

- Revededora (S) female resellers
 Robo de la novia (S) stealing the bride
 Saburet (K) wraparound skirt
 Señora (S) lady, madam
 Señorios (S) seigniorial domains
 Servinacuy (Q) trial marriage
 Siwatanke (N) marriage broker
 Tayu (Ñ) married couple
 Tehuanas (S) Zapotec women of Isthmus of Tehuantepec
 Telenovela (S) soap opera
 Tepochcalli (N) school for children of commoners
 Tepochtlatoque (N) youth leaders in song houses
 Teoteca/os (N) women, people of Teotitlán
 Tapahtiqui (N) curer
 Tepixque (N) neighborhood guards
 Tiachahuan (N) older brothers, male officials in song houses
 Tianquizpan dayacanque (N) marketplace administrators
 Tlachpanque (N) sweepers
 Tlahuelpuchis (N) witches
 Traje (S) customary, handmade clothing
 Tupu (Q) kind of pin to hold women's clothing together
 Tlalli cacicazgo (N/T) cacique lands
 Tlamatiqued (N) shaman
 Tlamemes (N) human carriers
 Tlatoami (N) Mexica supreme leader
 Tlatocacihuah (N) female supreme leader
 Tlaxicaleque (N) neighborhood leaders
 Tortillas (S) unleavened cornmeal cakes
 Viajeras (S) traveling saleswomen
 Violación (S) violation, rape
 Wak'as (Q) sacred objects and places
 Warmi (Q) woman
 Yagé (Mh) hallucinogenic drink
 Yátri (A) diviner
 Yuhui (Ñ) reed mat
 Yuhuitayu (Ñ) rulership
 Yya (Ñ) nobility
 Yya toniñe (Ñ) male ruler
 Yya dzehe toniñe (Ñ) female ruler
 Zapotecas (N) Zapotec women

NOTES

1. Introducing the Indigenous Women of Latin America

1. Silverblatt 1987. Important literature on women and the rise of states described in Silverblatt 1988 and 1991.
2. See Anton 1973; Bossen 1984; and Rosenbaum 1996 for comparative work on indigenous women in Middle and South America. For overviews or collections of essays on North American indigenous women, see Niethammer 1977; Green 1980; Albers and Medicine 1983; Albers 1989; Klein and Ackerman 1995; Shoemaker 1995; Johnston 1996; and Ford 1997.
3. Examples include Benería 1982; Benería and Feldman 1992; Bose and Acosta Belén 1995; Deere 1990; Deere and León 1982; Deere, Humphries, and León 1988; Leacock and Safa 1986; Marchand and Parpart 1995; Mies, Benneholt-Thomser and von Werlhof 1988; Momsen and Kinnaird 1993; and Nash and Fernández-Kell 1983.
4. Mohanty 1991 discusses the ways scholars have systematically silenced women of the so-called Third World and failed to chronicle their agency and activism.
5. Gayle Rubin distinguishes between sex and gender (1975); Judith Butler argues that sex is gender (1990: 6-13); and Kamala Visweswaran describes how various forms of hierarchy and discrimination shape gender performances (1999: 59-60), leading me to argue that identity is as much inscribed, through a complex interplay of social and biological forces, as it is performed.
6. Allman, Geiger, and Musisi 2002: 3-4.
7. Meisch 1991.
8. Ortner 2001: 78-9. Also see Ortner 1996: 6-12, 16-8, as well as Sahlins 1981; Guha 1983; and many of the essays in Montoya, Frazier, and Lessig 2002.
9. See Galley 1987a for a thorough discussion of this literature and the many explanations offered to explain gender asymmetry.
10. Quinn 1977: 182; also see Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988; Meigs 1990; and Crown 2000a. For Ortner's discussion of status, see 1996: 140-7 (quotation on 140).
11. Monaghan 2001: 287-8 (quotation on 287). Also see Harris's seminal article (1978) on this concept.
12. Silverblatt 1987: 5-7, 31-8, 47-66; Kellogg 1988: 676; and Wood and Hasket 1997: 317-9.

13. Silverblatt 1987: 46, 66; Harris 1978. Also see Stern, who points to the need to analyze the dynamic relations among "gender conflict and subordination," "gender complementarity and parallelism," and "cross-gender unity as well as gender differentiation" (1999: 621).
14. Good 2000: 124-7, 139-40, 145-8. Some ethnographers use the concept "post-Nahua" to describe communities that have ceased speaking Nahuatl yet continue to organize family and social life in ways that they and others consider to be indigenous (Mulhare 1998; Robichaux 2003).
15. See Taylor 1951 and Gonzalez 1969, who heavily stress the "black" identity of the Garifuna or the Black Carib, as they were generally known until recently. Bateman, on the other hand, asserts that, in comparison to the Black Seminole of Florida and Oklahoma, the Black Carib became "more Indian" as newly arrived African men raided Island Carib villages for women, who then transmitted indigenous cultural practice and language to children born of these unions (1990: 9-10). Peter Wade (1997) emphasizes that Latin American racial and ethnic identities are diverse and changing, not homogeneous and fixed, and Mary Weismantel discusses the complexities of ethno-racial identities in the indigenous Andes (2001: xxviii-xli; also see Abercrombie 1996). Other scholarship that helped me think about ethnicity, race, and indigenism includes Díaz Polanco 1997; Fogelson 1998; Warren 1998; Nieren 2003; and several of the essays in Applebaum, Macpherson, and Roseblatt 2003 (especially those by Chambers, Sanders, and Wade).
16. McGrew 1992: 63. Also see his more extensive definition (65-6) and Appadurai, who argues for the existence of forms of globalization from "above" and "below," the latter emerging out of the struggles of the poorer 80 percent of the world's population to achieve democracy, autonomy, and greater economic well-being (2001: 3). An anthropologically oriented overview of studies of globalization can be found in Tsing 2001.
17. I am drawing on and expanding Walter D. Mignolo's brief definition of globalization (1998: 32). Mignolo notes how both Wallerstein and Elias described processes crucial to the complex of changes that contemporary scholars define as "globalization" (see Wallerstein 1974 and Elias 1978). For discussion of when globalization began, see Abu-Lughod 1989 and Frank 1990. For insights into the gendered ambiguities entailed in this "civilizing process," see Stoler 2002.
18. For description of these more recent transformative processes operating on a truly worldwide scale, see McGrew 1992; Sklair 1995; and Hopkins 2002.
19. Dickenson 1997: 116-21.
20. Hochschild 2000. Benería 2003 and Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003 provide accessible general discussions of women and globalization. Chapters 4 and 5 include extensive references to literature on globalization as it affects indigenous women throughout Latin America.
21. For a discussion of the changing gender division of labor, emphasizing women's increasing autonomy and participation in political movements, see Sassen 1998: 91-3, 99-100. For more pessimistic views, see Tinker 1990; Ward 1990; Sethie 1999; and Louie 2001. The essays in *Feminism and Globalization* 1996 provide a nuanced treatment of both the impact of globalization on women and the dialogues between and among feminists across national boundaries about globalization and gender.
22. Brysk 2000; Nieren 2003; and Deere and León 2001a: ch. 7.
23. Frank and Gills 1993: 4.
24. Dillehay 2000: chs. 1 and 2. Also see Meltzer 1995.
25. De Terra, Romero, and Stewart 1949: 95; Heizer and Cook 1959; and Weaver 1993: 9-10.
26. Zihlman 1981; Gero 1991; Pringle 1998; and Bruhns and Stothert 1999: ch. 1.
27. Bruhns and Stothert 1999 explore the gendered nature of these changes, especially in chs. 4-6, on the development of horticulture, agriculture, and social complexity. For the impact of the transition to food production on physical well-being, see Cohen and Armelagos 1984. For the U.S. southwest, in particular the Grasshopper Pueblo of Arizona, see Ezze's discussion of gendered changes in work, patterns of food consumption, and increasing status differences between men and women (1993: 77-80).
28. Spielmann 1995: 96.
29. For Oaxaca, see Reynolds 1986; and Whallon 1986. On the chronology of Guila Naquitz, see Flannery 1986: 38-9. For Ecuador, see Damp 1979: ch. 5; and Zeidler 1984: 481-567.
30. Sheets 1992: 56, 59-60, 89-97, 102-8. For discussion of a possible female shaman at Cerén, see Sweely 1999: 166-7, 169. Also see Marcus and Flannery's discussion of gendered work areas at the Archaic period Oaxaca site of Guila Naquitz (1996: 54-5). Stothert discusses the possible existence of female shamans in Formative Ecuador (2003: 360-1, 400-405).
31. A classic statement of the "fertility" interpretation for figurines can be found in Roosevelt (1988). For explanations emphasizing female figurines as objects symbolizing social power, see Rice 1981; Cyphers Guillén 1993; and Joyce 2000a: ch. 2. Richard Lesure has argued, on the other hand, that Early Formative figurines (1400-1000 B.C.), with their depictions of either young females or elders (usually male but sometimes female), symbolize the ability of elders to control female labor and perhaps give women in marital exchanges (1997: 244-7). Di Capua (1994) argues that Formative figurines from the Valdivia site in Ecuador were used to represent both women's maturation and life-cycle transitions.
32. Marcus and Flannery 1996: 85. Also see Marcus 1998 (especially chs. 2, 3, and 19); and 1999.
33. Saenz Samper 1993.
34. On women's emerging roles as potters in the American Southwest, see Crown and Wills 1995. On women's possible roles in the emergence of trade networks in central Mexico, see Cyphers Guillén 1984; 1993; and 1994.
35. This point of view dates back to Engels 1972 and has been updated by feminist scholars such as Gailey 1987b; Leacock 1981; 1983; Lerner 1986; Sacks 1974; 1979; and Silverblatt 1987; 1988.
36. See descriptions of individual burials in García Moll et al. 1991: 27-84. Also see Joyce 1999 and 2000a: 30-4.
37. On San José phase (1150-850 B.C.) burials at the site of Tomaltepec, see Whalen 1981. For analysis of figurines and burials, at the nearby site of Fábrica San José, see Drennan 1976. Marcus and Flannery provide an overview of Preclassic burials in the region (1996: 96-9, 105-6, and 113-7).
38. Quotation from Marcus and Flannery 1996: 117. Also see 170 and 240.
39. Quilter 1989: 59, 64-5, 168-70 (table 3, "Burials by Sex").
40. Ubelaker (1984) fails to find skeletal evidence for increased gender hierarchy while social complexity was increasing in early prehistoric Ecuador. For a comparative discussion of many burials from early coastal Andean sites, see Quilter 1989: ch. 6. Also see Bruhns and Stothert (1999: ch. 3), who review much evidence

and Cipactonal (male) as the inventors of the 260-day ritual calendar known as the *tonalpahualli* and as the originators of day sign reading (2002: 233-5). On priestesses see FC 1950-82: 2:215-6; Durán 1967: 2:544; Clavijero 1976: 206; Nicholson 1971: 436-7; Brown 1983; and Alberti Manzanares 1993: ch. 3.

25. For definitions and discussions of the terms, see Durán 1967: 1:189; Cline 1986: 54; and Lockhart 1992: 44. For early colonial uses of these terms, see Archivo General de la Nación, México, Tierras 42:exp. 5: 3r (also cited as AGNT with file and case number); AGNT 2729-20: 3v; and AGNT 59-3: 18r. Klein argues (1988; 1993; 1994) that because the terms for female officials are based on the terms for male officials, such terminology is actually evidence of male dominance. For me, keys to understanding Mexica gender patterns are recognizing that, while there was gender asymmetry, pathways to authority existed for Mexica women, as well as acknowledging the many ways, linguistically and socially, Nahuas expressed complementarity of male and female. One of the best examples comes from Klein's own work in her discussion of the male symbol par excellence, the shield, which paradoxically may well be a "fundamentally feminine symbol" because it was "a visual metaphor for the female body itself" (1993: 41). She also argues that images of males are never shown with female symbolism, yet apart from the ambiguous meaning of the shield, Milbrath cites evidence of male deities, especially those with lunar and pulque associations, depicted with female accouterments (1995: 48-50). But also see Klein 2001 for a detailed discussion of gender ambiguity in Nahuas symbols, ceremonies, and beliefs.

26. FC 1950-82: 10:46. Also see Schroeder 1992: 81-2; Bell 1992: ch. 5.

27. Motolinía 1971: 134-5. Cline 1986; Kellogg 1986b; 1995b: 116-7; 1997; and

Horn 1997. On Nahua inheritance practices in the eighteenth century, see Loera y Chávez 1977; and Wood 1997.

28. Durán 1967: 1:57; FC 1950-82: 7:31.

29. FC 1950-82: 4:59.

30. FC 1950-82: 4:25.

31. Estas son las leyes 1941: 281; Pomar 1891: 32-3; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975-77: 1:385; Motolinía 1971: 355-6. On Aztec crime and punishment, see Offner 1983: ch. 6; on punishment and gender, see Rodríguez-Shadow 1997: 218-9. On the punishment of younger men, see Hassig 1988: 34-7, 110-1.

32. See analysis of instances of rape and violence against women in prehispanic central Mexico in Lipsett-Rivera 1997: 561-7. For marketwomen's fighting, see Durán 1967: 2:255; Clendinnen 1991: 159.

33. FC 1950-82: 4:108-9. Also see a description of women's character under the sign One House, in which women are depicted as capable of considerable verbal aggression (FC 1950-82: 4:95).

34. FC 1950-82: 4:79. On women's ability to provoke warfare, see the FC 1950-82: 2:61-2.

35. Burkhardt 1989: 131-3; Sousa 1998: 356-60. Several of the *huehuetlatilli* (elders' words; ancient words of knowledge) collected by Sahagún, especially those for a young man or woman before marriage, depict sexuality as potentially pleasurable for both sexes. But each partner was also obligated to wait until marriage and carry out his or her social responsibilities, maintaining the Mexica ideal of moderate behavior (FC 1950-82: 6: chs. 18-22). Also see Clendinnen 1991: 163-8, 180-2. On sexuality, also see Evans 1998 and 2001: 255-64. López Austin (1982: 160-3), Quezada (1977), and Rodríguez-Shadow (1997: 184-5) emphasize the negative, even polluting, con-

notations of sexual activity and argue that women's virginity was highly valued. On male homosexuality, see Kimball 1993; Trexler 1995; and C. Taylor 1997. There are almost no clear references to female same-sex attractions, though the FC mentions female same-sex acts in a brief passage (1950-82: 10:56), and Bierhorst mentions in passing "lesbian songs" as among a group of songs performed by men in women's clothing (1985: 95-6).

36. An image of a Mexica female scribe can be found in the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (1995: f. 30r), and Bruhns and Stothert speculate that the parallel administrative and authority structures of the Mexica make the existence of female scribes likely (1999: 163). Those contending that Mexica culture, or that of the Nahuas generally, was marked by gender asymmetry (with some arguing that extreme forms of male dominance existed) include Delgado 1964; MacLachlan 1976; Blanco 1977; Nash 1978; Klein 1988; 1993; 1994; Brumfiel 1996; 2001; Rodríguez-Shadow 1997; 1999; and McCaa 1996; 1998. Others who argue either that forms of male dominance were tempered by complementary and parallel forms of ideology and social organization or that complementarity is more fundamental than asymmetry include Hellbohm 1967; Ladd 1979; Kellogg 1988; 1995a; 1995b: ch. 3; 1997; McCafferty and McCafferty 1988; Garza Tarazona 1991; Quezada 1996; Burkhardt 1997; Evans 1998; and Joyce 2000a: ch. 5.

37. Complicating the Mexica pantheon was its character as assimilative rather than proselytizing (Berdan 1982: 125). Insightful general discussions of Aztec religion can be found in Caso 1979 and Nicholson 1971. See Milbrath 1995 on the "bisexual" nature of Mexica lunar deities. For the complex images of female deities, see Carrera 1979; and Alberti Manzanares 1993.

38. Sullivan 1982: 7; Lewis 1997; González Torres 1979; and McCafferty and McCafferty 1999.

39. For Cihuacoatl, see Klein 1988: 237; for Tlazolteotl, see Burkhardt 1989: 92.

40. On the Mexica cosmos as composed of male and female elements, see López Austin 1998. See Rodríguez-Shadow 1997: ch. 7 for a discussion of Mexica goddesses as subordinated and reinforcing of a patriarchal gender hierarchy. On the Coyolxauhqui image in particular, see Klein 1994: 225-7 and Brumfiel 1996: 156-60.

41. The quote is from Klein 1994: 225. For the story of Coyolxauhqui, see the FC 1950-82: 3:1-5.

42. Brumfiel 1996: 146. Also see Klein's discussion of the placement of female images, especially of Coyolxauhqui and Cihuacoatl, in subordinate positions (1988: 241-4).

43. Smith 1983a: 243.

44. Serra Puche 2001.

45. McCafferty and McCafferty 1994a: 167; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1998.

46. Ethnohistoric sources for the Nudzahui are discussed in Spores 1967; 1984; 1997; Sousa 1997; 1998; and Terraciano 2001: ch. 1. Mixtec codices are analyzed by Nuttall 1975; Spinden 1935; Caso 1979; and McCafferty and McCafferty 1994b; and their material remains are discussed in McCafferty and McCafferty 1994b; and Hamann 1997.

47. On the balancing of forces, see Spores 1984: 86-7; and Terraciano 1994: 394. On the male sky and female earth, see Terraciano 1994: 394 and Sousa 1997: 201. On the symbols of rulership, see Smith 1983a: 244 and Terraciano 2001: 158-9, 165-9, who also discusses terms for rulers.

48. On the preference for male succession, see Spores 1974: 303. On patterns of female succession, see Terraciano 2001: 174-82. Also see Hamann 1997; Sousa 1997: 201; Spores 1997; and Marcus 2001: 317-24.
49. Spores 1967: 152-3; 1984: 72; Sousa 1998: 306-8; and Terraciano 2001: 165-81.
50. On depictions of female rulership in Nudzahui codices, see Smith 1983b: 263-4. On female rulers protecting the rights of succession of both sons and daughters, see Spores 1967: 134, 135; Spores 1997; and Terraciano 2001: 175-6.
51. Sousa 1997: 202.
52. On women's sociopolitical authority at levels of organization below the yuhuitayū, see Terraciano 1994: 397. On women as religious practitioners, see Terraciano 2001: 286, 314. For the flexibility of this social status, see Dahlgren de Jordán 1966: 268-71; Spores 1967: 9; and 1984: 72-4. On noblewomen's supervision of the production of crafts, see Terraciano 2001: 137.
53. Sousa 1997: 201-4; Terraciano 2001: 151, 220-4, 352-5.
54. Sousa 1997: 211; 1998: 165-75; Terraciano 2001: 139-40.
55. On women and household exchanges of goods and services, see Sousa 1997: 211. For prehispanic Nudzahui society and its military organization, see Spores 1984: ch. 3. To the south and east of the Nudzahui lay another important ethnic group, the Zapotec, who captured many ethnographers' interest, in part because of the apparently high status of women, and who are dealt with at length in chapter 4. While gender complementarity existed in most realms of Zapotec life, paramount rulers, high governing officials, and deities were primarily male in the prehispanic period (Whitcotton 1977: 142-64).
56. Schele and Miller 1986: 143; Josserrand 2002. In addition to Schele and Freidel 1990, cited hereafter, readers can find a broad overview of prehispanic Maya culture in Coe 1999.
57. Bruhns 1988: 106; Joyce 1992a: 63-5, 68; Joyce 1996: 169-70; also see Proskouriakoff 1964; and Joyce 2000a: ch. 3. The latter volume incorporates information cited in articles by Joyce cited hereafter.
58. Joyce Marcus (1976: 157-70) postulates that noblewomen of major centers may have married ruling men of secondary centers and then "played important political roles at dependencies" (170). Variation in patterns of office-holding among both centers and regions is likely; thus her suggestion is certainly possible, given the way such women are shown either alone or as central figures standing over captives at some sites. However, while women are frequently depicted as paired with men, they are rarely placed with them on the front side of stelae (160-3). Also see Marcus 2001: 330 on the circumstances under which noblewomen might rule among the Maya as well as Molloy and Rathje 1974; and on probable variations in gender patterns among the Maya, see Joyce 1993. On women rulers at Palenque, Yaxchilán, and Copán, see Bruhns 1988: 106; and Josserrand 2002: 147-8.
59. Schele and Miller 1986: 143; Stone 1988; Joyce 1992b; 1996; Haviland 1997: 1-2; Josserrand 2002; and Krochock 2002. Concepts of complementarity probably had deep roots among the Maya, whose ancient 260-day divinatory calendar may have been based on the measurement of the length of an average pregnancy, with this calendar also having strong lunar associations (Earle and Snow 1985).
60. Joyce 1992a: 66-8; Stone 1988: 75-6, 81, 86; and Tate 1999: 92-3. While sexual characteristics, male or female, are rarely depicted in public art (see Stone 1988 for an example of a more sexually graphic image in a more private setting), the Emblem
- Glyph (a glyph signifying the person identified as noble and often an office-holder) for Chichén Itzá contains an image of male genitalia (Schele and Freidel 1990: 363), and Krochock discusses penis imagery at Chichén Itzá, especially at the Temple of the Phalli (2002: 162-4). On sexual symbols in Maya art, see Strecker (1987). Also see Joyce (1996, 2000b), who argues that prehispanic Maya art associates the female gender with creation and the male gender with sexuality (the latter often expressed, in her view, through homoeroticism, a subject also explored through Maya prehispanic and colonial images and texts in Sigal 2000).
61. Schele and Freidel 1990: 84-5. Other sites mentioned as possibly having had a female ruler at some point in their histories include Naranjo, Piedras Negras, Cobá, Caracol, and Calakmul (Marcus 1976: 152-60; Schele and Miller 1986: 143; Kahn 1990: 14; and Graham 1991). On Maya conceptions of rulership as combining male and female elements, with female rulers symbolically masculinized through names and titles, see Hewitt 1999.
62. Quotation from Marcus 1976: 169. Also see Schele and Freidel 1990: 220-5; and Marcus 2001: 324-7.
63. On the intensification of Maya warfare later in the Classic period and its association with the nobility, see Schele and Freidel 1990: 130-215. On the images from Cobá, Calakmul, and the Usumacinta region, see Marcus 1976: 162, 169.
64. See Schele and Miller 1986: pl. 78 and their explanation of the Chichén Itzá image, 223; also see Thompson 1970: 209-49; and Sigal 2000: ch. 5. For the dating of the Temple of the Warriors, see Schele and Freidel 1990: 356, 500 n. 26. A recently discovered tomb at the Guatemalan site of Waka contains the burial of a female ruler who may have lived between A.D. 650 and 750, buried with, in addition to sumptuous grave goods, what could have been her war helmet (Wilford 2004).
65. Thompson 1939.
66. Schele and Freidel 1990: 413, 502 n. 44; Vail and Stone 2002: 210-5, 226. Ralph Roys observes that as patroness of weaving, Ixchel, is shown with spiders (1972: 78), a symbol also associated with Teotihuacan's Great Goddess.
67. Kahn 1990: 314.
68. Blom 1983: 305-7; Kahn 1990: 142-80.
69. Kahn 1990: 302-8, 320-1.
70. On female religious functionaries, see Roys 1972: 81; Edmonson 1993: 78-9; and Joyce 1996: 185-6. On the Ix Mol (a term Alfred Tozzer translated as "conductress") see Tozzer 1941: 159 and Landa 1985: 141-2. López de Cogolludo (1971: 2:257) says that there were nunneries for women who did not wish to marry but gives no information about women as priestesses or any hierarchy of female religious activity, contrary to Blom's statement (1983: 307-8).
71. Pohl and Feldman 1982: 302-6; Pohl 1991; Izquierdo 1989: 11; Joyce 1992a: 66-7; Hendon 1992; 1997; McNaney 1995: 139-40; and Hunt and Restall 1997.
72. Landa 1985: 99; McNaney 1995: 140.
73. N. Hopkins (1988) argues for patrilineality as a long-term feature of Maya society, dating back to the Classic period, and summarizes the literature on this topic. Also see Schele and Freidel 1990: 84-5. On primogeniture, see Schele and Freidel 1990: 84, 431, n. 44. On patrilineality and kin terminologies, see R. Hill 1992: 32-3.
74. On patriliney and male dominance among the Maya, see Haviland 1997: 10. On the topic more generally, see Sanday 1981: 176-9.
75. On ennoblement through fathers and mothers, see Schele and Miller 1986: 275; and Hendon 1991: 912. On the meaning of *atmehen*, see McNaney 1995: 2; and

Restall 1997: 88. Restall says that *mehen* usually refers to a man's son, rather than his offspring generally. McAnany notes that in modern Maya communities, terms for lineage heads, as for example among the highland K'iche', translate as "father-mother" (*chuchk'ijaw*). She argues that this meaning "indicates that the contribution of the female to lineage leadership and ritual is deeply encoded linguistically" (1995: 25). For possible matri- and patrilineal descent patterns among Classic, Postclassic, and colonial Maya elites, see discussion and sources in Jones 1998: 78-81, 445-7 ns, 444, 49, and 51. On ancestor worship, see Landa 1985: 100. Also see McAnany 1995: 24-33.

76. Hunt and Restall 1997: 242.
77. Bruhns 1994 provides a thorough, state-of-the-art overview of the prehistory of South America. Works with a greater emphasis on the pre-Inka and Inka cultures and civilizations of Peru include Lumbreras 1983, Moseley 1992; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1998; and D'Altroy 2002.
78. Lyons 1978: 98-103; Niles 1988; Bruhns 1994: 126-30; Mendieta Parada 1995; Spotts 2003; and Gourd Lord 2003. For South American chronologies, see Bruhns 1994: 10-1 and Bruhns and Stothert 1999: 25.
79. Donnan and Castillo 1992; Bruhns 1994: 195; and Bruhns and Stothert 1999: 183-6.
80. Arsenault 1991: 317; also see Hocquenghem 1987.
81. Hocquenghem and Lyon 1980; Benson 1988; Arsenault 1991; and Donnan and Castillo 1992.
82. Kaufmann Doig 1978.
83. Bruhns 1994: 190-1; Gero 2001: 26-48.
84. Gero 1992: 23-4.
85. Lyon 1978: 111-4.
86. Malpass 1996: 105.
87. Silverblatt 1987: 21-5, 41-53; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 6; and Cajías de la Vega et al. 1994: 56-61.
88. Lyon 1978: 117-9; Alaperrine-Bouyer 1987; Damian 1995: 108-20; and Mendieta Parada 1995: 19, 21.
89. Sarmiento de Gamboa 1947: 129-31; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980: 1:121; Lyon 1978: 117; Silverblatt 1987: 50, 57; and Dransart 1992: 150-2.
90. Silverblatt 1987: 65.
91. Murúa 1946: 352; Silverblatt 1987: 17-9, 57-61, 151; and Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 10-2.
92. Silverblatt 1987: 217. Also see Zuidema 1977 for a detailed discussion of Inka kinship structures, but see Rowe, who argues that Inka descent was traced patrilineally, that is, through fathers (1963: 254).
93. Murra 1962: 711; Silverblatt 1987: 9-14.
94. Murra 1962: 714; Costin 1993: 5-6; 1996: 124-5; Bruhns 1991: 424; and Graubart 2000a: 541-2. Murra (1989: 289) cites evidence of a cloth manufactory of the Inka era employing 1,000 male weavers who wove fine cloth full-time.
95. Silverblatt 1987: 15; Hastorf 1991; and Costin 1993: 15-9.
96. Cobo 1890-95: 4:145-8; Silverblatt 1987: 81-7, 104-5; Murra 1989: 290-1; and Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 13-4. See Graubart (2000b), who argues that notions of *acllas* as virginal were colonial reworkings of Andean traditions that overemphasized similarities between *acllas* and nuns.
97. Silverblatt 1987: 37.

98. In addition to works already cited, Kendall (1973: 88-9) sees adult women as playing a variety of socially recognized roles. Valcárcel, on the other hand, arguing against a preponderance of evidence, finds that Inka women were subjugated, experiencing a variety of forms of exploitation and humiliation. He does point out that women were excluded from testifying in legal cases (1985: 67; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980: 1:162), and Rowe finds that women could be punished more harshly than men for the crime of adultery (1963: 271).

99. Espinosa Soriano 1976: 251, 261-2; Silverblatt 1987: 18; and Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 10.

100. Mörner 1967: 21-7.

101. On the Tainos, see Sued-Badillo 1979: ch. 4; and Wilson 1990: 116-41. For ancient Panamanians see Helms 1976a: 20-8; 1980; and on the Sinú, see Steward and Faron 1959: 223; and Saénz Samper 1993 (especially 79-81).

3. Colliding Worlds

1. Stephanie Wood's essay "Gender and Community Influence in Mesoamerica: Directions for Future Research" (1998a) was especially helpful in thinking about colonial indigenous women's agency, an important theme throughout this chapter; also see Schroeder 1997. On Spanish gender ideologies of Golden Age Spain, see Lavrin 1978; 1989; Arrom 1985: ch. 2; Perry 1990: ch. 1; and Dopico Black 2001, especially her discussion of the sixteenth-century moralizing text *La perfecta casada*, by Fray J. Luis de León, with its emphasis on women's need of containment and enclosure, or, as León put it, "as men were meant to mix in public, so women were made for seclusion" (quoted at 90).

2. On images of conquest, see Montrose 1993; Lewis 1996. On the connections among masculinity, sexuality, and conquest see Krippner-Martínez 1990; Herren 1991; Hurtado 1999; Barbosa Sánchez 1994; Gutiérrez 1994; and Powers 2002. On male and female translators, no female translators are mentioned for the conquest of the Maya or the Inka (Chamberlain 1966: 37-8; Restall 2003: ch. 2; and Henning 1970: 25). The references to female translators, other than Malintzin, that I have come across include a woman named María who translated for Bartolomé de las Casas on the Caribbean island of Cubagua in 1521 (Saco 1932: 2:227). In the north, don Juan Oñate brought a Pueblo woman with his expedition in the hopes that she would be seen as "a second Malinche" (Oñate, quoted in Gutiérrez 1994: 57). He also desired that she serve him in the additional capacities of lover and diplomat. His hopes seem to have been dashed when it became apparent that she spoke only one indigenous language, Tano, and not the multiple languages necessary for coping with the complex language patterns of the Pueblo groups (57; also see Foote and Schackel 1986: 22). An indigenous woman of unknown ethnicity helped translate for several Spaniards who sailed from Vera Cruz to Florida in 1549 (Dobyns 1983: 265-6). After the Spanish conquests, indigenous women—at least in Mesoamerica—did not participate in the growing business of translation for political or legal purposes or in the turn toward scribal writing of indigenous languages with Spanish orthography (Schroeder 1997: 7-8; Karttunen 1998: 435).

3. For the Marina/Malinalli argument, see Cypess 1991: 2, 33. For a more plausible explanation of how she received the name Marina, see Karttunen 1994: 506. But as Jeanette Peterson has pointed out, the association of "Marina" with "Malinalli" may not have been entirely accidental (but *not* because Marina was picked to closely

match the indigenous name). The "twisted grass" meaning has strong associations with the skin, hair, and brooms of the powerful Mexica earth goddesses (1994: 195-6). Furthermore, Malintzin may have been subtly imaged as a warrior goddess, at least in the mid-sixteenth-century images of the Lienzo de Tlaxcala (196-9).

4. Díaz del Castillo 1955: 1:121; Karttunen 1994: 5.

5. For a description of incidents where she helped the Spanish (including her presence at the execution of Cuahquemoc), see Karttunen 1994: 7-8, 19. Her loyalty, combined with the fact that she bore Cortés a child, serve as the basis for the highly negative Mexican view that emerged in the post-independence and, especially, post-Revolutionary periods. Cypess 1991 and Núñez Becerra 1996 trace how this view has been expressed in Mexican literature. Several Mexican-American feminist scholars have sought to portray Malintzin in a more sympathetic light. See, for example, Corera 1976: 31-6; del Castillo 1977; Alarcón 1989; and Hurtado 1999. Also see the sympathetic, popular biography by Lanyon (1999), along with a collection of essays analyzing her as a historical and literary figure in Glantz (1994). A detailed analysis of Malintzin imagery appears in Maturó (1994). Hassig (1998) provides an in-depth analysis of the events surrounding the Cholula massacre. He raises doubts about whether it happened in the way Cortés (and others) describe and questions the importance of Malintzin's role.

6. López de Gómara 1943: 2:132-3; Somonte 1969: 131; and Karttunen 1997: 312.

7. For Cortés's amorous history, see Karttunen 1997: 306. Tecuichpotzin had her own complex marital history. Possibly married to Cuitlahuac (who ruled briefly after Moteuczoma), she married Cuahquemoc, the last Mexica tlatoani, who was executed in 1525. Soon thereafter, she married a Spaniard, Alonso de Grado. At the age of fifteen (if the year of her birth was 1510, as López de Menses speculates), she then joined the growing line of Cortés's partners and gave birth to his daughter, doña Leonor Cortés. She subsequently married twice more, both times to Spaniards, bearing one child with Pedro Gallego de Andrade and five children with Juan Cano de Saavedra (López de Menses 1948; Pérez-Rocha 1998). A daughter of Huayna Capac, doña Beatriz Huayllas Nusta, also had three Spanish partners. After a relationship with the conqueror Manco Sierra de Leguizamo, she then married Pedro de Bustinza, who was later executed for his association with Gonzalo Pizarro. Next she married Diego Hernández, formerly a tailor, whom she "considered beneath her dignity" (Hemming 1970: 291).

8. Karttunen 1994: 305-7. In addition to the two children Pizarro had with Quispe Sisa, Francisca and Gonzalo, he had two more, Francisca and Juan, with Atahualpa's sister Añas, who later married the chronicler Juan de Betanzos (Hemming 1970: 269, 291). Also see Mannarelli 1990: 234; 1994: ch. 1.

9. Muñoz Camargo 1986: 195-7; Carrasco 1997: 102; Stern 1993: 170-3; and Hemming 1970: 180, 269.

10. Hemming 1970: 312-3; Rostworowski 1970: 155-8; and Mannarelli 1990: 235-6. For the text of doña Beatriz Clara Coya's will (a text in which her references to her husband, don Martín García de Loyola, are certainly restrained), see Dunbar Temple 1950: 118-22.

11. Ganson 1994: 62; also see Ganson 2003. Susnik, on the other hand, argues that while some Guaraní women voluntarily entered into relations with Spaniards, others were given by their families in exchange for goods like metal axes, and still others were taken violently (1965: 1:13). Service points out that in colonial Paraguay, relationships of concubinage or intermarriage were very common between Spanish

men and Guaraní women. These relations created a mestizo society in which the Guaraní language is still commonly spoken and is an official language along with Spanish (1971: 20, 24, 30-8).

12. Carrasco 1997: 102. In the 1555 will of Hernando de Tapia, for example, himself married to a Spanish woman, he left explicit instructions that his legitimate daughters marry Spaniards (AGNT 37-2: 78v-94v). Also see Hemming's brief description of three Tupinamba men taken from Brazil to France in 1612 who, during the course of their two-year stay, married French women with whom they returned to Brazil in 1614 (1995: 207-8). Whatever the nature of these relations, without denying that attractions on both sides were possible, little evidence supports Hemming's notion that "the women themselves were often attracted by the dazzling foreigners" (1970: 180) or Ricardo Herren's that "la sexualidad de los españoles parece haber sido más rica que la de los varones indios" (1991: 100), though the benefits of such contact, especially economic, must have been clear (Graubart 2000c: 250-1).

13. Herren 1991; Wood 1998b.

14. While both Herren (1991) and Wood (1998b) discuss sexual violence in colonial Latin America broadly, on California, specifically, see Castañeda 1990: ch. 2; 1993; Hurtado 1999: ch. 1; and Bouvier 2001: chs. 1 and 6. For the northern Borderlands generally, see McDonald 2000: 156-64.

15. In her classic work *Against Our Will*, Susan Brownmiller offers a legally oriented "female definition" of rape: "if a woman chooses not to have intercourse with a specific man and the man chooses to proceed against her will, that is a criminal act of rape" (1975: 18). Other attempts to define rape are discussed by Linda Brookover Bourque (1989; also see Wood 1998b: 10-8). Other literature on male violence toward women is cited in Castañeda 1993: 32 n. 61. While medieval and early Spanish law did not clearly define rape, it recognized coercive sex in a variety of contexts (*raptio*, *violación*, and *estupro*; see Lipsett-Rivera 1997: 567-8; also see Barahona 2003: ch. 3 on Spanish law and legal cases involving coercive sex). This topic has many contemporary implications, because rape and other forms of gendered sexual violence have served as a tool of repression used by recent military regimes, particularly in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. See Bunster 1993 and Taylor 1997.

16. Passage quoted in Sale 1990: 140. For a general discussion of the relationship between sexuality and coercion in the conquest period, see Wood 1998: 11-8.

17. Tozzer 1941: 127; Landa 1985: 98. See Todorov's discussion of this passage (1984: 246-7) along with the dedication of his book. Also see Restall's discussion of the passage (1995: 577-9).

18. Cited in Hemming 1970: 265.

19. Barbosa Sánchez 1994: 93. Wood argues that European men not only saw the sexual coercion of women as part of conquest but as key to a "new, multilayered power structure" (1998b: 10).

20. Hemming quotes Juan Pizarro's will (1970: 182, 198-9). Busto Duthurburo discusses this relationship, suggesting that the woman was a close relative of Manco Inka (1965: 103-4). On Brazil, see Hemming 1995: 41. For Peru, see Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980: 2:489, 496, 498, 538; and Silverblatt 1987: 138-43.

21. On La Navidad, see Sale 1990: 139, 150-1. On Tenochcan and Tlatelolcan women's resistance against the Spanish, see the *Codex Azcatilcan*, cited in Klein 1994: 222. Also see Durán 1967: 2:568; FC 1950-82: 12:117; and Wood 1998b: 11-2.

22. Hemming 1970: 240.

23. *Relación del sitio del Cuzco* 1879, quoted and cited in Hemming 1970: 204, 574, note to p. 204.
24. Hemming 1970: 211. On Paraguay, see Ganson 1994: 63-75. For a report on indigenous women in colonial Venezuela fighting alongside men against the Spanish, see Alvarez de Lovera 1994: 82.
25. Foote and Schackel 1986: 22-4; Deeds 1997: 259; Villanueva 1985: 26-7; Clendinnen 1982: 432; Farriss 1984: 172; Patch 1993: 86-8, 90, 253; Sherman 1979: ch. 14; Stark 1985: 5-10; Silverblatt 1987: 127-38; Zulawski 1990; and Larson 1998: 199-200.
26. On changing patterns of textile production, see Bazant 1964: 495; Villanueva 1985: 22-7; and Salvucci 1987. Gauderman discusses male textile producers in the larger workshops of the Quito region (1998: 260-2; also see Gauderman 2003). Gibson (1964: 141) and Wachtel (1977: 91) find gender imbalances, with more women than men for colonial central Mexico and Peru (though Wachtel is referring specifically to the sixteenth century, whereas Gibson is referring to the entire period), while Deeds argues that in the north "women of childbearing age, along with children, were at particularly high risk during epidemics" (1997: 260; also see Jackson 1994: 108). On Peru, also see Cook 1981: 251-3.
27. For a description of male weavers in eighteenth-century Upper Peru, see Larson 1998: 261.
28. Deeds 1997: 259; Villanueva 1985; Terraciano 2001: 239-43; Clendinnen 1982: 432; Farriss 1984: 172, 271; Patch 1993: 86-8; Sherman 1979: 313, 324-5; Silverblatt 1987: 134-5; Premo 2000: 77-84; Graubart 2000c: 100-103, 146-8; Hemming 1995: 423; and 1987: 159. The use of women in Paraguayan Jesuit missions to grow cotton may have been related to textile production (Ots Capdequi 1930: 338; Susnik 1965: 1:179-80). On women's production of textiles in eighteenth-century Guaycuruan missions of the Gran Chaco (spanning much of today's Paraguay and including parts of southeastern Bolivia and northeastern Argentina), see Saeger 2000: 65-6. On women's work as spinners, encouraged by Jesuits in the missions of the Moxos region of modern-day Bolivia, see Block 1994: 167.
29. Arrom 1985: 158-9; Kanter 1993: 171; Pescador 1995: 618; Horn 1998: 71, 74, 76; Terraciano 2001: 239, 343; and Clendinnen 1982: 436.
30. Taylor 1979: 38, 53, 58; Terraciano 1994: 399-401.
31. Gauderman 1998: ch. 5; also see Ramirez 1995.
32. Gauderman 1998: 181-3, 191-9. Burkett finds a similar pattern for the city of Potosí of Andean women selling a wide array of goods, including those of Spanish origin (1978: 113). Also see Poloni 1992: 204-2; Mangan 1999: 108-27, 250-5; and Larson 1998: 203.
33. Zavala 1984: 1:300, 320-2; 2:280-3; *Fuentes para la historia de México* 1939-46: 1:21-2; *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* 2:100; *Códice Osuna* 1947: 339; and Farriss 1984: 52-3.
34. Farriss 1984: 203; Hunt and Restall 1997: 236.
35. McDonald 2000: 73-82, 126-8; Burkett 1978: 109; and Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 13. In colonial Venezuela, Paraguay, and Chile, state-sponsored forms of such labor lasted longer. See Alvarez de Lovera 1994: 87-9; Service 1971: 20, 35; and Flusche and Korth 1983: 58-61.
36. For women working in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andean mines, see Larson 1983: 178, 182. For an example of a female owner of a small silver mine in Peru, see Zulawski 1990: 106-7 (also see Stern 1993: 165-9). On women in obrajes
- see Salvucci 1987: 105 and Gauderman 1998: 260-2. On women's labor in the tobacco factory of Mexico City, see Deans-Smith 1992: 175-8; and Pescador 1995: 620. On women carriers in the Yucatan and Central America, see Clendinnen 1982: 431; Ots Capdequi 1930: 338; and Sherman 1979: 121, 322-3. For brief comments on missionaries' imposition of a different gender division of labor that placed more responsibility onto men in the far North, Baja California in particular, see Jackson 1999: 77-8. On men's role in agriculture in the Guaraní missions, see Ganson 1994: 205, 208-12.
37. See, for example, Silverblatt 1987: 114-6.
38. Ots Capdequi 1930: 346; Gibson 1964: 200-201, 207-8; and Silverblatt 1987: 129. Stern says that female heads of Andean households were specifically exempt (1993: 152, 163). Also see Premo 2000: 77-8. In New Spain, attempts to reform the practice of women's payment of tribute were uneven. In 1755, colonial officials attempted to force single women to pay tribute after a period of some thirty-three years when they had customarily been excused (though married women and widows had not been so excused), and a lawsuit resulted (Zavala 1984: 7:21). Attempts by officials in 1770 to rationalize tribute payments by holding all adult men up to the age of fifty responsible and excusing women regardless of their marital status are also mentioned by Zavala but were countermanded by royal policy (60).
39. Terraciano 1994: 405; 2001: 239-41. Cases even exist of married women jailed for failure to make tribute payments, placed there by a native official in Toluca, west of Mexico City, in 1799. Not only was one of the women jailed but also the native governor ordered that an enema be administered to her (Kanter 1993: 286-8).
40. Pescador 1995: 617-9; Hunt and Restall 1997: 236; Glave 1987: 54-62; and Vergara Ormeño 1997: 142-5, 153. Pescador also points out that, while mixed-race or indigenous employers existed, they were rare but gives the example of a native stonemason employing a native woman for food preparation (618).
41. On Guatemalan wet nurses, see Herrera 1997: 367-8 (see also Herrera 2003); Komisaruk 2000: 117-8; and Webre 2001. On the economic responsibilities of widows, see Sherman 1979: 310-1, 336. On the young ages of servants in Peru and the northern Borderlands, see Vergara Ormeño 1997: 137 and McDonald 2000: 68-70, respectively. Malvido (1980: 546) ties rural, primarily indigenous, child abandonment in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century region of Tula, near Mexico City, to gender and notes that more female infants than male were abandoned. She argues that not only was male agricultural labor highly valued within indigenous communities but also abandoned female infants had potential labor value as servants or as obraje workers who spun or wove for nonindigenous employers.
42. The case of María Sisa is described in Zulawski 1990: 104-5. The orders to Paraguayan officials can be found in *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810* 1933-62: 2:216, 277, 680, 718.
43. Sherman 1979: 308, 325. On similar accusations in seventeenth-century central Peru, see Vergara Ormeño 1997: 140-1.
44. Chance 1989: 109-10; Gosner 1997: 225.
45. Kanter 1993: 302, 304-5. For a study of depósito as an urban institution that shows its protective and coercive sides, see Penyak 1999. He finds that in the Mexico City region, both Spanish and indigenous women "were equally likely to be placed in depósito and then sent to jail, or vice versa" (1999: 96). Chance cites an intendant's statement about the confinement of women who failed to pay fines for not meeting allotments of woven mantas (1989: 110).

46. For the Caribbean and Central America, see Saco 1932: 1:171, 262; Sherman 1979: 41, 70; and Monteiro 1994: 83-4. In mid-sixteenth-century Panama, the governor Sancho de Clavijo ordered many indigenous slaves, predominantly female, into depósito. In this case, depósito functioned as a sort of protective custody, with the women usually lodged with married Spanish women who had honorable reputations ("de buena fama") until the Spanish monarch could order them freed (Saco 1932: 2:59-60). For examples in Mexico City, see notarial documents described and quoted in Millares Carlo and Mantecón 1945-46, such as the one referring to the use of fifty slaves, "machos y hembras", in a mine owned by two Spaniards, Pedro de Villalobos and Alvaro Maldonado (1: doc. no. 15:28). Many of these documents are summarized in Ladd (1979: 29-45). On Peru, see Burkett 1978: 110, and on what is now the Southern Cone, see Saco 1932: 2:216-7. It should also be recognized that the outlawing of the enslavement of indigenous people as part of the 1542 New Laws had a greater impact on New Spain and Peru than Central America and outlying regions. For the story of an enslaved indigenous woman in early eighteenth-century northern Brazil, see Sweet 1981.

47. 1979: 315.

48. See Silverblatt's discussion of noblewomen and land in the Andes (1987: 113-6). Also see Carrasco 1997: 97-9.

49. Cline 1986: 164-5; Kanter 1995; Wood 1997: 180; Kellogg 1998: 51-3; and Silverblatt 1987: 113-9, 134. Graubart argues that indigenous men and women in early colonial Lima and Trujillo (at least those who wrote wills) obtained and owned house plots and other kinds of land at about equal rates into the seventeenth century and that women gained new forms of access to wealth (2000c: 193-4).

50. For Angelina Martina's will, see AGNT 49-5. For Melchora de Santiago's, see Newberry Library/Ayer Collection 1481B-31.

51. Terraciano provides discussion of two seventeenth-century Nudzahui women's wills with evidence of extensive ownership of trade goods (1994: 406-407, 413-5; 2001: 216-24, 242-5). Also see Spores 1984: 109, 116. Yucatec Maya women's property is described in Hunt and Restall 1997: 245-6. For a late sixteenth-century Purépecha cacica actively seeking to increase the size of her inherited landed fortune, see López Sarrelangue 1965: 187-9, and for an Andean example of an indigenous female employer of means, see Stern 1993: 166.

52. For Toluca, see Kanter 1995: 610-1. On colonial Ecuador, see Stark 1985: 9-10. Note that the term "huasipungero" combines the Quechua words for house (*huasi*) and door or doorway (*puñku*; Crapo and Aitken 1986: 35, 43).

53. Kellogg 1997: 136; Silverblatt 1987: ch. 8.

54. Saco 1932: 2:216-8, 224-7; Sherman 1979: 311-22, 336.

55. Kellogg 1995b: 195-211; Farris 1984: 172-4; Burkett 1978: 109-10; and Cook 1981: 251. Spores asserts, however, that while early colonial Oaxaca experienced dramatic population decline, little disruption in family life occurred (1984: 113).

56. Late prehispanic kinship structures varied from the cognatic system of the Mexica or the Maya emphasis on patriliney to the Inka use of parallel lines of descent (an ambilateral descent system). Kellogg 1986a; 1995b: 180-4; Farris 1984: 132-3; Restall 1998: 357; and Rowe 1963: 223 discuss changing kinship structures.

57. Spores 1984: 108-9, 113; Farris 1984: 170-1; and Restall 1998: 358-9. But Farris also argues, however, that the "material security" of Yucatec Maya extended families was weakened by missionary attempts to create households structured around a single married couple, Spanish tribute assessments defining the married

man as the unit of taxation, and the bilateral inheritance system (1984: 169-70). She notes clerical pressure to marry young and points to the heavy tribute and labor burdens on younger married couples, noting women's onerous existence "when pregnancies were frequent but brought no relief from the fixed quotas of cotton cloth they were required to produce on their own backstrap looms" (172, 259). See Klein (1986), who argues that while highland Maya women married quite young, they retained some control over spousal choice, as well as goods they brought to their marriages.

58. On complex patterns of family change in northern Mexico, see Reff 1991: 240-2; Jackson 1994: 108-9; Radding 1997: ch. 4; and Bouvier 2001: ch. 6. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century data suggest that for Mexico City's indigenous residents, nuclear family households had become the predominant form (Kellogg 1995b: 195-201; Pescador 1995: 621). For Central America, see Sherman 1979: 336. For the colonial Andes, see Glave 1987: 48-54. Larson and Zulawski point out that families sometimes migrated together, especially to Potosí (Larson 1983: 178; Zulawski 1990: 100-101), though single women dominated in migration to Lima (Vergara Ormeño 1997: 153). Both types of migration would have undermined the formation of large, multifamily households. Hemming (1995: 114, 482) describes sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit attempts to transform native family forms in Brazil but does not assess how successful these were. For a clear discussion of compadrazgo and how it functioned in the Yucatan, see Farris 1984: 106, 257-9.

59. I draw here on the title and arguments presented in Silverblatt 1998. Also see Gonzalbo 1987 and Burkhardt 2001a on Spanish family values as communicated to indigenous populations, especially by the Church.

60. Motolinía's 1971 discussion of "sensuality" is on 189; also see 148-52.

61. On the difficulties of foregoing the practice of polygyny, see Burkhardt 1989: 105, 150-1; Osorio 1990: 314; and Stavig 1995: 603-5. For the Coyoacan case, see Quezada 1996: 255-6, and on the Tarahumara, see Deeds 1997: 262. Silverblatt discusses the link between polygyny and status in the Andes (1998: 82). On Nahua women's church attendance, see Gibson 1964: 111, and on cofradía membership, see Schroeder 1997: 10-11. Sousa cites the case of a Nahua woman who denounced her husband for polygyny to the Inquisition in 1540 (1998: 260-1). For the potential of congregación and reducción for the policing of behavior, see Gibson 1964: 282-3; Farris 1984: 160; Abercrombie 1998: 248-52, 262; and Larson 1998: 67-8. The literature on cofradías and compadrazgo is better developed for Mesoamerica. On cofradías, see Chance and Taylor 1985; for compadrazgo, see Mintz and Wolf 1959; and Farris 1984: 250, 257-9.

62. See Seed's discussion (1988: chs. 2, 7, 235-6) of the role of free will and the changing role of parents, especially fathers, in colonial marriage. On the role of families and matchmakers, see Gruzinski 1989: 109.

63. Pérez, cited in Gruzinski 1989: 109.

64. Kanter 1993: 157. While bride service in the early years of Yucatec Maya marriage sometimes occurred (Restall 1998: 360), whether coresidence during the betrothal period took place is unclear. On sirvanacuy, see Stavig 1995: 602-12.

65. Kanter 1993: 161; Stavig 1995: 611.

66. Lavrin 1989: 51-4; Burkhardt 1989: 136-7; 2001; Overmyer-Velázquez 1998; and Silverblatt 1998: 71.

67. Toledo's 1573 "Instrucción para los visitadores" is quoted in part in Abercrombie 1998: 248. For the Guarani, the quotation is from Ganson 1994: 210; and

- on missions in California, see Bouvier 2001: 82. For the potential of congregación and reducción to police behavior, see Gibson 1964: 282-3; Farriss 1984: 160; Abercrombie 1998: 248-52, 262; and Larson 1998: 67-8.
68. On the rhetoric tying female virtue to male honor, see Seed 1988: chs. 4, 6; Krippner-Martínez 1990: 188-94; and Gutiérrez 1991: chs. 5-7. For interesting examples of the languages of both honor and purity of bloodlines by indigenous people, in this case by members of the Tlaxcalan frontier colony of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala near the city of Saltillo in northern Mexico, see Offutt 1997: 278-81.
69. She is quoted in Silverblatt 1987: 119.
70. Kanter 1993: 174; Stern 1995: chs. 4 and 7; and Stavig 1995.
71. On the patriarchal nature of colonial Spanish American gender ideology and relations, see Kanter 1993: 7-14, 153-98; and Stern 1995: chs. 2, 7, and 11; and Castro Gutiérrez 1998: 15. For a critique, see Gauderman 1998: ch. 2.
72. Kanter 1993: 174-5; Castro Gutiérrez 1998; Taylor 1979: 79, 84-5, 87; Sousa 1996; 1998: 322-35; Terraciano 1998a; and Stavig 1995: 616-20; 1999: 31-6. On high rates of male on female violence and murder among the colonial Guaraní, see González 1994: 358-9. She also mentions a small number of cases of women killing (or having killed) their husbands (360).
73. Tozzer 1941: 100; Landa 1985: 82.
74. Boyer 1989; Stern 1995: 53, 78. Taylor has suggested that violence against women in indigenous peasant communities in Oaxaca—especially homicides—made up a greater proportion of homicides overall than was the case in Mexico City (1979: 79), but Stern's larger sample and statistical analysis does not seem to bear this out (1995: tables 9.1, 9.3, 9.5, 10.1, and 12.2).
75. Kanter 1993: 173-91.
76. On mothers-in-law in Mexico City, see Arrom 1985: 247-9. On the Purépecha, see Castro Gutiérrez 1998: 8, 10, 13.
77. For Oaxaca, see Sousa 1998: 323. On the Andes, see Stavig 1995: 616-7.
78. Castro Gutiérrez 1998: 16.
79. Transcription and translation of this 1613 Nahuatl document can be found in Lockhart 2001: 128-9.
80. Stern discusses both amelioration and what he refers to as the "pluralization of patriarchy" (1995: 99-101); also see Sousa 1998: 323-4. On the general characteristics of women who endured domestic violence, see Stern (53-62).
81. Kanter 1993: 177-9.
82. While Mesoamerican women appealed to parents and brothers, Stavig observes that central Andean women tended to turn to their brothers (1995: 619). Saeger finds that Guaycuruan women sought out mission priests in cases of domestic violence (2000: 106).
83. Sousa 1996: 3-4.
84. For Mesoamerica, see Sousa 1998: 328-9; n.d.; Kanter 1993: 175-97; also see Stern 1995: 101. On Peru, see Stavig 1995: 605, 619. For a rare case of a woman herself murdering her husband in response to his cruel treatment, see Deeds 1997: 269. On native women's reluctance to initiate physical aggression against men, see Kanter 1993: 184-5.
85. On pressures to reconcile, see Kanter 1993: 193-7; Castro Gutiérrez 1998: 18; and Stavig 1995: 620-1.
86. Women quoted in Zavala 1984: 7:107. On the harsh treatment of female servants, see the discussion in the preceding section of this chapter on women's work, exploitation, and punishment.
87. Sousa 1998: 334. Also see Lipsett-Rivera 1996 on the crime of uxoricide (wife-killing) in central Mexico generally during the period 1750 to 1856. Like Sousa, she finds leniency in punishment of men (1996: 336).
88. Stavig 1995: 621. Also see Deeds's discussion of the ten-year sentence given a Tarahumara woman for killing her abusive husband who had, at least according to his wife's account, among other things, bound her hands and feet and left her outside in the freezing cold before departing for an evening of drinking. It was after this incident that the woman, María Gertrudis Ysidora de Medina, killed him (1997: 266-7).
89. For Mexico, this is shown especially clearly by Stern (1995: 49). On Peru, Stavig says that domestic violence was common in the late colonial period (1995: 600-601).
90. See entries discussing Mary's life and interpretations of its meanings and images in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 9: 335-86; also see Pelikan 1996.
91. Burkhardt 1998: 95; Klein 1995; and Silverblatt 1987: 179-86.
92. Klein 1995: 259-62; Kellogg 1997: 138-40; and Silverblatt 1987: 155-6.
93. For indigenous women as nuns see Gallagher 1978; Muriel 1963; Lavrin 1999; and Burns 1999. On accusations about the worship of earth goddesses, see Aramoni Calderón 1992: 88-92.
94. Madsen 1960: 28-9, 221; Campbell 1982: 7-8. On images of Mary in Nahuatl texts and for the quote, see Burkhardt 1996: 89; also see Burkhardt 2001b. On Nudza-hui testaments, see Terraciano 1998b: 129-31. On the Andes, see Mendieta Parada 1995: 32-3. On the origins of Guadalupe texts, see Sousa, Poole, and Lockhart 1998.
95. Burkhardt 1996: 81; Schroeder 1997: 9-11.
96. Gibson 1964: 127-32; Schroeder 1997: 10-1; Sell n.d.; and, on Chiapas, Gosner 1997: 223.
97. Duviols 1986: lxxii; Burkhardt 1997: 27.
98. Alva 1999: 103.
99. For the highland Maya, see Gosner 1997: 222. For Peru, see Silverblatt 1987: 109. On central Mexico, see Gruzinski 1989: 109.
100. Deeds 1997: 263; Behar 1989: 179, 185, 193; Anzures y Bolaños 1983: 73-9; Quezada 1989b: 114-20; Lewis 2003: chs. 4-6; Few 1995: 632; Lane 1998: 482-7; Mannarelli 1985: 144; 1998: ch. 2; Silverblatt 1987: 175; Mills 1997: 118; and Osorio 1999: 207-15. Griffiths (1996: 11-2) provides definitions of a series of witchcraft- and sorcery-related terms, and Quezada (1996: 46-70) and Mills (1997: 113-24) argue that Nahuas and Andeans also drew on love magic traditions that predated the arrival of the Spanish. Also see Glass-Coffin's list of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century cases of hechicería from Trujillo in northern Peru in which indigenous practitioners represent as least half of those tried (1999: 234-5).
101. Quezada 1989a: 108-10. On female shamans' loss of power in Guaycuruan missions, see Saeger 2000: 99, 108.
102. Kellogg 1997: 107; Spores 1997; and Terraciano 2001: 182-4, 186-90, 363. For examples of colonial caticas primarily among Nahuas, see Fernández de Recas (1961). In a 1798 case in colonial Venezuela that stretched out until 1809, when

- it ended inconclusively, Dionisia Quintero complained to the Fiscal Protector de Indias, trying to reclaim a cacicazgo for her son. Acting as head of her family (though she was not a widow) and as a community leader, she used a colonial court system in a time and place when it had little sympathy for indigenous assertions of defense of community, lands, or identity (Alvarez de Lovera 1994: 94-7).
103. Spores 1997: 188-9.
104. Statement of doña Agustina Cususoli, in Zevallos Quiñones 1989, quoted in Graubart 2000c: 300.
105. Arrom 1985: 58-61; Spores 1997: 186; Silverblatt 1987: 150-3; Rosworowski de Diez Canseco 1995: 12; Graubart 2000c: 281, 297-8, 301-21; and Alvarez de Lovera 1994: 80-3.
106. Cline 1986: 112-7; Wood 1997; Kellogg 1998; Powers 1998; and Graubart 2000c: chs. 3 and 4. The testament of Ana Juana, 1580, is transcribed and translated in Cline and León-Portilla 1984: 80-5 (quotes on 83).
107. On indigenous women and the Spanish legal realm across a variety of places from north to south, see Deeds 1997; Kellogg 1984; Sousa 1997; 1998: 322-35; and Gauderman 1998: ch. 5. In addition to Gauderman's discussion of a very specific example of women's legal activities in Quito, Silverblatt—while not focused on law per se—provides many examples of female legal participation (1987: chs. 6-10), as does Graubart 2000c.
108. Kellogg 1984: 1995b: 111-2.
109. Sousa 1997: 208; Gauderman 1998: 173-9, 190-9 (quote on 190).
110. 1995: 206.
111. Burkhardt 1998: 375-6.
112. Castro Gutiérrez 1998: 9. On the importance of women's defense of their communities in colonial central Mexican protests, see Wood 1998a. This form of protest is strikingly familiar, given its use in the recent past in many parts of Latin America. See, for example, Alvarez 1990; Andreas 1985; Blondet 1990; Bouvard 1994; Feijóo 1989; Feijóo and Gogna 1990; and Navarro 1989.
113. For women as Taki Onqoy participants, see Stern 1993: 55. Works treating the history of religious change and the campaigns to extirpate idolatry include Duviols 1977, 1986; McCormack 1985, 1991; Griffiths 1996; and Mills 1997. On Taki Onqoy, in addition to Stern's discussion (1993: 51-79), see Millones (1990); Varón Gabai (1990); and Mumford (1998), who provides a discussion of sources and critique of the historiography.
114. Silverblatt 1987: 183-8, 197; Griffiths 1996: 116-8, 126-7, 130-1; and Flores Espinosa 1999.
115. Mamarelli 1985: 142; Silverblatt 1987: 186, 200, 203-7; Griffiths 1996: 250; and Glass-Coffin 1999: 210.
116. Silverblatt 1987: ch. 10. Poole and Harvey (1988) have called for more nuanced definitions of resistance and critiqued Irene Silverblatt's use of the concept, arguing that what she is describing is less resistance and more "traditionalism" expressed in an individualistic rather than collective fashion (291-2). While I agree with their call for more careful definitions and studies of resistance, assertion of a non-Catholic belief system with significant roles for female actors in the context of extirpation campaigns can be seen as an expression of agency that sometimes took a collective form.
117. Taylor 1979: 116. Eric Van Young makes a similar point about women's involvement in early nineteenth-century protests and speculates that they "were
- more likely to be involved in collective violence where the ostensible issues were tribute and labor obligations, and men more likely to be involved where land was the major question" (2001: 430).
118. Haskett 1997; Gosner 1997: 228-9; Dunn 1995; and Moreno Yáñez 1977: 135, 195, 255-6. For an example of some Maya women leading a revolt in the town of Tecpán, Guatemala in 1759, see Patch 2002: ch. 3; and on women's roles and aggressive behavior in the Tehuantepec Rebellion of 1661, see Rojas 1964: 25-7.
119. Gosner 1992: 122-31.
120. Quotation from Campbell 1985: 167; also see 173-5. For the rebellions generally, see Valcárcel 1947; Fisher 1966; and Campbell 1987. On the term "quya," also see chapter 2. See Stark 1985: 11-4 for a description of women's violent behavior, including killing two nonindigenous tax collectors, in an uprising in colonial Ecuador.
121. Fisher 1966: 107, 209-11; Valencia Vega 1978: 49-50; and Campbell 1985: 171, 186; and Stavig 1999: 245-6.
122. Fisher 1966; Valencia Vega 1978: ch. 12; and Campbell 1985: 188-90.
123. The quotation about emasculation comes from Eleanor Burkett writing on early colonial Peru (1978: 119). Also see Salomon 1988; Kellogg 1997; and Hunt and Restall 1997.
124. For the Andes, see Silverblatt 1987: 111, 124, 138-47, 155; and Zulawski 1995: 151-6. On Mexico, see Barbosa Sánchez 1994: 93.
125. See Salomon's discussion of "ways to be an urban Indian" (1988: 326), from which my discussion takes off. On the "long nineteenth century," see Dore 2000. Also see Dore 1997: 604, 610-1; Aguirre 1996: 412-5; and Hames 1996: ch. 1 for discussions of nineteenth-century racism and processes of hybridity and identity formation that helped create rural peasantries and urban working classes with ambiguous racial identities that reinforced social distinctions between white creoles and indigenous and mixed groups.
126. Quotation from Guerrero 2003: 285. On land loss, tribute policies, and changing racial designations see Halperin-Donghi 1985; Bauer 1986: 138-9; Hale 1968: 219-36; 1989: 221; Rugeley 1996: 63-8; Mulhare 2004; Mallon 1983: 10, 28, 38; 1995: 91-103; Rappaport 1990: 81-6; Moscoso 1992; O'Connor 1997: 87-9; Poole 1988; Thurner 1997: 46-53; Platt 1982; Langer 2001; Block 1994: 172-3; and Wright with Carneiro da Cunha et al. 1999. For a general overview of the policies of nineteenth-century nations toward indigenous groups, see Reina and Velasco 1997.
127. For the intensification of patriarchy in nineteenth-century law codes, see Deere and León 2001a: 38-40. See Chassen-López 1994: 38-40 on women, labor, and record-keeping in early twentieth-century Oaxaca; also see Stephen (1991: 93-7), who demonstrates the gendering of census categories and the frequent undercounting of female laborers for the district of Tlacolula and town of Teotitlan, also in Oaxaca, in the early twentieth century.
128. On women's declining land rights, see Mallon 1994: 8-9; Grandin 2000: 39-40; O'Connor 1997: 195-8, 302-10; and 2002. Chassen-López argues that women increased their share of land ownership, from large estates to small plots, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Oaxaca but also shows the vulnerability of their holdings in a legal system that privileged male ownership and responsibility for female relatives. On women's economic activities that aided the development of nineteenth-century regional economies, see Mallon 1995: 69-70; Reina 1997: 351-4; Grandin 2000: 38-41; Dore 1997: 603-5; Borchart de Moreno 1991; Mos-

coso 1995; Larson 1998: 364-5; Hames 1996: ch. 4; and Langer 2001, who discusses the testament of Antonia Lojo. Santos-Granero and Barclay (2000: 41-2, 271-2) describe the capture and virtual enslavement of indigenous women in northeastern (Amazonian) Peru during the rubber boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For chola and mestiza women and the new chicherías, see Larson 1998: 364-9 and Gotkowitz 1998: 267-73. On negative images of indigenous, chola, and mestiza women, see Chambers 1999: 206-215; Gotkowitz 1998: 294-314; 2003; and Stephenson 1999: 141-6. Few (2002) describes attempts by colonial authorities in Santiago de Guatemala to control the disorderly behavior of urban women of the popular classes with a range of ethno-racial identities.

129. On women and courts, see González Montes and Iracheta Cenegorta 1987; Chénaut 1993: 184-5; 1997: 134-5; 143-6; Moscoso 1992; and O'Connor 1997: 298-310. On images, see Mallon 1994: 8; 1995: 77-9; Platt 1993: 169-74; and Poole 1988; 2004: 52-3, 61-9, 74-9.

130. Degarrod 1998: 339; Bacigalupo 2004.

4. With Muted Voices

1. See Menchu 1984, 1998; Jiménez 1968, 1972; and Karttunen 1994: 192-214. Author of another book of Nahua tales, Jiménez also wrote some stories with Anita Brenner, for which she received no credit (MacMasters 1999; G. Hernández 2000). For a brief discussion of the very few other female Nahua writers, see Karttunen, who also discusses the small number of contemporary female Maya writers (1998: 441-2). On the Mexican version of indigenismo, see Knight 1990.

2. On the writing of *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, see Stoll 1999: chs. 13 and 14; and several of the essays in Arias 2001. Also on Rigoberta Menchú and Maya women as symbols of identity, see Nelson 1999: 162-9, 271-81. On the production of testimonies, or "autobiographies," see Behar 1993 (especially the introductory chapter) and Mallon 2001.

3. Baurer 1990: 3, 16-7; Bruhns 1991: 422; also see Keremitsis 1983.

4. None of the volumes of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (1964-76), for example, treat the subject of gender, though the occasional essay touches upon the subject either generally (see Colby 1967 for a thematic article on psychological patterns among Mesoamerican peoples that refers in places to gender roles) or specifically (as in essays treating individual groups with sections on the division of labor and kinship). With the rise of the most recent women's movement in the 1960s, a variety of scholars began to write about gender more systematically, but only a few articles or books offer comparison. An ambitious, though unsystematic, attempt at cross-cultural comparison can be found in a 1975 special issue of the Mexican-published journal *América Indígena*. Its wide-ranging articles on Mesoamerican, South American, and Central American women illustrate the increasing attention given to women, as the issue attempts to counter an ethnographic literature that fails to acknowledge the deep historical roots of women's productive labor and political action. Also see Anton 1973; Bossen 1983; Rosenbaum 1996; and Rubio Orbe 1975.

5. Rosenbaum 1996: 323, 338, 343-5; Bossen 1983: 36, 45-7. The notion of women as more Indian is de la Cadena's (1995), for Peru, but can be applied to Mesoamerica, where beginning early in the twentieth century, photographers of indigenous women began to use their images to symbolize the identity of whole

groups. For examples, see Poole 2004. Also see Mathews 1985 and Stephen 1991: ch. 7, as well as further discussion of women's political activism in this and the next two chapters.

6. González Montes 1994a. For information on the conditions of extreme poverty that many of Mexico's indigenous communities currently endure, see Ballinas 2000; and Thompson 2001.

7. Quotation from Redfield 1930: 85; quotation from Jiménez 1972: 3. Also see Lewis 1951: 98-9, 101-2; and 1960: 55, 88. For critiques of the failure of ethnographers to acknowledge the labor of indigenous women in central Mexico, see Rodríguez 1975 and Rothstein 1983.

8. Madsen 1969: 602. See Good 2000 and Sandstrom 2000 for recent surveys of literature on Nahua communities across central Mexico. Mexican census information for the year 2000 suggests the number of Nahuas, based on the number of Nahuatl speakers, is at least 1,500,000. (Figures are available online. See Mexico, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática [INEGI] at: www.inegi.gob.mx or see XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000 [2002].)

9. Slade 1976: 176. While Nahuas typically have a fairly rigid division of labor, in which men's and women's activities differ and are often carried out separately, as is common elsewhere in Mesoamerica, there is some variation among central Mexican groups. Mazahuas of the central region, while maintaining a gender-based division of labor, stressed to ethnographer Alicja Iwańska the interchangeability of male and female work roles (1971: 51-3). A similar pattern with a more cooperative division of labor stressing some task sharing has also been reported for Teenek of the Huastec region of Veracruz (Dietiker-Amsler 1993: 152, 154-7) and for Totonacs of Puebla and Veracruz (Harvey and Kelly 1969: 663). Among the Wixárika (also known as Huichols), especially those of northern Jalisco, while male and female tasks are differentiated, men and women do help each other, especially in agricultural and weaving (Schaefer 2002: 58, 107, 109). On Nahua women as domestic servants, see for example Taggart 1975: 160. On their employment outside the home, see Arizpe 1973a: 581.

10. Lewis 1944: 299, 301, 304; 1951: 101; Van Zantwijk 1960: 30; Nutini 1968: 48, 189-90; Arizpe 1973: 83; Friedlander 1975: 9, 12-4, 40-2; Taggart 1975: 161; Huber 1990: 159; Slade 1992: 103; Good 1993: 233-5; Frye 1996: 26; and Vázquez García 1997: 180.

11. Redfield 1930: 152; Lewis 1944: 299; 1951: 98; 1963: 323; Madsen 1960: 49; Nutini 1968: 44-5, 188-90; Friedlander 1975: 21-2, 42-3; 1994: 125; Taggart 1975: 159; González Montes 1988: 68; 1994b: 178-9; Huber 1990; Sandstrom 1991: 139-40; Chevalier and Buckles 1995: 260-1; and Vázquez García 1997: 169.

12. Lewis 1951: 413; Nutini 1968: 84; Taggart 1975: 160; Sandstrom 1991: 177, 365; and on daughters from Hueyapan accompanying fathers, see Friedlander 1975: 61-2. 13. Vázquez García 1997: 184-8.

14. Nutini and Isaac 1974: 407; González Montes 1994b: 176-9.

15. Lewis 1944: 304. Also see Nutini and Isaac (1974: 412-420), as well as Steve Stern's discussion of the corn mills (1995: 332-5). Lourdes Arizpe points out that other technological changes, such as electricity in homes, meant that women could work harder and longer at other household tasks (1975a: 580). Also see Friedlander (1975: 7) for a Nahua informant's brief discussion of the time saved.

16. The following discuss general patterns across various areas of Mesoamerica: Annis 1987; Arizpe 1988; Cook and Binford 1990; Ehlers 1990; and Nash 1993.