

Spring 2015

Fashioning Identities: Sacred Presence and Social Significance in Colonial Inca Textiles

Jade Anne Gutierrez

University of Colorado Boulder, Jade.Gutierrez@Colorado.EDU

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholar.colorado.edu/honr_theses

 Part of the [Latin American Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gutierrez, Jade Anne, "Fashioning Identities: Sacred Presence and Social Significance in Colonial Inca Textiles" (2015). *Undergraduate Honors Theses*. Paper 903.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Honors Program at CU Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Undergraduate Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of CU Scholar. For more information, please contact cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu.

Fashioning Identities:
Sacred Presence and Social Significance in Colonial Inca Garments

By: Jade Gutierrez
Department of Art & Art History

Thesis Advisor:
James M. Córdova, Ph.D. Department of Art & Art History

Defense Committee:
Claire Farago, Ph.D. Department of Art & Art History
Robert Nauman, Ph.D. Department of Art & Art History
Frances Charteris, MFA Program for Writing and Rhetoric

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO BOULDER

April 3, 2015

Table of Contents.

Abstract.....	3
Chapter I: Introduction.....	4
Chapter II: Pre-Colombian and Colonial Textiles.....	11
Chapter III: Colonial Andean Paintings of Textiles.....	26
Chapter IV: Conclusion.....	46
Notes.....	49
Illustrations.....	67
Glossary of Terms.....	91
Bibliography.....	93

Abstract

Textiles produced in the Andes at the height of the Inca rule were part of a complex social and ritualistic system in which they functioned as conduits of political power and were inherently representative of Inca social and spiritual values. Pre-Colombian garments were some of the most powerful emblems of identity. Spanish colonization brought significant changes in the manufacturing of textiles and in the basic social structure of the Andes, and the new material and social changes in textile production allowed for the creation of new types of garments that maintained their inherent significance, but created new Andean identities. This thesis explores how textiles functioned in colonial Andean society and how colonial Andean identities were *fashioned* when individuals donned specific garments. I found that both Pre-Colombian and colonial textiles acted as vehicles for social status and sacredness. However, the colonized Andeans understood the sacredness and social importance of these garments in dramatically different ways. Additionally, the process that James Lockhart's terms double mistaken identity assumed great importance in certain material objects in the Andes. The concept refers to the process where each cultural group wrongly assumes that a particular form or concept is essentially known to the other group and operates similarly to its own tradition. It is the instance when one culture takes for granted the other's understanding without recognizing the possibility of an alternative interpretation.¹ This process allowed for certain significant Andean concepts continued invisibly within traditionally Spanish, Christian frameworks, contributing to a new, hybridized artistic tradition in the Andes.

Chapter I. Introduction

In the last decade scholars have focused closely on Andean textiles in order to better understand Andean artistic modes of expression. Rather than being secondary to objects that would appear more valuable to the Western eye (such as gold and silver or representational art objects), textiles have become a primary point of study for scholars to pre and post-Conquest Andean ideology and social roles. This paper examines how textiles and garments were an integral part of Andean worldviews and were vital in the construction of Inca identity both before and after the conquest. I argue that some of the inherent qualities of pre-Colombian textiles persisted into colonial times and transformed with the new religious, economic, and social powers at play. This transformation resulted in a new artistic tradition with new realizations and opportunities for the Inca and other groups in the Andes.² Colonial Andean textiles drew from and confirmed the Inca tradition creating a new strain of materialism, social structure, and religion within a new artistic tradition.

As a whole Andean visual culture studies do not agree on what constitutes “art.” Some scholars have relied on postcolonial theory in their research in an attempt (albeit failed) to disassociate the West and re-center Inca ideologies. There has also been critical discourse that has reevaluated and hypothesized new aspects of Inca visual culture. I intend for this paper to occupy the latter group.

The first group, publications of the early twentieth century to the 1970s, relegated Inca material objects to the footnotes of art history as “abstract” forms and geometric, “decorative” motifs.³ Its value resided in its “beauty, symmetry, and knowledge of space.”⁴ Early scholarship on the Inca basically follows a European model of focusing on a single medium of expression, be it stone, metal, textile, ceramic, or architecture.⁵ For example, George Kubler, writing on the

Inca stonework in Cuzco, stated that, “The intrinsic meaning of Inca art reinforces the general impression of an oppressive state. It is as if, with the military expansion of the empire, all expressive faculties, both individual and collective, had been depressed by utilitarian aims to lower and lower levels achievement.”⁶ Other scholars included Pre-Colombian “art” in the footnotes of art history textbooks for its “attempt” at basic artistic design. Such books are prone to haphazardly organizing different cultural groups with homogenizing terms such as describing the different “artworks” with words such as “ornamentation” and “abstract design.”⁷

Another approach is more anthropological. Rather than comparing Inca visual culture with European art, the objects are given their own artistic movements from an anthropological perspective that often patronizes the Inca culture by placing its artistic output on a lower rung than Western European art forms. Although some scholarship attempts to introduce new ideas and ways of thinking about Inca textiles without privileging Europe, much of it still falls into the trap of using homogenizing Western European ideas and colonial theory.⁸ César Paternosto attempted to undo much of the work his forbears did by stating, “As long as the geometric signs are neutralized as ‘decorations,’ the historical picture of pre-Colombian cultures will remain incomplete.”⁹ However, he later utilizes this way of thinking and some of his arguments are still inherently tied to Western European notions of judging art.¹⁰

More recently scholars have taken a critical approach to the study of Andean textiles in an effort to reposition art history and relay new concepts in the field. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, for example, situate Andean textiles within Andean worldviews and concepts of hybridity, in a critical attempt to re-center Peru, while Tom Cummins has recently repositioned Andean garments and their designs within the larger Inca semiotic system in a critical evaluation of previous scholarship on textiles.¹¹ Finally Carolyn Dean demonstrates how to change the way

we represent alternative worldviews and understand Andean material cultures distinct from the more problematic term “art.”¹²

Throughout my paper, I will refrain from using the words “art” and “beauty,” which are premised in Europe’s optical naturalist definitions of beauty. Instead, I use the terms “visual culture” or “material object” when discussing Andean objects previously labeled as “art.” Further, my use of the term “Western European” is to refer to European modes of understanding, and is not intended to homogenize any group but to identify the presence of conflicting worldviews from a critical standpoint. Throughout my paper I attempt to explain Andean visual culture from within Inca signifying systems and show how textiles were the result of colliding disparate systems during the colonial period.

In contrast to the Western European tradition of realistically painting or sculpting images of the divine, Inca material objects embodied a powerful presence in their materiality. The central notion of optical naturalism in Christian art is to *portray* (that is, to represent) an object through icons and imagery; Christian art functions so that the optical naturalism of the work makes the divinity visible. In contrast, many Inca material objects, such as stone spirits called *huacas* and certain types of textiles, were made from materials that *already* had a living presence in them.¹³ This refers to a key concept in Andean culture: the *camay* or essence of an object. The word *camay* stems from the Quechua word *cama* which means to order, to organize, or to have an essence.¹⁴ It denoted that which was unseen, but vitally important: the energy or essence of an object. An object could transmit *camay* essence outwardly and invisibly (rather than through representation of its physical form), and it could also transmit *camay* energy into another object it was touching. *Camay* existed in the material of the object rather than in its physical shape, meaning that an object’s meaning was intrinsic, but it also meant that the form could be

completely destroyed, but the essence could still exist.¹⁵ This is in contrast to a Western European way of understanding material objects, where the physical shape and appearance is what denotes the primary meaning.

The concept of *camay* is pertinent to both textiles and the Inca stone spirits known as *huacas*. Although textiles are the subject of this paper, I also take into account other objects in Inca visual culture such as *huacas*, *keros* (conical drinking cups for the maize beer *chicha*), and *aribolas* (oblong vessels with a pointed foot also for containing and drinking *chicha*), in order to better understand the connections between Andean objects and Andean worldviews. This is the basis of my following chapter (chapter II), in which I examine pre and post-Conquest Inca textiles.

Textiles continued to be revered by Andeans and sought by Spaniards well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the creation of identity in Andean colonial society had less to do with the inherent meanings of one's ethnic group, physical environment, spiritual connection, and relationship to the Inca and had much more to do with personal *choice*. For the first time, Andeans could clothe themselves in whatever materials they could afford under the much less strict Spanish sumptuary laws. Colonial identities were *fashioned* from garments and textiles and allowed the conquered people to completely reinvent themselves by taking on the persona of powerful Inca nobility and royalty. Further colonial identities were "hybrid" identities that were composed of Andean elements, European elements, and elements from all other cultures that made contact with the material objects circulating through the trade systems within the colony. *Uncus*, *llicllas*, and tapestries became vehicles for meaning that created the social hierarchy on which the colonial society was based.

In chapter three, I analyze how textile primacy continued to lend meaning and significance to the non-Andean objects that they clothed in colonial society. The most common method the Spanish used to convert the Andeans was through incorporating lessons into images. Using images to teach has an extensive history in Europe, especially in the Middle Ages when most people were illiterate.¹⁶ The same methods were used to help convert the Andeans, and images of Christian deities became the vessels for teaching important elements of the Christian doctrine. However, whenever images are used to communicate ideas, the possibility for double mistaken identity and transformation of meaning exists. As stated before, it is impossible to control *how* an object means to another person. Therefore, when the Andean tradition of clothing spiritual objects was continued on Christian *bultos*, or represented in optical naturalist paintings of Christian images, the textiles served to lend additional Andean significance to already charged Christian objects in a safe and sometimes unrecognizable way.

The Spanish regarded Inca material culture from a Spanish perspective, and the result was many instances of certain objects taking precedence over others that would not have been the case if a native man or woman had made the choice. Many of the Inca garments kept by the Spanish were not kept for their political or social importance but rather for their artistic beauty. Dave Hickey gives a lucid definition of beauty as the agency that causes pleasure in the beholder, which is a Western European concept of the word.¹⁷ What provides pleasure to an individual is a subjective matter. Beauty itself is a social construct, and *not* a universally accepted set of criteria. But what are the criteria for a set of criteria? But how does one determine what is beautiful and what is not? Further, *who* decides what is and is not a work of art?

From the colonial era through the nineteenth century, art history has been taught from the position using concepts of aesthetic beauty with a specific set of standards that has created the

idea of the “work of art” that the discipline of art history rests upon. This idea of a “work of art” itself immediately presents a hierarchy of genres and media for the objects generated for the purpose, or not for the purpose, of art. The ideal work of art instantly implies the lesser work’s existence. The existence of a masterwork makes it possible for the lesser to exist: a “lesser” form of art from a supposedly “lesser” group, in other words the colonized group like the Inca and their former subjects.

The relationship between the conqueror and colonized tends to be one of self-perpetuation. The sight of the other confirmed each in his inhuman estimate of himself.¹⁸ The circularity of the relationship influenced the other simultaneously. The way in which each sees the other only testifies to his view of himself. When faced with the opacity of this vision the Inca were forced to come to terms, in a concrete manner, with what was happening to their culture. They had to take account first of the conquerors and the imbalanced perception of the other, and try to make sense of the new ideals forced on them in the only way that they could.¹⁹ The trauma of decentering and attempting to obliterate Inca religion and culture resulted in the Inca having to sort specific meanings and qualities of Spanish culture that had qualitative meaning for themselves.²⁰ As the reader will later see in my analysis of the function of colonial garments in social hierarchies, the moment of encounter between two groups will always have the potential for one to completely reinvent themselves, to reinvent their pasts and yield up the future in new, surprising, and totally unauthorized designative meanings.²¹

Because of my twenty-first century, North American background, I cannot present Inca textiles from an Inca point of view, colonial or otherwise. However, I can say with conviction that interpretation of an art object is dependent on the worldview that each viewer holds and the environment where the object is placed. Additionally, as this study shows, meaning and

interpretation are not always exclusively consistent with Inca signifying systems or with Spanish signifying systems. Instead they are reliant on both systems and draw from both of them. Meaning is constantly being realized and actively transformed. As Dean says, “One must accept the premise that looking can never be an objective exercise.”²² I cannot assume that I can relate to the reader how textiles were for the Inca in actuality from their perspective and within their world, however, I will show that one can understand Andean worldviews in relation to Spanish worldviews and acknowledge the differences present and relinquish the necessity to pigeonhole every concept into a Western European structure to enhance understanding. By doing this one can ultimately use the signs to form conclusions on how textiles and garments functioned both in the Pre-Colombian and Colonial Andes from perspectives that are not necessarily Spanish. As Jae Emerling states, in his *Theory for Art History* many art historians have moved beyond their traditional disciplinary boundaries, focusing more on theories of culture, hybridity, history as a constructed discipline, and so forth; their findings lead to more innovative work that has had considerable impact on thinking and writing within the field of art history.²³ I wish to situate my thesis among this vein of scholarship.

Chapter II. Pre-Colombian and Colonial Textiles

Introduction

From inside the cave they brought out their handsome golden halberds. The men came out dressed in garments of fine wool woven with gold. On their necks they brought out some bags, also of elaborately woven wool; in these bags they carried sinewed slings. The women also came out dressed very richly in cloaks and sashes that they called *chumbis*, well woven with gold and with fine gold fasteners, large pins about two palms long, which they called *topos*.

—From the Inca creation myth, narrated by Juan de Betanzos.¹

Consider for a moment the pre-Colombian Andean textile from the finest class of garments, known as a *cumbi* cloth. *Cumbi* cloths were some of the finest textiles created, prized by Andeans and later by the Spanish. Even now the quality of the Pre-Colombian Inca textiles cannot be matched by hand. The warp and weft counts of the camelid fibers used in the Andes were by far the highest in the world at the time.² Weaving generally had approximately 30-35 warps and more than 200 wefts per inch.³ They were double-sided, meaning that there was no obvious inside or outside. Both sides were exactly the same and made with the same labor-intensive process.⁴ Additionally, bolts of cloth were never cut as they were in Europe and other parts of the world. Rather each cloth was made in one continuous piece, which indicated that each garment was made with a specific purpose for a specific person.⁵ The weavers were both men and women, and they constructed looms to match the size of the textile, usually on traditional backstrap looms with some local modifications.⁶ The intense dyes used to color clothing were very much prized by the Spanish for their beauty and intensity.⁷

To the modern eye, everything about such garments would appear to indicate immense effort for the sake of flawless beauty. But if anything, this is the biggest mistake to make when attempting to understand Inca visual culture, which relied, not on the outward appearance of an

object, but rather the internal and metaphysical spirit.⁸ Clothing and textiles were a foremost part of Inca culture, but not necessarily because of their supposed beauty. In this chapter I argue that garments were powerful emblems of identity in both the Pre-Colombian and colonial Andes. Each cloth was made with a predetermined purpose, be it ritual, sacrificial, tributary, or for clothing an individual. To borrow a term from Carolyn Dean, it was a garment's "animacy" rather than its artifice that determined its value and function in its environment.⁹ Specific materials could create a whole that was spiritually and essentially greater than the sum of its parts. For example, Juan de Betanzos narrates a scene from the Inca creation myth where the god Viracocha creates the Inca people in the rich garments that indicated their natural power and right to rule (see quotation above). The first four Inca were created in the traditional male *uncu* tunic, the female wraparound dress and mantle known as the *anacu* and *lliclla*, and all the proper Inca accessories such as the densely woven coca leaf bags and *chumpi* belts.

How a garment looked and how it was made could indicate where and to whom the finished piece would go. Inca garments, such as the *uncu* were highly visible, covering the majority of the torso (or in the case of the woman's *anacu* and *lliclla* mantle, nearly the entire body). Textiles identified the person they covered, and they played an important role in how society perceived individuals. Particular colors, designs, and the less visible qualities of garments contributed to self-image and the social roles of particular individuals.¹⁰ The rank of the wearer was known from the quality of his dress, and it was vitally important, as Andean author Guaman Poma states, for each to be "Dressed so that they might be recognized, respected, and honored."¹¹

Inca Textile Production

Textile production was central to the Inca economic, social, and spiritual sectors. A large majority of society played some role in producing garments. Every age group was required to contribute in some way to textile production, be it herding the camelids, spinning the wool, or making dyes. Even small children and the very old had to contribute; for example girls under the age of twelve were required to pick flowers that were used for certain dyes for clothing and other textiles (figure 2.1).¹²

An entire class of individuals known as the *cumbicamayos* (male weavers of *cumbi* cloth) and *acllacoya* or *mamacona* (female cloistered weavers and servants of the Sapa Inca) spent their entire lives weaving for the state. Figure 2.2 illustrates a group of the *acllacoya* spinning wool outside while being watched by the *mamacona*, the head *acllacoya*. The *acllacoya* were chosen for their beauty and devotion as young women and spent their lives living in “convent-like” *acllahausis* where they continually wove cloth. The textiles produced here were the finest in the state and were usually reserved for the Sapa Inca or for state rituals and sacrifices. One such ritual is observed in the sixteenth century Jesuit, Blas Valera’s, *Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives of Peru*, where the *aclla* women hosted a banquet for the inhabitants of Cuzco.

The virgin *acllas* came out dressed in white and red and accompanied by many lords...Later the virgins took out all the fine cloth that they had worked on all of that year, and offered the best and most unusual, of various colors and stitches, to the king and the queen and crown princes and princesses. Later they gave to each one of the lords and principal men and to their wives and children...for the rest of the people they took out clothing made from common wool or cotton, depending on the nation that was to receive it. With this act, the *acllas* gained more, because the lords and the people gave them great presents of livestock, land, gold, wool, silver, and harvests.¹³

This excerpt highlights a number of important roles that textiles played in the Inca state. First is the idea of reciprocity in Inca signifying systems that extended between the people, cloth,

and the land. The core of the Inca state relied on an extensive tribute system with textiles at its center. The *acllas* from the scene above were not the only ones to distribute clothing. The gifting and receiving of Inca style clothing was a central process in Inca politics, and represented a bond of allegiance to the Inca. For example, when one of the last Inca kings named Huascar came into power, his brother, Atahualpa, dutifully sent him clothing as a symbol of his loyalty.¹⁴

Interestingly, depending on the written source and which of the two brothers the writer was backing, the actual contents of the clothing tribute varies widely. For example, Guaman Poma argued that in return for the riches sent to Atahualpa from Huascar, Atahualpa in turn, in an attempt to snub his brother, sent him a bunch of women's clothing, which ultimately sparked a war between the brothers. Betanzos, however, stated that twenty, "Fine men's suits woven with hammered gold" be sent to Huascar's lords and Atahualpa only asked to get Huascar's measurements to send even more superbly made clothing.¹⁵ Betanzos stated that Huascar, who was generally quick to anger, took the request for measurements as an insult.¹⁶ It may be that Betanzos backed Atahualpa rather than Huascar because his wife, Doña Angelina Yupanque (formally Cuxirimay Ocllo) was originally married to Atahualpa before he was executed by the Spanish.¹⁷ Cloth was required as tribute from the various regions and various classes of people, and the type of cloth one was allowed to wear dictated his or her social status and relationship to the Sapa Inca. Garcilaso de la Vega describes three main kinds of cloth made by the Inca. These were called *asvasca* (coarse woolen cloth), *cumbi*, and another finer *cumbi* that was reserved only for lords and the Sun.¹⁸

Cloth also served as an ethnic identifier, meaning clothing indicated social class and ethnic group. When the *acllas* separated the type of clothing based on the nation that was to receive it, they were using it to dictate not only social status, but ethnic status and identity as

well. The Inca had vast numbers of subjects, and it was common practice for each of these regions to maintain local garment traditions in order to distinguish themselves. Cieza de León states in his chronicle that, “Though the city [Tiwantatsuyo] was full of numbers of strange and remote tribes, such as the Indians from Chile and Past, Cañaris, Chachopoyas, Huancas, Collas, and together peoples of these provinces, each race (*raza*) dwelt together in the place allotted to them by the governors of the city. The latter preserved the customs of their fathers, followed the usages of their provinces, and would easily have been recognized from the insignia they wore on their heads, even though there were a hundred thousand men gathered together.”¹⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega refers to the insignia mentioned by Cieza de León and relates that they were worn as headdresses, and were meant to serve as identification for each province. Pedro Pizarro stated that, “The natives of this kingdom are known by their clothing, because each province wore something different from the other and they took offense at the wearing of alien dress.”²⁰ Others like Fray Bernabé Cobo reported that the Inca considered wearing another region’s clothing or insignia a serious offence, since it made provincial control problematic for the Inca rulers.²¹ The Inca did not originally devise this tradition of ethnic clothing; however, when they came into power they ordered that the custom be preserved to prevent confusion among the nations and tribes and to make controlling the vast empire easier.²²

Implementing cloth as a means of control is indicative of the overall systematic control that the Inca had over the state. This systematic control of provinces is reflected through the preservation of visible ethnic differentiation; however, it was also shown in the distribution of other recognizable Incaic objects. For example, the massive network of Inca stonework that crisscrossed the empire served to assert Inca authority over both the landscape, and over the villages it crossed. Only the Inca could give important *cumbi* garments and textiles, which made

the gifts recognizably Inca. Additionally, *tocapu* were found in abundance on clothing, but were also found on ceramics, stone, and other objects. Inca vessels made of ceramic, wood, and metal and known as *keros* and *aribolas* were widely distributed and used in important rituals that involved drinking the maize beer known as *chicha*. These objects were distinctively Inca, and their presence and usage served as a continual reminder of who was in power.²³ But garments were one of the most important reflections of Incaic power and control.

Before the Spanish arrived, textile production in the Andes was an almost surgical procedure. Each part of the process determined for whom or what purpose the garment was made. Each choice made in the production of textiles, from the selection of a specific herd of vicuña for the fibers, to which plant dyes to use, played part in how the garment would function. Textiles were constructed on backstrap looms created to match the size of the textile being produced; figure 3 shows an *uncu* being constructed on a similarly sized loom (figure 2.3).

Cloth was made out of the fibers of camelids (either vicuña or alpaca). The herds were treasured. They were selectively bred in order to get the best possible fibers, and the Sapa Inca owned all of the herds.²⁴ Dyes most commonly used in Andean weaving were yellows, golds, reds, browns, black, and greens.²⁵ Less common were large amounts of white, deep purple, and indigo. Purple and indigo were the most rare colors in Andean textiles, probably due to the difficult process that went into creating the dyes.²⁶ The indigo plant was rare, and purple was made from shellfish found on the Pacific coast.²⁷ Shellfish were important spiritual objects because of their association with water and Mamacocha, the mother of all water. Recall that the Andean creation myth involves the different ethnicities being born out of various springs. Additionally, spondylus shells could only be found in the waters outside of the Humboldt Current, meaning that they had to be obtained in trade from as far as Ecuador. These shells were

ground into pigment for dye, or carved into shell figurines that were almost always included in sacrifices and rituals.²⁸ Spondylus shells were often found in burials of Inca boys and girls who had been sacrificed; figure 2.4 shows a figurine included in the burials found on top of mount Ampato that has a spondylus carved beads hanging off its belt in the lower right side of the image.²⁹

Tunics with large amounts of either blue or purple were reserved for important lords or the Inca king. Red was a commonly used color in Pre-Colombian textiles. Later in the colonial period, cochineal (the insect that was used for bright carmine red) became so desirable that it revolutionized the Spanish economy and placed the Hapsburgs and Bourbons at the head of a vast monopoly that controlled the red dye throughout all of Europe.³⁰ There was a vast Pre-Colombian trade network for the “finest of grain” of cochineal that was traced from Cuzco to Potosí, Lima, Tarija, Tucumán Buenos Aires, and all the way to Central Mexico.³¹ Trade networks, labor and tribute systems, and metaphysical characteristics were central to Pre-Colombian Andean textiles. However, when the Spanish arrived and changed the central power structure of the Andes, these changes made themselves manifest in both the material, production, and function of garments and textiles.

Textiles Production in the Colonial Andes

After the infrastructure of the Inca state collapsed and the Viceroyalty of Peru established, it was necessary for all *cumbi* weavers to quickly modify their extraordinarily refined methods in order to adapt to the new colonial lifestyle and demands.³² The Spanish were awed by the quality of Inca textiles, often referring to them as “silk-like” in quality and appearance.³³ One of the first acts implemented by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo was to create a

census system known as *visitas*. This involved Spanish clerics, *visitadores*, to travel to every village under their rule to take inventory and approximate how much each village could be expected to pay in tribute, a tribute that would be almost entirely in the form of garments and textiles.³⁴ The expected and preferred form of tribute to the Spanish Viceroyalty and Crown were known as *la ropa de la tierra* (native clothing), and it was eagerly bought and sold throughout the colonial Andes and overseas.³⁵ This tribute system was nothing new for the former Inca subjects, however, this new colonial tribute system was radically different, and Andeans may not have seen the continuity between tribute to the Inca and tribute to the Spanish. This is because under Inca rule, tribute was only required when villages were capable of doing so and never during times of famine or sickness. They were rewarded with food and clothing for tribute, and only those of certain age groups were required to do difficult work. Rather than requiring a certain amount of garments, those under Inca rule were expected to contribute a certain amount of labor time. Under the Spanish however, a strict quota for quantity was enforced, causing the indigenous peoples to practically become slaves to the *obrajes*. *Obrajes* were Spanish workshops that mass-produced coarse woolens or fine cloth. The *obrajes* had terrible work conditions and can be compared to the sweatshop factories of the nineteenth century and today. This transition was so strenuous on certain smaller villages, there were cases of the youth abandoning their homes and families to escape the feared textile tribute.³⁶

With the invention of the *obraje*, mass-produced garments were traded, bought, and sold across the colonial Andes. A single lot of tribute cloth could be sold two or three times in its city of origin before being shipped elsewhere, driving up the price and increasing its monetary value, which was initially a foreign concept to Andeans who did not have a history of transferring clothing within a monetary system. Clothing was being produced at a much faster rate in *obrajes*,

but the result was a degradation of quality in garments. More often, cheaper sheep's wool was used to replace the fine alpaca and vicuña fibers. Additionally, the tapestries were no longer made in a single unbroken length of cloth. To accommodate very large commissioned works, the Andeans adopted European style upright looms. On colonial tapestries one can often find one to several seams where the separately made pieces of a cloth were sewn together after they were completed on separate looms. Despite the fact that overall quality was often sacrificed for faster production, remaining *cumbicamayos* and other skilled weavers from the Lake Titicaca region continued to receive commissions for *cumbi* cloth.³⁷ Skilled workers in *obrajes* were given special commissions for important pieces. The Viceregal officials and the Jesuits were especially known for their sponsorship of commissions, and many *cumbi* seat covers, altar cloths, and carpets were made to adorn their homes and churches.³⁸

By 1570, garments were used as loans and to collect debts. For example, many local *encomenderos*, those given grants of authority over a group of natives who provided him with labor and tribute in exchange for his protection, would accept sets of garments as debt. For example, one Salvador Vásquez was owed nearly 2,630 sets of garments by a local merchant.³⁹ In another case, by the close of the sixteenth century, the nuns of Santa Clara Convent in Cuzco had established a considerable endowment for themselves through charging interest on loans in the form of both money and tribute goods (which was likely in the form of clothing) to those seeking loans.⁴⁰ By the late seventeenth century, the nuns of Santa Clara were even operating their own *obraje*. According to a petition by their administrator in 1666, the nuns asked for a site, "That belonging to them named Pomachocha, they be allowed to mount two or three looms and with these produce coarse woolens for tunics and white baize for sheets, so that they do not waste linen on bedclothes or petticoats and blankets."⁴¹ The request for the operation was

granted, and records show that the *obraje* of Santa Clara was generating 15,000 pesos in profit a year from the sale of coarse woolens.⁴² It was likely that these coarse woolens were being made by indigenous slave labor that was granted to the convent and all other *encomiendas* in the area.

For Andean, Mestizo, and Spanish families, colonial garments were stored as family fortunes and were willed to descendants as some of the most valuable possessions a family owned. Andeans especially made the common practice of willing garments. For Andeans, garments were treasured as heirlooms rather than as objects of monetary value as they were for the Spanish. This was because the textiles created claims to an idealized and Inca past and noble heritage that the colonial families could identify with. Families of Spanish origin also bequeathed Andean weavings in their wills. The chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León left curtains and table covers to be dispersed to his heirs and his *Discovery and Conquest of Peru* lists the last will and testament of the Viceroy, which includes several *cumbi* cloths.⁴³ Additionally, someone who broke the law, such as one Rodrigo Flores Caja Mallqui could have his or her prized garments and tapestries confiscated.⁴⁴ Certain priests with questionable morals would even charge natives clothing for baptisms. One *visitador* noted that certain priests, when baptizing an adult made them offer, “*chumbis* [woven belts], and pieces of clothing, and the poor Indians that have nothing to offer fail to get baptized.”⁴⁵

It is evident that textiles were participating in a new type of colonial economy that was different from the spiritual reciprocity of Pre-Colombian times. Textiles maintained their profound significance in Andean culture, however, the weight they carried transformed to a much more tangible currency. For many groups they were symbols of monetary value and vehicles for social status rather than receptacles of spiritual favor and inherent identity. Perhaps one of the most important and interesting shifts in the physical characteristics of colonial textiles

was the introduction and subsequent incorporation of European motifs and materials. The colonial Andes was site of a violent, chaotic, and immense colonization and Christianization efforts that took place over several decades. This dramatic struggle between two disparate cultures, one of which was in the dominant position, resulted in what many refer to as a “hybrid” culture. The colonial textiles that will be discussed in the subsequent section are examples of what many scholars refer to as “hybrid” objects because they incorporate both Inca and Spanish motifs. However, I want to be very careful when using this word due to the multifarious social, political, and biological meanings attached to it, especially in relation to nineteenth century theories of culture and race in which social Darwinism and other theories regarding cultural hierarchies are at play. However, to disregard concepts of “hybridity” would be to leave out a large portion of the history of the colonial Andes. The word “hybridity” has a past of being used to explain the byproduct of colonization and European expansion. Further, hybridity is intricately associated with concepts that emphasize power structures that tend to center and marginalize certain cultural groups over others.⁴⁶ Despite the stigma that is attached to the term, it is still an important concept in issues pertaining to the visual culture of the Andes both before *and* after colonization and especially in reference to specific colonial textiles.

The influx of foreign materials and styles that came to the new colony on the Spanish galleons lent to new kinds of Andean textiles. New materials, rather than being shunned, were embraced and even prized by indigenous weavers. For example, silk and metallic threads were coveted by Andeans, and the most important colonial garments are interspersed with these threads. Chinese-made table covers and wall hangings were imported in abundance to Peru from the Philippines, so that Asian flora and fauna designs gradually began to trickle into Andean tapestries, and over time their appearance became more common.⁴⁷ Figure 2.5 shows a colonial

Andean tapestry that combines Andean, European, and even Asian materials and designs. In figure 2.5 one animal that is given particular attention is the phoenix; a bird with important meaning in Asia that likely resonated with Andean peoples for its similarity to the condor, the largest bird in the Andes. In addition to vicuña fibers, this tapestry has silk threads, which were plied to a diameter similar to that of native threads to make working with them easier and to give the tapestry an even feel. The tapestry is also interspersed with silver metallic yarns that are unique to Asian-inspired Andean textiles. The unicorn is entirely of Asian origin as there was no Andean equivalent to the mythical animal.⁴⁸ The tapestry also includes two mermaids towards the center. According to Phipps's analysis, these mermaids are Asian in nature because they have Asiatic features and are playing Asiatic instruments. Peruvian mermaids are generally depicted playing Spanish guitars. However, the presence of parrots near the heads of the mermaids is an Andean motif. Parrots (and also dwarfs) were the common companions to high status *coya* women (Inca queens) in Andean mythology, so their presence near the mermaid would heighten the status of the mythological creatures as queens of sorts. The inclusion of the parrots would also have likely gone unnoticed to the Spanish buyer for its Andean significance, especially since there are so many other animals throughout the tapestry; the parrot motif would have held several meanings simultaneously depending on who was viewing it.

The color blue in this tapestry found on the phoenix wings, mermaid tails, and the small unidentified mammals is excessive compared to Pre-Colombian Andean textiles (see figure 2.5). Indigo was both difficult to find and produce, and was usually reserved for the finest *cumbi* textiles used in ritual or designated for a lord. The color blue-green was highly prized because it was so difficult to manage and likely had sacred associations as well.⁴⁹ The plentiful use of blue in this tapestry suggests the high rank of the person who owned it. Blue was an important color

in the Andes, but blue (and especially purple) were also important colors in Spain for their associations to royalty. Additionally, the proliferation of large red and gold flowers in this work has been linked to the Northern European penchant for floral motifs in tapestries. It is possible that the Flemish weavers that were recruited in Chile to teach indigenous weavers influenced the maker of this tapestry because flower patterns and other types of flora are quite common in Flemish models.⁵⁰

Figure 2.6 shows a wedding *lliclla* for an indigenous or Mestiza woman. It is made of the finest vicuña wool as well as imported silk and silver threads. It was made in the traditional double-sided fashion, and the weft count is 160 per inch (about 40 less than the average Pre-Colombian *cumbi* cloth).⁵¹ European motifs are plentiful in this particular shawl. For example the Hapsburg double-headed eagle is repeated throughout the length of the garment (figure 2.7) along with the aggressive figure of a Spanish man, clad in armor and brandishing a sword in the lower left of figure 2.7. The mermaids in this tapestry are of the Spanish and Andean variety as indicated by the Spanish style guitars that the mermaids hold. A number of Andean motifs also make an appearance in the form of jaguars, running llamas, parrots, and butterflies (figure 2.7). A number of *tocapu* march across the *lliclla* in several rows near the top of figure 2.7, however, these *tocapu* are distinctly colonial for their small size, different symbols (from standard Pre-Colombian *tocapu*), and excessive appearance. One of the most interesting parts of this particular *lliclla* is the incorporation of *woven* lace designs rather than actual lace along the upper portion of the *lliclla* below the *tocapu* (figure 2.7). This indicates that it was a woman of high status who would receive the wedding mantle, because lace was an indicator of wealth and status.

In the viceroyalty, sumptuary laws regulated dress according to social hierarchies and racial distinctions. This means that the amount of silk a native woman could wear was restricted.

This restriction is possibly the reason why images of lace were woven onto the wedding *lliclla* in figure 6 rather than including actual lace. If the owner of the *lliclla* was not allowed to wear lace, then weaving lace patterns may have been a way to still have the appearance of lace without breaking the law.⁵² Andean or Mestiza women of the highest class who could wear lace often incorporated it and other European dress practices into their traditional Andean garb. The addition of lace and metallic threads exuded a sense of luxury and importance coveted by Andeans and Spaniards alike. This is illustrated in the detail of the painting *The Marriage of Don Martin de Loyola to Dona Beatriz Nusta and of Don Juan de Borja to Lorenza Nusta de Loyola* where one can see the edges of lace underneath the *tocapu* scattered *anacu* and *lliclla* (figure 2.8). Wearing lace petticoats under a woman's *anacu*, as demonstrated by Doña Beatriz in the above painting, was required of respected Andean women. Without such a petticoat, her native dress would be deemed indecent because its looseness created the potential to expose her legs as she walked.⁵³

Conclusion

The phenomenon of textile primacy remained an integral part of Andean culture into the colonial period. However, how textiles were used shifted. Pre-Colombian textiles functioned as an extension of Inca rule. They were included in every major Inca ritual and sacrifice, their physical characteristics indicated one's status within the Inca state, their gifting and receiving served to reiterate alliances, and their inherent power was closely associated with Andean notions of sacredness. Textiles continued to be revered by Andeans, and they maintained the ability to create the identity of an individual. Colonial identities were "hybrid" identities that were composed of Andean elements, European elements, and elements from all other cultures

that made contact with the material objects that were circulating through the trade systems within the colony. *Uncus*, *llicllas*, and tapestries became vehicles for meaning that created the social hierarchy on which the colonial society was based, but they also became points of convergence that demonstrated the presence of multiple cultures combining to create “hybrid” objects.

Chapter III. Colonial Andean Paintings of Textiles

Introduction

Despite many of the Andean and Spanish traditions, such as Andean spiritual rituals and Spanish Catholic rituals, were mutually perceived as different, there were also striking similarities that existed between the parties. These similarities led to an important concept that John Lockhart refers to as “double mistaken identity.” This is a concept that is especially pertinent to many of the Christianized textiles and garments produced by natives artists in the “new” mestizo culture, especially in religious paintings and processional statues; both of which have ideologies rooted in Andean and Spanish traditions. Double mistaken identity is at the root of this colonization effort, and is especially pertinent in the post-conquest textile production because it visually demonstrates how an object cannot have a fixed meaning. However, the belief that the other is operating within one’s own frame of reference allows for differences to continue invisibly. This ultimately creates significant meaning that is not mutually understood between groups. In this way Andean traditions and concepts that functioned within traditionally Spanish frameworks escaped recognition and continued to reference Andean meanings under a Hispanic guise. One example of this is textile production and use. This chapter specifically examines how Christianity lent to already established textile primacy in the Andes, and how Andean textiles bolstered the significance of traditional European motifs and symbols of divinity.

As Lockhart explains, double mistaken identity is not a static phenomenon, but meanings can continue to transform depending on the situation and scenario; each culture lends certain elements to the other until certain forms are no longer distinguishable from each other, and the original origin becomes unknown because both accept it as their own.¹ This chapter argues that

the every day interactions between Spaniards, natives, and material objects that led to the gradual cultural change in each tradition.

Power, Politics, and New Formations of Identity in the Andes

The physical changes of colonial garments resulted in changes of their significations and internal meanings, ultimately creating a new function of Andean garments. The *uncu* and *lliclla* are both particularly important garments for study because of their visibility. Unfortunately, there are very few examples of surviving Pre-Colombian *llicllas* to compare, but there are a number of well-preserved *uncus*. Both types of garment served as the main covering of the core of the body and established social self. They fulfilled a prominent, symbolic role and continued to do so in the colonial period. However, the function of these important garments changed dramatically after the Spanish took control. Those who had lived under the strict governance of the Inca now found themselves free from Inca sumptuary laws that had dictated dress so minutely for generations. The absence of such laws resulted in much greater flexibility in the design of textiles, which in turn led to the possibility of indigenous peoples creating exaggerated social claims through dress (a phenomenon that has attracted significant attention recently).²

By the turn of the century, Andean peoples found the opportunity to conflate their identities through an eclectic combination of Andean and Spanish dress. Wills from the archives of Quito begin to narrate how native families took advantage of the loosened sumptuary laws to adorn themselves with the most luxurious dress that was allowed to them by the Spanish (recall that there were still racial laws in place to prohibit Andeans from dressing like Spaniards). For example, one will tells how two daughters of an Inca lord had a wardrobe that included the traditional *anacu*, *lliclla*, and *topo* pins but also millefiori from Italy, velvets from France, lace

from Spain, and Chinese silks from the Phillippeans.³ Another will of an Andean woman married to a Spaniard included *anacus* and *llicllas* that were also made of silk, damask, cotton, linen, taffeta, along with indigenous camelid fibers.⁴

In colonial times some native families, including many non-Inca indigenous nobles, were presented with the opportunity for social advancement. However, the Spanish also used textile primacy as a means of further asserting their authority. For example, the legacy of clothing extended into the convent of Santa Clara. The nuns divided themselves by donning either a black habit or a white habit. Traditionally, the white habit was the habit of a novice, but fully realized nuns of mixed or indigenous decent never donned the black habit, thus creating a social hierarchy based on differentiating the women by using clothing.⁵ Despite the Spanish remaining at the top of the social hierarchy, many indigenous families moved forward quickly, making claims of being descended from Inca nobility or royalty, and soon a new elite was established, and whether or not their claims were true had little to do with it. The only thing needed by the Spanish to legitimize such claims were “proofs” of their indigenous descent from one of the twelve Inca rulers, which often took the form of elaborate clothing or the presentation of a *maskapaycha* (also known as the *borla*); the Inca royal fringe that was worn across the forehead.⁶ Families would dress themselves in clothing that was previously reserved only for royalty in order to preserve a good lifestyle for themselves and their offspring and to avoid being sent to labor camps.

The *maskapaycha* was the foremost element of an Inca king’s dress. Before the conquest, wearing the fringe literally meant that one was the absolute ruler of the state, and nobody except the ruler could wear one. However, the *maskapaycha* made an interesting reappearance in colonial Peru. Instead of symbolizing one’s absolute authority, it began to appear as a vestment

of noble heritage. *Maskapaychas* became coveted family heirlooms, are featured in portraits, and were worn in processions to claim royal heritage.

In the portrait of Marcos Chiguan Topa (figure 3.1), the indigenous noble is wearing the fringe as a memento of his noble lineage. Large amounts of lace on the sleeves and at the ends of his breeches emphasize his social rank. Andeans often added flowing lace sleeves to modified traditional garb. Lace was very much like *cumbi* from an Andean perspective because it was intricately decorative, labor-intensive, and costly. Further, the compartmentalized patterns in lace could appear similar to *tocapu*. The introduction of lace as a common adornment for colonial Andean style dress indicates indigenous appreciation of foreign fabric. Lace functioned within the Andean colonial tradition of “costuming” and acting out one’s identity, and was thus more than a Hispanicizing element.⁷ Don Marcos also holds a standard emblazoned with a crest, another sign of his family’s nobility. For families like Chiguan Topa’s, they may be elected to carry the Spanish royal standard for the celebration of Santiago, furthering social distinction.⁸

Inca nobles were more likely to be married to Spaniards, they were not forced into slave labor in the mines of Potosí or in *obrajes*, and they generally were better off than the majority of the colonized people in the Andes, which made their claims to nobility a very real and important goal. Elite status not only exempted them from the hard life of commoners, but it also gave indigenous nobles a connection to an Inca past that was becoming more idealized.⁹

The image of the coat of arms granted to descendants of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui (figure 3.2) is an example of a type of colonial image that juxtaposes Inca heraldry with an Inca noble wearing powerful Andean garments. To the right is the Spanish crest that was awarded to the Inca noble family. The crest contains motifs that are both Spanish and Andean. For example the stone walls of the small castle in the lower left quadrant would have resonated in the Andes because of the

characteristic Inca stonework that was indicative of the Inca state. Additionally, strongholds and castles indicated both wealth and power in Europe. One purely Andean motif is the inclusion of rearing jaguars and a flying condor in the lower right quadrant—both were sacred animals that exuded strength. The upper right quadrant shows crowned serpents facing *tocapu*. The crowns are a Spanish motif mixed with the Andean serpent. However, serpents had important meaning for both Andeans and Spaniards.

On the right side of figure 3.2 is either an Inca king from whom the family was descended, or perhaps a family member dressed up to evoke this prestigious heritage. The *uncu* worn in the image is meant to look Pre-Colombian, but many factors indicate that the artist did not know what this was supposed to look like. Rather, the image implies that the artist had never seen a Pre-Colombian *uncu* but had only second-hand knowledge of them. For example, the *tocapu* are too prolific for a Pre-Colombian tunic, and their placement and the color is wrong. They appear as small diamonds rather than large squares (as they are on the bottom). The collar *tocapu* are much too small, and *tocapu* are never out of proportion with one another as they are here. The ones on the trim of the tunic are more accurate in size for a Pre-Colombian *uncu*. Additionally, the colors are not the average, muted pre-Columbian earth tones. The large swath of blue would have been very unusual and the light blue almost unheard of. As this and other images demonstrate, colonized natives established their position in relation to the colonizer through adopting foreign emblems of power like heraldic crests, and juxtaposing them with local signifiers of high status, like the *uncu* and *mascaypacha*. The Spanish allowed natives to maintain ties to past to distinguish themselves through maintaining certain aspects of dress. In fact, this practice probably helped the Spanish maintain control by allowing ethnic barriers to be outwardly visible in the form of clothing. When indigenous nobles accepted European coat of

arms to increase their status, they were simultaneously submitting to Spanish crown, which subsequently made their claim to a noble Andean heritage an *award* from their colonizers.

One noticeable change in colonial *uncus* and *llicllas* was the sudden appearance of a large number of *tocapu*. On Pre-Colombian garments, *tocapu* were a somewhat rare occurrence. Only the most rare garments had more than a simple waistband of *tocapu*. The most famous pre-Colombian *uncu* is nicknamed the Royal Tunic (figure 3.3) because it is the only known Pre-Colombian garment made entirely of *tocapu*. However, it was quite common for colonial *uncus* to have this many *tocapu*. The colonial *uncu* remained a vital part of indigenous dress well past the initial years of conquest. But instead of *uncus* dictating region and social status as they did under the Inca, they transformed into self-made proclamations of status. *Tocapu*, are part of an Andean tradition that goes well-beyond the Inca, and function as a part of a semiotic system that is not well understood by scholars today. Particular *tocapu* can indicate certain things about the wearer. However, the meaning of *tocapu* is not static and could take on different meanings depending on who was wearing it and what other *tocapu* are near it in its context. Usually, *tocapu* were part of garments for those who were either high in status or a part of the Inca state. For example, those who served in the military wore very similar *uncus* that were red with black and which checkered *tocapu*-like elements.

Lower-class citizens would never have worn *tocapu* for fear of punishment. However, by the turn of the sixteenth century *tocapu* were found on nearly all colonial *uncus* and *llicllas*. In addition to familiar Pre-Colombian *tocapu*, weavers began to include new *tocapu* that associated with colonial meanings. *Tocapu* were placed side-by-side with Spanish heraldry that began to take on *tocapu*-like elements in their appearance. For example, many colonial *uncus* such as the one in figure 3.4 included the Hapsburg double-headed eagle or rearing lions, and often appeared

near their center, which was the most important place of the garment for its location near the heart. Other representational designs began to make their way into *uncus*. For example, tiny corn stalks and flowers are interspersed throughout the body of the *uncu* shown above. Such representational objects would never have been seen on a Pre-Colombian *uncu*. Their placement in floating positions on the body of the *uncu* is also a colonial technique. The inclusion of maize on this *uncu* alludes to Andean value for the crop and the wealth of abundance. The flowers equally allude to the Andean motif of the proliferation of life.

As seen in 3.4, blue and purple became colors of choice for colonial *uncus* because of their Andean association to sacredness and their Spanish association to royalty. Guaman Poma, for example, is quite specific in describing colors of tunics worn by certain individuals—red, white, and blue being most common for Spanish royalty and elites may have attributed to the vast increase in these colors.¹⁰

Garments helped to create the new flexibility of social status in the colonial period, and with this new social mobility came the opportunity for many previously marginalized ethnic groups to seize power. There was a strong anti-Inca sentiment at the time of conquest among ethnic groups that had been at war with the Inca or marginalized by them. Annual processions such as Corpus Christi gave these previously marginalized groups the opportunity to publically parade wearing *borlas*, *uncus* with a large number of *tocapu* and other expensive and luxurious fabrics.

The Cañari were one such group that took the fall of the Inca as a chance to elevate their status. In his chronicle of the Spanish conquest, Cieza de León recounts the first encounters between the Spanish and Cañari that would later lead to an alliance between the two in helping to overthrow the Inca. As a reward for this loyalty, the Cañari were given the privilege of being

named an honored guard in the colonial times.¹¹ In his account the Cañari pointedly allude to their bitterness of being under the captivity of a “foreign and cruel” people (i.e. the Inca). However, as allies of the Spaniards they were able to elevate their position in colonial times.¹² Some colonial paintings speak to this new positioning. For example, a seventeenth century painting of the Corpus Christi procession in Cuzco favors the Cañari presence (figure 3.5). In the painting the figures of the Cañari (found in the lower left portion of the composition) are clothed in lace, feathered headdresses, and elaborate tunics with flowing sleeves.¹³ They are the most elaborately clothed people in the room, even more so than the Spaniards who appear in the center of the composition and in the lower right portion.

The only object more beautifully garbed is the statue of St. Anne in the upper left. Many of the Cañari are holding firearms, which was a privilege that only they were permitted for their loyalty to the Spanish during the conquest; the inclusion of the weapons is a key point that was likely meant to both snub the Inca and inflate their status.¹⁴

Prior to the Spanish invasion, Inca armies were known for their aggressive military expansion, and the Inca Empire was the largest Pre-Hispanic state of Latin America.¹⁵ Their military successes created an image of Inca supremacy, and military might went hand in hand with ideas of political control and power. Dress was the primary way that Inca and other natives used to show social class (and by extension military might). Therefore, when the Inca state was dismantled, dress continued to play an active role in theatrical performances of military prowess that served to reinvent the power dynamics of colonial audiences. Public processional celebrations in colonial Peru frequently held militaristic plays with choreographed outcomes.¹⁶ One example is the only known colonial Andean play, *Apu Ollantay*.¹⁷ It demonstrates how theatrics became an integral part of social status, and one can argue that colonial garments were

essential in establishing this role. By donning a luxurious *uncu* or *lliclla*, a colonized native Andean was donning a persona that would help to create a more esteemed image of themselves to the various ethnic groups vying for power, and to the Spanish colonizers.

Clothing *Huacas* and Processional Statues

The practice of clothing *huacas* has a long history in the Andes. The practice mostly disappeared after the conquest. However, the tradition continued under the guise of similar Hispanic traditions and how the practice contributed to the formation of a textile type that participated in an Andeanized form of Christianity. As previously mentioned, the first Spanish extirpators recognized the practice of dressing *huacas* as a pagan practice that needed to be stopped through the burning of textiles, however, the Spaniards also recognized something familiar in the practice. Spain had its own long history of clothing statues, especially in Seville in the sixteenth century.¹⁸

Early instances of such recognition are recorded in the numerous chronicles documenting the early conquistadors and explorers. Agustín de Zárate narrates one such moment when he identifies a dressed *huaca* and compares the garments to vestments stating, “Among the gold and silver objects with which these *huacas* were decorated were some in the exact shape of croziers and bishops’ mitres; and some idols were found crowned with a mitre. Indeed when Tomás de Verlanga, Bishop of Tierra Firme, came to Peru and the Indians saw him celebrating pontifical mass with his mitre on his head, they said that he was like a *huaca* and asked if he was the *huaca* of the Christians.”¹⁹ This instance illustrates one of many encounters where Andeans perceived Euro-Christian ritual practices as having Andean analogues.

Many Jesuit missionaries sought such recognition as a means to make the Andean culture intelligible. The idea was that if Andean religious traditions could be contained within a European framework, then they could be represented as a demonic imitation of Christianity.²⁰ The goal was to make the Inca belief system digestible and easily understood by the missionaries. However, because the Andean worldviews do not follow a chronological trajectory, they complicated the missionaries' goals and instead produced a history that mixed both Western chronological notions of time and Andean cyclical ones. The missionaries were faced with making the irrationality of the Christian myth potent to the Andeans. Christ and the saints did not originate in Andean cultures; therefore, they had to be given potent Andean signifiers if they were to have any lasting effect on the new converts.²¹ In other words, they had to be *visualized* in order for conversion to actually take place. This is why processional religious statues became key objects that participated in the conversion of natives.

As stated above, processional sculpture was not a new subject to the Spanish. Wooden polychrome statues made for processions were a common practice in sixteenth century Andalusia figure 3.6 depicts a seventeenth century statue of a saint from Seville clothed in luxurious purple and gold religious garments. The purpose of Spanish processional statues was to create a living scene through which the tenets of Christianity could be communicated to a mostly illiterate society. Processional statues were entirely dependent on the situation in which they were placed. Without the crowd of viewers, they could not be fully "activated" as living statues that symbolized Christianity.²² The spectators of processional statues literally became participants in the event, making them extremely powerful emblems of Christianity.²³ Such statues were always clothed from head to foot in the most luxurious garments available. Andalusian processional statues were *designed* to be clothed from their creation ; in fact, many of the statues were left

unfinished in the torso region to save time and money because the area would eventually be covered by cloth.²⁴ Garments and jewelry helped to enhance the statues' illusionistic qualities. Additionally, rather than clothing the statues in secular garments, the statues were dressed in the modern dress of the time.²⁵

By the seventeenth century, processional garments (especially those used for the Virgin Mary) had begun to resemble clothing used to dress royalty. For example, a statue of the Virgin could be clothed in a deep purple dress made of satin, silk, or damask. There would be decorative embellishments such as sashes or ruffles.²⁶ Sometimes statues of the Virgin even wore elaborate jewelry or wigs made of human hair.²⁷ Many Andalusian processional statues were equipped with mechanical devices that could make the statue move during procession, thus, enhancing its "living" characteristics and allowing the statue to act out a narrative.²⁸ Recall that the creation of narrative was a fundamental aspect of Christianization efforts for the Inca; activated and "living" processional statues would play a large part in indoctrinating the natives.

Processional statues, known as *bultos* in the Andes, became an integral part of practicing Christianity in the Andes.²⁹ If one considers what is known about the significance of dress in the Andes, one can see how the Andalusian tradition became so popular among the indigenous peoples. In Christian tradition, Jesus was only one aspect of the Holy Trinity. However in the Andes, God the Father and the Holy Spirit were downplayed visually because neither were as actively visualized through statues and paintings as Virgin Mary and Jesus were. Processional statues played a large part in forming both the Virgin and Jesus as autonomous spiritual beings capable of acting independently in favor of devotees.³⁰ Cults to both the Virgin and Jesus sprang up in Andean villages, and one of the main rituals was the yearly procession of their patrons.

The cult to the Virgin of Pomota and the Virgin of Copacabana in the Andes both celebrated annual processions with statues of elaborately painted and dressed Virgins.³¹ The statue of the Virgin of Copacabana had a white mantle decorated with jewels and pearls. In 1614, a huge festival was held where the virgin was transported to a new chapel, the event epitomized the exaltation and reverence felt for the living statue (figure 3.7) A similar event was held in Pomata with a statue of the Virgin also dressed in a mantle and with a wig of human hair.³² In a seventeenth century painting of the processional statue (Figure 3.8), the Virgin of Pomata is placed on a shrine where she could become “activated” during the procession, meaning her divinity became tangible and capable of interacting with her audience. Cherubs, elaborate drapery, flowers, and lace surround her; and on her gown, multiple strands of pearls like garlands hold her cloak together. Her long, luxurious hair is pinned down with golden and jeweled brooches and her head is adorned with an elaborate gold crown and dyed ostrich feathers. The practice of using human hair as wigs has roots in Andalusia, but was also a powerful emblem in the Andes. Hair of dead Inca royalty could be added to *huacas* or statues and were worshipped as *huacas*.³³ Although colonial processions in the Andes were heavily influenced by the Andalusian tradition, it is important to note that spiritual procession was not an unknown practice in the Andes. In Pre-Colombian times it was not uncommon to parade Inca rulers in their finery and to hoist them on decorated litters for their military feats.³⁴ In other instances, manifestations of the gods were carried on litters as well; such as when Inca Yupanque ordered a litter to be made to carry the newly made image of the sun (a golden statue of a boy) throughout Cuzco.³⁵ Therefore, the participation in processions would not have been an unfamiliar action to the indigenous people. Andean roots in procession would have both reinforced the new Christian elements in the

evangelizing efforts as well as provided continuity of Andean meaning within the Spanish tradition.

The materials used to clothe the Christian statues were often local materials imbued with Andean meaning and spirituality. Andean artisans continued to use local pigments and camelid fibers in addition to European materials, occasionally to clothe important Christian statues.³⁶ In other instances, it was not just the materials that were local but the garments themselves. Joanne Pillsbury makes an account of a miniature *uncu* (Figure 3.9) that was actually used to clothe a statue.³⁷ In the early seventeenth century *bultos* of Christ were sometimes clothed in *uncus*, and were even occasionally depicted as Inca kings, a practice discussed in the next section.³⁸ In this particular instance, the small red and purple *uncu* shown in Figure 3.9 was likely made to cloth a religious statue, however, it cannot be proven. The small *uncu* has the elements that would make it an important *uncu* for whichever statue it clothed. Notice the two rows of larger-than-average *tocapu* in the center, and the smaller *tocapu* along the neck band. Considering the small size of the tunic, there are a large amount of *tocapu* and even more *tocapu*-like motifs of maize plants scattered on the body of the *uncu*. Additionally, Pillsbury notes that the neck area of the *uncu* is reinforced with church cloth (a white vestment stitched around the collar), alluding that the *uncu* was indeed used to cloth a religious statue.³⁹

Maya Stanfield-Mazzi gives an account of the importance of clothing the processional cult statue of Christ of the Earthquakes in Cuzco. Showing Christ as naked would have been a sign of humiliation in both Europe and the Andes, however, it was vital that spiritual objects be covered in fine cloth in the Andes. The statue originally had a much more subdued dress before 1650, but this was later removed to make way for an elaborate skirt-like garment known as a *sudario*.⁴⁰ The colonial Christ of the Earthquakes is likely to have looked similar to its

appearance as seen in a recent photograph taken at a procession in Cuzco (Figure 3.10). Notice the *sudario* goes past the knee of the statue and is elaborately embroidered in three main sections with lace. The belt at the top of the *sudario* is similar in appearance to traditional *chumpi* belts worn by Andeans. Although this particular photo is black and white, the *sudario* actually features a deep red fabric fringed with gold. Paintings of past processional statues of Christ of the Earthquakes reveal that some of the earlier garments were made entirely of lace. Recall the importance of lace in the colonial Andes to both the Spanish and the Andeans. The fact that an entire skirt could be made of lace shows how important the *bulto* was.

Double Mistaken Identity in Inca Christ Child and the Virgin Mary Spinning

Two distinct themes in colonial Andean painting that directly pertain to dress and textiles are the Inca Christ Child and the Virgin Mary spinning. The motifs in both subjects illustrate just how deeply rooted double-mistaken identity was in the colonial Andes, and how the interchange of meanings contributed to creating a unique religion that drew on traditions from both Europe and Pre-Colombian Inca spirituality. Both images, especially the Inca Christ Child, have been the source of much scholarly research because they are such charged objects. My research aims to expand on previous studies and especially look at the function of the images from an Andean perspective.

The Virgin Mary spinning is not an Andean creation, but originated in Europe from the unofficial Gospel of James, which narrates an episode where Mary spins the great veil intended for the Temple of the Lord.⁴¹ Through making the veil, Mary was foreshadowing her future as the mother of Christ. The instance is described as the moment when Mary, spinning with other maidens from the House of David, “spins the purple and scarlet,” the royal colors that signify the

coming of the Lord. The motif of the Virgin spinning originally showed her as an adult. It was not until the seventeenth century when Sevillian painter Juan de Roelas, first depicted the scene with Mary as a little girl.⁴² The iconography of the Virgin holding a spindle and whorl in hand was taken up by Roelas and the young Virgin Mary spinning began to be painted adorned with many jewels and finery according to the Andalusian sentiment of the time. Since Seville was the point of departure, the young Virgin spinning eventually made its way to the Andes (Figures 3.11 and 3.12). In Figure 3.11 the young Virgin is dressed in fairly subdued, but rich, embroidered clothing in European style in red, white, and blue. She is crowned and a halo of cherubs circle her face. She holds the spindle and whorl in her hands. In figure 3.12 the young Mary is wearing beautiful, lavish garments. Her dress is deep red and silver and is embroidered with gold thread. Her sleeves are trimmed in lace, she wears three golden rings, a golden broach, and ruby and gold earrings. A gold circlet crowns her head which is surrounded by a celestial halo. Her outfit and the seat she sits on are both covered in gold brocading. In her hands is the spindle and whorl that designate her occupation.

Both paintings depict the Virgin in European-style clothes. However, despite their European origins, I argue that the tools for spinning held immense significance for Andean natives. Compare the Andean Virgins spinning to the seventeenth century painting of the Inca Ñusta princess (Figure 3.13). This painting depicts an Inca princess wearing a Europeanized *anacu* with a matching *lliclla*. According to Inca tradition, she is accompanied by the hunch-backed dwarf companion and a parrot.⁴³ What is especially significant is the spindle and whorl held in her left hand.

It would be incorrect to say that the iconography of the Virgin spinning is a manifestation of Mary as an Inca princess. By the time Andean painters were exploring the subject,

Catholicism had been around for generations and had taken root among the natives. To imply that the native painters were secretly or inconspicuously painting the Virgin as an Inca princess as an act of rebellion or defiance is dubious at best. It is also dubious that the garments worn by the Virgin spinning include an Andean *lliclla*. Yet, while Luis Eduardo Wuffarden is correct in identifying her adornments and clothing as Spanish in nature, one should not ignore the fact that the potent textile iconography in the Virgin spinning would have resonated strongly in a society that still focused on textile primacy.⁴⁴ Even if the clothing and adornments had Sevillian origins, it is important to understand that the *reception* of such articles of clothing will not have carried the same Spanish meaning for Andean viewers. Even if the Virgin spinning was not interpreted as an Inca princess, it is likely that the action of spinning would have increased her holiness and importance as a divine being in the eyes of the Andeans. Additionally, it is important to note that the pseudo gospel related that the Virgin Mary learned to sew from her mother, Saint Anne. It states that she entered the House of David as a child, and she remained there for fourteen years where her duties were to spin and sew the veil of Christ.⁴⁵ This story, though European in origin, has remarkable similarities to *acllacoya* chosen women. Zárate relates in his chronicle that, “There were also, all over Peru, houses or nunneries inhabited by women sacred to the sun, who never left them but spun and wove cotton and wool, and made very fine clothes.”⁴⁶ The phenomenon of the Virgin spinning in the Andes was a fully recognized and accepted symbol to the Spaniards, however, it would have evoked equally resonant, but different meanings for Andeans. However, this disparity would have gone largely unnoticed between the two because of the mutual perception that the other understood the iconography in the same way. In other words, the Virgin Mary spinning wool and participating in a deeply Andean tradition, while

simultaneously evoking the Christian account may well represent a case of double mistaken identity.

Further, I wish to draw attention to the gold-brocade on the garments of the Virgin spinning in figure 3.12. Gold brocading is a distinctive addition to an oil painting that was previously most often found on paintings by fifteenth century Flemish masters.⁴⁷ The painting *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* by Jan Van Eyck (Figure 3.14) demonstrates the Flemish emphasis on drapery, pattern, and brocading. Specifically note the curtained backdrop behind the head of the Madonna; here one sees a type of gold brocading that is similar to the brocading found in Andean examples. As previously mentioned, there was a strong Flemish influence in Andean paintings due to the affinity towards Flemish models in Spain and the circulation of Flemish woodcut prints in Latin America, so it follows that the technique was taken up in the Andes. However, the amount of brocading used on a single painting in the Andes vastly outnumbers brocading in Flemish models. For example, in the Andean painting *Holy Family*, (Figure 3.15) the entire all three figure are covered in gold brocade, even more so than in the example of the Virgin Mary spinning. Even though the gold brocading in the Virgin spinning and *Holy Family* is very similar to Van Eyck's painting, there is an important distinction that evokes Andean significance. The brocading in Flemish painting always follows the Western rule of optical naturalism, that corresponds to the curve of the fabric that they are on, and lighten or darken depending on how the light hits them. In Andean examples, brocading takes on an almost stamp-like quality. It flattens the surface, and goes over the figures rather than around them, becoming *tocapu*-like in nature.⁴⁸ The brocading never mimics *tocapu* design, however, the quality of the brocading is much more similar to Andean design technique of flattened, geometric and compartmentalized patterns than it is to the Flemish optical naturalism. Again,

this style of brocading in the Andes was likely never differentiated from other types, but it reflects the lingering and subconscious Andean textile aesthetic among native painters.

Another subject in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Andean painting is the Inca Christ Child, which was more politicized than the Virgin spinning, and much more obviously rooted in Inca tradition.⁴⁹ The painting of an Inca Christ Child (figure 3.16) depicts a statue of the Christ Child in the act of blessing and dressed in ceremonial garments of both Inca and European royalty. The most distinguishing Inca elements in the painting are the *maskapaycha*, the royal scarlet fringe, on the brow of the child and the puma sandals on his feet. The main garment is not an *uncu*, but a silk, European tunic edged in lace. However, the brocaded designs on the main body of the garment are reminiscent of the *tocapu* that would have been present on a tunic of the Sapa Inca. Paintings and statues of the Christ Child adorned in Inca regalia were highly profligate in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of the earliest records of such a statue dates to 1610, the year the founder of the Jesuits, Ignacio de Loyola, was beatified. During the celebration the confraternity of el Niño Jesús in Cuzco brought out a statue of the Christ child dressed in Inca imperial clothes: an *uncu*, a *maskapaycha*, and sandals with heads of pumas or lions made of gold.⁵⁰ Notice that there was a cult to this processional Inca Christ Child statue similar to that of the Christ of the Earthquakes or the Virgins of Pomata and Copacabana. The active visualization and ritual handling of the statue helped to reaffirm the strong Inca sentiment that still existed while simultaneously perpetuating Christ as the savior.

There were halfhearted attempts to ban the practice of clothing Christ and other religious statues in Inca-style dress, but it was loosely enforced until the Tupac Amaru rebellion in the late eighteenth century. One of the lead advocates of banning the practice was a Bishop of Cuzco who, in 1781, complained that Inca memory and tradition was preserved in the Christian church

through the continued use of Inca dress in festivals and through using small *uncus* on statues of Christ (for example, see figure 3.9).⁵¹ A letter to the bishop from the *visitador* Areche laments, “What pains my heart most is having seen, in my visit of last year, the way they [the natives] introduce these vain observances into the Sanctuary, clothing the image of the Christ child in an *uncu* and the other insignia I have mentioned...when they see him in the garments of their *Yncas*, whom they regarded as Gods, they mix the most religious of ceremonies with outside superstitions.”⁵² However, the deeply political and symbolic message of clothing Christ in an *uncu* did not carry the same weight for the Spaniards as it did for Andeans, and the practice was mostly ignored until the Tupac Amaru rebellion impelled the governing forces to ban all Inca related imagery. The paintings of the were once common throughout the Andes, but only a few examples survived the “cleansing” of Inca political messages through the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Colonial textiles allowed Andeans to create an identity in colonial society. Clothing had less to do with the inherent meanings of one’s ethnic group, physical environment, spiritual connection, and relationship to the Inca, and had much more to do with *choice*. Material objects, such as textiles, had a powerful agency that could function to create entirely new identities and meanings. Colonial identities were *fashioned* from garments and textiles that produced “hybrid” identities that were composed of Andean, European, and Asian elements, which circulated through the global trade system of the colonial Spanish America.

Additionally, because the Spanish used visual aids to convert the natives to Christianity, images of the Virgin Mary and Jesus became the vehicles for important elements of the Christian doctrine. However, whenever images were used to communicate ideas, the possibility for double

mistaken identity and transformation of meaning exists, especially in a colonial context. It is impossible to control *how* an object means to another person. Each individual has a worldview that influences his or her perception of an object, and the differences in perception from one person to another may not be distinguishable. This phenomenon became especially important when Andeans began clothing Christian statues or painting Christian images with charged objects. Textile primacy did not evaporate during colonization, but actually aided to the evangelizing effort by reinforcing the importance of Christian icons. However, the use of textiles on Christian paintings and statues simultaneously continued to safely support Andean beliefs in the colonial society.

Chapter IV. Conclusion

Before one can learn the history of textiles and garments in the Andes, one must understand that art history is a construction itself, and that art history has a very specific history of its own that is largely oriented from a Western European, Eurocentric perspective that has emphasized optical naturalism and particular aesthetic values. The idea of what constitutes an art object lies at the root of the Western European tradition of art history, and in this tradition one must address the idea of what an art object is by inserting it into the philosophical domain of aesthetics. The Inca did not have a term in Quechua for “art” as it is understood in the European sense, and to call it so would be to reference an object outside the Western European framework from within it, rendering it insufficient.¹ A work of art’s status as a “thing” or an object, the point of reception by the intended viewer, and the desired reaction as a result of that reception are all ideas that are premised on aesthetic concepts like beauty.² But using such concepts for describing Inca objects is a uniformed practice that cannot result in any significant meaning about those objects or the culture that produced them.

How textiles functioned in the colonial Andes can never be understood outside of a colonial Andean construct, because that society was full of subtle nuances in meaning, invisible and visible hybridity, and instances of double-mistaken identity. As this thesis has demonstrated, it is almost impossible to isolate purely Andean concepts from purely Spanish concepts in colonial society. Both worldviews inform and transform the other, and the results are objects that combine Andean and European traditions. The indigenous people of the Andes made sense of the new Spanish ideals by referencing them from within their own familiar worldviews. Additionally, the Spanish attempted to make sense of Andean “pagan” tradition by appropriating familiar elements into a European framework. The obliteration of any attempt to *actively* practice

Inca religion was replaced with a much more subdued quasi-Christian religion in which Inca symbols of power and spirituality continued to transmit meaning side by side Christian or European symbols. By referencing Andean concepts and worldviews alongside Spanish concepts and worldviews, one can better approximate how Inca textiles functioned and what they meant, rather than how colonizing groups have projected their desires on how they *should* function and what their most important attributes were.

Using images to teach has an extensive history in Europe, especially in the medieval age when most people were illiterate. The same methods were used to convert Andeans, and images of Christian holy men and women became the vessels for teaching important elements of the Christian doctrine. However, whenever images are used to communicate ideas, the possibility for double mistaken identity and transformation of meaning exists, especially in a colonial context. It is impossible to control *how* an object means to another person. Therefore, when the Andean tradition of clothing sacred objects was applied to Christian *bultos* or European-style painting, the textiles served to lend additional Andean significance to already charged Christian objects in a safe and sometimes unrecognizable way.

In future studies, I wish to explore this concept by examining woven Andean altarpieces commissioned by Christian missionaries. It is my hope to continue research on instances where Andeans wove garments specifically for churches and examine which elements may have participated in double-mistaken-identity. Some altarpieces had been made for different, exclusively Andean purposes that were appropriated into Christian churches, thus, changing their function while holding onto some of the original intention and meanings. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi mentions an instance in Huamachuco when Augustinian friars had taken fine textiles from the shrine of a *huaca*. These textiles were reused as altar cloths in their church. The friars reported

doing this with other textiles belonging to other important *huacas*.³ Indeed, such textiles would embody important Andean and Christian meaning, and would be excellent studies for research.

A related research project might examine how some contemporary practices have grown from colonial tradition. Even though the act of clothing processional statues was a deeply rooted European tradition, the action of clothing the Virgin and Christ participated in an Andean tradition as well. Stanfield-Mazzi describes a tradition that exists today in both Pomata and Copacabana where families gather on feast days to have the processional mantles belonging to the colonial statues of the Virgin draped over their bodies.⁴ Even though this is a twenty-first century ritual, it has deep roots in Pre-Colombian and colonial Andean tradition, and I hope to explore other contemporary rituals such as this one to better construct how material objects function in contemporary Andean tradition.

I am not the first to have argued that a new tradition of object and image production arose in the Andes under the colonizing rule of the Spanish and the Christian religion.⁵ My work here, and the work of others, engages in critical theory, which has had, and continues to have, a considerable impact on thinking and writing in art history.⁶ My approach to this topic has specifically analyzed the subtle but meaningful function of colonial Inca textiles by looking at several specific examples produced in this period. Specifically, by drawing connections between Andean and Spanish worldviews in colonial garments, tapestries, and paintings in order to better understand the complexities of meaning in the material culture of a colonial society.

Notes.

Introduction Notes.

¹ James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 445-446.

² Maya Stanfield Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 2.

³ See the auction book, *Fine Pre-Colombian Art and Colonial Paintings of Latin America* and art history book titled, *Peruvian Colonial Art*.

⁴ Public Auction Saturday, May 5, 1979. *Fine Pre-Colombian Art and Colonial Paintings of Latin America*, Auction number 4246, the property of various owners including the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. 980 Madison Avenue, New York.

⁵ Cummins and Mannheim, *The River Around Us*, 1.

⁶ Georges Bataille wrote that, “The architecture of the temples which looked down upon the roofs [of Cuzco] was equally bare; only the pediment was wholly covered with a plaque of beaten gold. To this gold we must add the brilliantly colored fabrics which clothed the rich and elegant, but nothing could quite dispel the impression of wild seediness and, above all, of deadly uniformity.”⁶ He also wrote that given the conditions of quasi communism, “It is not surprising that the Inca civilization is quite dull.” George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America; the Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), 334.

⁷ Public Auction Saturday, May 5, 1979. *Fine Pre-Colombian Art and Colonial Paintings of Latin America*, Auction number 4246, the property of various owners including the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. 980 Madison Avenue, New York. And

Felipe Cossio del Pomar, *Peruvian Colonial Art, the Cuzco School of Painting*, translated by Genaro Arbaiza, (New York: Wittenborn and Company, 1964).

⁸ Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory*, 165. And Dean and Leibsohn, “Hybridity and its Discontents,” 13. Young describes the growing unease about the tendency of trying to create anti-Eurocentric writing that fails to do so by continuing to homogenize the “Third World” and also “the West.” Dean and Leibsohn similarly state that in an effort for scholars to evaluate, problematize, and privilege certain more visible forms of hybridity over others they are simply undoing the postcolonial efforts of re-presenting art history that they are trying to make.

⁹ César Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 159.

¹⁰ Paternosto states that as an abstract artist, he identified strongly with Inca geometric art, which shows the continued association of Inca motifs with Western European art movements. Additionally, he states that such “abstract” designs existed primarily within textile production, which he goes on to claim as the realm of women.¹⁰ The automatic assumption that all Inca textile production was done by females, by placing females in the category of “craftmakers,” is a Western European way of thinking. Calling women’s art “craft” is exactly what Paternosto is arguing against, yet, his immediate assumption that women made the textiles (when in fact both men and women wove fine cloth in the Inca state) only confirms the mode of thinking he is trying to avoid.

¹¹ Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Tocapu: What it is, What Does it Do, and Why Is It Not a Knot?” In *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*, Edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton. Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011).

¹² See Dean's Introductions in *A Culture of Stone, Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, and "Hybridity and its Discontents" for examples of her writing style and her successful approach to relaying difficult theoretical concepts.

¹³ Ibid, 4. and Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "De Los Errores Y Supersticiones De Los Indios, Sacadas Del Tratado Y Averiguación Que Hizo El Licenciado Polo," (1571) in *Informaciones Acerca De La Religión Y Gobierno De Los Incas*, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga. (Lima: Imprenta Y Librería Sanmartí, 1916), 189-90. And Thomas B.F. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities," In *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 161.

¹⁴ Thomas B.F. Cummins and Bruce Mannheim, "The River Around Us, The Stream Within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/50, no. Spring/Autumn (The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2011), 2.

¹⁵ Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 4 and Ibid.,

¹⁶ There has been much recent scholarship on how images functioned in the Middle Ages as literary devices. See *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages: The Search for Legitimate Authority* By Jeffrey Burton Russell and *Envisioning Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Dynamic Patterns in Texts and Images* by Giselle de Nie and Thomas F.X. Noble.

¹⁷ Dave Hickey, *The Invisible Dragon: Essays on Beauty*. Rev. and Expanded. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 11.

¹⁸ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, (London: Penguin Books, 1972), 96.

¹⁹ Charles H. Long, *Signification: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Colorado: The Davies Group, 1990), 118

²⁰ Ibid.,

²¹ Dave Hickey, *The Invisible Dragon*, 117

²² Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 177

²³ Jae Emerling, *Theory for Art History*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

Chapter II Notes.

¹ Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 13-14.

² As Phipps states, “Even the great sixteenth-century weavers of Northern Europe, who made some of the world’s most famous examples of the form, achieved warp and weft counts only one-quarter of that found in Inca *cumbi* weaving.” Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 24.

³ Ibid., and Florica Zaharia of the Department of Textile Conservation, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁴ Phipps, “Garments and Identity,” 24.

⁵ Elena Phipps, “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition,” *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 86.

⁶ Ibid, 89.

⁷ In fact, the red dye, made from the insect cochineal, was the second highest export after gold to Spain from Mesoamerica in the late sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century, indigo surpassed cacao as the highest export from Central America. Ran Boytner, “Class, Control, and Power: the Anthropology of Textile Dyes at Pacatnamu,” in *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium*, ed. Margaret Young-Sánchez, (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 49.

⁸ As David Summers states, “One of the deepest and simplest projections into unfamiliar art we can make is the assumption that we understand its purpose, and as a matter of basic historical procedure, it should be assumed that we do not immediately understand its purpose.” To understand the visual culture of the Andes, it is important to also understand that it did not rely on familiar, European notions of aesthetics, nor was the definition of beauty interchangeable with the one Europeans were used to. Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 1. and David Summers *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism*, (London: Phaidon Press, 2003), 63.

⁹ “Animacy” refers to an object’s ability to *camay* and its internal living presence. This living presence allowed the garments to become individual entities that could transmit and designate different meanings. Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 18.

¹⁰ Joanne Pillsbury, “Inca Colonial Tunics: A Case Study of the Bandelier Set,” In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers From the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez and Fronia W. Simpson, (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 125.

¹¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, translated by Maria Jolas, *The Incas; the Royal Commentaries of the Inca, Garcilaso De La Vega, 1539-1616*. Edited by Alain Gheerbrant, (New York: Orion Press, 1961), 95. And Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Translated by Roland Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government on the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, Abridged ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 264 [unabridged 784-785].

¹² *Ibid.*, 81[196-236].

-
- ¹³ Blas Valera, Translated and Edited by Sabine Hyland, "An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives of Peru," In *Gods of the Andes: An Early Jesuit Account of Inca Religion and Andean Christianity*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 84-86.
- ¹⁴ Betanzos, *The Narrative of the Inca*, 192-193
- ¹⁵ Ibid.,
- ¹⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle*, 44 [115-119], And Betanzos, *The Narrative of the Inca*, 192.
- ¹⁷ Betanzos, *The Narrative of the Inca*, ix.
- ¹⁸ de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inca*, 31.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 69. And Pedro de Cieza de León, Translated by Alexandra Parma Cook and David Cook, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru [1518-1554]*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), ch. xciii
- ²⁰ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 39, And Pedro Pizarro, *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1978), 112.
- ²¹ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 39, And Cobo Fray Bernabé, "La historia de la fundación de Lima," in *Monografías históricas sobre la Ciudad de Lima, Tomo I* (Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima, 1935), And Cobo Fray Bernabé, *Inca Religions and Customs*, ed. Roland Hamilton, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 206.
- ²² Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 39
- ²³ Tamara L. Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 38: Autumn 2000, 170-78.
- ²⁴ Rebecca R. Stone, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1995), 200.

²⁵ Ran Boytner, “Class, Control, and Power: The Anthropology of Textile Dyes at Pacatnamu,” In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers From the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez and Fronia W. Simpson, (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 48-52.

²⁶ Ibid.,

²⁷ Ibid., 52

²⁸ Johan Reinhard, *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes*, (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 200), 71 And Bernabé, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 117, And David Blower, “The Many Facets of Mollu: More than Just a Spondylus Shell,” in *Andean Past*, 6:209-228, 2000.

²⁹ Johan Reinhard, *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes*, (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2005).

³⁰ Gabriela Siracusano, Translated by Ian Barnett. *Pigments and Power in the Andes: From the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800*, (London: Archetype Publications, 2011), 16.

³¹ Ibid., 19

³² Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” 25.

³³ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 124, And Francisco De Xerez, Translated by Iva Reyna. *True Account of the Conquest of Peru*[1534], (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 89.

³⁴ Phipps, “Garments and identity in the Colonial Andes,” 25.

³⁵ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 29.

³⁶ Ibid., 44, And Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí, an Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), chapters 5 and 6 for the best example. And Mari Rostworoski, *Ensayos De Historia Andina*, (Lima: IEP :, 1993), 438-439.

³⁷ Elena Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition," In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Edited by Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art :, 2004), 88. And Fernando Silva Santisteban, *los obrajes en el Virreinato del Perú*, (Lima: Publicaciones del Museo Nacional de Historia, 1964), 25.

³⁸ Elena Phipps, "Cumbi to tapestry: Collection," 90.

³⁹ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 49.

⁴⁰ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 69.

⁴¹ Ibid., 145 And ASF Registro, exp. 22.

⁴² Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual*, 145, And ASF, Registro 10, exp. 5, "Razón de la entrada y gast que tiene el obrage de Pomacocha del monastario de Santa Clara de esta ciudad de Guamanga." According to this undated document, in on year the *obraje* of Pomacocha produced 30,000 varas of cloth, sold at 4 reales each. Of the resulting income of 15,000 pesos, 4,727 pesos were paid to Indian laborers and 3,100 pesos were distributed among the nuns, donadas, and servants.

⁴³ Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru* [1553], 158-70.

⁴⁴ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection," 75, And "Goods & Properties of Don Rodrigo Flores Cajamallqui embargoed 30 April, 1644," Archivo Archobispado: Capítulos, Lg. II, Exp. I. Gorgor, 1642. Attributed to Karen Spalding and her unpublished notes on this document.

⁴⁵ Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat*, 53, And Lisson Chaves, ed., *la iglesia de Esapña en el Perú*, Vol II, 357; AGI Justicia 455-7.

⁴⁶ Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity And Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture In Colonial Spanish America*." In *Colonial Latin American Review*, 2010, 5-35. Accessed January 1, 2015, pg. 6.

⁴⁷ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection," 82.

⁴⁸ Phipps and Hecht, *Tapestries and Silverwork*, index 252.

⁴⁹ Rebecca Stone Miller and Gordon McEwan, "The Representation of the Wari state in stone and thread," RES 19'20 (1990/1991), 75.

⁵⁰ Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection," 80.

⁵¹ Phipps and Hecht, *Tapestries and Silverwork*, index 192

⁵² Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," 27.

⁵³ Ibid., 30 And Bernabé, "La historia de la fundación de Lima," book 13, ch. 2, 188.

Chapter III. Notes

¹ James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 445-446.

² Joanne Pillsbury, "Inca Colonial Tunics: A Case Study of the Bandelier Set," In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers From the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez and Fronia W. Simpson, (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 125, And Spalding Karen "Social climbers: changing patterns of mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru." 1970, And Phipps, "Cumbi to Tapestry," 28, And Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* 124-125, And Isabel Iratre *Las tunicas incas el la pintura colonial in mito y simbolismo en los Andes: la figura y la palabra*, Ed. H Urbano, (Cuzco: centro de estudios regomales findinos "bartolome de las casas" 1993), 53-86.

³ Frank Solomon, "Andean Opulence: Indigenous Ideas About Wealth in Colonial Peru, in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 119.

⁴ Ibid., 119

⁵ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*, (Duke University Press, 1999), 32. and *Constituciones generals para todas las monjas, y religiosas sujetas a la obediencia de la orden de N. P.S. Francisco, en toda esta familia cismontane* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Viuda de Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio, 1689), fol. 58, prohibits servants ("freylas donadas") from wearing the black veil.

⁶ Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 100.

⁷ Ibid., 125.

⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁹ For example, the famous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala made such claims saying that his grandfather was second in command to Topa Inca Yupanqui. Unfortunately, his claims were too late for the newer, but already entrenched Inca nobility. His claim was crowded out and it was “proven” to be false by other “nobles” with the result being publicly whipped and banished.²³ Ayala lived in a period where power and wealth were no longer strictly controlled by birth. He would later bitterly say in his chronicle that, “Even a humble Andean steward could wear the tunic of an Inca lord.” Pillsbury, “Inca Colonial Tunics,” 139, And Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle*, Unabridged, 800.

¹⁰ Pillsbury, “Inca Colonial tunics,” 145.

¹¹ Cieza de León writes a passage as follows: “Then it became known how the Spaniards entered the Cañari region, and how they formed a friendship with each other after having defeated that captain that they had sent [from Quito]. The chiefs and mandones, along with the priests of the temples, again conferred with each other. They considered new suggestions about how best to prevent the Christians from prevailing against them because it was clear that if they defeated them, they would forever remain in servitude and captivity of foreign and such cruel people, as they knew this from experience.” Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, 273 fol 74 v.

¹² Garcilaso de la Vega also relates a time when a Cañari leader, Francisco Chilche, reenacted his defeat of an Inca champion who was part of Maco Inca’s rebellion (an uprising that had threatened the Spaniards in Cuzco) during a festival. Carolyn Dean, “War Games: Indigenous

Militaristic Theater in Colonial Peru." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, Edited by Ilona Katzew, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 140, And de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, vol. 2, 1417-18.

¹³ Dean "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theater," 140.

¹⁴ Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 124, And Francisco De Xerez, Translated by Iva Reyna. *True Account of the Conquest of Peru*[1534], (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 180-182.

¹⁵ Ibid., 133

¹⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁷ Anonymous, *Apu Ollantay*, Edited by Clements R. Markham, Project Gutenberg, 2005. The famous Andean play tells the story Pre-Colombian Inca king and his efforts to defeat his enemies and locate his lost wife.

¹⁸ Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 5. The location of the practice is especially important because Seville was the point of departure to the Americas, therefore, It stands to reason that southern Spanish practices made more of an appearance in the Andes. Clothed processional statues were used in almost all religious holidays had significant importance in southern Spain.

¹⁹ Augustín de Zárate, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru; a Translation of Books I to IV of Augustin De Zarate's History of These Events*, translated by J.M. Cohen, (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968), 51.

²⁰ Laura León Llerena, "Narrating Conversion: Idolatry, the Sacred, and the Ambivalences of Christian Evangelization in Colonial Peru" in *Coloniality, Religion, and Law in the Early Iberian*

World, edited by Santa Arias, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014). Francisco de Ávila was a Jesuit priest who commissioned the famous Quechua document known as the Huarochiri Manuscript. The purpose of this document was to situate Andean religion along a linear pattern from the genesis of humankind to present day.

²¹ Ivonne del Valle, “José de Acosta: Colonial Regimes of a Globalized Christian World,” in *Coloniality Religion and Law in the Early Iberian World*, edited by Santa Arias, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2014), 8.

²² Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 58.

²³ *Ibid.*, 58

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 59

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 112

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 116

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 118, 120 and *Constitutiones del Arzobispado de Sevilla*, 2:11. 2 vols. 1609. Reprint. Seville, 1862. The elaborate dressing of the Virgin Mary began to evoke outrage from the church. By 1604, ecclesiastical degrees were instituted limiting the type of clothing that could be used to dress processional statues. The decrees were extremely detailed in specifying what could and could not be worn. However, the decrees did little to stop the practice, if anything processional statues continued to be dressed in richer and richer garments.

²⁸ Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 118, 120.

²⁹ Maya Stanfield Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 3. Stanfield-Mazzi describes *bultos* as “statue,” however, they also could mean “bulk, mass, or volume;” it was both their materiality and their visuality that made the statues so fundamental in the evangelizing mission.

³⁰ Ibid.,

³¹ Ibid., 79.

³² Ibid.,

³³ Betanzos, *Narrative of the Inca*, 153.

³⁴ Carolyn Dean, "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theater in Colonial Peru," In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, edited by Ilona Katzew, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 136.

³⁵ Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 48.

³⁶ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 2. and Frank Solomon, "Andean Opulence: Indigenous Ideas About Wealth in Colonial Peru, in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 119. and Gabriela Siracusano, *el poder de los colores: de lo Material a lo simbólico en las prácticas culturas andinas: siglos XVI-XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, 2005).

³⁷ Joanne Pillsbury, "Inca Colonial Tunics: A Case Study of the Bandelier Set," In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers From the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sanchez and Fronia W. Simpson, (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 136.

³⁸ Pillsbury, "Inca Colonial Tunics," 137 and Carlos A. Romero, *Festividades del tiempo heroico del Cuzco*, 1923, *Inca* 1 (2): 447-54. And Carolyn Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru*, Ph.D. diss., (University of California, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 252.

³⁹ Pillsbury, “Inca Colonial Tunics,” 137. and James W. Reid *Textile Masterpieces of Ancient Peru*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 26.

⁴⁰ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 99. and Abraham Valencia Espinoza, *Taytacha Temblores Patrón Juradod el Cuzco* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1991), 48.

⁴¹ Luis Eduardo Wiffarden, *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820*, Edited by Joseph J. Rishel, (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 463.

⁴² Ibid.,

⁴³ Elena Phipps, “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes,” in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, ed. Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 30.

⁴⁴ Ibid.,

⁴⁵ Damian, Carol. *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco*. Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995. 79.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 79 and Zárate, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, 51.

⁴⁷ For numerous examples see *Early Flemish Painting* by Jean-Claude Frère.

⁴⁸ Donna Pierce, “Fashion Fusion: Native Textiles in Spanish Colonial Art,” Denver Art Museum, May 19, 2013, accessed April 11, 2015

⁴⁹ Thomas B.F. Cummins, “Living Image,” in *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation (Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture)* edited by Evonne Levy and Kenneth Mills, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), 207.

⁵⁰ Thomas B.F. 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*, ed.

Elena Phipps and Johanna Hecht, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 13.

⁵¹ Pillsbury, “Inca Colonial Tunics,” 137 and Visitador General Don Josef Antonio de Areche to Juan Manel, Obispo de Cuzco, April 13, 1781, f. 4v., f.5r., Archive of the Indies, Seville.

⁵² Ibid.,

Conclusion. Notes

¹ Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 13. Dean provides further information on this concept by referencing Bhabha's "Of Mimicry and Man."

² See Jae Emerling's *Theory for Art History* for an in-depth discussion of the ideas related above.

³ Maya Stanfield Mazzi, *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 45, and Religiosos Agustinos, *Relación de la religion y ritos del Perú hecha por los padres agustinos*, ed. Lucila Castro de Trelles (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1992 [ca. 1561]), 24, 25, 27.

⁴ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 82.

⁵ Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 2.

⁶ Jae Emerling, *Theory for Art History*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1.

Illustrations.

Chapter II. Figures

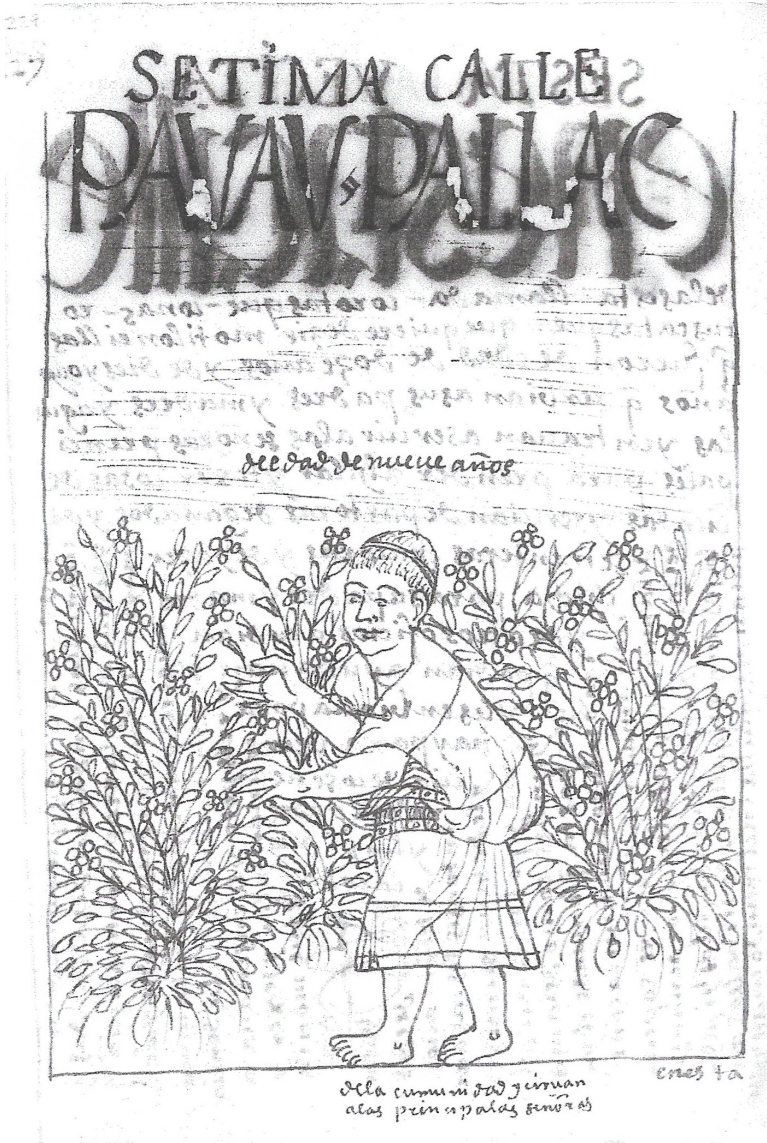


Figure: 2.1 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. Flower Girl. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government on the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, p. 227. Drawing 86. The seventh "street" or age group, *pawaw pallaq*, girl of nine years who gathers flowers

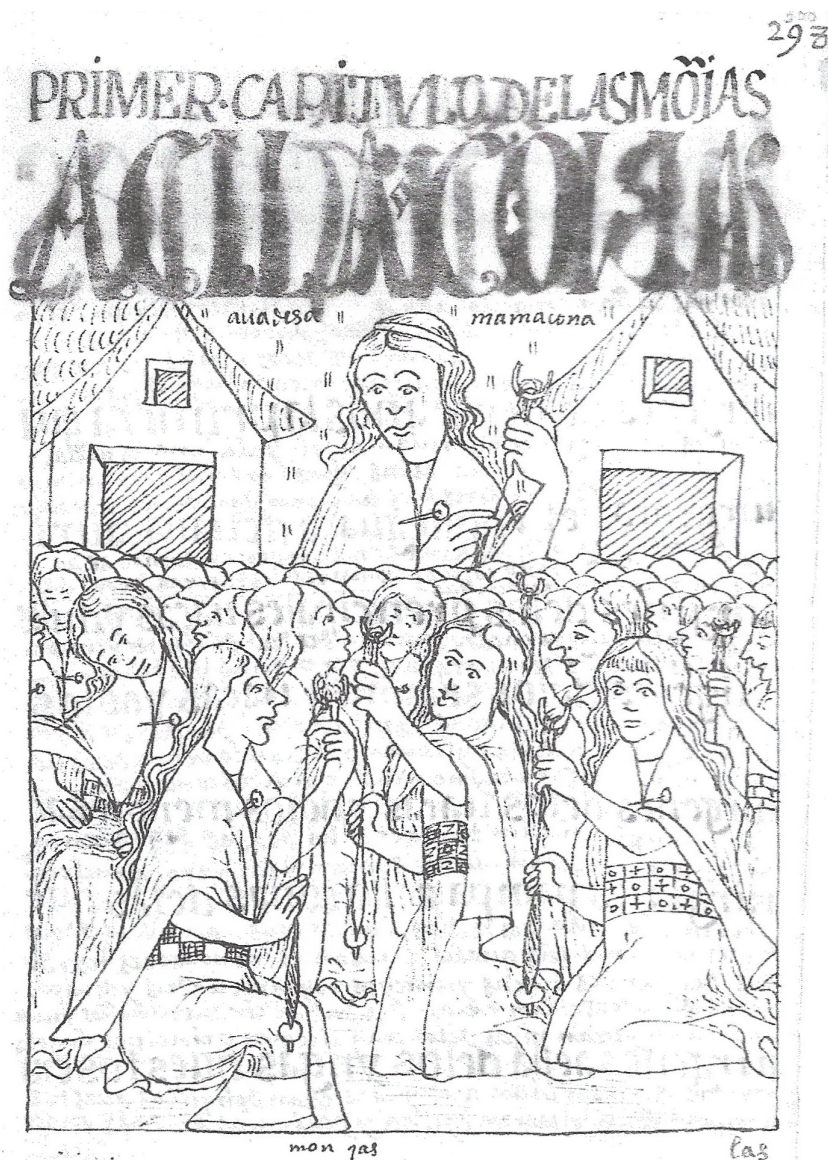


Figure: 2.2 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. The Chosen Virgins. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government on the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, p. 298. Drawing 117.



Figure: 2.3 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. The Chosen Virgins. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government on the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Drawing 80. The first "street" or age group of women, *awakuq warmi*, weaver of thirty-three years



Figure: 2.4 Johan Reinhard. Part of the findings on Mount Ampato in 1995. Silver figurine, clothed with cumi and spondylus shell beads.



Figure: 2.5 Colonial tapestry with Asian motifs 17th-18th century. Victoria and Albert Musuem, London



Figure: 2.6 Colonial wedding *lliclla*. Lake Titicaca 16th-17^yth century. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



Figure 2.7: Detail of 2.6



Figure: 2.8 Detail of *The Marriage of Don Martin de Loyola to Dona Beatriz Nusta and of Don Juan de Borja to Lorenza Nusta de Loyola*. Oil on canvas. Compañía de Jesús, Cuzco

Chapter III. Figures



Figure: 3.1 Anonymous, *Portrait of Marcos Chiguan Topa* c. 1740-45, oil on canvas. Cuzco, Peru



Figure: 3.2 Coat of Arms Granted to the Descendants of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui c. 1600-30.

Gold leaf and pigment on pargment. Archivo General de Indias. Seville, Spain.



Figure: 3.3 Inca Royal Tunic. Dumbarton Oaks. early sixteenth century



Figure 3.4: Man's *uncu* with lions and double-headed crowned eagles. Souther Andes (Bolivia), seventeenth century. Private Collection

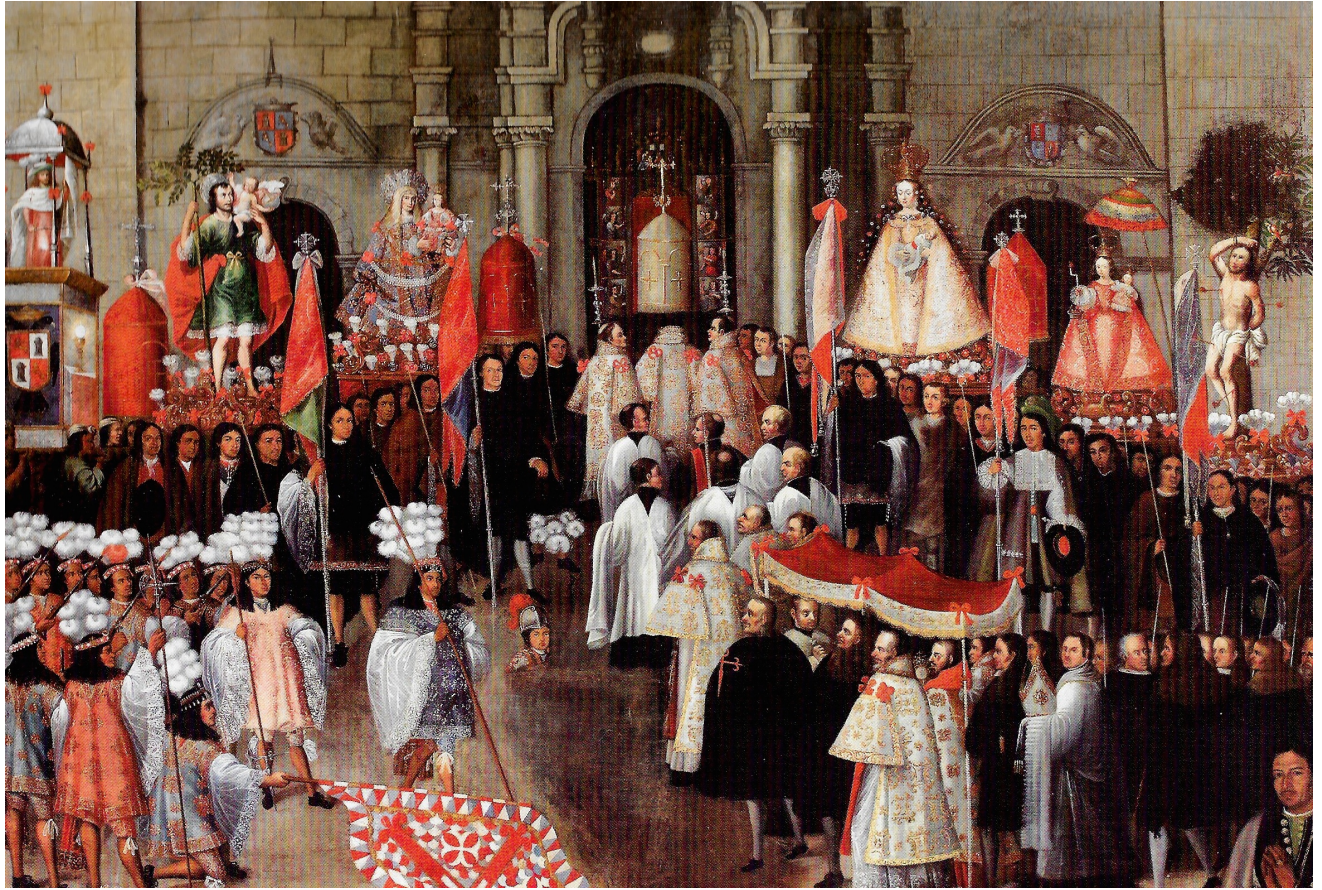


Figure 3.5: Anonymous *The Return of the Procession* c. 1674-80. Cuzco, Peru.



Figure: 3.6 Statue of San Pedro. 17th-18th century. Iglesia Collegial Divino Salvador.

Seville, Spain



Figure: 3.7 Altarpiece of the Virgin of Copacabana, 1650-75, Museo de Arte Lima. Lima, Peru.



Figure: 3.8. Anonymous, “Our Lady of Pomata with St. Dominic and St. Rose of Lima,” Late seventeenth century. Cusco, Peru. Oil on canvas. Museo Histórico Regional (Casa Garcilaso), Photograph courtesy of the Ministerio de Cultura, Cusco, Peru.



Figure: 3.9 Inca colonial tunic, sixteenth-seventeenth century? 77x27 cm. Private collection.



Figure: 3.10 Christ of the Earthquakes in procession on its processional platform of cedar, gold leaf, and silver, Cusco, Peru. Photograph courtesy of Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, 2003.



Figure: 3.11 Anonymous, “Virgin Mary Spinning,” oil on canvas, Peru c. 1700. Denver Art Museum.



Figure: 3.12 Anonymous, "The Child Virgin at the Spinning Wheel," oil on canvas, Cuzco, c. 1680-1710.



Figure: 3.13 Anonymous, “Portrait of a Ñusta,” eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Museo Inka Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco.

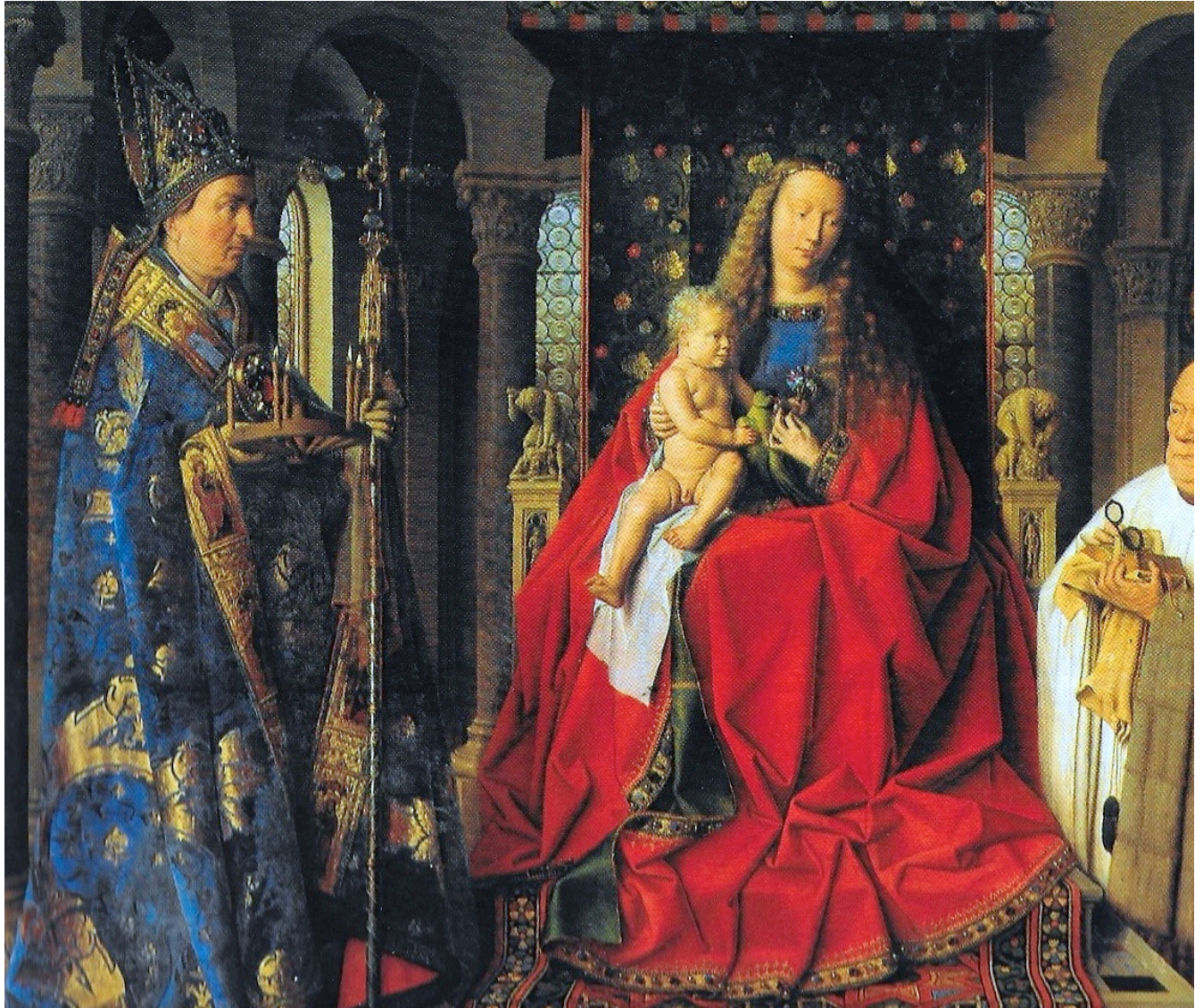


Figure: 3.14 Jan Van Eyck, "Madonna with Canon van der Paele," Detail, 1436, oil on wood, 122-157 cm, Groeninge Museum, Bruges.



Figure: 3.15 Anonymous, "Holy Family / Double Trinity," Peru, oil on canvas, 18th century, Denver Art Museum.



Figure: 3.16 Anonymous, *Inca Christ Child*, late seventeenth century. Private collection, Lima.

Oil and gold leaf on canvas. Photograph courtesy of Daniel Giannoni.

Glossary of Terms

Acllacoya—Inca chosen women. They wove garments for the king and nobles and lived lives of chastity.

Acllahausi—The cloistered complex where the *acclacoya* lived and worked.

Anacu—traditional Inca woman's wraparound dress.

Aribola—a type of ceramic Inca vessel that had a pointed foot; they often contained *chichi*

Asvasca—coarse woolen cloth made in both Pre-Colombian and colonial times

Camay—the Quechua term that refers to that which is unseen by vitally important. It refers to an object's sacred presence, and the ability of that object to transfer its sacred presence to other locations.

Chicha—the maize beer drunk by the Inca.

Cumbi—the finest type of cloth produced in Pre-Colombian times (it was still produced in lower quality after colonization). This cloth was made out of alpaca or vicuña fibers and was dyed using natural pigments.

Cumbicamayo—Pre-Colombian male expert weaver of *cumbi* cloth. They mostly disappeared after the conquest, however some continued to take commissioned work from Spaniards and Andeans.

Encomendero—Spanish men who were given land grants from the Viceroyalty. Andeans were expected to work the land in exchange for the *encomendero*'s protection.

Huaca—Inca stone spirit.

Kero—carved or shaped conical cup that usually held *chicha*. It was often used in drinking rituals.

Lliclla—traditional Inca shawl worn over the shoulders and pinned with a gold or silver

topo pin.

Mamacona—head woman who ran an *acllahausi*.

Maskapaycha (Borla)—the red fringe worn across the brow by Inca kings and later worn by colonial Andeans to signify status.

Obraje—a sweatshop factory where Andeans were forced to produce textiles for *encomenderos* for little compensation and often in poor working environments.

Quechua—the language of the Inca. It was a spoken language only and did not have a written form until after colonization.

Tocapu—Andean symbols that were often stitched on *uncus* and *llicllas*. *Tocapu* reference certain meanings within an Andean worldview.

Topo—a gold or silver pin that held together an Inca woman's *lliclla*.

Uncu—A male Inca tunic that was the main body covering. They were square and fell to the knees.

Vistador—Spanish men employed by the Viceroyalty of Peru who determined how much goods a village or town should be expected to pay in tribute.

Bibliography

Ackerman, Raquel, ed. "Clothes and Identity in the Central Andes: Province of Abancay, Peru."

In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: an Anthology*, edited by Margot Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer, 231-38. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Acosta, José de *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2002.

Adorno, Rolena. *Guáman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. 2nd ed. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000.

Albornoz, Cristóbal de. "Instrucción para Descubrir Todas las Guacas del Pirú sus Camayos y Haziendas," (1584). In *Fábulas y Mitos de los Incas*, ed. Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols. Madrid: Historia 16, 1988.

Allen, Catherine J. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2002.

Areche, José Antonio de. 1836. Setencia Pronunciada en el Cuzco por el Visitador D. José Antonio de Areche, contra José Gabriel Tupac-Amaru, su mugger, hijos, y demas reos principals de la sublevación. In *Documentos para la Historia de la Sublevación de José Gabriel de Tupac Amaru, Cacique de la Provincia de Tinta, en el Perú*, edited by Pedro de Angelis, 44-51. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado.

Author, Unknown Henry. *Apu Ollantay: an Inca Drama (Forgotten Books)*. Translated by Clements Markham, Forgotten Books, 2008.

Ayala, Felipe Guamán Poma de. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government, Abridged*. Translated by David L. Frye. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., ©2006.

- Ayala, Filipe. "Felipe Guaman Poma De Ayala: El Primer Nueva Corónica Y Buen Gobierno – Digital Web Edition - The Royal Library, Copenhagen - The Royal Library." Felipe Guaman Poma De Ayala: El Primer Nueva Corónica Y Buen Gobierno - Digital Web Edition - The Royal Library, Copenhagen - The Royal Library. Accessed February 13, 2015.
- Ayala, Felipe, and Roland Hamilton. *The First New Chronicle and Good Government on the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*. Abridged ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009.
- Bataille, Georges. "Extinct America." Translated by Annette Michaelson [1928], *October* 36, no. 102 (1986): 3-9. 1
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing: Based On the Bbc Television Series*. Reprint ed. London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Edited and translated by Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Blower, David. "The Many Facets of Mullu: More than Just a Spondylus Shell." in *Andean Past*, 6:209-228, 2000.
- Boone, E. H. "Presidential Lecture: Discourse and Authority in Histories Painted, Knotted, and Threaded." *Ethnohistory*: 211-37.
- Boone, Elizabeth Hill, and Walter D. Mignolo, eds. *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1994.
- Boytner, Ran. "Class, Control, and Power: The Anthropology of Textile Dyes at Pacatnamu." In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson,

- Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2006.
- Bray, Tamara L. "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 38: Autumn 2000, 2000, 170-78.
- Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 1999.
- Casas, Bartolomé de Las. *In Defense of the Indians: the Defense of the Most Reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, of the Order of Preachers, Late Bishop of Chiapa, Against the Persecutors and Slanderers of the Peoples of the New World Discovere*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992.
- Cobo, Bernabé Fray. "La historia de la fundación de Lima," in *Monografías históricas sobre la Ciudad de Lima, Tomo I*. Lima: Concejo Provincial de Lima, 1935.
- Cobo, Bernabé Fray. *Inca Religions and Customs*, ed. Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.
- Cobo, Bernabé. *Inca Religion and Customs* [1652]. Translations of Books 13 and 14 of Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* by Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.
- Constitutiones del Arzobispado de Sevilla, 2:11. 2 vols. 1609. Reprint. Seville, 1862.
- Cummins, Thomas B.F. "A Tale of Two Cities," In *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.
- Cummins, Thomas B.F. and Bruce Mannheim. "The River Around Us, The Stream Within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/50, no. Spring/Autumn. The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2011.
- Cummins, Thomas B.F., "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus, and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka

- Artistic Expression and Power.” In *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997*, edited by Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos, 267-305. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008.
- Cummins, Thomas B.F., “Living Image,” in *Lexikon of the Hispanic Baroque: Transatlantic Exchange and Transformation (Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture)*. Edited by Levy, Evonne, and Kenneth Mills, eds. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013.
- Cummins, Thomas B.F., “Silver Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity.” In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*. Edited by Phipps, Elena, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcala. New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- Cummins, Thomas, B.F. “Tocapu: What it is, What Does it Do, and Why Is It Not a Knot?” In *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*. Edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton. Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia,. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011.
- Damian, Carol. *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco*. Miami Beach: Grassfield Pr, 1995.
- Dean, Carolyn. *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Dean, Carolyn, and Dana Leibsohn. "Hybridity And Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture In Colonial Spanish America*." *Colonial Latin American Review*, 2014, 5-35.

- Dean, Carolyn. *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Dean, Carolyn. 1990. Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Dean, Carolyn. "War Games: Indigenous Militaristic Theater in Colonial Peru." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World (Los Angeles County Museum of Art)*, edited by Ilona Katzew,. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011.
- Dueñas, Alcira. *Indians and Mestizos in the*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2010.
- Emerling, Jae. *Theory for Art History*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Fenway Court*,. Vol. 28, *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600*. Boston: Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, ©1998.
- Fine Pre-Colombian Art and Colonial Paintings of Latin America: Auction Saturday, May, 12, 1979 at 10:15 Am and 2 Pm. Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. New York*. New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., 1979.
- Franquemont, Ed, ed. "Dual-Lease Weaving: An Andean Loom Technology." In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: an Anthology*, edited by Margot Blum Scheville, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer,. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Frere, Jean-Claude. *Early Flemish Painting*. Paris: Terrail, 1997.
- "Goods & Properties of Don Rodrigo Flores Cajamallqui embargoed 30 April, 1644," Archivo Archobispado: Capítulos, Lg. II, Exp. I. Gorgor, 1642. Attributed to Karen Spalding and her unpublished notes on this document.

- Graubart, Karen B. *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550-1700*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Hanke, Lewis, and Bartolome de Las Casas. *All Mankind Is One: a Study of the Disputation between Bartolome de Las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda in 1550 On the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of the American Indians*. Reprint ed. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Harrison, Regina *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture*. Austin: Univ of Texas Pr, 1989.
- Hickey, Dave. *The Invisible Dragon: Essays On Beauty, Revised and Expanded*. Exp ed. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Hogue, Marianne. "Cosmology in Inca Tunics and Tectonics." In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson, Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2006.
- Iratre, Isabel. *Las tunicas incas el la pintura colonial in mito y simbolismo en los Andes: la figura y la palabra*, Ed. H Urbano. Cuzco: centro de estudios regomales findinos "bartolome de las casas," 1993.
- Kubler, George. *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: the Mexican*. Baltimore: Penguin, [1962], 1962.
- Laugerud, Henning, ed. *Instruments of Devotion: the Practices and Objects of Religious Piety from the Late Middle Ages to the 20th Century*. Lancaster: Aarhus University Press, 2007.
- León, Pedro de Cieza de. *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru: Chronicles of the New World*

- Encounter*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1999.
- Lisson Chaves, Emile, ed. *La iglesia de Esapña en el Perú: Sección Primera: Archivo General de Indias*. Sevilla, Editoria Católica Española, 1944.
- Lisson Chaves, Emile. ed., *la iglesia de Esapña en el Perú*, Vol II, 357; AGI Justicia.
- Lockhart, James. *The Nahuas After the Conquest: a Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Vatican City: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Long, Charles H. *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion*. Aurora, CO: The Davies Group Publishers, 1999.
- Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Paternosto, César. *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Phipps, Elena. “Cumbi to Tapestry: Collection, Innovation, and Transformation of the Colonial Andean Tapestry Tradition.” In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, 72-99. Edited by Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcala, and Phipps Elena. New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- Phipps, Elena. “Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes.” In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Edited by Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcala, and Phipps Elena. New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- Phipps, Elena. *Looking at Textiles: a Guide to Technical Terms*. Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012.

- Pierce, Donna. "Fashion Fusion: Native Textiles in Spanish Colonial Art." Denver Art Museum. May 19, 2013. Accessed April 11, 2015.
- Pillsbury, Dr. Joanne, ed. *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530-1900*. 3 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Pillsbury, Joanne, ed. "Inca-Colonial Tunics: A Case Study of the Bandelier Set." In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson, Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2006.
- Pizzaro, Pedro. *Relación del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1978), 112.
- Polo de Ondegardo, Polo. "De Los Errores Y Supersticiones De Los Indios, Sacadas Del Tratado Y Averiguación Que Hizo El Licenciado Polo," (1571) in *Informaciones Acerca De La Religión Y Gobierno De Los Incas*, ed. Horacio H. Urteaga. Lima: Imprenta Y Librería Sanmartí, 1916.
- Pomar, Felipe Cossio del. *Peruvian Colonial Art: The Cuzco School of Painting*. Translated by Genaro Arbaiza. New York: Wittenborn and Company, 1964.
- Rehl, Jane W,. "Weaving Principles for Life: Discontinuous Warp and Weft Textiles of Ancient Peru." In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson, Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2006.
- Reid, James W. *Textile Masterpieces of Ancient Peru*. New York: Dover Publications. 1986.
- Reinhard, Johan. *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2000.

Romero, Carlos A. 1923. Festividades del tiempo heroico del Cuzco. *Inca* 1 (2): 447-54.

Rostworoski, Mari. *Ensayos De Historia Andina*, Lima: IEP :, 1993.

Rostoworowski de Diez Canseco, María. *Ensayos de historia andina: Elites, etnías, recursos*.

Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Salomon, Frank. "Andean Opulence: Indigenous Ideas about Wealth in Colonial Peru." In *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, Edited by Phipps, Elena, Johanna Hecht, Cristina Esteras Martin, Luisa Elena Alcala. New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Santisteban, Fernando Silva. *los obrajes en el Virreinato del Perú*. Lima: Publicaciones del Museo Nacional de Historia, 1964.

Silverblatt, Irene. "Andean Women Under Colonial Rule." In *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Andrew B. Fisher. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009.

Siracusano, Gabriela. *Pigments and Power in the Andes: from the Material to the Symbolic in Andean Cultural Practices, 1500-1800*. London: Archetype Books, 2011.

Spalding, Karen. *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1984.

Spalding, Karen. "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility Among the Indians of Colonial Peru." In *Huarochirí. An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule*. Hispanic American Historical Review Vol 50: 645-64. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984.

- Stanfield Mazzi, Maya. *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013.
- Stone, Rebecca. *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*. third ed. World of Art. London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.
- Stone Miller, Rebecca and Gordon McEwan, "The Representation of the Wari state in stone and thread," RES 19'20 (1990/1991).
- Stone-Miller, Rebecca. *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1995.
- Torres, Mónica Domínguez, and Llona Katzew. "Emblazoning Identity: Indigenous Heraldry in Colonial Mexico and Peru." In *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art ;, 2011
- Trexler, Richard C. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Urton, Gary. *Signs of the Inka Khipu: Binary Coding in the Andean Knotted-String Records (The Linda Schele Series in Maya and Pre-Columbian Studies) 1st (First) Edition by Urton, Gary [2003]*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 0100.
- Valencia Espinoza, Abraham .*Taytacha Temblores Patrón Juradod el Cuzco*, Cusco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1991.
- Valera, Blas. *Gods of the Andes: An Early Jesuit Account of Inca Religion and Andean Christianity*. Edited by Sabine Hyland. Latin American Originals. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Vega, Garcilaso De La, and Maria Jolas. *The Incas; the Royal Commentaries of the Inca, Garcilaso De La Vega, 1539-1616*. Edited by Alain Gheerbrant. New York: Orion Press, 1961.

- Vega, Garcilaso de la. *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. abridged. ed. Translated by H V. Livermore and Karen Spalding. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., ©2006.
- Webster, Susan Verdi. *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Xerez, Francisco De, and Iva Reyna. *True Account of the Conquest of Peru*. New York: Peter Lang, 2013.
- Young, Robert J.C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Zárate, Augustín de. *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru; a Translation of Books I to IV of Augustin De Zarate's History of These Events*. Translated by J.M. Cohen, Baltimore: Penguin., 1968.

