

Transforming Gender Roles in the Colonial Andes: Native Andean Female Resistance to Colonial Spanish Constructs of Gender Hierarchy

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Although past scholars have conducted extensive historical research regarding the colonial period in Latin America, the woman's experience under colonial rule is a topic that is often neglected in major historical interpretations. Though scholars have recently begun devoting more attention towards the roles and experiences of women in colonial Latin America, the colonial experience of native women in the Americas has only just begun to be seriously studied by historians in the past few decades.

This research is intended as a gendered investigation into the native Andean woman's experience under Spanish colonialism. This gendered colonial perspective is aimed at analyzing the ways in which resistance efforts undertaken by native Andean women in response to colonial gender hierarchies contributed to the greater cultural preservation efforts of the Andean people. While this region certainly includes native women of the conquered Inca Empire, particularly those in Peru and Bolivia, it is by no means exclusive to this civilization. Native women of diverse ethnic and cultural groups in the Andes, some of which remained unincorporated by the Inca at the time of the Spanish conquest, will also be included, as their colonial experiences are equally valuable to a cohesive understanding of women's roles under the Spanish empire.

An investigation into the drastic decline in social and economic status that native Andean women experienced during the colonial period is the central focus of this research endeavor.

No aspect of the native Andean woman's life, status or role in society went untouched by Spanish colonizers. While in the pre-conquest period Andean women enjoyed higher privileges than their European counterparts, the imposition of colonialism and the Spanish constructs of gender hierarchies sought to eradicate traditional Andean gender roles and norms by any means necessary. Under colonial Spanish rule, Andean women could no longer own land independently of their husbands, hold important religious offices, access community resources or enjoy the myriad of social, political and economic rights that they had held for centuries.¹ Instead, Andean women, through the Spanish imposition of foreign gender roles, were systematically disenfranchised and subordinated in colonial society.

This study will explore the various methods of female resistance to these newly imposed Spanish gender roles undertaken by Andean women throughout the colonial period. The majority of these resistance efforts by native women of the Andes can be classified as "passive" resistance efforts, and constitute actions by which native women managed to undermine, subvert or manipulate the colonial system and gender roles to better protect their fading status and power. Though passive resistance was the method most widely used by native women during the colonial period, there are notable instances of female involvement in military rebellions by native populations, like the Tupac Amaru rebellion of

¹ Silverblatt, Irene. *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Colonial Peru*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987. 122.

the late eighteenth-century. Another powerful indicator of female resistance efforts is the incredible resurgence, and at times revival, of native Andean religious traditions that occurred throughout the colonial period. Native women were often the leaders of these traditional cults, and their religious resistance efforts are perhaps the most long-lasting and successful efforts to subvert the exclusionary Catholic religion and its ruling patriarchy. These measures of female resistance to the colonial institution of gender hierarchies can be interpreted not only as attempts to salvage pre-conquest female rights, economic privileges and social standing, but also as part of a struggle to preserve greater native cultural and religious institutions in the face of the Spanish suppression and destruction of Andean culture.

The Pre-Columbian Andes

Long before the conquest of the Inca Empire and surrounding territories by the Spanish conquistadors in 1532, Andean peoples were already well acquainted with patterns of conquest and domination by rival groups. The very geography of the Andes region promoted domination, as competition for prime resources and agricultural land in such a mountainous region was fierce, so that even before the Spanish conquest, Andean history was littered with a pattern of conquest and domination. However, it was not the conquest of 1532 that threatened the survival of Andean society, as Andeans had a great deal of experience with such events; the difference lay in the fact that Andeans were not conquered by a neighboring group with similar values, cosmology, and gender constructions like the Inca, but instead by a foreign power with alien values that were diametrically opposed to their own.

Andean people were equipped to evade domination through their pre-Columbian experiences with conquest; just as the geography of the Andes made struggle inescapable, it also helped to foster resistance to domination. It was quite common for Andean groups that did not wish to be incorporated into a larger empire to seek refuge in the mountains, and during the expansion of the Inca Empire in the fifteenth century, a number of semi-sedentary groups fled to the mountains to protect their autonomy. Upon the arrival of the Spanish in 1532, smaller semi-sedentary Andean groups once again practiced this resistance method, seeking to evade the Spanish in the harsh terrains and high altitudes of the Andes mountain range.² But while the geography of the Andes fostered resistance measures towards the Spanish, geography alone cannot account for the centuries of resistance by Andean populations, or the remarkably high rate of cultural preservation that exists in the region today even after centuries of intense colonialism. The colonial resistance efforts of native Andean women in particular are directly responsible for the cultural preservation of larger Andean society and traditions.

Andean Gender and Cosmology

Prior to the development of the Inca Empire in the fifteenth century, Andean culture, cosmology, and gender constructions were quite egalitarian as compared to others in the Americas. The invasion of a warrior society like the Inca, however, hampered the gender equality inherent in Andean society, so that native women gradually lost previously held powers and rights. While women did experience a marked curtailment of their status under the Inca Empire, the Inca understood that they could not push women out of powerful positions entirely, lest they upset the very structure of Andean society.³ In the

² Ibid., 197.

³ Ibid., 7.

Andean world, women were acknowledged as integral figures to society, which afforded women an important degree of protection under the Inca; the vastly different role of women in Iberian society, however, allowed the Spanish to disenfranchise native women entirely in the colonial period.

The fundamental gender differences between Andean and Spanish society led to the total erasure of female power and status after the conquest, and provided Andean women with plenty of motivation for resistance in the colonial period. In the pre-Columbian era, Andean women were considered to be partners of men in “the business of life”, and the very foundation of Andean society, parallel descent, protected and upheld the power of women in Andean cultures.⁴ Parallel descent claimed that men and women inhabited separate, but equally powerful spheres of influence and power in society, including religion, politics, economics, and labor: Andean women were high priestesses, *curacas*, who owned land and fortunes independent from men, and were highly respected members of society.⁵ In contrast to the rights and privileges enjoyed by Andean women in the pre-Columbian period, the ruling Spanish patriarchy of the sixteenth-century had disenfranchised Iberian women centuries before. With the institution of the colonial system in the Andes, the Spanish usurped Andean gender conceptions with their Iberian conception of gender hierarchies, seriously demoting Andean women in the process. These demotions imposed upon native Andean women by the Spanish conquerors

incited female resistance efforts that lasted the entire duration of the colonial period.

Passive Resistance

The installation of the Spanish colonial system in the Andes brought with it a legal system heavily influenced by Iberian gender conceptions, wherein Andean women lost valued rights and legal protections that they had held for centuries. The Spanish colonial system devalued the labor of native women, both sexual and economic, so that native Andean women were heavily exploited by the colonial patriarchy. Native women undertook various measures of resistance to the misuse of their labor by the colonial authority, the majority of which consisted of passive resistance efforts, as it allowed women to subvert and manipulate the colonial system while still minimizing the risk of detection. In the pre-Columbian period, Andeans practiced limited gender division of labor, allowing for the development of a more egalitarian labor system.⁶ The labor of Andean women was equally as respected as that of men, and tribute requirements to the Inca Empire demanded equal participation in the quota system.⁷ This system ensured that the Inca received their tribute, and that the labor of native women was recognized and respected in the system. During the colonial period, the Spanish revised the Inca tribute system to reflect the economic model of a colony. The Spanish colonial system was required by the Crown to extract as much wealth and resources from the Andes as possible, which necessitated the imposition of harsher tribute and labor quotas. Andean natives were universally overtaxed under this

⁴ Powers, Karen Vierra. *Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The gendered genesis of Spanish-American society, 1500-1600*. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. 17.

⁵ Kellogg, Susan. *Weaving the Past: A history of Latin America's indigenous women from the pre-*

Hispanic period to the present. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. 41.

Silverblatt, 1987. 5.

⁶ Silverblatt, 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 132.

system, but Andean women especially were targeted, forced to pay exorbitant amounts of tribute to the Spanish, which sparked female resistance measures accordingly.

The tribute expectations of the Spanish victimized natives regardless of gender, but women were held accountable for their husband's tribute in the event that he defaulted, an occurrence that became quite common due to the inhumane labor demands of the Spanish. The Inca system of tribute collection followed gender equality structures, so that only married couples were obligated to contribute, as the quota was impossible for a single person to fulfill, and the elderly and unmarried were exempt. The colonial tribute negated the fair labor laws of the Inca in the interest of mass profit, forcing women of all ages to meet high tribute demands.⁸ The strain of the new tribute system was further compounded by the Spanish' seizure of peasant lands that had been previously used to fulfill tribute quotas, so that Andeans were forced to use their family plots to fulfill the tribute quota, which left many peasants unable to adequately provide for their families.⁹ To further expedite the process of tribute collection, the Spanish devised a system of native reservations, or *reducciones*, during the sixteenth century, which forced large native populations to live in cramped compounds under the supervision of the colonial authority. These new *reducciones* forced Andeans to abandon their tradition of endogamy, or marriage within their villages, a practice meant to ease labor requirements. Instead, Andeans had to adopt marriage exogamy, unions outside their villages, which made women responsible for double tribute, in their natal and marital villages, further

devaluing female labor.¹⁰ Labor conditions for peasants were harsh and unreasonable, so that tribute payment meant economic destitution for native women. The intense supervision by colonial officials in the tribute collection process did not allow for grand, overt gestures of resistance by Andeans, but native women nonetheless resisted these inhumane labor conditions, albeit in a more subtle manner.

The exploitation of female labor by the Spanish colonial tribute system led to increased economic responsibilities for Andean women during the early colonial period. Men and women were both treated as slave labor by the Spanish and forced to work in long hours in sweatshops for scant compensation, but when husbands fled these barbaric conditions, they unwittingly placed even greater labor burdens on their families.¹¹ Conditions continued to deteriorate for native women due to the colonial bureaucracy's failure to adjust population statistics to account for male flight and the decline of native populations, which prompted a response of female resistance.¹² Though native flight was a dangerous method of tribute evasion, Andean women did escape the crippling labor exploitation of their rural villages by migrating to colonial centers. In a larger town, native women were free of tribute expectations, and were able to establish themselves as relatively independent market women.¹³ Other Andean women opted to migrate seasonally between rural villages to evade tribute payment; this method was so pervasive that sixteenth-century colonial records documented the phenomenon, along with the natives' fear of returning to their natal villages for fear of reprisal.¹⁴

⁸ Ibid., 129, 126.

⁹ Ibid., 127.

¹⁰ Ibid., 131.

¹¹ Ibid., 135.

¹² Ibid., 137.

¹³ Powers, 66.

¹⁴ Ramirez, Susan Elizabeth. *The World Turned Upside Down: Cross-cultural contact and conflict in sixteenth-century Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996. 35.

The majority of Andean women had difficulty simply evading their tribute expectations, however, and instead sought to undermine the colonial tribute system through reproductive resistance efforts. As victims of the unreasonable demands of colonial tribute quotas, Andean women devised various methods to spare their children the same physical and economic exploitation. Native midwives continued to practice covertly in small communities, providing Andean women with contraceptives, which helped return a measure of personal power to women that had been usurped by the Spanish.¹⁵ Andean women also committed census fraud to protect their children from tribute demands, claiming their children as mestizos on baptismal records, as only natives were required to pay tribute.¹⁶ In fear of raising the next generation of slave labor for the Spanish, some mothers took drastic action; in Ecuador, a colonial priest found evidence that Andean women had mutilated their infant sons to render them useless for tribute. Though rare, some Andean women took still greater precautions towards protecting their children from colonial labor exploitation, resorting to abortion or infanticide. When one Ecuadorian mother was caught burying her newborn son alive by the village priest, she claimed that she had killed her child so that "...he would not have to see Christians in his lands."¹⁷ While reproductive resistance efforts did not directly influence labor revisions in the colonial system, they did signify an attempt to reclaim female labor privileges, both sexual and economic.

While the colonial legal system was not designed to be accessible to native women, elite Andean women nonetheless formally protested the loss of their legal and economic

rights under colonization. The Andean gender structure allowed for equal and independent female ownership of land and other property, following matrilineal descent, so that elite Andean women often owned parts of entire native communities.¹⁸ These elite women lost their land rights after the conquest, as Iberian law did not recognize female ownership, relegating women to their colonial status as legal minors, incapable of making independent legal decisions.¹⁹ Elite women suffered land theft by both the Spanish and their Andean husbands, who took advantage of the unprecedented opportunity to increase their personal land holdings. These Andean women took both their husbands and Spanish colonists to court, and though very few cases were ever resolved in their favor, the very act of legal resistance was of momentous import.²⁰ Elite women further protested male usurpation of their property in their wills, as an act of final defiance to the legal ramification of Spanish imposed gender hierarchy. Juana Chimbo, a wealthy Andean woman, protested her husband's theft of her land in her final will; Juana demanded that her property be granted only to her female relatives, because her husband had "no rights whatsoever" over her lands.²¹ A caveat included in Juana's will provides a clear indication that elite women actively sought to subvert the colonial system that robbed native women of their legal independence and rights. These formal and documented instances of female resistance to their new position in the colonial system is evidence of a larger resistance by Andean women throughout the colonial period, and is indicative of an attempt to subvert the patriarchy, both native and Spanish.

Violent Resistance

¹⁵ Powers, 178.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁸ Anton, 38.

¹⁹ Silverblatt, 119.

²⁰ Silverblatt, 120.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

While there were limited instances of organized resistance by native women during the colonial period, there are still fewer occurrences of organized violence against the Spanish patriarchy with high levels of female involvement. Whereas occasions of passive resistance were usually conducted by individuals, and were directed at the covert subversion of the colonial system, instances of organized violence required mass participation and took decades to foment. The most notorious violent uprising in colonial Andean history was the Tupac Amaru Rebellion of 1780-1782, an event that utilized the mass unrest of huge native populations with military precision.²² For two centuries, native Andeans had suffered extreme losses of social, economic, and religious status, and after an extended period of continued abuses, native groups were prepared to reclaim their lost rights through violent means. The uprising was led by Tupac Amaru, a native Andean that claimed to be the rightful heir to the fallen Inca Empire, and who pledged to eradicate the oppressive colonial system through military force.²³ Women not only participated as followers in the rebellion, they also held prestigious military positions in the rebel forces. Tupac Amaru's wife, Micaela Bastides, served as a military strategist, absentee general and troop commandant in her husband's absence. Micaela was reported to have personally led five thousand native soldiers into battle against the Spanish, and was remembered by a captured Spaniard as being as "cruel a monster" as her husband in obtaining information from captured Spaniards on enemy movements. Female *curacas*, or regional leaders, who had been dispossessed of their titles by the colonial patriarchy also flocked to the cause, and enjoyed positions of

²² Stavig, Ward and Ella Schmidt (eds.). *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An anthology of sources*. Indiana: Hackett Publishing, 2008. 61.

high reputation in the rebel army. Curaca Tomasa Titu Condemayta was a rural leader that served as a field commander in the uprising, and received her orders directly from Tupac Amaru, an indication of her high status in the movement.²⁴

The presence of native women in the high command of the rebel army represented the survival of dual leadership, an Andean conception of gender parallelism in authority positions, which managed to outlast the brutal eradication efforts of the colonial gender structure. A sizeable proportion of the soldiers in the movement were also native Andean women, and though they did not occupy prestigious positions like Micaela Bastides and Curaca Tomasa, they supplied the soldiers with weapons and fought alongside the men in skirmishes with the Spanish.²⁵ The Spanish forces were especially disturbed by the masses of female soldiers in the movement, and the gruesome public executions of the high female command illustrate the gender inversion that these women represented to the Spanish colonial system. While rare, the high female involvement in the Tupac Amaru Rebellion illustrated the continued resistance efforts of native Andean women to the colonial gender hierarchy.

Religious Resistance

Resistance to the religious changes instituted by the Spanish with the introduction of Catholicism during the colonial period was an especially contentious point for Andeans. Both the Andean religion and Catholicism were structured around their respective gender structures, so that the high religious status enjoyed by Andean women prior to the conquest was replaced with subservient religious role of Iberian Catholicism. The higher status of women in Andean society was

²³ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 92, 65, 89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

directly reflected in their religious roles and positions, which the introduction of Catholicism directly challenged. Andean religion followed the model of parallel descent, so that worship and authority positions were divided equally along gender, providing native women with separate, but equally powerful religious influence as Andean men. Parallel descent also influenced Andean cosmology, so that female deities were incredibly powerful figures in religion. In fact, it has been suggested that Andean cultures had “an ancient tradition of female supernaturals, perhaps older than in Meso-america.” The strength and preeminence of Andean goddesses suggests that Andean women were equally as respected in religious matters.²⁶ Female priestesses held corresponding high positions of religious authority as their male counterparts, and held total control of religious orders devoted to female goddesses like the powerful creator mother Pachamama and the corn goddess Saramama.²⁷

Andean female religious authority was not untested when the Spanish arrived in 1532, as the Inca Empire had similarly targeted women’s power and influence in the religious sphere. As a male-dominated warrior society, the Inca had different ideas of gender authority, which led to their replacement of ancient female deities with a supreme male god, the sun god Inti. The Inca further interfered in the religious practices of women by demanding that women break the tradition of gender parallelism and worship male gods alongside female.²⁸ The Inca also asserted control over positions of female religious authority with the introduction of the *aclla* system. *Acllas* were young virgins that were reaped by the Inca from conquered native groups, and installed as priestesses devoted to

Inti, which established the superiority of the Inca patriarchy over women in religion. This religious control did have its limits, however, as the *aclla* system inadvertently established a female “leadership hierarchy” within a male-centric religious order.²⁹ Although Andean women had suffered male interference in their religious power under the Inca Empire, the institution of Spanish Catholicism in the Andes not only curtailed the religious independence of Andean women, but attempted to decimate the female religious sphere entirely.

The introduction of Catholicism to the Andes resulted in the demotion of native women in nearly every aspect of religious practice. Where there existed an entire pantheon of goddesses in Andean mythology, the embodiment of powerful creative and sexual forces, Catholicism had limited the power of divine female figures. The most significant female figure in Catholicism was the Virgin Mary, and while highly revered, Mary was a submissive figure, and largely outranked by male deities. The conversion further weakened the power of native women by cutting them out of the creation process entirely; while Andean religion had a founding couple, Catholicism had only a founding father, which left newly “converted” Andean women religiously adrift and disenfranchised.³⁰ Andean women not only lost religious authority during the conversion to Catholicism, they were also persecuted for imagined acts of evil solely for their gender. Though Andean religion was devoid of a devil figure, the Spanish projected their religious gender biases onto native women, with their assumptions that they worshipped the devil because of the supposed disposition to evil of the female sex.³¹ Women in positions of religious authority were considered to be an

²⁶ Kellogg, 41.

²⁷ Silverblatt, 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁹ Kellogg, 50.

³⁰ Powers, 24.

³¹ Silverblatt, 173.

affront to acceptable gender roles in the new colonial order, and not only indecent, but dangerous to the mission of conversion undertaken by the Catholic Church.

In response to the various religious demotions and denigrations suffered by pious Andean women following the Spanish conquest, native women began to actively commit acts of religious resistance towards the new Catholic religion that was so intent on suppressing them. In the immediate wake of the conquest, resistant Andean women claimed to have fully converted to Catholicism, while secretly continuing to practice native religious rituals. Former priestesses continued to hold their positions in the community, acting as confessors and religious guides to fellow native women in direct opposition to the Catholic decree condemning these practices as acts of heresy. Andean women resisted these religious changes in various ways, the most powerful of which were the revival of native cults, creation of puna society, manipulation of witchcraft, and the Taqi Onqoy movement.

Native cults

Through the revival of female-oriented religious cults, native women successfully resisted Catholic conversion and helped to ensure greater preservation of Andean religion. Colonial court records from the seventeenth-century attest to the high level of female involvement in religious cults. A female cult devoted to the corn goddess, Saramama, was denounced by Bernardo de Noboa, a Spanish colonial official, for teaching other natives the “traditions of their ancestors” in “defiance of colonial civil and ecclesiastical courts.”³² The punishment for religious opposition was extremely harsh in colonial Peru, as the leader

of this particular cult, Isabel Yalpay, received one hundred lashes, was forced to work for the Church for ten years as penance, and was denounced as a witch and a dogmatist by the colonial court.³³ Such harsh punishments for women reflect the Church’s recognition of the power that native women had in Andean communities, as they were able to reverse the conversion gains of the Church in significant numbers. Despite these repercussions, native women continued to defy the Catholic Church, as the conversion not only dispossessed native women of religious authority, but threatened cultural traditions as well.

Women of the puna

The most successful case of organized religious resistance during the colonial period was the development of a sizable female community in the rural Puna grasslands, where female leaders of “outlawed indigenous cults” defied the Spanish en masse.³⁴ Native women who had been victimized under the colonial tribute system or persecuted by the Catholic Church for heresy slowly began to populate the rural puna and established a community dedicated to the preservation of Andean culture. During the Church’s extirpation of idolatry campaign, devised to eradicate the remnants of native religion that had survived colonization, the puna gained even more inhabitants. An elderly native woman that had fled the Extirpator of Idolatry, Francisco Avila, illustrated the larger motivation of native women in joining the puna community:

perhaps then the priest is to blame if we women adore the mountains, if we flee to the hills and the puna, since there is no justice for us here.³⁵

³² Silverblatt, 32.

³³ Ibid., 33.

³⁴ Ibid., 197.

³⁵ Silverblatt, Irene. “‘The Universe has turned inside out...there is no justice for us here’:

Andean women under Spanish rule.” In *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock. New York: J.F. Bergin Publishers, 1980. 180.

The open religious persecution of Andean women did not inspire greater native conversion to Catholicism, but instead renewed the practice of native religious rituals. This society of female traditionalists openly rejected Spanish customs and authority, in addition to "...vigorously reject[ing] the colonial ideology which reinforced their oppression, refusing to go to mass...and returned to their native religion."³⁶ Old widows were able to separate themselves from the perceived impurities of Catholicism by their refusal to attend catechism, which allowed them to make pure offerings to the Andean gods, as they were considered unsullied by the "the world of the conquerors."³⁷ In the puna, native women were able to avoid the interferences of colonial priests that demanded their subservience to the Catholic patriarchy, and were able to create an "underground culture of resistance."³⁸ The legacy of religious resistance started by colonial native women in the puna is so strong that in modern Andean culture, the puna is still considered as "the center of women's society", and these native women are universally acknowledged as defenders of the Andean culture.³⁹

Witchcraft

The utilization of the Catholic fear of witchcraft by native women to manipulate the colonial system was an extremely innovative method of religious resistance to Spanish gender hierarchy. Though Andean religion was devoid of any reference to the devil, native women understood the power of witchcraft in asserting female influence in the religious sphere. Though native women did not believe themselves to be practitioners of witchcraft, they adopted the guise in response to repeated

denouncement by the Spanish that they were morally evil. This was a huge change in perception from the pre-Columbian period, when priestesses were revered as "virgins of the sun", to the colonial Church's condemnation of these same women as "wives of the devil."⁴⁰ Native women were doubly stigmatized by the colonial Church; as women, they were morally susceptible to evil, and as natives, their religious traditions were a manifestation of devil worship.⁴¹ As the Spanish expected native women to be witches, native women assumed the guise of sorceresses in order to both resist the colonial system and defend "pre-Columbian life ways."⁴² This method of resistance is well described by the historian Irene Silverblatt:

Rejection of the Spanish world entailed, in some measure, the use of ideological forms imported by the Spanish: thus, Iberian gender ideologies made women witches, and Andean women turned witchcraft into a means of resistance.⁴³

The resistant native population assisted these mock Andean witches in their efforts, to the extent that colonial chroniclers recalled the refusal of natives to provide the names of witches to the Spanish, so that an underground resistance movement was created purely out of the natives' manipulation of their conquerors' fear of witchcraft.⁴⁴

The Taqi Onqoy Movement

The Taqi Onqoy movement was the most famous religious resistance movement that swept the native population of the Andes throughout the mid-sixteenth century. Of the thousands of native followers, or *Taquiungos*, women made up more than half of the ranks.

³⁶ Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 197.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.

³⁸ Silverblatt, *The Universe*, 180

³⁹ Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*, 209.

⁴⁰ Anton, 69.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

The movement was borne out of the natives' desire to return to ancient Andean religious traditions and banish both the Spanish and the oppressive Catholic religion from the Andes, which Andeans envisioned as the result of a clash between the Andean and Catholic gods.⁴⁵ The fact that the majority of *Taquiungos* were women served as an indication as to the survival of Andean religious authority parallels, even decades after the conquest.⁴⁶ Female *Taquiungos* had significant influence within the movement; they were able to simultaneously recruit fellow natives to join the movement, and bring Catholicized natives back to Andean religion.⁴⁷ The female members of the Taqi Onqoy movement not only encouraged native resistance to their oppressive colonial masters and the Spanish world, but also tried to foster significant solidarity within the Andean world, as an effort to better salvage pre-conquest religious independence and freedoms.⁴⁸ Although the movement was ultimately unsuccessful in its goal of expelling the Spanish from the Andes, native women did manage to reverse the conversion gains of the Catholic Church, and inspire further acts of resistance amongst native Andean women.

Conclusion

The Spanish conquest of the Americas has been referred to by historians as a “gendered collision.”⁴⁹ This portrayal has certainly proven accurate in regard to the Spanish conquest of the Andes in 1532, when Spanish conquerors attempted to impose the Iberian conception of gender hierarchies on a largely egalitarian-native population. This radically fundamental disparity between the gender conceptions operating in Spanish and Andean

society resulted in a serious status demotion for Andean women after the conquest. The pre-Columbian period had allowed for a harmonious, parallel relationship between Andean men and women, so that native women were able to hold equally powerful positions in society. The introduction of Iberian gender hierarchies, however, wherein women held subordinate places in all aspects of society, reduced Andean women to their colonial status as second-class citizens. The resistance measures undertaken by native women in retaliation to these changes, passive, violent, and religious, constituted active efforts to regain previously held rights. Furthermore, such resistance efforts by Andean women during the colonial period represented a larger effort to preserve Andean culture from the destructive influences of both the Catholic Church and colonial system.

⁴⁵ Powers, 180.

⁴⁶ Kellogg, 83.

⁴⁷ Stern, Steve J. *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640.*

Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1982. 55.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴⁹ Powers, 39.

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