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Colliding Worlds

Indigenous Women, Conquest, and Colonialism

That women played a variety of roles during the conquest and colonial periods almost goes without saying. However, one woman in particular has gone down in history as especially noteworthy during this period. She is Malinche, or doña Marina, or Malintzin, the variously named translator and sometime consort of the conqueror of the Nahuas of central Mexico, Hernán Cortés. Though no documents exist in which she narrates or interprets her life in her own voice, Spanish sources often refer to her somewhat ironically as *la lengua* (tongue). Her image and life illustrate in microcosm the ways that sexuality and gender were part of the process of conquest (see figs. 3.1 and 3.2). The illustrations, while different, recall some of the strength implicit in the Coyolxauhqui image discussed in the last chapter, but her life course tellingly foreshadows the conquerors' treatment of the indigenous women on whom they depended and with whom they had intimate relations. While Malintzin herself played an important public role in the events of conquest, other women experienced diminished public roles. And she gave birth to children who were among the first mestizo children of mainland Spanish America, helping to set off the development of mixed ethno-racial identities whose existence would complicate both gender and racial hierarchies.

This chapter explores this decline at the same time that it highlights a historical counterpoint, one in which native women demonstrated an admirable capacity to survive, adjust to, or resist myriad changes, barriers, and problems. While multifaceted transformational influences, especially new forms of labor extraction and a new religious belief system that stressed women's passivity, enclosure, purity, and honor, ended in a widespread dimi-

FIGURE 3.1. Malintzin watches as the Spanish arrive. (From *Florentine Codex*, General History of the Things of New Spain, translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, bk. 12, image no. 1. Courtesy of University of Utah Press.)

nution of women's power and authority, women nevertheless were important, active presences in colonial societies. Through their work, their activities in households as wives, mothers, and daughters, and their roles as community elders and defenders, they used legal and extralegal means to protect both themselves and others.[1]

The chapter seeks to describe the specificity of women's experiences in the colonial world in relationship to work, family and sexuality, religion, and politics and thereby to analyze the role of gender as a factor in conquest and colonial rule. Images of the conquest are themselves gendered, not only because Iberian conquerors brought to the Americas a masculine sensibility that connected sexuality and conquest but also because indigenous participation in the conquests is symbolized most often not by the indigenous male translators, who were actually more numerous during and after the conquest, but by the female translator for Cortés, Malintzin.[2] Who was she? Why does she carry such a heavy symbolic load?

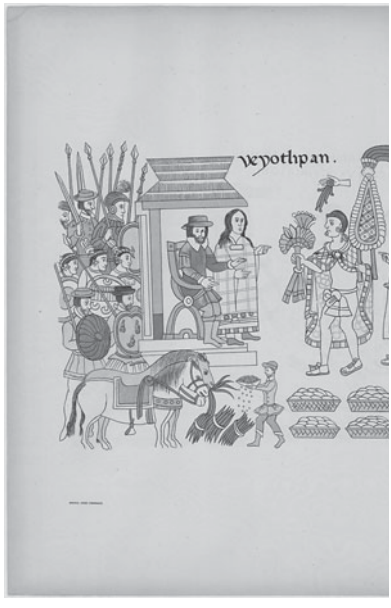

FIGURE 3.2. Malintzin at Cortés's side as he receives gifts from one of a group of Tlaxcalan lords. (From Alfredo Chavero, *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, in *Antigüedades mexicanas*, 1892, Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, Mexico City, pl. 28. Courtesy of the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin.)

Gender, Sex, and Violence in the Conquest Era

The very name of the young slave woman who lived and worked among the Gulf Coast Chontal Maya in the community of Potonchan is in doubt. While many writers assert that the Spanish gave her the name Marina because it closely matched her indigenous name Malinalli, Malina (or Malintzin, an honorific form used in indigenous-produced texts) more probably reflected a native pronunciation of the name "Marina," which was given to her by a priest in 1519.[3] Whatever her birth name, that she would become known by the Nahuatlized version of her name, Malintzin, is appropriate, because she was not Maya in origin but had been born among Gulf Coast Nahuatl speakers. Thought by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a member of Cortés's expedition and author of the most informative source about her, to have been born to a noble family, Malintzin was given away after her father died and her mother remarried. She eventually ended up among Maya speakers who, in turn, gave her to Cortés in 1519.[4] Malintzin's early life was marked by loss of family and movement, a not uncommon experience for women before, during, and after

the arrival of Europeans. Among Cortés and his group, her Maya-Nahuatl bilingualism became useful. Before she learned Spanish and some Spaniards learned Nahuatl, Cortés was forced to rely on a chain of translators, which included Malintzin, who translated from Nahuatl to Maya, and Gerónimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard who had been enslaved by Yucatec Maya after a shipwreck in 1511, who translated from Maya to Spanish. Malintzin soon became trilingual by becoming fluent enough in Spanish to translate directly, though by then some Spaniards were also comfortable enough speaking Nahuatl to translate. She served as Cortés's primary translator throughout the conquest of the Mexica and even after, including on his ill-conceived march to Honduras. However, as both Spanish and indigenous sources make clear, Malintzin's importance lay not only in her translation work but also in her loyalty to the Spanish cause.

That Malintzin was loyal to the Spanish cannot be doubted. While she aided the Spanish on several occasions, her role in the very bloody Spanish massacre that took place in Cholula (after she reported to Cortés about Cholulan plans to aid a Mexica attack on the Spanish) is the event that forms the basis of the Mexican popular view of her as the very definition of an informer and traitor. But her role in the execution of Cuauhtemoc, the last Mexica supreme ruler, may even better illustrate her deep loyalty to the Spanish, since not only was she present for his execution but she also helped two Franciscan friars as they ministered to him before his execution.[5]

Was the source of this loyalty love? Malintzin had relationships with two Spaniards, Alonso Hernández de Puertocarrero, to whom she was given by Cortés and stayed with for only a short time in 1519, and Cortés himself, with whom she had a son. Cortés then married her to a third, Juan Jaramillo—with whom she went on to have two more children—in what Cortés's secretary-chaplain, Francisco López de Gómara, viewed as an inappropriate wedding because the groom was intoxicated throughout. Did love play a role in these relationships? Was she driven by a very pragmatic will to survive? Or was she driven, at least in part, by an anti-Mexica desire to overthrow imperial domination, perhaps born of bitterness over the several brutal turns her life had taken? Her actions, not inconsistent with an anti-Mexica sentiment, are the actions of a woman who made choices among the limited and unsatisfactory set of options presented by others—Nahua, Maya, Spanish—to her. And she could hardly be a traitor to the Mexican nation when no such nation existed. Passed from group to group and man to man, her role as translator was highly unusual for the time and rooted in her own exceptional abilities and the circumstances in which she found herself. Yet the pathos of her existence as object to be used and passed along, is undeniable and exemplifies the pragmatic, even uncaring, nature of most relations between Spanish conquerors and indigenous women.[6]

The actions of Cortés himself epitomize the often fleeting quality of relationships between the male conquerors and the female conquered. In addition to fathering four children with his Spanish wife and another out of

wedlock with another Spanish woman, he was reported to have four mestizo children, each by a different mother. One of the women was Malintzin; another was Tecuichpochtzin, a daughter of Moteuczoma.[7] Such transitory relations were perhaps a variant of other, still more exploitative, and even violent, relationships between European conquerors and indigenous women caught up in the tumultuous events of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The relations between Spanish men and native women took several forms. One, already mentioned, is the informal relationship that, while variable in length and depth of affection, often resulted in a child or children who may have been legitimated by their Spanish fathers and remembered with property in their wills. Such was the case with several of Cortés's mestizo children and with the children Pizarro had with Quispe Sisa. Those children whom conquerors legitimated did not live long with their native mothers. Malintzin's son, don Martín, was separated from his parents by the march to Honduras and was later taken by Cortés to Spain, where he lived most of the rest of his life. Pizarro's children—at least the two he had with Quispe Sisa, whom he subsequently legitimated—were taken from their mother's care and given to his half-brother and wife to raise according to Spanish custom.[8]

Other relationships resulted in marriages, legal and religious unions that were as stable as others of the same time period. However much affection may have motivated these marriages, status, wealth, and security probably played a greater role, as most involved native women born to noble families, especially those that owned landed estates. Sometimes native fathers presented their daughters to the Spanish conquerors, continuing a preexisting way of creating and maintaining political ties, in the hopes of solidifying alliances, as in the case of the Tlaxcalan leaders' donation of women, slave women, and their own daughters. In other cases, powerful Spaniards arranged marriages between indigenous women and some of their men, as Cortés did with Malintzin and Pizarro did with Quispe Sisa, marrying her to a man who had been his servant.[9] Combining elements of both spousal and parental roles, such arrangements continued well into the sixteenth century. In 1566, a wealthy Spanish resident of Cuzco, Arías Maldonado, promoted a marriage between his brother Cristóbal and his eight-year-old Inka stepdaughter doña Beatriz Clara Coya, granddaughter of Manco Inka (ally of and later rebel against the Spanish; see fig. 3.3). A formal betrothal and even intercourse took place. When the Maldonados were arrested, doña Beatriz went on to marry another Spaniard, don Martín García de Loyola, in a marriage arranged by the viceroy, don Francisco Toledo. In this instance, the use of coercive sex in the interest of fortune hunting is very clear.[10]

The women's views on any of these relationships remain unknown, though one historian speculates that the Guaraní women of a vast region stretching across northeastern South America willingly served Spaniards as sexual companions, interpreters, and laborers because they valued the gifts

FIGURE 3.3. The marriage of doña Beatriz Clara Coya to don Martín García de Loyola, as depicted in a painting in the Iglesia de la Compañía del Cuzco. (Photo courtesy of the Emilio Harth-Terré Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University.)

of clothing and other items given by the Spanish.[11] Nor do we know how the few Spanish women who married native men, virtually always from the highest ranking royal families, perceived their relationships. Youth, family pressure, and hopes of material benefit seem to have played a role in many such arrangements. The children of these mixed marriages tended to be more acculturated than their native peers and often married Spaniards.[12] Whatever the differences in culture, wealth, and power between partners, some of these relationships endured, in sharp contrast to the third type of relationship, which was brief and violent and in which sex served neither as expression of affection nor tool of acculturation but instead as a weapon of war.

The full range of male-female relationships and violence committed specifically against women occurred early in the Caribbean, where informal relationships, marriages, sexual coercion, and rape all took place. For some Spaniards, marriages with high-ranking island women—while clearly inferior in the eyes of fellow settlers to marriages with Spanish women—nevertheless offered the possibility of raising one's social status, wealth, and access to labor within indigenous communities. For example, very early in the sixteenth century, the Spaniard Sebastián de Viloria hoped to marry Anacaona, the Taino cacica, in order to become ruler of her group. But this scenario proved uncommon, because on both the islands of the Caribbean as well as on the mainland, Spaniards never lost their preference for Spanish wives. In

addition, the use of women as a tool of conquest led many native women to fear and reject European men, a rejection for which Anacaona herself paid with her life.[13]

While consensual sexual relations underlay some of the relationships already mentioned, Iberian notions of a New World sexual paradise of wild and welcoming women were vastly overstated. Descriptions of violent incidents suggest that European men treated coercion as a normal part of the range of sexual relations, and everywhere Iberians went, from the Caribbean to California to Peru, sexual violations occurred.[14] Although rape is a difficult term to define across cultures or time, it seems fair to say that Spanish and Portuguese chronicles contain many descriptions of coercive relations in which various kinds of pressure—psychological, social, physical—were brought to bear on sex acts.[15] The famous passage by Michele de Cuneo, an Italian nobleman who sailed with Columbus, illustrates such a relationship:

> While I was in the boat I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral gave to me, and with whom, having taken her into my cabin, she being naked according to their custom, I conceived desire to take pleasure. I wanted to put my desire into execution but she did not want it and treated me with her finger nails in such a manner that I wished I had never begun. But seeing that (to tell you the end of it all), I took a rope and thrashed her well, for which she raised such unheard of screams that you would not have believed your ears. Finally we came to an agreement in such a manner that I can tell you that she seemed to have been brought up in a school of harlots.[16]

Even more violent than Cuneo's account is a passage by Diego de Landa in which he describes Maya women's pride in their modesty and chastity and then goes on to narrate a chilling incident.

> They prided themselves on being good and they had good reason to; for before they became acquainted with our nation, according to the old men who are complaining of it today, they were marvellously chaste. . . . Captain Alonso Lopez de Avila, brother-in-law of the *Adelantado* Montejo, had captured a young Indian woman, who was both beautiful and pleasing, when he was engaged in the war of Bacalar. She had promised her husband, who feared that he would be killed in the war, not to have relations with another than he; and so no persuasion was sufficient to prevent her giving up her life so as not to be defiled by another man, on which account they caused her to be put to death by dogs.[17]

Other Europeans condemned such behavior, most notably Bartolomé de las Casas, in his volume *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, a work depicting the Spanish in the Caribbean as murderers and rapists. The early chronicler of Peru, Pedro Cieza de León, criticized the conquerors and early

settlers there for seizing and putting to their own uses the wives and daughters of native men.[18]

While it might be going too far to say that rape was a consciously used strategic tool in conquest and colonial rule, that sexual coercion was part of the process of Iberian exploration and conquest cannot be denied. Yet the frequency of sexual violence and the willingness of military leaders such as Cortés and Pizarro to distribute indigenous women among their close lieutenants suggest that conquerors indeed used "the phallus as an extension of the sword."[19] Seeing women as objects whose bodies could be conquered and who could be given as material reward was linked to another use of indigenous women, women as domestic servants. Francisco Pizarro's younger half-brother, Juan, for example, left his entire fortune to *his* younger brother, Gonzalo, leaving nothing to an indigenous woman from whom he "received service." She gave birth to a girl who may have been his daughter and whom he refused to recognize. For the Inka chronicler Guaman Poma, sexual abuse of women became part of the fabric of colonial life. He charged that women who performed labor connected to mining and domestic work in Spanish households were not only subject to labor abuse and theft of possessions by men of all ethnicities but also that they were frequently raped as well (see figs. 3.4 and 3.5). In Brazil, enslavement of and concubinage with indigenous women were closely connected.[20]

Before considering further how conquest was connected to the all-important resource for Spaniards, native labor, another aspect of native women's experiences during the conquest years must be discussed: their resistance to the sexual depredations of European conquerors and their resistance to European conquest. Although women and their kin often accepted relationships with Iberian men, women, their kin, and their communities resisted them as well. From rejection of individual sex acts, for which a woman risked harsh physical punishment, even death, to abortion, suicide, or communal resistance, clear evidence of frequent defiance exists. Women at times not only resisted the Iberian search for sexual satisfaction and subjugation but also sometimes participated in military resistance against European invaders. Natives destroyed the first Spanish community on Hispaniola, La Navidad, in 1493, leaving all its Spanish inhabitants for dead, as the community responded to Spanish attempts at coercive relations with local women. Even though the Mexica protected daughters of the nobility by shielding and taking them to safety during the conquest of Tenochtitlan, Cuauhtemoc ordered the women of Tlatelolco, where the final battles before the Mexica surrender were fought, to go up to the rooftops with shields and arms to threaten the Spanish with Mexica strength in numbers, when in fact their numbers were desperately low. A Tlatelocan woman (or women) helped the remaining desperate Tlatelolcan warriors by pouring water, presumably from a roof, onto the Spanish soldiers.[21]

In South America, Manco II called upon Inka women to act as decoys, again with the aim of making the fighting force appear larger to the Span-

FIGURE 3.4. Officials "looking at the shame" of an Andean Woman. (From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *La nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1980, 2:467.)

FIGURE 3.5. A Dominican friar forcing a woman with a young child to weave. (From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *La nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1980, 2:611.)

ish than it actually was.[22] The role of women supporting Inka forces, in fact, captured Spanish attention. Francisco Pizarro's brother, Hernando, ordered any women captured in fighting to be killed. An anonymous chronicler thought the order was intended to terrorize the Inka people, and that it did so effectively.[23] Francisco Pizarro executed a sister of Atahualpa living in his quarters who was suspected of aiding the Inka cause and whom Quispe Sisa (or doña Inés Yupanqui, as she was by then known) denounced to him. In sixteenth-century Paraguay, twenty-one Guaraní rebellions took place, due, in part, to mistreatment and abuse of Guaraní women and their labor. While some women resisted the invaders, others, like Malintzin and Quispe Sisa, supported them. Overall, women's military role during the conquests was similar to what it had been in the warfare prior to the European arrival: intermittent and less structured than male participation but not wholly uncommon.[24]

In the aftermath of Iberian victories, coercive, voluntary, and marital relations continued between indigenous women and Iberian men, but the colonial era would bring further changes in the lives and roles of women, especially in their labor patterns.

Laboring Women: Paying Tribute, Losing Authority

In most regions, urban and rural, indigenous women probably still arose to perform an array of early morning household tasks similar to those they would have performed in pre-European times. Grinding maize, preparing customary drinks such as *atole* (a maize-based Mesoamerican drink) or chicha, caring for small animals for household consumption, trade, or sale, and picking or sweeping up after their fellow household inhabitants marked women's labor patterns before Conquest as well as during the colonial period, especially in its earliest years. Yet from northern New Spain to Chile in the south, Latin America's native women worked harder but lost power and authority. This section of the chapter considers two questions: What kinds of work did women do? And did their access to power and authority, especially those forms rooted in labor-related hierarchies and ownership of property, change?

If women's work within households remained similar to what it had been prior to the arrival of Europeans, the labor they performed, whether household based or not, whether extracted through official or private means, or for the state or other purposes, changed in both its nature and amount. Scholars who examine a wide array of regions have found that women across Latin America worked harder during the colonial era.[25] Although the causes of women's labor burden, the commodities demanded by Iberians, and forms of labor organization varied by area, three basic reasons for this change stand out. First, there were drastic demographic changes. Second, an intensification of preexisting forms of labor adaptable to colonial economies occurred. Third,

Europeans assigned new types of work to indigenous women in addition to their traditional tasks.

The dramatic decline in native population throughout Latin America was both the backdrop to and cause of change in labor patterns, particularly during the early part of the colonial era. Even as the indigenous population fell due to disease and warfare, Spanish demands for labor increased. Their appetite for textiles for clothing and bedding for themselves and the growing *casta* (or mixed ethno-racial identities) and African populations, in particular, fueled a need to increase indigenous women's productivity, even as new kinds of extra-domestic textile production, often based primarily on male labor, came into being. Declining native populations had other effects on women, whose family responsibilities increased when they found themselves as single parents, a not uncommon consequence of greater male participation in the wars of conquest. Such a variable gender-related impact influenced family structures, although patterns of change varied by area.[26]

The type of women's labor with the greatest degree of continuity across colonial Latin America was weaving. While textile-related activities had more male participants in Andean regions and less in Mesoamerica during the prehispanic era, women's weaving predominated everywhere well into the sixteenth century.[27] Nonetheless, the types of cloth changed, and the amounts of time taken up by this production intensified. Many prehispanic sites of female labor outside of households (for example, temples, in the case of Mesoamerica, and aqlla wasi, in the case of the Andes) disappeared, eventually to be replaced in the seventeenth century by *obrajes*. These urban, sweatshop-like institutions existed primarily to produce textiles, and male labor predominated in them. Indigenous women, however, continued to produce cloth in households during the colonial period, especially in rural areas where obraje-based production did not penetrate. Household-based production provided cloth used by household members for local and long-distance markets and for tribute payments, which generally consisted of cotton cloth woven in a heavier and wider form to suit Iberian tastes, a type that entailed harder work.[28]

Women's marketing activities, especially in Mesoamerica, were also marked by continuity. From the Valley of Mexico to Oaxaca to the Yucatan, women of native origin predominated in local markets, both before and after the arrival of the Spanish. During the colonial period, women sold uncooked and prepared foods, beverages, textiles, and sometimes other wares in markets, from their homes, and on streets and roadways. They also occasionally participated in long-distance trade of profitable items, especially pulque.[29]

In central Mexico and Oaxaca, women were very active as pulque sellers. While it was primarily used as part of ritual celebrations or social gatherings, people drank pulque instead of water to quench thirst during the dry season and used it for medicinal purposes. Women drank it after childbirth to help their milk flow and to regain their strength. In the Mexico City region, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century laws aimed at controlling pul-

que sale and consumption explicitly recognized women as vendors, licensing small numbers of them to sell it over specified distances or areas.[30]

Women also predominated as sellers in colonial Andean markets, even though the existence of markets prior to the arrival of Europeans, especially in the central and southern Andes, is unclear.[31] In larger cities like Lima, indigenous women concentrated on sales of produce, whereas in smaller cities like Quito, Potosí, and Santiago de Chile, women sold a wide array of items, including food, textiles, and items like soap, jewelry, and paper. In mid-seventeenth-century Quito, the sale of nonfood items, especially those of Spanish style, precipitated deep conflicts with non-Indian grocers, *pulperos* (who owned small stores located in many urban neighborhoods), over who had the right to sell particular goods. Both profits and taxes were at stake, because indigenous sellers were exempt from the collection and payment of the *alcabala*, the sales tax city governments required pulperos to pay.[32] While market women were important for the distribution of agricultural and other commodities in many towns and cities, production and distribution in rural areas farther from central markets still took place, activities that often depended upon the sometimes extreme exploitation of female labor.

Even though forced labor, through the institutions of encomienda and *repartimiento* (rotational labor drafts), is typically thought of as a requirement placed upon indigenous males, women, too, labored to fulfill such obligations.[33] Women provided such labor in palaces and temples during the prehispanic period in many areas of Mesoamerica, and a certain similarity exists between prehispanic and colonial forms of compelled labor during the early postconquest years. In central Mexico, labor obligations yielded in part to exchange relations, especially in domestic service in Spanish households early in the colonial period. Employers sometimes paid the women in wages, sometimes in goods or room and board; some employers gave contracts, but most such relationships operated informally. In the Yucatan, native women, many from rural areas, provided rotational personal service labor for urban Spaniards throughout the colonial period.[34]

While female personal service may have been new to Andean societies, it is not hard to imagine lower status aqllas, distant female kin, or other types of female retainers or dependents performing such work in Inka noble households. Female personal service—rooted in both indigenous and Spanish associations between women and cooking, cleaning, and childcare tasks—occurred across the towns and cities of early colonial Spanish America. But in most places such labor ceased to be state-organized and became an individualized arrangement, highly susceptible to such extreme forms of coercion that it resembled involuntary servitude or slavery. Thus in its later forms, female labor bore little resemblance to prehispanic forms of labor service.[35]

Other kinds of work indigenous women performed were less traditional, including labor in and even ownership of mines, textile production in obrajes, and cigar and cigarette manufacture in tobacco factories. Most harshly of all, women worked as *tlamemes*, human carriers of a variety of goods. Female car-

riers were not common, but women did perform such labor in the Yucatan and Chile during the conquests and throughout the sixteenth century in parts of Central America. In some places, men began to do what indigenous men and women had previously considered to be women's work. Jesuit missionaries encouraged men to take over pottery making and to play a greater role in agriculture in the Paraguayan Guaraní missions, for example, in order to encourage greater adherence to Iberian ideas about gender roles.[36]

Non-elite rural and urban women bore the brunt of these demands in the century after the conquests. Policies exempted noblewomen from many of these requirements, and some profited from their associations with Spanish men as well as from the privatization of land ownership.[37] By the seventeenth century, so much compression in the native class structure had taken place that most indigenous women felt pressured by the need for cash or cloth for both basic survival and tribute payments, and many were subject to more extreme forms of exploitation.

The impact of tribute payment to Spanish officials almost certainly had a heavy impact on native women everywhere in Spanish America. While Andean women were formally exempt from such payments, the indigenous women of New Spain paid tribute. Single women, who became responsible for tribute payments as young as age fourteen, and widows were formally listed as half-tributaries, while tribute roles defined a full tributary as a man and his wife. Women as a category were not exempted from such payments until 1786, but, even then, such reforms were not fully enforced, with women continuing to owe payments at least into the 1790s.[38] Regardless of laws and policies, because colonial officials, Spanish or indigenous, could not meet tribute assessments without women's labor, the reality was that virtually everywhere in the Spanish empire, indigenous women worked to earn money or produce goods, generally cloth, that flowed into the tribute system. In regions such as Oaxaca, where women remained the primary textile producers, women probably provided the bulk of tribute payments to the Spanish, whose demands increased over time. Spaniards and indigenous community leaders across many regions sometimes pressured women intensely to produce goods for tribute.[39]

Domestic service was also almost inevitably abusive. Few women worked with contracts; therefore, employers subjected them to their whims regarding the kinds of labor they performed, whether they would be paid, and if so, in what form. While domestic service originated as a type of urban labor, Spanish officials and priests in towns and rural areas also required domestic labor, so it became a common type of work for native women everywhere. It also served as a magnet for rural women, drawing them into cities as a way to escape abusive husbands or find an income to support themselves or aid their families.[40] Depending on a household's needs, domestic labor included those tasks familiar to us such as cooking, cleaning, washing, and childcare, but in both Central America and Peru, domestic service also could include exploitation in more extreme forms. *Encomende-*

ros (holders of encomienda grants of tribute and labor) rented out women to sailors sailing from Central America to Peru for several months at a time; these women no doubt provided both domestic and sexual services. The men who rented out these often young women received rental payments based on their attractiveness. In seventeenth-century Guatemala, Spaniards commonly coerced, even kidnapped, widows to provide domestic service or perform other types of work, and indigenous parents signed contracts tying their pre-adolescent and adolescent daughters to periods of service, including working as wet nurses, in Spanish households, in exchange for money, clothing, and room and board. As widows, they continued to be responsible for tribute payments, and they had no husbands to speak up for them. In Peru, girls as young as six worked as domestic servants, and in the northern Border region, servants as young as one were listed on late eighteenth-century censuses. If not already working at such a young age (one must ask what useful labor they could have done), what the future held for these children is clear.[41]

Large numbers of women, younger and older, performed domestic service because wealthy Spaniards often required large numbers of servants (see fig. 3.6), and did not always want to pay them. Small debts could be used as a pretext for virtual imprisonment, though whether such debts even existed was sometimes debatable. In 1689 María Sisa, an Andean woman from Upper Peru (colonial Bolivia) sued a Spanish woman, doña Polonia Maldonado, over lack of payment of wages. In her two years of serving doña Polonia and her mother, María had received a chicken and three meters of cloth, but she had never been paid wages. After she fell ill and decided to leave her employment in this household, doña Polonia imprisoned María Sisa's son, claiming that María owed her payment for the chicken and cloth. While a constable set her son free, he did not order the payment of María Sisa's wages. Paraguayan officials received repeated orders during the seventeenth century to curb or eliminate abusive forms of female domestic service, suggesting that civil officials often failed to control such practices.[42]

Official involvement in virtual or actual imprisonment and involuntary servitude also occurred. During the sixteenth century in Central America, Mercedarian and Dominican friars kept women for domestic service in their houses. The Dominicans required these women to produce textiles that the friars then traded. They treated the female workers harshly and failed to pay wages.[43] Spanish officials, first encomenderos, later *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* (both civil officials who supervised districts), began to force indigenous women in Oaxaca to weave in the 1540s, a practice that continued throughout the colonial period. A bishop complained in 1779 about the circumstances of Zapotec women forced to weave who paid high prices for unspun cotton yet received unfairly low prices for the textiles they produced, getting as little as one-third to one-half of the value the textiles would bring if sold. The use and later intensification of forced weaving through the *repartimiento de mercancías* (a system of exchange that linked forced production with trade)

FIGURE 3.6. A native official demands tribute from an elderly woman. (From Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *La nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1980, 2:832.)

also occurred in Chiapas, affecting highland Maya groups, especially the Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Chol.[44]

Even the protective custody of women known as *depósito,* used in cases of premarital conflict, divorce, rape, or sexual misconduct, sometimes turned into a more coercive and exploitative practice. Primarily under ecclesiastical control, priests on occasion used depósito as a form of punishment for civil or sexual misdeeds. In the Toluca region west of Mexico City, priests sometimes forced women under the sanction of depósito to be housed in priests' living quarters. In this situation, abuses of labor occurred. In 1820, one priest was accused of rounding up both single women and widows, sheltering them in his own residence, and forcing them to spin and weave. All this continued without payment, going on until the women married. Women sometimes even received punishment for a husband's misdeeds. When an indigenous peddler failed to repay a loan of thirty pesos to a priest, again in the Toluca region, the priest placed the peddler's wife in depósito. Local officials in the Villa Alta district of Oaxaca fined women who did not produce required amounts of woven textiles and placed them in houses they owned if they did not pay fines.[45]

Compulsory female labor occurred throughout the colonial period, and the most extreme form—slavery—while rare, took place as well, primarily during the sixteenth century. Enslavement of indigenous women existed mainly in the Caribbean and Central America, especially Honduras and Nicaragua, but also in Brazil. Slavery also occurred on occasion in the core areas of Spanish America, with indigenous female slaves sometimes laboring as domestic servants but sometimes working in other types of establishments such as mines in New Spain, Peru, and elsewhere.[46] While the Spanish crown considered most of the native population of Spanish America to be free, the labor requirements of Spaniards, although increasingly driven by market rather than state requirements, fell on both men and women. Women usually fulfilled such requirements through household labor, but both need and coercion often pushed them into non-household-based workplaces where owners or overseers subjected them to a variety of abuses. In reference to Central America, William Sherman argued that of all the consequences of Spanish labor demands, the impact of early colonial compulsory labor on families and especially children was "perhaps the greatest social evil."[47] I believe his statement holds true across colonial Latin America.

Enslavement, compulsory labor, intensification of labor, and migration, male or female, all had an impact on native family life. So too did the loss of land held by communities and individuals. Just as the colonial labor system disadvantaged women in a variety of ways, the changing economic scene in regard to property ownership, especially land, also adversely affected women. In a few cases early on, individual sixteenth-century women actually profited. For example, Cortés rewarded Malintzin for her services with an encomienda, and some women descended from the Inka nobility profited from the privatization of land ownership by buying and selling land. On the

other hand, when Spaniards married elite indigenous women, such marriages helped Spaniards gain land.[48]

At first the depopulation in the immediate post-Conquest period probably led to some increase in some women's access to material wealth, especially among Nahuas and Andeans, but this was not a lasting change.[49] Among colonial descendants of the Mexica, we can compare the 1585 testament of Angelina Martina, a merchant woman, and the twenty different plots of land she listed in her will, with the 1699 testament of Melchora de Santiago who left cacique lands ("tlalli cacicazgo") that could generate an income of about twenty pesos per year. Indeed, Melchora represented one of the 25 percent of seventeenth-century Mexico City's indigenous female will writers who owned *any* land (house plot or field) to bequeath to others, down from the over 40 percent of women writing wills who owned landed property in the sixteenth century.[50]

Ñudzahui cacicas continued to own extensive property holdings into the nineteenth century, though non-elite women's property ownership was concentrated in trade items such as textiles, wax, or pesos, with some ownership of house plots as well. Ñudzahui cacicas possessed amounts of land similar to that held by *caciques* (male leaders), but those non-elite women who held land owned house plots or maguey fields and owned somewhat less than men. Yucatec Maya women also owned and inherited land, but no sources indicate noblewomen with extensive landholdings. The land colonial Maya women owned generally consisted of house plots rather than fields.[51]

In central Mexico, indigenous women's loss of land appears to have increased during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While the inheritance practices of the Spanish, who divided property equally among their male and female children, meant that native women held the right to inherit land, litigation from the Toluca Valley shows that women increasingly lost their holdings. Lawsuits over landholdings from that region suggest that men sought actively to dispossess women who were their sisters, sisters-in-law, or nieces from their small plots. They did so even though the agricultural labor performed by the region's women helped support their families and meet the economic requirements of daily and religious life, including the payment of tribute by widows. In colonial Ecuador, a type of serfdom known as *huasipunguerismo* developed, in which male laborers (*huasipungeros*) exchanged their labor for rights to use small plots of land on *haciendas* (large, landed estates). Women's rights to this land came solely through their ties to men. Thus, if a huasipungero died, a woman without an adult son would then be dispossessed.[52]

The Nahua and Andean peoples' loss of rights to land, a process that accelerated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reinforced women's loss of authority and status more generally. The inheritance of use and ownership rights to land represented one pathway of women's autonomous access to resources. But just as the economic basis of their autonomy declined, so did their possibilities for holding positions of leadership. In Mexico City,

female marketplace administrators disappeared, as did priestesses; in the Andes, the parallel female political hierarchy faded from public view.[53] Among the Ñudzahui, cacicas continued to hold political authority into the eighteenth century but lost power in a colonial political system in which they could not hold formal political offices. While we will return to the issue of changing political systems and their impact on women's power and authority, changing forms of labor and property ownership clearly had adverse effects on both elite and nonelite women. While markets may have represented an arena of continuity in women's economic roles, enabling them to help support their families and even sometimes to find economic self-sufficiency and autonomy (though markets also became a site for the expression of gendered and racial stereotypes in the later colonial and early national periods), most other female forms of work depended upon women's subservience and left them open to exploitation, often in extreme forms.

Family and Religious Life: The Paradoxes of Purity and Enclosure

Single, married, and widowed women all made economic contributions to their households, and Spanish labor and taxation policies created a series of stresses with which native families across Spanish America had to deal. After conquest, the Iberian presence generally had an immediate impact on indigenous family life and gender relations. The conquests themselves brought death, dislocation, and disruption. But even in places like Brazil, where violent conquests did not play as great a role during the contact period, disease led to changes in family life. Although the forced labor systems of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries gave way in most areas of Spanish America to more individual and flexible labor arrangements, coercive and exploitative practices continued to affect native men, women, and children. At the same time, the new emphasis on ideas of honor, female purity, and enclosure reinforced male privilege and created a paradox for indigenous women, who, because of their work, did not and could not live the sheltered, enclosed lives idealized by Iberians.

It would be, however, a mistake to paint an overly rosy or idealized picture of native family life prior to the arrival of Europeans. Poverty, disruption of family life through war, violence against women, or the use of women to create or solidify kin group and political alliances all occurred and took their toll. But Iberian demands for labor and the introduction of new gender ideologies—especially as expressed through religion—led to significant changes in family life, with some of these changes having a negative impact on women. In regions like Central America and the Río de la Plata area, where official oversight and enforcement of laws and policies protecting indigenous women and family life were lax, enslavement and very exploitative forms of domestic service, such as the drafting of new mothers to serve as wet nurses,

led to severe family disruption. Such disruption carried severe consequences, including marital breakup and even mothers killing their newborns or themselves or both, as well as other forms of resistance.[54]

In many areas, the effects of conquest, disease, and the imposition of increased tribute demands and labor drafts led to male outmigration, as men either complied with or sought to evade such tribute and labor demands. This migration then resulted in increased family disruption, as men left their families behind.[55] The forced resettlement of whole native communities through the policies of *congregacion* or *reducción* (as it was known in Peru) also contributed to the disruption of kinship structures and family life. While late prehispanic kinship structures varied, peoples across many regions appear to have had high proportions of multifamily households. These helped families meet the tribute and military demands, agricultural labor needs, and requirements of household-based or extra-household-based crafts production.[56] The tendencies of rulers and high-ranking nobles to take more than one wife also increased the size of households among the Nahua, Ñudzahui, Maya, and Inka and other Andean nobles.

Changes in labor patterns and the spread of new diseases immediately altered family size. However, in some areas, especially rural areas, indigenous groups were able to reconstitute traditional kinship systems and family and household structures. Such was the case among the Ñudzahui and the Maya.[57] In regions where either urbanism was more prevalent or where labor extraction or forced resettlement was especially intense, such reconstitution was less likely, and nuclear and single-parent households became more prevalent. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (timing depending upon place), disease combined with other kinds of family and community disruption probably led to increased labor demands being placed upon women, thus in turn fueling further disruption and change.[58]

Another set of factors affecting indigenous family life and gender roles were Spanish beliefs about marriage and proper behavior for women. One area of family life on which the Catholic Church especially focused was marriage. Priests actively promoted chastity, monogamy, and marriage as the relationship of two individuals (rather than as a relationship between households or kin groups) as the only allowable family values.[59] Priests moved quickly to stamp out polygynous practices that traditionally conferred status by creating or affirming kinship and political or economic ties among regional elites. These practices also differentiated between nobles and nonnobles, since the latter generally had no more than one wife. The Franciscan friar Motolinía pointed out that multiple wives provided much-needed labor to produce goods for gifts or exchange among elite households of the cities of central Mexico. But he also noted that the practice embraced "sensuality" and was hard for men to give up.[60]

An early bigamy case from Coyoacan, near Mexico City, demonstrates that some men tried to continue such arrangements. Martín Xuchimitl had married four sisters before the Spanish conquest. Afterward, he legalized his

marriage with one of them but continued his relationship with a second, the other two sisters having died. When he was found out, a religious court tried and sentenced him in 1539 to flogging and having his hair cut off. Among the Tarahumara in the north, male resentment over the loss of female labor was a factor leading to revolt. Colonial kurakas in Peru may have continued to engage in polygyny as a sign of their higher rank. Unfortunately, neither colonial chroniclers nor archival documents tell us how indigenous women felt about polygyny, but perhaps Nahua women's enthusiasm for church attendance related, at least in part, to a desire to end this practice. It is also possible that native people embraced both *cofradías* (confraternities) and compadrazgo because these institutions provided indigenous men and women the means to repair, at least in part, the strains felt by native families and communities as they adjusted to a colonial world with its policies of labor exploitation, new beliefs about marriage and ritual practices, and surveillance of family and community life.[61]

While requiring native groups to forego polygynous marriage arrangements, the Spanish Catholic emphasis on the role of free will in marital choice meant that partners were to be free to choose their spouses without parental or other interference. Yet priests in central Mexico worried that both families and matchmakers continued to play a role in the promotion of or objection to marriages.[62] They expressed such concerns well into the eighteenth century. These worries reflect clerical unease not only about whether or not Nahuas and others were, as individuals, freely choosing their partners but also about whether or not they respected the sanctity of marriage. Rural colonial Nahuas, for example, sometimes practiced a form of marriage in which after a betrothal, the future bridegroom lived with his future bride's family and worked for his in-laws. Upon the young man's relocation, sexual relations between the couple often commenced. One priest explained this practice by arguing that through sexual relations, the potential bridegroom discovered whether or not his bride was a virgin.[63] Known as *montequitl*, this practice could indicate either that virginity was not commonly required before marriage (except among noble families) either before or after the arrival of Europeans, or it could have been a response to the decline in both population and polygyny and the concomitant increased need for household-based labor. The labor of the prospective bridegroom (known as uxorilocal labor) could have compensated households for the loss of female work that resulted from a patrilocal marriage pattern, combined with the ending of polygyny. In central Peru, a somewhat similar custom, *sirvanacuy,* existed, though it was not solely uxorilocal. In fact in Peru, it was more common for a woman to move to her potential husband's family. Sirvanacuy does not appear to have been as much about providing labor as about allowing couples, and probably their families, to assess the strength and quality of the bond between the potential spouses.[64]

In both Mexico and Peru, priests tried to stop such practices. In the Toluca area, they confined women in depósito, with some priests routinely

confining brides-to-be, indigenous and other. In central Peru both potential brides and grooms were subject to detention, usually in the church. While priests apparently succeeded in bringing an end to polygynous marriage practices in most areas, they were less successful in their attempts to make marriage an arrangement between two chaste individuals. Families and communities continued to play a role in arranging marriages, primarily because marriage was fundamentally tied to labor organization, particularly in rural indigenous communities, and a strict policing of chastity was neither practical nor particularly valued.[65]

Yet a rhetoric tying chastity to purity and honor did have some impact. The Catholic Church held the view that sexuality could only be expressed legitimately through heterosexual vaginal intercourse engaged in for the purpose of procreation. While friars addressed a message of chastity to both young men and women, they advised adolescent girls in particular to guard their virginity and to live lives of purity through enclosure.[66] In Peru, Viceroy Toledo intended the policy of reducción to encourage the surveillance of indigenous households by decreeing that their houses open out onto public streets, and he further declared that men and women were to have separate quarters within their houses. In the Jesuit missions among the Guaraní, priests created actual spaces of enclosure (*coty-guazú*, or cloister) where unattached women of any age could retreat, for shorter or longer periods, to "preserve their 'honor,' protect their virginity, and enjoy a 'good' social standing in the eyes of the missionaries," thus making the oversight and policing of honor and virginity easier.[67] But in many parts of Mesoamerica and the Andes, friars neglected to inform women about how they could enclose themselves or their daughters, given the intense pressures for women to work to provide tribute and service, often in locations outside their own households. Nevertheless, a concept of chastity that linked female virginity and virtue to male honor began to have an impact on native gender ideologies.[68]

A statement by doña Paula Mama Guaco Ñusta, a resident of Cuzco, exemplifies the rhetoric of honor as status used during the sixteenth century. She complained that a commoner woman insulted her by using dishonorable language, "ignoring the fact that I am the honorable wife of a Spaniard, and a woman of quality and nobility."[69] As time went on, a more gendered vocabulary that linked honor and status to sexuality began to appear, and by the eighteenth century, such concepts were relatively common. In both central Mexico and Peru, native husbands' repeated declarations of concern over the faithfulness of their wives, expressed the notion of wives as female guardians of rectitude and honor. Husbands' concerns about honor served as a cause of violence against wives, and such anxieties existed across the ethno-racial groupings and classes of colonial societies.[70] But indigenous men, expected to take on the more patriarchal masculine role associated with the Iberian gender system, found implementing such roles in a colonial world that discriminated against them particularly difficult. Expressions of concern about the

sexual behavior of daughters and wives were one way that native men tried to recover their self-esteem; physical violence was another.[71]

High levels of violence, both beatings and murder, against native women occurred across many regions of colonial Latin America. This pattern is especially well documented for eighteenth-century central Mexico and the Andes.[72] Commenting on an earlier period, fray Diego de Landa believed that Maya men learned such behavior from the Spanish.

> Men who had children left their wives with the same ease, without any fear about another marrying them or returning to them themselves afterwards. In spite of all this, they are very jealous, and cannot bear with patience that their wives should be unfaithful to them; and now that they have seen that the Spaniards kill their wives in such a case, they have begun to maltreat theirs and even to kill them.[73]

Though violence against indigenous women was not uncommon, a study of gender relations among non-elites of the Morelos region of Mexico (south of Mexico City) shows that the indigenous sector of the area's population was no more prone to such violence than other sectors. Disputes among nonelites "focused on sexual claims and assertions" and accounted for almost 50 percent of such incidents of violence against women. Other participants claimed that issues of labor and economic obligation, physical mobility, women's verbal challenges to male authority, and complaints over past incidents of abuse caused men to lash out. Such reasoning accounted for nearly one-third of cases of violence against women in this area.[74] What were the deeper causes of such violence, and were these causes particular to indigenous groups, even if overall rates were similar across the general population?

Studies of familial violence in specific indigenous communities or regions show that some variations in patterns of causation existed. In the Toluca Valley, many late colonial cases of violence were rooted in indigenous wives' expressions of concern over whether their husbands were fulfilling their economic obligations and husbands' resentment over wives questioning their status. Casual comments or seemingly mild joking could provoke deadly violence.[75] In Pátzcuaro, while Purépecha wives were frequently targets of physical violence, sometimes their fathers were as well, a most unusual pattern. Whereas men of varying ethno-racial backgrounds in the Mexico City area complained about the interference of their mothers-in-law, Purépecha sons-in-law worried about the authority and influence of their wives' fathers. Felipe Castro Gutiérrez speculates that this authority may have been rooted in a prehispanic kinship structure in which succession to rulership as well as postmarital residence ran through maternal lines. This pattern of powerful fathers-in-law thus could have clashed with a Spanish gender system in which husbands were to be the patriarchs, especially in situations of stress and conflict exacerbated by male absence in repartimiento or waged labor on haciendas and mines.[76] In Oaxaca, indigenous husbands became angered to the point of violence by their perceptions of wives' disobedience or failures

to manage economic affairs properly. In the Cuzco area, Quechua-speaking peoples demonstrate similarly high levels of violence against women, often familial in nature. The cases one researcher studied focused on sexual jealousy, honor, and desire, as when, for example, male adulterers beat or killed their wives to free themselves to be with lovers.[77] However causes may have varied by region and culture, it is noteworthy that among the Spanish and casta sectors of society, physical intimidation of women occurred often but only rarely led to public scandal. In other words, such behavior was considered a normal part of the fabric of daily life.

Episodes among the Purépechas and other indigenous groups had a public and highly emotional character. Perhaps the gap between Hispanic gender ideals and reality for indigenous people was particularly great. Men, especially, may have lived in fear of public exposure of any failure to live up to gender ideals of honor, including the ability to support a wife and family.[78] While virtually all examples of such violence describe male-on-female incidents, a petition from Leonor Magdalena, a Nahuatl-speaker and resident of Coyoacan, today a part of Mexico City, reminds us that, then as now, familial relations can be complicated. Filing a complaint against her daughter-in-law, Petronilla, Leonor accused her son's wife of lacking respect and described how "she intercepted me at the ravine and beat me, repeatedly kicked me, and gave me blows that almost split my head. And again on the day of Sacrament she beat me and ripped my blouse (huipil) and became like a crazy woman."[79] Did women, especially indigenous women, passively accept such violence?

Native women tried to manage the all-too-real threat of violence in a variety of ways. Before the fact, the primary ways women sought to ward off violence included amelioration or seeking aid from others recognized as authority figures. However, any distinction made between "before" and "after" an episode of violence is only theoretical, because violent episodes often occurred more than once. Evidence shows that in central Mexico, while any woman was a potential target for violence, poorer and non-Spanish women were frequent targets, as were women who lived in familial units, that is, women who lived in families and younger wives, more than older wives or widows.[80] Manuela Antonia of the pueblo Atlatlauca in the Valley of Toluca, for example, studiously tried to avoid trouble with her tense, insecure husband Paulino. Consistently seeking to perform her wifely duties by providing food, cleaning his clothing, and sleeping with him, she hoped to moderate his behavior despite his constant verbal provocation. Paulino nevertheless punched Manuela Antonia in the face and beat her with a poker after several days of household tension that started when she scolded two of their children. He further expected her to keep this beating quiet, as she had with previous incidents.[81]

Women also sought to signal to their husbands that they had allies by asking others, such as their mothers, fathers, brothers, community leaders, or even priests, to intervene on their behalf, often to avoid escalation of incidents.[82]

Sometimes such interventions helped, sometimes not. Rural Mesoamerican women such as those of the Toluca Valley or the Ñudzahui, Zapotec, or Mixe women of Oaxaca may have had greater community resources than did urban women, who often lived in smaller households and whose work less often was household based. In cities, a clearer distinction between public and private may have existed, whereas in rural areas, household life and community life were closely bound together, with work, meetings of town leaders, and community rituals often occurring in or near household settings.[83]

After an incident, women turned to the same kinds of allies for help and protection. If family and kin failed to effect a change for the better in a marital relationship, either the woman or members of her family might initiate judicial action. Men could be charged with the crime of battery, and family and friends might serve as witnesses. This communal response suggests that neither women nor indigenous communities passively accepted violence against women, though punishment for battery frequently was light, as husbands claimed drunkenness or accused wives of dishonorable behavior that undercut women's position. In central Peru, women's appeals to their brothers for help sometimes led to further violence, as brothers beat, even killed, violent husbands.[84] Yet native women also experienced intense economic and social pressures to bear brutal treatment silently. In the Toluca region, civil officials and priests generally sought to achieve reconciliation, and wives themselves sometimes tried to have charges that they or relatives had brought dropped. A reality for poor families, and indigenous families in particular because of their tribute and labor obligations, was that individuals and households coped with constant, heavy financial burdens. Because men's and women's work were often complementary, the labor of both was necessary to meet family and community obligations. Among the Purépecha, community officials rarely supported native women's attempts to use the judicial system, because needs for male labor for tribute or labor obligations were heavy. They preferred the use of informal means of self-help and even actively pressured one woman not to pursue her case, threatening to whip her if she did.[85]

While violence against women was primarily a family affair, workplace punishments also took place. For example, when a hacienda administrator in Tepetitlan, don Eugenio, whipped several women workers for going for wood instead of working, the women complained bitterly of their pain by saying "es mucho la mala vida que nos da" (he treats us very badly), using language similar to that used to describe domestic abuse. Female domestic servants were frequent targets subjected to exploitation, sexual abuse, and harsh punishments for failing to live up to expectations.[86]

Neither formal nor informal measures were always successful. Beatings continued, homicides occurred. In the small number of cases of men tried for the crime of killing their wives in Oaxaca, few were put to death. Courts there preferred to punish husbands with sentences of forced labor, whippings, or banishment, with forced labor for periods of two to eight years the most common sentence.[87] Compare these punishments with that of Teresa Sisa,

an Andean woman who fled an unhappy first marriage, probably due to her husband's violence.

> A few years later, with her parents' blessing, she remarried. When Sisa and her new husband, because of his work, returned to the region where her first husband lived, she was recognized by her former in-laws. The church brought charges against her for being married twice. The second marriage was declared null, and Sisa was sentenced to be "punished exemplarily." She was mounted on a "beast of burden" and led through the streets, stripped to the waist except for a *corosa* (dunce cap), while a public crier called out her crime. After this public shaming she was lashed one hundred times. Sisa was also ordered to serve six months in a convent, after which she was to resume married life with her first husband, whom the church admonished not to hurt or maltreat her under threat of severe punishment.[88]

Given that legal, quasi-legal, and illegal acts of violence permeated colonial societies, we should not view native men as innately or culturally more prone to violence than other men. Instead, what becomes clear from both individual cases and historical literature is that colonial family life was stressful, particularly for native peoples who endured cultural and population loss, heavy burdens of tribute and labor, and frequent spousal separation (caused primarily by male absence) due to the demands of work. As eighteenth-century populations, both indigenous and other, began to grow rapidly, and as later colonial officials sought to increase tribute collections, as well as productivity, across all economic sectors, family violence appears to have intensified.[89] Is it any wonder that indigenous women turned to a variety of sources of power as a means of dealing with the violence that sometimes threatened their lives?

Understanding the spiritual, indeed magical, sources of women's attempts to exert power over their relationships, especially with the men in their lives, requires us to first consider women's roles in religion during the post-Conquest era. While religion, overall, constituted an important arena of transformation for native women and men, some aspects of those beliefs and symbols that were female centered continued to exist after the Conquest, as did some institutionalized roles for women, though the latter were much reduced in authority. Transformation in the gendered aspects of religious practices was tied to the more male-centered official belief system and authority structure of the Catholic Church. However important Marian devotion was in the Iberian church, Mary is at base the mother of Jesus and an intercessor between individuals and a male-conceptualized God.[90] Female deities of the prehispanic era, especially among Nahuas and Andean peoples, were powerful in their own right, symbolizing important foods and basic resources, fertility, and sexuality. During the sixteenth century, these powerful deities took on

increasingly negative associations, as Iberians, because of their more dualistic worldview, linked them to evil, witches, even the devil.[91]

Spaniards portrayed colonial Nahua indigenous female deities as sinful and destructive. In addition, women's institutionalized roles in native temples began to decline, and ultimately disappeared. Female priestesses and religious functionaries like the aqllas lost their institutionalized positions in the colonial world, especially those centered in urban temples that ceased to exist after conquest.[92] There was little place for Latin America's indigenous people, male or female, in the priesthood or among the nuns who helped support colonial Catholic religious life, at least until the early eighteenth century, when a convent for Indian nuns sprang up in Mexico City. In more rural regions of central Mexico and in highland southern Mesoamerica, priests like Jacinto de la Serna feared that representations of earth goddesses intended to promote fertility continued to be worshiped in the guise of Marian devotion or in secret places such as caves.[93]

Scholars sometimes have emphasized that figures like the Virgin of Guadalupe of New Spain are syncretized images, blending elements of indigenous female deities with the Catholic Virgin. Yet the origins of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a cult figure remain somewhat obscure, since the earliest texts describe a Catholic Virgin, not a syncretized goddess. Colonial native language texts such as the late-sixteenth-century Nahuatl translation of a Spanish play, *Holy Wednesday*, or testaments referring to Mary depict a more autonomous, authoritative figure whose "son is less inclined to contradict her and treats her with more deference than do Spanish language texts." Ñudzahui colonial testaments, many of which date from the eighteenth century, contain numerous references to Mary as either a ruler or a deity, often paired with God as a coruler.[94]

Even though Catholicism considered submissiveness to be a desirable trait for indigenous women during the colonial era, early educational efforts aimed at quickly instilling the new religion's beliefs, practices, and values largely bypassed girls, as Spanish priests concentrated their educational efforts on boys. Women, however, participated actively in the spiritual and ritual realms of colonial life. Not only were indigenous women in central Mexico known for their piety and church attendance, they held some institutionalized roles such as sweepers (*tlachpanque*, in Nahuatl) or guardians of women (*cihuatepixque*) who had to ensure that girls and women attended services.[95] Another important female role within the churches of Nahua native communities took place within the cofradías that served as the most significant extrafamilial resource for social welfare. Cofradías provided a variety of kinds of assistance for daily life—food, clothing, and shelter—as well as help with the costs associated with illness, death, and burial. The extant records of two central Mexican colonial Nahua cofradías, one in Mexico City, the other in Tula, show women not just as members but also as officers holding titles similar to prehispanic office titles. A small number of Chiapas confraternities also had

female officers.[96] These female activities allowed for enactment of a female maternal and nurturing role that undoubtedly pleased Spanish churchmen, yet they express some continuity in both authoritative roles for women, as well as a gender-parallel structure of institutional governance, a parallelism seen in few other realms of indigenous colonial life.

Women also continued to serve as midwives, healers, and matchmakers, but friars and priests held more ambivalent attitudes toward such activities because they were intimately connected to a native domestic world they feared, and because such activities could so easily serve as a basis for idolatry and apostasy.[97] While the Spanish allowed midwives and curers to continue their functions throughout New Spain, they felt concern over what midwives might be doing beyond delivering babies. In Bartolomé de Alva's seventeenth-century *Guide to Confession*, he advises priests to ask midwives whether they have given "medicine [or] a potion to a young unmarried woman so that her baby would fall [stillborn] and be aborted," as well as asking how many times they had done so. This advice suggests that from Alva's point of view, the practice of abortion was relatively common and under women's control.[98] Among the highland Maya, female shamans pursued curing throughout the colonial period, and the Spanish viewed them as potential witches, *brujas*. Female religious practitioners in Peru also received intense scrutiny. Thus such activities, so necessary for young and old to survive the vicissitudes of everyday life, were only quasi-legitimate. Even in the eighteenth century, priests in central Mexico worried that matchmakers were still at work doing the business of creating family alliances rather than independent conjugal units.[99]

The female ritual activity that worried the Spanish the most involved the use of magic, generally referred to by the term *hechicería*. Hechicería involved the use of magical objects and unorthodox rituals to achieve a certain end, often related to love, illness, or revenge. While some magical practices used substances, forms, and terminology that were indigenous at root, the idea of ligature, tying magical objects together to achieve a certain end, especially to attract a particular man, was Spanish in origin. In both urban and rural areas across Spanish America, participation in magical practices often took place across class and ethno-racial and gender lines. But indigenous practitioners who were often, though not solely, women were common, and clients, whether of indigenous, mixed, or Spanish identities, thought them to be powerful.[100]

These magical acts represented a cross-class and cross-ethno-racial statement that asserted a kind of female power. At the same time, these transgressive acts reflected a lack of formal power as well. Such practices attracted the attention of authorities, especially religious, partly because of church concerns about idolatry and apostasy but also because these practices threatened to turn, in officials' eyes, into something even more worrisome. Both parish priests and the Inquisition persecuted midwives and healers, and they could be punished harshly by whipping, forced labor, or even death for a variety of idolatrous behaviors.[101] Love and other kinds of magic nonetheless per-

sisted because they met individual and social needs and reflected the spirit of strength and possession of agency that often characterized women's work and family lives. This same strength also motivated women in the religious and political realms when they acted protectively for themselves, their families, and their communities.

A Rebellious Spirit

The political roles played by women in the late prehispanic period underwent change soon after the appearance of Spaniards. The Nahua woman who served as a marketplace judge became unemployed. The Ñudzahui *yya dzehe toniñe* (the Ñudzahui female ruler), or cacica, while keeping her position, saw her power decline. While she could continue to hold her title, she generally could not hold Spanish-recognized offices such as *gobernador* (governor) that became linked to indigenous offices and titles.[102] Nonetheless, some elite women continued to hold power and control wealth. In Oaxaca, for example, Ñudzahui aristocratic women remained wealthy and influential into the mid–eighteenth century. During the mid–sixteenth century, one Ana de Sosa of Tutepec, on Oaxaca's Pacific Coast, was so wealthy, holding twelve tributary communities and numerous fields and grazing lands, that she was richer than the region's Spanish *encomendero* (holder of a grant of tribute and labor) and probably the wealthiest woman in all of southern Mesoamerica.[103] In the Andes, female kurakas and the capullanas of the northern Peruvian coast still held these titles. In fact, the title of cacica seems to have proliferated in this area, generally to keep titles and assets within particular family lines. But as elsewhere, these women could not serve as governor and thus began to lose power. An Andean cacica complaining in 1699 to a visiting Spanish official about her status and her need for protection because of mistreatment by local, indigenous officials, said that

> I beg Your Grace, as such a Christian lord, that in your Ordinances you instruct that the Caciques and Cacicas be given an old man and an old woman and a young woman for their (household) service, Your Grace understanding that I am a poor woman, orphaned by father and mother and having no one to whom I can turn my eyes; and I also warn Your Grace that the Mayors and Officials come into my house without civility and circumspection . . . and for this they disrespect me with word and deed, even though they are Indians from my ayllos.[104]

Rather than asserting power, the cacica asks for a sort of patriarchal protection. Spanish gender codes and rules for succession to office, whereby a woman might serve only in the absence of a suitable male officeholder, contributed to a diminishing of the power that both noble and nonnoble women had exercised, but this occurred at a variable rate across Spanish America.[105]

While the female office-holder of the prehispanic period became more rare over time, in two of the most important political activities of the colonial period, activities through which indigenous populations interacted with and often directly confronted both individual Spaniards as well as the colonial government, women were very active. One realm of interaction was the judicial realm; the other was rebellions. The voluminous judicial records of Spanish America vividly illustrate women's presence in the judicial sphere. In drawing up wills, important legal documents that shaped the transmission of property, women influenced social relations through the flow of material items. They also expressed their feelings about close relationships, as when Ana Juana of Culhuacan in the southern Valley of Mexico used her will to call her third husband, Gabriel Itzmalli, "a great scoundrel" who "never gave me anything whatever, not money nor telling me 'poor you,' as did the three who died, two of whom were my husbands, because together we carried out the duties of life on earth."[106]

In legal cases, secular (civil and criminal) as well as religious, women appeared frequently as plaintiffs or defendants and also testified as witnesses. While all officials who worked in or supervised courts were male, whether Spanish or indigenous (with the latter typically holding the lowest status positions such as notary or interpreter), women brought civil or criminal lawsuits, or they might be defendants. As plaintiffs, defendants, or witnesses, they tended to participate in lower numbers than men, yet in each of these roles they were quite active, frequently speaking for themselves.[107]

However, in the center of Mexico, by the mid–seventeenth century, native women's legal status declined. Their husbands more often served as intermediaries for them; their rates of participation in property transactions decreased, at least in civil cases over property; and they served less frequently as guardians for children in lawsuits.[108] Ñudzahui women's colonial legal activities changed less over time, but Zapotec women participated to a lesser extent in the colonial legal system, at least as witnesses, which has been linked to the distance between indigenous communities and the Spanish settlement of Villa Alta, where cases were tried. Further to the south, the market-women of Quito in colonial Ecuador, known as *gateras*, so successfully defended themselves in a series of mid-seventeenth-century suits brought by the pulperos, or grocers, that they succeeded in greatly enlarging the range of goods they could sell. They thus helped to transform the late seventeenth-century marketplace "into the unregulated sector which characterizes street markets today, in which women of all races participate."[109]

Paradoxes marked colonial native women's family lives and political activities. While families and kin were a resource for women in dealing with the economic burdens placed upon them and the violence that was a frequent part of their lives, that violence was often rooted in those very family relationships, especially those with husbands or lovers or both. While women had recourse to the legal system and their legal participation reveals their resilience, such intervention was frequently inadequate to lessen the abuse

inflicted upon them. When such abuse came from officials, extrajudicial measures might be called for. Women were often active in a variety of protest actions, sometimes of a ritual nature, other times of a more secular nature.

Some protests were rooted in local issues and were neither anticlerical nor antistate, yet they demonstrate the existence early on of a "gendered etiquette of revolt," to use Steve Stern's term to refer to women's acts of protest aimed at legitimizing unrest by men, women, or communities.[110] In 1569 in Mexico City, a period during which tensions between the regular and secular clergy ran high, members of the secular clergy began to harass some Nahua *alcaldes* (civil officials) and Franciscan friars marching during the Feast of the Assumption. Native women and men both responded to the clerics by stoning them. The clerics in turn addressed a complaint to the viceroy, who had the alcaldes arrested. But when groups of indigenous people, among them many women, began to turn themselves in, the viceroy soon realized he could not arrest everyone and dropped the charges.[111]

While women took a similarly active role in a protest in the parish of Zacapan in Michoacan, this protest was aimed against a Franciscan friar, fray Gaspar Cuaco. Cuaco had jailed one Andrés Quaraqui for having a suspicious book in his possession. After a month, dissatisfied with the community's native officials, who had done nothing to free Quaraqui, a group of women took matters into their own hands, breaking into the jail and freeing him. When Spanish authorities sought to investigate, the women said that they had all been involved and took over the jail in protest. The authorities then arrested the women, and native male leaders testified against them, branding them as impudent and shameless ("atrevidas" and "desvergonzadas"). Authorities ultimately punished seven women, who each received fifty lashes, were exiled from the community for two months, and had to provide two months of service to the local hospital without pay. The actions of the Purépecha women, while perhaps rooted in this gendered form of protest in which the moral authority of women served to help legitimize a protest and protect communities from the backlash of authorities, went beyond it to reveal female political action aimed at Spanish authority, religious and secular, and perhaps even a rift with the men of their own community.[112]

In the Andes, women's protests with strong religious elements went farther still. The 1560s saw a movement of resistance emerge in parts of the central Andes, the Taki Onqoy, or "dancing sickness." Partially an expression of nostalgia for older ways, partially rebellion against the Spanish presence, over half the participants in this movement of religious revival were female. Perhaps Taki Onqoy's greatest significance lay in the rationale it helped provide for one of the strongest and longest lasting campaigns against idolatrous beliefs seen in Latin America, based on the European belief that idolatry, superstition, witchcraft, and sorcery ran rampant through indigenous communities.[113] Native men and women became caught up in the webs of accusations spun by the campaigns against idolatry. Records kept by clergy carrying out these campaigns provide strong evidence for continuity in the

gender-parallel patterns of religious authority within Andean communities, a parallelism stronger than in the secular realm, where offices and titles either disappeared or were downgraded in authority. That parallelism may even have been reinforced by male absence, due to labor requirements or outmigration, thus leaving a greater space for female practitioners. But this space became more dangerous as Spaniards subjected male and female healers and practitioners to increased surveillance. The curandera Juana Icha, for example, was investigated by church authorities in central Peru in 1650. Accused of entering into pacts with a mountain deity who was also a devil, she admitted to having sexual relations with this figure and having asked him to intercede on behalf of fellow community members. Like Icha, those unlucky enough to be accused of any of a wide range of idolatrous practices became vulnerable to inquiries and serious punishment.[114]

While church authorities in most places accused more women than men of sorcery, both were subject to the extirpation campaigns. Yet their communities revered many of the accused women and viewed them as specialists with communally accepted authority. Some of them trained other women, including their daughters, to succeed them. Other Andean women chose to remain virgins who dedicated themselves to a spiritual life, but they devoted themselves to figures of local deities, or wak'as.[115] Such activities—sometimes supported, even encouraged, by kurakas—represent both a continuation of the parallel tradition of female authority and clear evidence of culturally sanctioned resistance to the loss of a still-viable spiritual world and the imposition of new beliefs and institutions of political economy. Important participants in activities of resistance, women continued action along parallel lines to men's, and some female roles in the religious realm intensified under colonial conditions.[116]

In both Mesoamerica and Peru, indigenous women also made important contributions to actions of protest and rebellion. Highly visible participants in rebellions across central Mexico, women not only commonly participated but also led as many as one quarter of such actions. When women led community uprisings, and most often these were aimed at civil authorities, they were "visibly more aggressive, insulting, and rebellious in their behavior toward outside authorities" than were men.[117] Female leadership of some protests in which both men and women participated suggests that while Stern's "etiquette" may have been a common pattern in collective violence, some women played real leadership roles, in which they contributed to planning and participated in actual fighting. Colonial authorities in the region of Quito noticed women's ardor as rebels during the eighteenth century and punished them severely. Yet neither in the northern Borderlands region nor in Maya areas do women appear to have participated as directly, though gendered etiquette appears to some extent in Maya-area revolts.[118]

In the Tzeltal Revolt of 1712 in the Cancuc area of highland Chiapas, for example, a revolt more extensive and planned than the short-lived revolts common to the central region, the visions of a young Maya woman, María

López, led her to instruct the community of Cancuc to build a shrine. Out of such a relatively commonplace beginning, and after the Catholic Church tried to put down this episode of cult worship, grew a lengthy, organized rebellion. While the *indizuela* ("little Indian girl," as the Spanish called her) continued speaking to the Virgin and a broader public, and called the indigenous population of the area to war, neither she nor other women seem to have played roles in the political and military decision-making that underlay a complex rebellion in which some five to six thousand Maya soldiers fought.[119]

Women were more active in the leadership of uprisings in the Andes, especially those of the late eighteenth century, including the Tupac Amaru rebellion of 1780–81 and the Tupac Katari rebellion of 1781. While some women participated in the rebel armies as camp followers, others "functioned as soldiers and even military commanders." The wives of the major leaders of these rebellions (José Gabriel Tupac Amaru and Julián Apasa Tupac Katari, respectively) were each important leaders in their own right. Micaela Bastidas Puyucahua, the wife of Tupac Amaru, served as a commander, and local leaders referred to her as Señora Gobernadora (governor), La Coya, or La Reina (Quechua and Spanish terms for queen).[120] The use of these titles displays a late colonial manifestation of an indigenous parallel-gender conceptualization. Her correspondence (with her husband and others) reveals her intelligence, strength, strategic skills, and commitment to her cause. Yet the complexity of the ethno-racial structuring of the colonial world also stands out, as Bastidas may well have been of mixed, probably mestiza identity. Bartola Sisa, wife of Tupac Katari, who worked as a trader from early in her life as well as a seamstress and washerwoman, likewise led troops, helped to strategize, and was also referred to as a quya. Other women joined Bastidas and Sisa in playing important leadership roles. These included Tomasa Titu Condemayta, cacica of Acos, who became an early supporter of Tupac Amaru's cause.[121]

Spanish authorities were appalled by the participation of the women, who were unable to use the usual gendered legal defense that emphasized feminine weakness and lack of education. Seen as excessively aggressive, even manly, the leading women of these rebellions received punishments as harsh as those of the men, and colonial authorities publicly executed the women, displaying their heads and limbs in several provinces. Yet Andeans supported the military roles of prominent female relatives of the male leaders, accepting participation in both leadership and support roles by female members of both leading indigenous families, as well as peasant women.[122]

The participation of women in rebellions across colonial Spanish America, while influenced by the gendered expectations of the Spanish, meant that a style of revolt relying on women to provide moral authority or legitimacy was useful and common. Nevertheless, deeper examination reveals that women frequently played more extensive roles in defending their communities and ways of life. While a variety of local issues provoked rebellious responses during the eighteenth century, the intensification of economic

exploitation of indigenous communities through the forced sale of goods, coerced labor, and changing tax policies was an especially important factor. Such intensification led to increased male absence and greater work burdens on women, and often threw fragile household and community economies out of balance. Women participated in resistance activities planned and led primarily by men because women, too, bore the impact of such policies. Yet their styles of participation also depended on traditional, culturally patterned styles of authority and leadership, gendered traditions that reasserted themselves in novel circumstances.

Conclusion

This chapter began with the enigmatic image of Malintzin, whose short and tragic life encompassed so much change, foreshadowing a colonial period characterized by gendered transformations for indigenous populations. Some scholars believe that native women, especially those who lived in or migrated to cities, were often able to take advantage of new economic opportunities, while men endured "only an emasculating experience" during conquest and its aftermath.[123] Others argue that the burdens placed on women, particularly rural women, were heavier than those placed on men because, in addition to their labor burdens, men—Spanish and indigenous—sexually abused them.[124] This chapter shows each position to be neither wholly true nor false. Even though the balance of evidence suggests that forms of gender complementarity and parallelism declined, they did not altogether disappear. In part this is so because complementary conceptions of gender roles continued to characterize at least some aspects of everyday life among many indigenous groups, in part because where an indigenous individual sat in the native social hierarchy had a great impact on that person's life experiences and well-being throughout the colonial period.

But two other factors also proved significant for an analysis of the gendered impact of Iberian conquest and colonization. First, geographic location and cultural traditions matter deeply. Where a group lived, how Iberians chose to exploit that region, which particular group one belonged to, and that group's own gendered traditions shaped an individual's experiences. For example, the intense exploitation experienced by Central America's native peoples, including the region's women, differed from that of the Yucatec Maya, even though both places can be thought of as peripheries of the Spanish empire. Second, neither indigenous men nor women had a single "colonial" life course, not simply because class hierarchies shaped experiences even after class compression became marked but also because paradoxes often marked natives' lives. While Europeans imposed new forms of economic organization and belief systems, colonial control never came close to being complete, and spaces existed for the assertion of rights and identities. This chapter shows that

gender had a bearing on how women and men experienced each of these aspects of colonial life, but culture and place, in combination with chronology, also gave shape to women's and men's lives.

Twentieth-century ethnographers have found that culture and place continued to influence both gender ideologies and women's and men's lived experiences, the subject of the next chapters. While scholars are still learning more about indigenous peoples and their histories during the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to argue that for most groups, especially the vast majority living in rural areas, their worlds seem to the contemporary observer more colonial than modern. How did nineteenth-century events—most importantly, the creation of independent nations—influence native peoples and gender roles?

For many of Latin America's indigenous groups, perhaps the most significant process affecting them in this period was a narrowing of spaces, geographic and cultural, for viable alternative ways to be indigenous, a process that began in the late eighteenth century and continued into the twentieth.[125] Access to land declined significantly, as collective land rights increasingly became a thing of the past. Across Latin America, including Brazil, new national governments sought to privatize communal holdings that proved especially helpful to large landowners seeking to increase the size of their estates. In addition to appropriating large amounts of land, elites—liberal or conservative—wielded old and new ways to coerce and exploit the labor and earning power of citizens of new nations such as Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, though these changes occurred at different times and rates in different places. And even though the liberal state-building agenda (which dominated governments of many of the nations with large indigenous populations) officially eliminated the use of ethno-racial designations, hierarchical categorizations, while simplified, became more rigid. Indigenous communities and peoples thus endured greater impoverishment as their land base eroded and their legally recognized identity as "indios" officially disappeared. The newly empowered estate owner "'took charge' of 'his' indigenous workers, securing the reproduction of generations and providing protection; he administered a species of justice (at the hacienda courtyard . . .) and his powers stretched over individual and domestic life cycles, as well as the generational cycle of the population." In effect, entire indigenous populations in Latin America's new nations took on the "jural minor" status that Spanish law had defined for women and children.[126]

Civil codes governing family life in the new nations hewed closely to Iberian traditions, with men continuing to be the legal representatives of households. Husbands still administered both dowries and common property of married couples; they could restrict wives' employment and control their earnings. Nonetheless, women's labor in diverse types of work in both rural and urban settings continued to provide sustenance for their fami-

lies and communities (though government records often failed to accurately record their work).[127] In most regions, men within indigenous communities increased their hold over use and ownership rights to the shrinking land base. When women did inherit land, poverty might force them to sell it, or courts might intervene to undermine women's inheritance, especially wives' inheritances from their husbands, as took place in highland Ecuador, for example.

But evidence also shows that indigenous women played important roles in the emerging market economies of the new nations of nineteenth-century Latin America. Native women in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century southwestern Nicaragua saw an increase in their economic activities as artisans and merchants and, in small numbers, even began to own newly privatized plots of land. A wealthy female merchant, Antonia Lojo (of Poopó, near Oruro, Bolivia), owned a hacienda and was a major lender to both creole and indigenous individuals. Her 1843 will listed monetary and in-kind debts owed to her of over 2,400 pesos. Other Bolivian women, if not as wealthy as Lojo, either *chola* (urbanized, acculturated indigenous women) or mestiza, began to establish *chicherías* (bars or pubs for making and selling chicha and food that also offered music and dance) alongside roads, near markets, and on the outskirts of towns and cities. But the chicherías and their indigenous or mestiza owners held an ambiguous position. They were commercially successful; yet elites viewed these women and their businesses, like the indigenous domestic servants working throughout the cities of nineteenth-century Latin America, as sources of contagion, bringing dirt, disease, and dishonor to those in contact with them.[128]

In other realms, such as protest and rebellion, women's participation came to be more frequently expressed through supportive, background roles. Women's use of courts as a means to deal with problems such as domestic abuse or exploitative labor practices became less effective as their poverty, illiteracy, and lack of fluency in Spanish, as well as the tendency of nineteenth-century legal codes and courts to reinforce patriarchal familial relations, undermined colonial judicial protections. In the arts, writers and artists of the early national period began to depict indigenous women passively as beautiful virgins or as Virgin Mary figures representing the new nations or the Americas as a whole. Indigenous women came to be seen as intercessors par excellence and national symbols of fertility and abundance, as both artistic and print media conveyed gendered images that portrayed ethnic identity through female submissiveness (an image at odds with the treatment of urban indigenous women as dirty and diseased by elites and authorities in everyday life). National cultures, indigenous communities, even indigenous male leaders promoted this docile visual image well into the twentieth century.[129]

One exception to the more passive portrayals and patriarchal structures of authority within indigenous families and communities that developed in many areas across nineteenth-century Latin America occurred among the Mapuche population of Chile. There, "from the end of the nineteenth century to the present . . . the Mapuche religous world has been mainly repre-

sented by the *machi*, or women shamans."[130] As Mapuche men became farmers—a change from their former roles as hunters, fishermen, and breeders and traders of cattle—and as the pressures of modernization, education, and cultural change fell more on men than women, the concept and practice of tradition, especially traditional religion, became increasingly associated with women. The role of shaman (whose primary function was that of healer, though practitioners also began to practice divination and carry out public rituals by the end of the nineteenth century) became feminized, and female healers became more, not less, powerful. While this example appears unusual, given other kinds of political and cultural change in nineteenth-century Latin America, it may also be the case that as scholars reconstruct the histories of nineteenth-century indigenous communities in greater detail, we will gain a more nuanced understanding of women's roles and gender relations, equivalent to that provided by ethnographers for the twentieth century.