain the same colors, patterns, and *tocapu* designs around the borders, as well as an inverted color scheme glimpsed in the shawl.[164] The rich embroidery of these textiles, and the inclusion of a profusion of *tocapu* motifs, reveals her status; these connect her to the Inca past in a visual way. The garments bordered with *tocapu* are especially significant, as this was a purely colonial practice; no extant women's garments from the Inca

[161] Cummins, "We Are The Other," 218-219 and Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 261-263.
[162] The *cantuta* or *ñucchu* (salvia) were symbolic flowers of the Inca, and it is a motif seen in many garments as well as displayed in its blossom form as a specifically-female accessory. Wuffarden, Catalogue Entry #21 in *The Colonial Andes*, 160-162.
[163] For further discussion of this painting and its significance see ibid, 160-162.
[164] This color inversion can be seen in men's *uncu* as well. For examples, see *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2004).

period contain *tocapu* motifs.[165] The color scheme is simultaneously muted and vibrant, with the use of dark reds, blues, and browns juxtaposed with the bright white and red of her shawl.

A painting (see Figure 21) dating from 1777[166] depicts Manuela Tupa Amaru similarly occupying the central space of a rich and dark interior. She looks directly out at the viewer, her right hand resting on an empty table, while her left hand is exposed but resting against her skirts. The table does not contain a colonial headdress, but the portrait contains two coats of arms, one symbolizing her Inca heritage (right) and one her Spanish (left), that frame her face, and a small cartouche in the bottom right of the image detailing her identity and lineage. Her garments do not contain the *tocapu* or *cantuta* flower motifs; they are more muted and understated. Yet her garments follow the exact same conventions and style as the previous *ñusta*: a tailored, long *acsu* that reaches her feet, with embroidery along the bottom hem; a *lliclla* with a matching color scheme and embroidery near the neck, held together under her chin with a large silver *tupu* pin. Curiously, this is the only portrait where the *tupu* pin is placed with the embossed head pointing towards her left shoulder; in all other images the *tupu* is fastened angling towards the right shoulder. She also wears jewelry: a gold ring on her left ring-finger and a choker around her neck, with a pearl at the center. Her shoes expose her feet, solidifying her native identity.[167] Differentiating her from the previous portrait is the striking swath of a turquoise blue patterned overskirt, or "half-*acsu*,"[168] and her billowing lace sleeves.

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[165] Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Cult, Countenance, and Community: Donor Portraits from the Colonial Andes." *Religion and the Arts,* 2011, 452.
[166] As dated in Natalia Majluf, "Manuela Tupo Amaro, Ñusta," 171-177.
[167] Majluf states that "the key element in the affirmation of her status as an Indian woman is perhaps the least evident, the bare feet, shod only in the ojotas barely visible under her skirt. From the beginning of the Colonial period, the visibility of feet was a differentiating element and a key sign of Indianness, as is revealed in early images and descriptions of Indian women, which are represented, almost without exception, barefoot or wearing some kind of open sandal." See Ibid, 172.
[168] Phipps, "Garments and Identity," 30.

These elements are the most striking aspects of her attire. In addition to the coats of arms that frame her head, literally placing her between two sets of nobility, the blue half-*acsu* and the voluminous lace sleeves indicate that she was wealthy and actively incorporated more European elements of dress within her traditional garments. The identifying text in the lower right corner of the canvas, or cartouche, works with the other visual iconographic elements to emphasize her ties to Inca nobility. The cartouche reads:

> Este es el Retrato / de la Yll. Señora [Doña] Manue / la Tupa Amaro Ñusta el Sobe/rano y Gran Monarca Onrrando / me hiso y [borrado] que representa la / persona Real del Ynbicto Carlos / quinto y como a tal / […….] /son sus reales armaz con espe/ [borrado] encierra / to [borrado] Por ser comparada / con [borrado e ilegible] rrosa / [ilegible] [T]upa Amaro Real.
>
> This is the portrait of the illustrious Mrs. [Doña] Manuela Tupa Amaro Ñusta the sovereign and great monarch, honoring [erased] did and [erased] depicting the royal personage of the unconquered Carlos V and as such […..] are his royal arms [erased] encloses [erased] to be compared with [erased and illegible] Tupa Amaro Royal.[169]

The text conveys her identity, although it has been damaged.[170] What is legible in the text nonetheless emphasizes her claims to royal descent. In this portrait both text and iconography buttress each other, solidifying her identity as a member of elite colonial society. While she retains traditional garment styles, they are modified slightly. Her use of traditional garments and European elements places her within the dichotomy between "Andean" and "European."

Two other portraits of noblewomen appear as lithographs in an 1854 account of a French scholar's travels around Peru (see Figures 22 and 23).[171] Modeled after paintings that are now lost, these women remain unidentified.[172] Although we do not have the original portraits, these lithographs are nonetheless informative and revealing. The first lithograph (see Figure 22)

[169] Natalia Majluf, "Manuela Tupo Amaro, Ñusta," 169.
[170] Ibid, 170.
[171] See Francis de Castelnau, *Antiquites des Incas et autres peuple anciens: 3* (Bertrand, 1852). Images of the lithographs come from John Howland Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 262.
[172] Ibid, Figures 6 and 7.

depicts a noblewoman centrally located, standing in a rich interior setting framed by a draped curtain on the right with a coat of arms, and a royal standard on the left. She gestures with her right hand to a *mascaypacha*, echoing Figure 20, which is placed on the left side of the painting, again on top of a table. Her left hand, meanwhile, is exposed and displaying a ring on her finger, echoing Figure 21. Her garments are strikingly traditional, with the exception of the large, long lace sleeves or cuffs that protrude from underneath her *tocapu*-studded *lliclla* and the modified half-*acsu.* Her sleeves contrast with the rest of her ensemble, as they emerge from the otherwise Inca-style garments *Tocapu* motifs adorn the edges of her garments, especially near her face, with the suggestion of the *cantuta* motif appearing in the middle registers of both her shawl and traditional skirt. Holding her shawl together is a large *tupu* pin.

The second lithograph (see Figure 23) is unusual due to the noblewoman's placement in an outdoor setting.[173] She stands in the center of the frame, on a balcony or patio; lush trees are glimpsed behind her on the right side of the image, and a small bird perches on the sill of the railing. A dwarfed attendant stands on her left, extending a feathered parasol high over her head; so high, in fact, that the viewer cannot glimpse where the feathered canopy is attached to its handle. She is depicted posing similarly to the other portraits, with her right hand resting on a *mascaypacha* near the royal standard which bears a large (lopsided) coat of arms, while her left hand rests against her skirts, again showing a ring on her finger. She wears the same ensemble of a half-*acsu* and a *lliclla* held together with a large *tupu* pin. Both skirt and shawl are heavily embroidered with *tocapu* motifs, and there is additional embroidery all along the hems of her skirt. The shawl similarly contains the *cantuta* motif, and is of a different color than the skirt or half-*acsu*, suggested by the shading. Sumptuous lace sleeves emerge from her otherwise

[173] This is more common in portraits of Inca *coya.* See Wuffarden, Catalogue #21 in *The Colonial Andes,* 160-162.

traditional garments; lace also peeks out from her neckline, suggestive of a collar or perhaps simply a more Hispanicized version of an *anacu*. All four images of these *ñustas* possess similarities in their iconography in their display of traditional garments and accessories.

Four portraits of *kurakas*, however, contrast greatly when juxtaposed with the portraits of the *ñustas.* A portrait of Luys Guamantitu Yupangi Chiguan Topa (see Figure 24) is one image in a series of portraits commemorating the members of the Chiguan Topa family.[174] Although the iconographic conventions of the portrait echo those seen in the portraits of *ñustas*, his clothing is distinctly different. He is placed in the center of the frame, surrounded by symbols of his identity: two coats of arms, a royal standard, a cartouche in the lower right of the canvas, and accents of gold leaf, as well as the *mascaypacha* on his head. He is clothed entirely in Spanish- or European-style dress. He wears entirely black garments, composed of a cape, pants, and a shirt with white sleeves trimmed with lace, as well as gloves. He has a lace collar around his neck, and his lace sleeves emerge from billowing gold brocade. He also wears lace trimmings around his knees, and a gold hem on his shirt. He wears heavy gold chains across his chest, and the medal in the center of his chest, representing the Jesuit cult of the Immaculate Conception.[175]

The rich interior in which he is placed is highlighted by the deep reds and browns used to illustrate it. The red curtain that swoops down from the upper right side of the canvas to the lower right corner reveals wallpaper or a tapestry underneath it, while the coat of arms of his family is painted over this sweep of curtain in the upper right side of the portrait. On his head, he wears the Inca headdress, with the red fringe hanging onto his forehead; the small white

[174] Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 258-259, 263-264; Freie Universitat Berlin, "Luys Guamantitu Yupangi Chiguan Topa." https://www.lai.fu-berlin.de/e-learning/projekte/caminos/kulturkontakt_kolonialzeit/kolonialgesellschaft/indigene/luys_guamantitu_yupangi_chiguan_topa/index.html. There are apparently twelve paintings of this family, started by Marcos Chiguan Topa, the *kuraka* of Guayllabamba, who claimed descent from the third Inca king Inca Lloque Yupanqui.
[175] Ibid, Freie Universitat Berlin, "Luys Guamantitu Yupangi Chiguan Topa."

embellishments on the headpiece suggest that gems and jewels were added to it during this time.[176] Similar conventions and iconographic symbols are used in the portrait of another Chiguan Topa, Don Marcos (Figure 25), who is depicted in almost the exact same clothing. He also wears an ensemble with a profusion of lace accents, gold brocade, and lace trimmings, as well as black boots on his feet. The gold accents in this particular portrait are striking.

Another member of the Chiguan Topa family, Don Alonso Chiguan Topa (Figure 26), is depicted in a striking mixture of Spanish and Inca-style clothing. He is also placed in an indoor setting, with a sweeping curtain on the upper right of the canvas. He holds in his right hand a large, golden cross, and in his left, he uses a coat of arms as a shield. He wears black, knee-length breeches, a white *uncu* with dispersed geometric designs and what could be *tocapu* along the bottom hem and possibly neck, a feathered collar, and sandals.[177] He also wears the *mascaypacha,* an object echoed on the table in the left side of the portrait and the coat of arms. He is bedecked in gold jewelry as well, wearing a large sun pectoral with a thick gold chain, a gold cuff on his right wrist, ear spools, and the faces of lions on his shoulders, knees, and feet.[178] These lion plates are distinctly Spanish, and are similar to those seen in paintings as early as the 1500s in Europe.[179] The cartouche, held by a dwarfed attendant, has been defaced, and covered up with dark paint.[180] The composite symbols and objects painted with him highlight his place

[176] Cummins, "We are the Other," 218-219.
[177] Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 259.
[178] Idem.
[179] For two examples see Neroccio di Bartolommeo De'Landi, *A Hero of Antiquity,* circa 1500. Tempera on panel. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts. Both "heroes" wear armor on their bodies with knee protections in the shape of faces and simple gold triangles.
[180] Rowe, "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," 259. Rowe had this portrait X-Rayed at the Cuzco Hospital, and transcribed the first six lines of the cartouche which were the only legible parts. It reads: "Don Alonso/Chiguan Ynga Visnato de Cca-/pac Lloque Yupangui Ynga tercer/Monarca y Señor Natural que fue destos/Reynos, este fue el primero q' res[ibido el] Agua/del Santo Bautismo siendo Gentile en la Conquista." For a full transcription of this text, see Ibid, 267, Appendix B.

between two distinct cultures, although the image places particular emphasis on his Inca heritage.

A portrait of an unidentified *kuraka*, in contrast to the images of the Chiguan Topas, is not nearly as ostentatious in its display of clothing (Figure 27), yet it is clear that he is an elite member of society. He wears a very similar combination of Spanish and traditional Inca-style clothing as the Chiguan Topas; his black breeches and white lace sleeves remain European while his *uncu* embroidered with *tocapu* motifs are a link with his Inca ancestry. He stands in the center of the frame, looking out towards the viewer, in an opaque setting. He appears to be indoors, yet a landscape is seen in the background in the right half of the canvas. A cartouche, which most likely identified this *kuraka* like those included in the portraits of the Chiguan Topas, has been covered with white paint. A table with red drapery holds a *mascaypacha*, but instead of wearing it (his head is bare, and his hair long), he gestures to it with his right hand, almost like a *ñusta*. In the upper left of the portrait, a large coat of arms is superimposed onto a double-headed Habsburg eagle next to his head. His left hand is clasped to his chest while his right holds a walking stick with a white ribbon tied to the top. His brown cloak covering his entire ensemble presents him as nobility, yet his uncovered legs, sandals, and *tocapu*-studded *uncu* highlight his ties to the Inca past.

Donor portraits are another genre in which clothing discrepancies between women and men can be observed, with men often incorporating lace sleeves and collars while women are depicted wearing more traditional Inca-style ensembles and garments. These portraits often portray religious figures such as Christ or even religious cult statues painted as the main subject, with portraits of donors usually located at the bottom of the canvas.[181] In this way, the donors are

[181] Donor portraits in Netherlandish painting, for example, are often featured in altarpieces and both diptychs and triptychs used in private homes for personal devotional purposes. This practice was also common in Spain. For

situated as earthly, pious, beings, while the religious subjects are rendered in a way that suggests their sacrality. Though these portraits include several portraits within the same canvas, the figures of the donors prove secondary to the sacred subject itself.[182] In *Christ of the Earthquakes with Unidentified Donors* (Figure 28), two donors appear in the bottom third of a painting which features a crucified Christ. They are husband and wife, and both are depicted kneeling at the feet of the Christ figure, their hands clasped in prayer.

The woman, on the right, gazes up towards the Christ figure, while her husband looks out towards the viewer. He wears a red blouse and a black cloak through which large lace sleeves and a lace collar protrude. His hair is long, and his cloak contains two small rows of embroidered *tocapu*.[183] He is clearly projecting the image of an Inca noble through these clothes, particularly with the additions of the lace collar and sleeves. We cannot see what he wears on his bottom half or feet, but from what we can see in his ensemble, it is a clear mix of Inca-style and Spanish clothing conventions. His wife, by contrast, is dressed completely in Inca-style dress, wearing the traditional *anacu* and *lliclla* clasped together with a large gold *tupu* pin (see Figure 29). Her clasped hands create an opening in the red and white mantle, allowing the viewer to glimpse subtly painted *tocapu* designs around the edge of her garments and along the inside border. While her husband is not truly in full Spanish dress, he is also not completely in traditional Inca-style clothes. The woman's ensemble, however, is clearly Inca-style in its design.

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examples, see Francisco de Zurbarán, *Christ Crucified with an Unidentified Donor,* 1640. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain and Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece,* 1432. Cathedral of St. Bavo, Ghent, Belgium. This genre in Peru came from the Hispano-Felmish tradition and features donors in more "earthly" settings than their European counterparts and taking part in Christian festivals or processions. For colonial Peruvian examples, see Anonymous, *Our Lady of the Rosary of Pomata with St. Francis of Assisi and St. Teresa of Ávila*, 18th Century. Monastery of San Francisco, La Paz, Bolivia and Anonymous, *Christ of the Earthquakes with Felipe de la Torre y Vela*, before 1712. Hotel Monasterio, Cuzco, Peru. These are both featured in Stanfield-Mazzi, "Cult, Countenance, and Community," Figures 4 and 8, 429-432.

[182] Ibid, 431.

[183] Ibid, 452.

A statue painting with donors depicts a husband and wife placed on either side of a large statue of the Virgin of Candlemas (see Figures 30 and 31). The husband is placed on the left side of the canvas, while the wife occupies the right, and, like the donors in Figure 29, they are only painted in bust. Between the two donors sits a small red fringe, the *mascaypacha.*[184] Both donors look towards the viewer and not at the devotional subject. The male donor wears a white lace shirt, the collar of which can be seen, with large lace sleeves, and a black cape or cloak that has a small *tocapu* trim near his neck. In his hands are the beads of a rosary. The woman is depicted in the same position, hands clasped, and looking at the viewer. She wears an *anacu* and *lliclla* held together with a silver *tupu* pin, of a much simpler design than that of the previous female donor. Her garments are also more modest: they are black, with trim in the middle and around the neck, and also around her middle underneath the *lliclla* on the *anacu* itself, but none of these designs appear to echo *tocapu.* The white around her neck highlights her face. She also holds the same dark beads of a rosary, which emphasize her piety. Similarly, a single female donor in a canvas from the Corpus Christi series (see Figure 32 and 33) displays native garments: a mantle and dress trimmed with *tocapu,* as well as decorated cuffs, a *tupu* pin, and a head covering, while her grandson, to her right, wears European-style clothing.[185]

Each subject depicted in these images, whether an individual full-length portrait or a donor portrait done in bust, clearly desires to place themselves within both the conventions of the pre-Columbian past and the colonial present. Donors, as well as some of the native elite, also aspired to be seen as pious Christians by commissioning such works, as evident in the religious symbolism present in many of the portraits. Through their use of *tocapu*, gold leaf, heraldry, and

[184] Ibid.
[185] *The Colonial Andes*, Catalogue #116a, 313.

religious symbols, each portrait reflects the subject's social status, and their positions as elite members of society.

Men appear to have utilized more European style clothing, while women seem to routinely wear Inca-style garments in these images. And although these portraits are snapshots of a particular time and place, the presence of Inca-style garments and other iconography that echoes the Inca past is significant. For women, the clothing continuities present in each image suggests that textiles remained vital apparel that went beyond mere fashion; these garments signified their connection to the Inca past, and were crucial to expressing their social status and identity, as other symbols used by men, were denied to them. Not only did women still possess and esteem these traditional garments, but they also continued to remain faithful to the Inca women's ensemble of an *anacu*, *lliclla,* and *tupu* pin. Women's garments painted in these portraits actively link the women pictured to women living in the Inca period as well as the female progenitors of the empire, as their deep involvement in the production process becomes visible through each painted garment. The fact that women owned, wore, and exhibited these garments throughout the colonial period is a testament to their longevity as legitimate cultural and material objects.

Conclusion

Textile production in the Inca empire was considered to be "women's work," falling easily within the bifurcated systems of production that were based in ideological conceptions of a strict gender binary, strictly dividing tasks that were meant for men with those for women. Since the beginning of Inca conceptions of time, women in particular have been linked to textiles and textile production through the first mythical queen, Mama Huaco, constructed in myths as the paragon of the Inca female domain, as she passed on her own knowledge of weaving to other women. While men were described as focusing on agricultural pursuits and warfare, women spent the majority of their time focused on textiles and textile making.

Colonial chronicles are critical sources to draw from when re-constructing Inca history, society, politics, and religion, as it is within various chronicles that the only written recollections of Inca history lie. However, when considering these chronicles as a primary informative media, there are several problems that come to the surface. The processes of change that took place as authors placed pen to paper—perhaps the most basic being translation from Quechua to Spanish, as well as a larger, more symbolic translation from oral to written expression—are numerous and leave gaping spaces for error. This is particularly notable when chroniclers wrote about Inca origin myths, as they were dealing with what was believed to be true. The term "mythohistory,"

coined to address these origin myths, comfortably situates Inca myths between both ways of storytelling and communicating.

How chroniclers, even native authors, interpreted the Incas and their culture is complex, as information was shared through native informants, making each written history a heavily mediated source. Further, all chronicles were composed at least thirty years after the initial Spanish conquest, simultaneously creating an authorial and historical distance. Nonetheless, in spite of these complexities, colonial chronicles still remain some of the most significant sources of information and perspectives about pre-Columbian and colonial society.

What chroniclers relay specifically about women in the Inca empire appears even more filtered within these already mediated sources, as women do not often appear in the pages of these histories that were authored by men. When they do, it is because women are viewed as important components of society. In some cases, it is possible to gauge what kinds of roles women were perceived as having in these moments in time; for example, when Juan Betanzos wrote of Mama Huaco's murderous and violent tendencies, or when Guaman Poma described the tasks of women and girls in the Inca empire. As each author was free in many ways to project their own conceptions of gender, labor, and general desires onto these women, it is imperative when using these chronicles as key sources to acknowledge these imperfections, holes, and deficiencies.

However, despite these textual negotiations required from any reader of these chronicles, all chronicles put a particular emphasis on women and their roles in textile production. Starting with the beginning of Inca conceptions of time, it is apparent that cloth and textiles had a central role in Inca society, a "primacy" exhibited directly when the founding Incas emerge from Pacarictambo fully clothed. Women in particular become tied to this craft and it is a connection

that spans centuries, beginning with origin myths where Mama Huaco is positioned as the original communication channel for weaving knowledge, a "mistress of the women."[186]

Women's specialization in textile production extended beyond the origin myths, as Inca women were described by chroniclers as perpetually spinning and twisting thread, as well as weaving to meet both tribute obligations and their own household quotas for cloth. It was noted by both Guaman Poma and Garcilaso de la Vega that these particular activities were performed as if women were permanently attached to the tools that aided them in this process, such as the distaff and spindle. As cloth became anthropomorphic through these descriptions, these objects in turn took on human attributes. That many women were ceremonially buried with these same tools they used in life solidifies women's ties to this craft, suggesting their own, gender-specific textile "primacy." As such, women can be defined by their involvement in this particular craft, as Guaman Poma's descriptions and illustrations of Inca age groups exhibit. Conceptions of gendered labor also had life beyond the mythical origins; while men occasionally participated in textile participation as young boys and elderly men, on the other hand, women, no matter their age or ability, were involved in the textile production process from a very young age. Women and girls endure as the foundational force behind textiles in the Inca empire.

The functions of textiles and cloth were polyvalent and multifaceted, and women's conventions of dress can be easily traced over time, establishing a unique trajectory that functions to link colonial and Inca women through their garment ensembles. By focusing on the clothing displayed in colonial portraits, instead of analyzing the other iconography present in individual and donor portraits, the longevity of women's garments and their traditional ensembles becomes a visible part of each woman's identity. Further highlighting the presence of

[186] De la Vega and Livermore, *Royal Commentaries,* 6.

women in each portrait is the suggestion of traditional motifs such as *toacpu*, which were appropriated by colonial women, and the abstraction of entire traditional garments, occasionally combined with more European elements such as lace, as it is through painted textiles that concrete garments are represented. Though these garments have multiple functions within each painting, they also symbolize women's work that constructed the garment itself; however, this presence is similarly mediated, as each artist was, in all likelihood, a man.

The colonial period in Peru saw transformative political, cultural and social shifts, yet women's garments remained true to traditional Inca forms. Native elites strove to legitimize themselves through their Inca ancestry, and the clothing that is depicted in each image reveals the different ways that elite men and women expressed that aspect of their identity, and manipulated their heritage while also expressing their agency. The rise of global trade, which opened new channels between Peru and other parts of the world, similarly transformed women's and men's garments as new fabrics, materials, and motifs were actively incorporated and assimilated, and were often superimposed onto traditional forms and styles. While men appear to have taken on more European styles of dress, such as lace sleeves, breeches, boots, and brocaded shirts and capes, women continue to display traditional garments, held together with *tupu* pins, albeit with some colonial innovations and inspiration in the form of lace sleeves, half-*acsus,* and proliferations of *tocapu*.

Nonetheless, the foundational pillars of Inca women's dress—the *anacu*, *lliclla,* and *tupu* pins—remained relevant. How exactly did Inca garment forms and ensembles persist over a period of hundreds of years, while men's fashion changed drastically, mostly abandoning Inca traditions of dress? Several scholars have attempted to address this continuity and propose that women's isolation, domesticity, modesty, and general triviality to colonial officials are some of

the answers as to why this was the case. However, there is no singular "why" that can be posited in considering women in colonial images depicted in traditional Inca-style garments. Due to women's primordial ties to cloth and cloth production as explained in Inca origin myths, and women's dominant roles in the textile production process that were a reality for Inca women and girls, women's own "textile primacy" materializes further out of a society that already placed enormous value on textiles. In considering the garments and garment ensembles in colonial portraits as the central, and not peripheral, object in each image, the long-lasting significance and timelessness of women's garments is revealed. By incorporating the mythical beginnings of the Incas and women's primary role in textile production, a new way of interpreting women's ties to this craft emerges. These connections inform, define and characterize women's own textile primacy.

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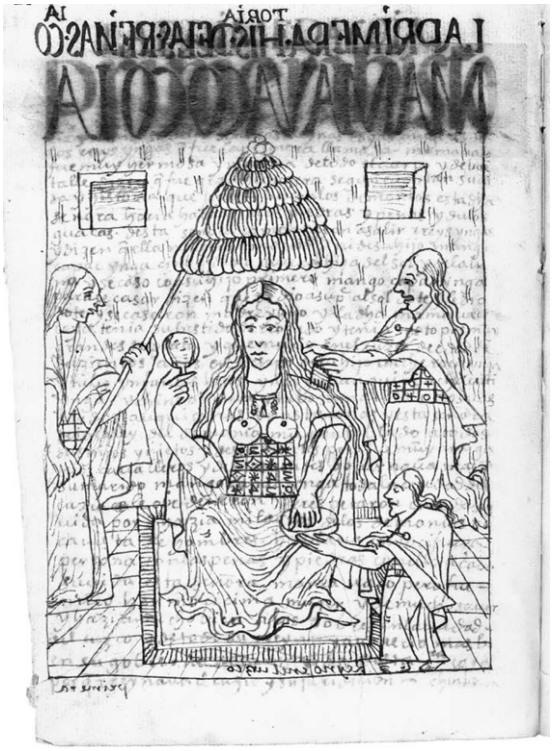

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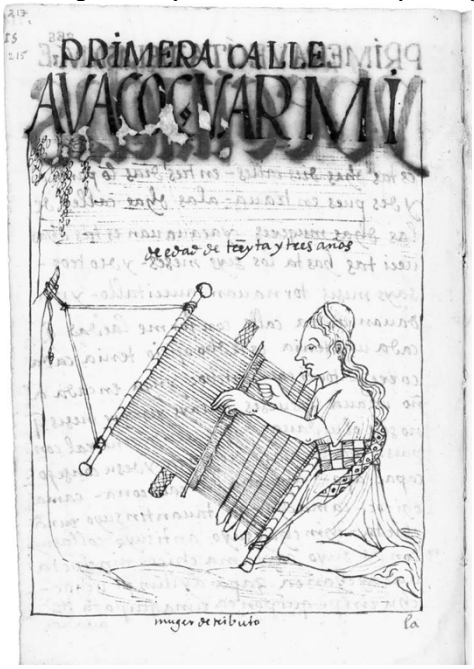

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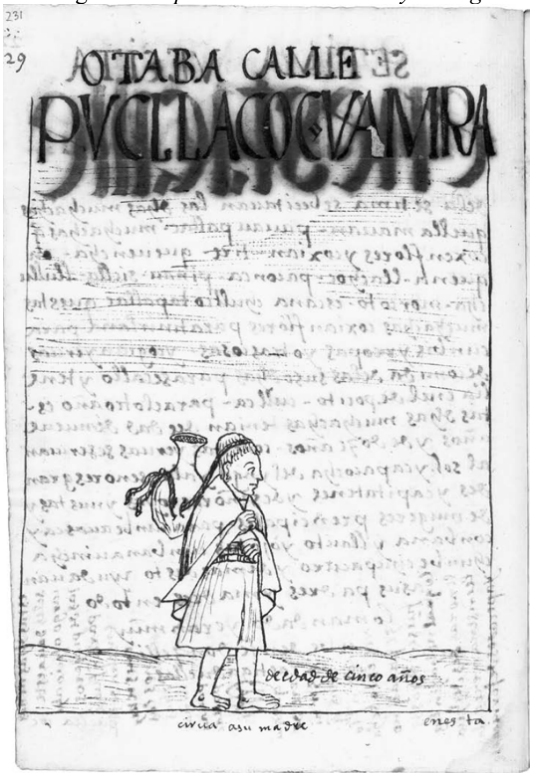

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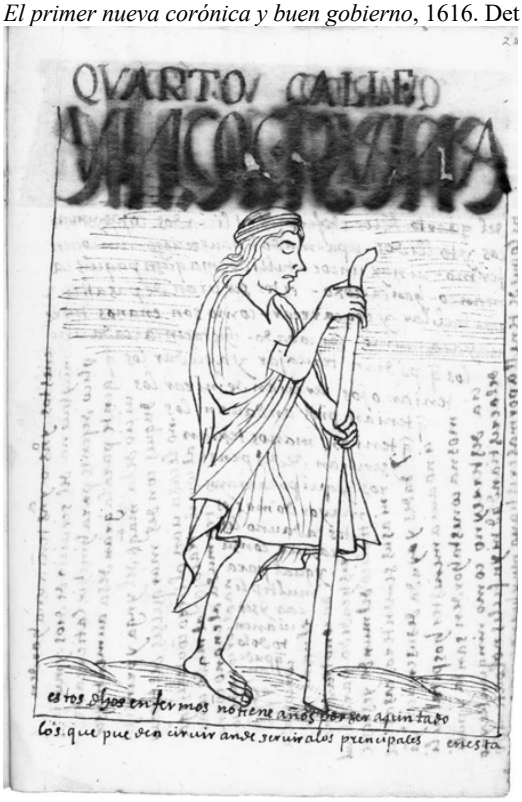

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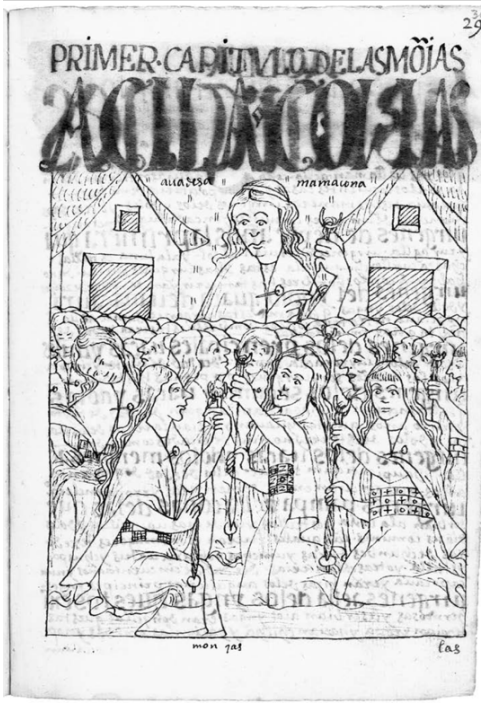

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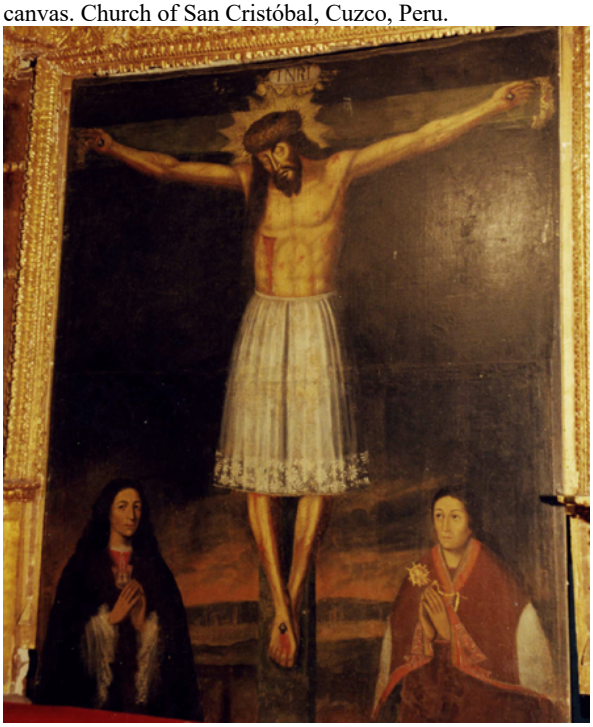

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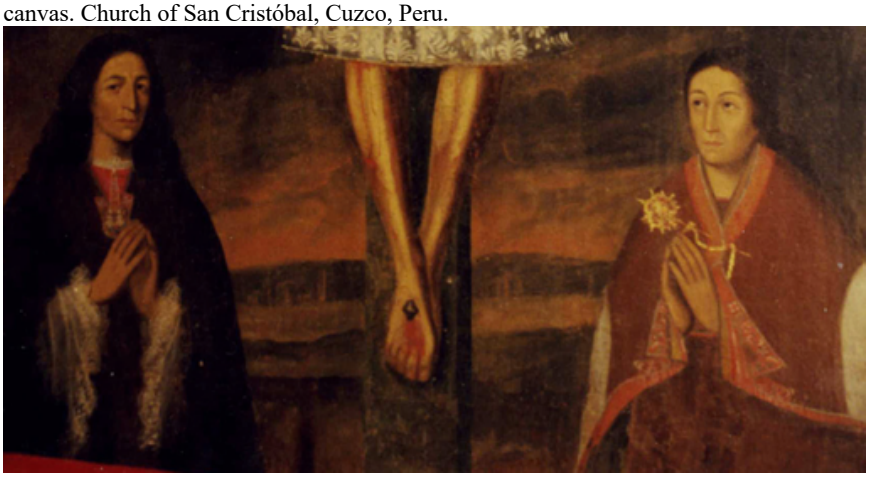

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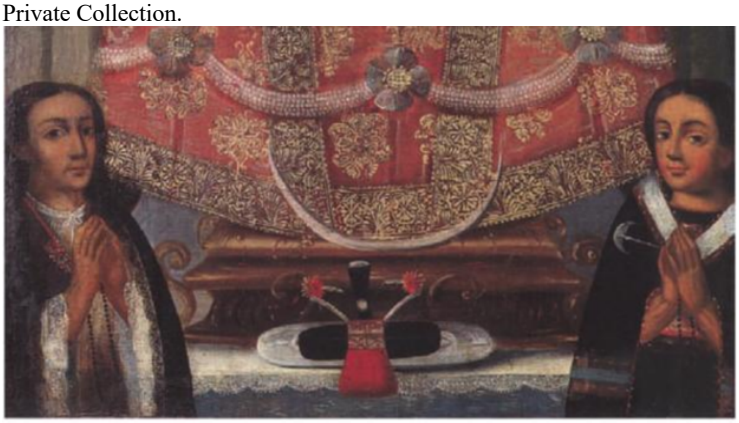

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