On 19 March 1804, Doña Pasquala Quigua, an indigenous Andean, completed her last will and testament in Cusco, Peru. In the will, she denounced her second husband as a wastrel, subject to numerous vices, who squandered the major portion of the wealth she had brought to their union. Doña Pasquala complained bitterly about her husband’s failure to generate any income, his inability to father children by her, and the fact that he kept a mistress for the twelve years of their marriage. Claiming, nonetheless, to have pardoned his manifold shortcomings, she bequeathed him two Chuncho dance costumes and a parrot, probably intending its colorful feathers to be used in the Chuncho headdress. “Chuncho” was the generic highland Andean designation for a number of cultural or ethnic groups native to the montaña, the heavily forested zone of the eastern Andean piedmont, particularly the region of the Inka empire known as Antisuyu, to the east of the capital of Cusco (Steward 1963). The montaña dwellers were stereotyped by highlanders, serranos, as savage cannibals; it was also said that male Chunchos were effeminate. In leaving Chuncho costumes to her husband, the “forgiving” Doña Pasquala was apparently offering one final insult.

1 Archivo Departamental del Cusco: Pedro Joaquín Gámarra, leg. 76, 1804, fols 569r–571r; my thanks to David Garrett for drawing my attention to this document and to Bruce Mannheim for an enlightening conversation about it.

2 In Doña Pasquala’s will, the Chuncho costumes are described briefly in a marginal note as being blue and green, and the parrot was left “for its plumage” (por sus plumajes).

3 In the Peruvian Andes, the word montaña, as used in the colonial period and today, refers to the Amazonian piedmont of the eastern Andean cordillera, especially the thickly forested areas between 500 and 3,000 meters in altitude. This same zone is referred to as the yungas in Bolivia.

4 My cynical interpretation of Doña Pasquala’s bequest rests on the facts that she repeatedly reiterated the misconduct of her second husband, Romualdo Pacheco, in her six-page document, did not name him as her executor (which was the common practice), and left other kinds of dance costume to her other heirs, about whom she spoke warmly. For example, she left “three dance outfits, two with silver ornaments and the other with pieces
Fig. 1  Anonymous, Madonna with Indian Worshipers, Bolivia, 1752. Oil on wood panel, 10 1/4 x 7 9/16 inches. Brooklyn Museum, 41.1275.225.
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In the southern Andean highlands, native dancers dressed as Chunchos were popular performers during colonial-period festivals, as they are today. A 1752 painting from Bolivia depicts a confraternity of Chuncho dancers devoted to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 1). While the lone woman, pictured at the far left, wears clothing typical of an eighteenth-century southern Andean Aymara female, the three men are dressed in the dance costumes of Chunchos, featuring the elaborate feathered headdresses by which Chuncho dancers can be recognized. The Chuncho dances performed by highlanders, such as these Aymara, were not so much imitations of montaña performatory culture as they were creations of how highlanders believed Chunchos to behave. Through dance, colonial-period serranos brought their imagined Chuncho into being as a wild, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, alter ego. When the dance was performed, it ultimately and paradoxically established highlanders as the agents of civilization and as valuable allies of Spanish colonial authorities, who classified montaña peoples as hostile natives, usually calling them indios de guerra (Dean n.d.b; Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988: 43). In a drawing, the Andean chronicler—and serrano—Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts a dance of montaña dwellers, whom he identifies as “Antis and Chunchos” (Fig. 2). In marked contrast to the dances of the other parts of the empire, in which men’s roles and costumes are distinct from those of women, males and females act and dress similarly in the montaña dances. In fact, Guaman Poma says that the men dress like women (“todos los hombres bestidos como muger”) and identifies the dance itself as the “savage woman dance” (in Quechua, the uarmi auca).

I have argued elsewhere that Chunchos were represented by Andean highlanders as an abnormal or uncivilized opposite in an effort to establish themselves and the serrano culture as the norm for civilization (Dean n.d.b). The confused gender of Chunchos was part of the stereotype. Although two biological sexes, female and male, are identified, the sexes are transgendered. Specifically, Chuncho males look like females while Chuncho females—often described as warriors—behave like males. In a second illustration of Chunchos
by Guaman Poma, depicting a scene of burial, we see how alike the sexes appear and act: they are coiffed and dressed the same, and both cry (Fig. 3). A fundamental notion of highland Andean gender operating in the colonial period, then, seems to have been the differentiation of the sexes in terms of both appearance and action, such that gender corresponded to an individual’s biological sex. More precisely, proper females “looked” feminine while proper males “acted” masculine. The idea that males must act—that is, that masculinity does not exist outside of its performance—seems to be key to understanding Andean gender paradigms.

The juxtaposition of female appearance with masculine behavior resonated clearly throughout the colonial period, as can be observed both in the early seventeenth century, when Guaman Poma penned his characterizations of
Chunchos, and nearly two hundred years later, when Doña Pasquala composed her will, Doña Pasquala selected a traditional Andean symbol of alterity that every highlander at the time would have understood. If she evoked the Chuncho to accuse her husband of inappropriate action, however, we may well wonder which of his misdeeds made him most Chuncho-like. Her references to his inability to sire children may point toward the effeminacy associated with the Chuncho; certainly, accusing males of being effeminate was—and is—almost universally an effective slight. In upbraiding her husband for keeping a mistress, however, Doña Pasquala would appear to contradict this exact point.

My present concern is whether a greater understanding of indigenous Andean gender concepts can provide a more nuanced reading of Doña Pasquala's bequest. Accordingly, in this essay I attempt to identify what made a biological
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male a man in traditional, indigenous Andean culture, and to discern some of the ways in which masculinity was conceptualized and expressed. In so doing, we may understand better the many ways in which—in Doña Pasquala's mind, at least—her husband failed to measure up. I also hope to introduce another perspective to current discussions about gender, namely how notions of gender (in this case, Andean masculinity) could be, were, and are wielded in the effort to influence and constrain, if not control, the activities of human beings.

GENDER COMPLEMENTARITY IN THE ANDES

As everywhere, Andean gender was (and is) constructed in relation to an opposite, and no particular construction of gender is ever meaningful without its complement. Thus, for example, highland men could be contrasted with Chuncho men; they could also be constructed in complementary alterity to highland women, and a variety of other binary opposites could be selected. While gender finds meaning through contrast in all societies, in the Andean system, past and present, the complement is recognized as vital, as numerous scholars have shown (Harris 1978, 1980; B. J. Isbell 1976, 1985, 1997; Platt 1986; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1986; Silverblatt 1987, 1991). Hence, it is unlikely that in Andean society one would ever hear the rhetorical query, “Why can’t a woman be more like a man?” with its implicit injunction that a woman should be more like a man. Andean constructions of gender seem to recognize the fundamental value of contrast, which is always relative, situationally embedded, and negotiable.5

Andean gender complementarity appears to stem from the notion that the creative principle in the cosmos is androgynous. The famous depiction of the Andean universe, drawn by the native Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salmaygua (1993: 208) in the second decade of the seventeenth century, illustrates best the complementary workings of the cosmos (Fig. 4).6 Although B. J. Isbell (1997) suggests that, according to Andean conceptualizations, “female” may be the unmarked gender, it would seem that in the Andes neither sex was/is the presumptive norm (i.e., “man” does not signify both “man” and “man and woman,” nor vice versa). While centuries of colonization have surely impacted the way Andeans conceptualize gender, in general Andeans have resisted Western gestures that mark one sex as normative. Ethnographers (such as those listed above) have documented how profoundly the structures of gender complementarity are embedded in indigenous Andean society. See Allen (1988: 78–85) for a splendid articulation of flexible gender complementarity as practiced by the community of Sonso in the southern Andes today.

5 Pachacuti Yamqui descended from non-Inka, indigenous nobility in the southern Andean highlands. Traditionally, his chronicle is dated to 1613. Duviols (in Pachacuti 1993: 18–19) suggests, however, that it might be later in date, closer to 1620. The “cosmological diagram” with glosses in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara appears on fol. 13v.
work, the creative center, Wiraqocha, is an unmarked, unsexed elliptical figure. A Quechua text accompanying the creator underscores its ambivalence; it can be translated as “whether it be male, whether it be female” (1993: 208). Thus, although Pachacuti himself was Christian and strongly influenced by Christian precepts (Duviols in Pachacuti 1993: 30–58), his understanding of the creator as androgynous was deeply rooted in the Andean worldview. Unlike the traditional European androgyne, who is of a known biological sex (usually male) but co-opts the symbolic value of the so-called opposite sex, the Andean androgynous creator is neither a male who assumes some feminine traits nor a female who utilizes certain masculine codes. It is perhaps for this reason that Pachacuti, despite having been exposed extensively to European images of a light-skinned, bearded, male God, cannot give the creator a face, much less a body. Without further elaboration, the indigenous author describes the oval
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creator in his drawing as being made of a sheet of fine gold, and indicates that it was placed in the Qorikancha (the Inka's main temple in their capital of Cusco) by Manko Qhápaq, the mythical founder of the Inka state. One of Manko's descendants, Maita Qhápaq, had various figures added around it.

Many scholars have discussed and analyzed Pachacuti's drawing. Now generally referred to as a cosmological drawing, the diagram, supplemented by text, distinguishes between four hierarchical levels, which are divided into two complementary columns (Earls and Silverblatt 1978: 318–319). The mediating, androgynous center is the creator Wiraqocha. The right side (from the perspective of the creator itself) is generally associated with masculine concepts and figures, while the left is comprised of feminine ones. In the upper right is the sun, depicted as the great-grandfather of men. Below, Venus as morning star is glossed as man's grandfather, and, still lower, the mountains of earth as his father. On the left (viewer's right), the moon appears as the great-grandmother of women. Below, Venus as evening star is woman's grandmother, and the ocean her mother. Therefore, not only was the Andean cosmos sexed, but its parts were identified in kinship terms, as well. The universe was thereby "humanized," that is, categorized in ways that humans could relate to one another in complementary sets. At the base of the drawing, located on earth are the mortal couple, male and female, united to form the most basic social unit.


8 Despite Pachacuti's claims, most scholars do not believe that his drawing actually represents an interior wall of the Qorikancha in Pre-Hispanic times. Many Andeanists do maintain, however, that the diagram reflects a native Andean understanding of the nature and structure of the universe. Recently, Duviols (in Pachacuti 1993: 30–58), in his analysis of the drawing and its companion text, has argued that the drawing is entirely fictitious—that it was inspired by and responded to Christian monotheism, that its organization (namely, the archetypes of creation surrounding the creator) was European, and that the archetypes Pachacuti chose matched those featured in late-16th-century Christian doctrines. Duviols concludes that the drawing does not evoke anything that could suggest authentic Andean religious thought, and that only two of the figures may represent Andean mental structures (the "grid" at the bottom of the drawing, which he identifies as the wall of the Qorikancha covered in gold plates, and, significantly, the oval plaque representing Wiraqocha). Further, he argues that the drawing ought to be called "The Retablo of the Creation" or "The Retablo of Monotheism." He does not, however, discuss the complementary distribution of elements, nor does he challenge the male/female dichotomy so widely discussed by others. While I find aspects of Duviols's argument persuasive, I would note that the Andean creator is not just the origin of all of the elements depicted by Pachacuti, which is a European notion, but also the mediator of complements, which is very Andean indeed.
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The sexes were apparently conceived of as appropriately different. Whatever differences were and how they were manifested is critical to our understanding of what made a biological male a man in Andean terms. Guaman Poma’s (1988: 168–209) description of Inka census categories, which he identifies as calles (passages)—ten for males and ten for females—helps to define the characteristics distinguishing not only human males from females, but boys from men and girls from women, as well. Although his information may not be strictly accurate, it is in his description of the process of aging that we see how gender first waxed and then waned as humans moved through the phases of their lives.

BOYS TO MEN/GIRLS TO WOMEN

According to the information Guaman Poma provides, the stages of growth of a Pre-Hispanic Andean child were distinguished by the child’s physiological capabilities. Age was not so much the sum of years as an evaluation of physical attributes, abilities, and dexterity (Dean 1995: 119–121), and, thus, “men” and “women” were not ahistorical, universal biological categories. The native chronicler tells us that indigenous children of less than one year of age, still in the cradle, had to be cared for by others, as did those under five years of age who could crawl but were as yet unweaned. Small children of both sexes were,
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according to Guaman Poma, without purpose or usefulness in that they served no one and, in fact, had to be served by others. His drawings of a male and female of one month depict infants who are similarly wrapped and cradled (Figs. 5, 6). In both text and image, there is little to differentiate the sexes at this young age. One-year-old children likewise engage in similar activities (Figs. 7, 8). Interestingly, it is in dress that the female child is distinguished: she wears a gender-specific head covering and belted tunic. Thus, the young girl has already begun to look female. The male, however, who wears a nondescript, generic tunic, can still do nothing but crawl and so has yet to act male. The *rutuchikuy*, or haircutting ceremony, which was (and is) performed when the infant was weaned, marks this preliminary stage in the gendering of the Andean child.

According to Guaman Poma, Inka children aged five through nine were assigned certain tasks; it is at this point that masculinity becomes visibly apparent in his illustrations (Figs. 9, 10). Boys of this age aided their parents and
community by watching younger siblings, performing various domestic chores, and helping to raise orphans. Girls of the same age served as pages for important females; they also helped their parents by collecting firewood and straw as well as spinning, gathering edible wild plants, raising younger children, fetching water, cooking, and cleaning. From nine to twelve years old, young males served both their parents and the cacique (native lord) by hunting small birds, herding, fetching firewood, spinning wool, and twisting rope. Girls of this age collected flowers, herbs, and leaves for dyeing cloth and cooking; they could also serve the government as human sacrifices.

Apart from the all too casual reference to the sacrifice of girls (a point to which I shall return), the tasks assigned prepubescent children were not strikingly different. Both sexes spun wool, gathered firewood and other items, helped to raise younger children, and aided in a variety of domestic chores. In the companion drawings, however, the sexes begin to diverge in behavioral terms.

Fig. 7  Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica, fol. 210 [212], 1615. Andean male, one year old (after Guaman Poma 1988: 186).

Fig. 8  Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica, fol. 231 [233], 1615. Andean female, one year old (after Guaman Poma 1988: 206).
At age five, the young boy is shown with a sling, practicing to be the hunter or warrior he will become (Fig. 9); the young female is, in contrast, much more restrained in her activity as a porter (Fig. 10). At age nine, the boy hunts birds (Fig. 11) while the girl gathers flowers to be used in dyeing wool (Fig. 12). Again, while his motions as depicted by Guaman Poma are expansive—reaching out—hers are restrained as she pulls things toward her.

At age twelve, both sexes are shown herding (Figs. 13, 14). The male carries dead birds—the trophies of his successful hunt—while the female has gathered firewood and is engaged in spinning. The companion text tells us that male youths aged twelve to eighteen guarded the herds and hunted birds. Females of this age group served their elders by spinning and weaving, shepherding, sowing, tending crops, and making chicha (an alcoholic beverage); they also helped around the house, performing numerous tasks. Despite a remarkable variety of duties that Andean females discharge, spinning and weaving become the typical
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feminine activities from puberty on. Adult females are identified by this task throughout Guaman Poma’s work. Interestingly, this does not mean that females necessarily risked losing their femininity when they participated in activities that were gendered male, such as warfare. Perhaps because femininity

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12 See Franquemont (1979) for the ways in which spinning and weaving activities define stages in a female’s life in late-20th-century Chinchero, a community near Cusco. Allen (1988: 78) discusses the identification of weaving with women in the Quechua community of Sonqo, even though Sonqueño men both spin and weave.

13 Inka legend features two prominent warrior-women in particular: Mama Waquo (Mama Huaco), the first queen who helped to pacify the original inhabitants of Cusco, and Chañan Qori Kuka (Chañan Curicoca), who led the people of Choco and Cachona (two villages to the south of Cusco) against the Chanka when the latter rebelled against the Inka. Of course, these women also fulfilled female gender roles. Mama Waquo was Manko Qhapaq’s mate and mother of his children, and Chañan Qori Kuka is described as a “widow” (Pachacuti 1993: 220; see Urton 1990: 54–55 for an analysis of Chañan’s role in Inka history). Other
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was a state of being rather than an act of doing. "Doing" male activities did not seem to have violated female gender boundaries. This contrasts with the effect produced by males who "looked" like females and did not "act" according to masculine gender paradigms, as is the case for Guaman Poma's unisexed male Chunco who cries in Figure 3. If my observations are accurate, the Andean case provides an interesting juxtaposition to Julia Kristeva's (1980: 137–138) observation that women (in the West) cannot "be" and do not belong "in the order of being" because they are defined negatively as "not men." Andean women, tales of Inka history feature women as diplomats, engineers, agronomists, inventors, and a variety of other noteworthy occupations, as well as warriors (Dean n.d.a).

Gender roles clearly could be, and were, flexible and contingent on circumstances. Allen (1988: 83) accounts for a certain pliancy in gender norms among the contemporary Quecha by observing that "a man should express his female aspect in a properly masculine manner; a woman should express her male aspect in a feminine manner."

Fig. 13 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva ordónica, fol. 204 [206], 1615. Andean male, twelve years old (after Guaman Poma 1988: 180).

Fig. 14 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva ordónica, fol. 225 [227], 1615. Andean female, twelve years old (after Guaman Poma 1988: 200).
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in contrast, appear “to be,” while Andean men must establish their masculinity by acting.

Females over the age of eighteen were eligible for marriage and therefore considered adults. Guaman Poma’s drawing shows a woman of thirty-three years of age with a spindle in hand (Fig. 15). In contrast, young males aged eighteen to twenty served as messengers of the community and lackeys to warriors and great lords; Guaman Poma calls them Indians of half-tribute, noting their status as “not quite adults.” His drawing shows a youth of eighteen functioning as a messenger (Fig. 16).

A second drawing of a thirty-three-year-old woman shows her weaving (Fig. 17). The text tells us that she is an adult woman and as such is either

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15 Since Guaman Poma depicts two 33-year-old women, we may conclude either that there were actually only nine census categories for females and the artist duplicated the
married or widowed. The native author also indicates that until marriage a female is referred to as a child, niña, no matter what her age. This view persists in the contemporary Andes where a person—male or female—is not considered an adult until he or she marries (Harris 1978: 28; B. J. Isbell 1976: 37; 1978: 214; Platt 1986; Urton 1985: 252). Like Pachacuti (and as is done in the Andes today), Guaman Poma conceives of the conjugal pair as a complementary unit. The counterpart to the adult female is the thirty-three-year-old warrior, whose trophy now is a decapitated human head (Fig. 18). Just as spinning and weaving are the feminine activities par excellence, warfare is the adult male’s, his youth-

female at the prime of life for reasons of complementarity or that Guaman Poma intended to identify the woman on folio 223 [225] as being 18 years old (thus matching the pictured male) but erred.
ful bird hunting has evolved to this end. These "typical" activities marked gender and defined adulthood (see Silverblatt 1987: 9–10, 14). Both Andean male and female puberty rites—kicuchikuy for girls and warochikuy for boys—stressed the gender duties that adult Andeans were expected to perform. Burial practices also underscored gender-specific tasks. Women often carried spindles and skeins of yarn to the grave as mementos of feminine activities, while men were usually buried with either the weapons of warfare or their takllas, the hoes they used in plowing (Arriaga 1968: 27–28). Plowing and warfare were equated as masculine activities in the Pre-Hispanic Andes. Songs of victory, hayllis, were

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TRAVAXA
HAIILLICHACRAIAPVIC

Fig. 19 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica, fol. 1153 (1163), 1615. August plowing songs (after Guaman Poma 1988: 1050).

sung at the first breaking of the earth prior to planting, as well as in celebration of military triumphs.

While plowing was analogous to warfare with its destructive consequences, planting was a metaphor for sexual intercourse and its creative potential. In Guaman Poma’s work one often sees couples engaged in planting; while men open the earth with their foot plows, women plant the seeds (Fig. 19). The subtitle in his drawing of August plowing rites “Hailli, chacra iapvicvi pacha” (Haylli, chakra yapuykuy pacha), translates as “victory songs at the time of plowing the earth.” While the male conquest of the earth is celebrated in song, the female contribution is equally valuable. In the Andean sierra today, planting consists of activities that are gendered both masculine and feminine (see, e.g., Fortún 1972). Many highland Andean peoples still believe that the placing of the seed in the ground should be done by a woman, and that while the man is
the cultivator, she is the owner of the seed (Harris 1978: 30; B. J. Isbell 1976: 37). The sexes combine their efforts to produce a successful harvest; the male conquest of the earth, when met and matched by its female complement, is generative.

Masculinity and femininity contrasted most strongly in sexually active, reproductive humans involved in a pair bond whose duties and conduct insured the continuity not only of their lineages, but of the community and—more broadly—the cosmos itself. Gender in the Pre-Hispanic Andes thus operated, as it does in many places, to encourage stable pair bonding between men and women. In nonreproductive humans, gendering was less important.17 Thus, while

17 Guaman Poma’s (1988: 176–177, 196–197) account of Inka census categories indicates that the handicapped— the infirm, the disabled, the blind, the deaf, the mute, hunch-
childhood witnessed an increasing divergence between the sexes, old age saw a return to similitude. Guaman Poma tells us that by the age of fifty the woman—no longer capable of reproduction—is considered old (Fig. 20). Apparently having raised her own children, she has now entered into the service of female elites, acting as a porter, servant, maid, cook, or manager. Males, according to Guaman Poma’s account of life stages, do not become “old” until the age of sixty. He shows us a man of that age gathering firewood (Fig. 21). The text indicates that he is past the age of tribute and serves native lords as a porter, servant, or accountant. Interestingly, the male at age sixty looks somewhat like the twelve-year-old female, complete with a companion dog (Fig. 14). This backs, etc.—were classified separately, as they never assumed full adult roles and responsibilities.
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Visual correlation complements Guaman Poma's textual assertion that the elderly, like the young, are less useful. It is particularly interesting to note that it is the male who, as he ages and becomes less capable of masculine action, behaviorally approximates the nearly pubescent female. Also, elder women with their shorter hair resemble older males just as girls resemble boys in childhood. Long, flowing hair is the mark of a sexually active, potentially reproductive female (B. J. Isbell 1997: 278–279).

In the final phase of life, from eighty to one hundred or one hundred fifty years old, the elderly person cannot do anything but eat and sleep; he is "withheld from everything" (reservado del todo) and she is "past it all" (pasada del todo) (Figs. 22, 23). If they are capable of doing anything, it is to help raise domesticated animals and watch over houses. Both male and female are shown with staves; the male is somewhat more active, but essentially, both pictorially and
textually, the sexes have come full circle. At the beginning and the end of life, they are strikingly similar. Thus humans appeared to move from androgyny to single sex, and back to androgyny. The first differences were manifested in dress and were most apparent in the female. Later, differences were also apparent in the types of activities in which each sex participated. In behavioral terms, males acted expansively while females were more restrained; while males lashed out and destroyed (birds and human beings), females gathered and created (textiles and human beings). Although Guaman Poma’s reference to the sacrifice of girls was brief and casual, it should also be noted that whereas males killed, females died. As observed in the Chuncho stereotype above, while femininity is a state of being, masculinity is acted or performed. When the male body is incapable of gender-appropriate action—in infancy and dotage—its androgynous nature is readily
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apparent in Guaman Poma's representations. Because females are female, in contrast to males acting male, they manifest femininity early on (through dress) before they are old enough to do much of anything; once past menopause, however, females display androgynous characteristics and thus, according to Guaman Poma's characterizations, precede their male counterparts in the turn to androgyny. Interestingly, the ethnographic data indicate that postmenopausal Andean females today take on some social roles and behaviors of males, so that elder women are said to exhibit androgynous aspects by the contemporary Quechua as well.

CACHED MASCULINITY

If it is true that, according to Andean gender paradigms, masculinity was performed, then it is interesting to note that the body—that which exists, or that which is—appears to have been conceptually female when it was at its most inactive, that is, in death (B. J. Isbell 1997: 256 ff ). The dead body, whether biologically male or female, was called malki, which means seed or plant. Pachacuti pictured the malki as a seedling and located it on the left, or feminine, side of his cosmological diagram (Fig. 4). The malki, especially the mummified corpse of a revered ancestor that was preserved and propitiated, was understood to be like a seed not yet sown—full of potential life, but dormant until acted on by exterior forces. Owing to its inactivity, the malki was feminized. What, then, happened to a man's masculinity after he could no longer "act" it?

It is fairly clear that in the Pre-Hispanic Andes, masculinity could be housed apart from the dead body, or the feminized malki. That is, the masculine aspects of the human could be and were separated from the more feminine mortal remains. Various chroniclers report on a range of sacred objects, especially those known as huanca (wanka) and huaqui (wawki), which hosted masculine energies in particular. Huanca refers to a male ancestor who turned to stone; the stone was conceived of as the owner of the location, village, or

18 The Pre-Hispanic Andean notion that death separates (at least some of) the complementary aspects of the living human appears to have modern corollaries. Bastien (1987: 46, 72), for example, reports that the contemporary Qollahuayas of Bolivia conceive of the living body as a hydraulic system and believe that death severs permanently the wet from the dry elements of the body. Allen (1982: 183-185) indicates that in the southern Andean community of Sonqo the inseminating qualities of ancestors are thought to be located physically within the desiccated bones while the ancestors, as a category, are said to inhabit ancient tombs where no physical remains actually exist. While Allen does not interpret the evidence in this way, it would seem that Sonqueños continue an ancient Andean tradition of separating the masculine from the feminine aspects of the androgynous deceased and locating each in its distinct place—in this case, masculinity in the bones and femininity in the tombs.
territory where it stood, and was a symbol of the occupation and possession of
that place (Duviols 1978, 1979). As there are no reports of female huonas, and
the actions associated with these tutelary monoliths are those of conquest and
control over territory, we may understand huonas as repositories of the mascu-
linity thought to have been possessed and expressed by particular male cultural
heroes. Huonas were widespread in the high agricultural zones of the southern
Andes. According to Pierre Duviols (1979), there were at least two types of
huana: the marcayoc, the colonizer and proprietor of a village, and the chacrayoc,
the tiller and owner of a productive field. The stone, in its un-malki-like incor-
ruptible, indestructible body, commemorated the dual masculine activities—
those of conquest, whether actual (the taking of land) or metaphorical (the
tilling of agricultural fields), and of possession.

Although the huana was usually said to be a petrified ancestor, Duviols
(1978: 360) observes that every huana corresponded to a malki. At the death of
this important male—usually the conquering hero and founder of a place—he
split into two, the body and the stone. The pair were conceived of as two
different entities, and the name of the huana was generally different from that
of the malki. Huonas were not only signs of conquest, control, and foundation,
however; they also referred to male regenerative energies, especially when con-
sidered in concert with the malkis. While the malki was likened to a seed housed
in the womblike cave of mother earth (and ancestral corpses were, in fact,
usually preserved in caves), the huana was the inseminating phallus. Duviols
(1978: 362–363; 1979: 21–23) argues that the masculine huana, often oblong in
shape and planted vertically in the earth, is the phallus that plunges into the
womb of pachamama (mother earth), recalling male insemination during sexual
intercourse.

Duviols (1978: 359) also observes that the huana was closely related to
another type of repository for aspects of male elite identity, the huaqui. While
the huana was conceived of as a male turned to stone after death, or at least the
male properties of a deceased man housed in stone, the huaqui was ordinarily
constructed while a man was alive. The term huaqui means "a male's brother," and
it was regarded as the living man's double. Both Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa
(1943) and Bernabé Cobo (1990) provide considerable information on the
huaquis of Inka royalty; much of their information is probably derived from
Juan Polo de Ondegardo, the magistrate of Cusco who, in the latter half of the
sixteenth century, tracked down Inka mummies (malkis) and with them fre-

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19 Duviols (1979: 9), citing documents from 1660, concludes that every southern Andean
village between 2,800 and 4,000 meters in altitude once had a huana.
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quently found their huauquis. Recently, Maarten Van de Guchte (1996) has offered an extremely useful discussion of the subject. Apparently, huauquis could be made of a variety of materials. Those belonging to the Inka emperors were usually stone or gold, but there were exceptions. According to the chronicler Juan de Betanzos (1987: 220), when Atawalpa challenged his brother for Inka rulership, he ordered that a bulto (bundle) be fashioned of his own nails and hairs, as had been done earlier for his father, the ruler Wayna Q’apaq; he then named this composite Inga Guauguin (Inka Huauqui). Although Cobo describes them as “portraits” of the Inka, most, if not all, huauquis were not physiological likenesses. Sinchi Rqqa’s, for example, was a stone shaped like a fish called Guanachiri Amaro (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1943: 63).

An important individual might have had more than one huauqui; in fact, Manko Q’apaq, the legendary first Inka, had several, the most famous of which was Huunacauri (Wanakawri). According to Cobo (1990: 74), Huunacauri Huaca, the huauqui of Manko Q’apaq, was an unshaped, “somewhat tapering” stone of moderate size. It was taken to war by his descendants, Wayna Q’apaq, for example, took it to Quito during his campaigns to conquer the northern realms. It was returned to Cusco when Wayna Q’apaq died (Cobo 1990: 74). Both Polo de Ondegardo (1916: 10–11) and José de Acosta (1962: 227) confirm that the huauquis of rulers were taken to war as well as carried in processions to insure adequate rainfall and good harvests. The huauqui, then, began as the companion of a living man, but after his death apparently became most useful as a stand-in for him. Both the malki and its stone “brother” had their own estates and servants. Like huanca, huauqui housed male properties; their use in war and to induce rainfall—conceived of as an inseminating fluid—correlates with Andean notions about masculine attributes and activities.

Like huanca, huauquis were paired with malkis. While the chroniclers are not always clear about distinguishing malki from huauqui (often using the hopelessly imprecise term bulto), there is a suggestion that the huauqui might have been the more active of the pair. Many of the malkis were found outside of Cusco, in places considered “homes” of the deceased Inka. Yáwar Wákaq’s mummy, for example, was discovered in Paullu, which is where he was raised. Similarly, Wiraqocha Inka’s mummy was found by Spaniards in Caquia Jaquijahuana, a village where he had taken refuge during the Chanka invasion of Cusco. Thus, in death, the feminine aspects of both rulers returned to nourish places that had offered them shelter and safety during their lives. Although I have little conclusive evidence, I would suggest that the huauqui was constructed as the future brother/mate of the inevitable malki (echoing the practice of Inka rulers marrying their sisters). The huauqui amassed the masculine

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energies of its owner during his lifetime, and was put into “action” when the mortal body ceased to be active (i.e., at death). Accordingly, it was probably most frequently the huaququi, “brother/mate” of the malki, that was taken in procession and especially to war.

Although the malkis of female elites were kept and propitiated, no female counterparts to huaququis have been recorded (Van de Guchte n.d.: 293). Like huanca, huaququis seem to have been a means of housing the masculine side of males, particularly those whose actions were of note and therefore worthy of preservation. This made a hero’s masculine properties immortal and allowed his energies to be used by future generations. While masculinity may have been suspended in an inanimate state, it was thus regarded as an exploitable resource by the living. Accordingly, the repository itself was treated as though it were animate or capable of animation. Catherine Allen (1988: 63), in her study of one contemporary southern Andean society, observes that, “from an Andean perspective, the compact hardness of stones, bones, and statues implies not a lack of animation, but a different state of animation—life crystallized, as it were.” This notion is surely an extension of Pre-Hispanic beliefs. Obviously, such reverence of “crystallized” masculinity encouraged living males to behave like these role models, or, in other words, “like men.” The use of huanca and huaququis to capture masculinity thereby induced humans to reproduce gender roles by simultaneously rewarding those who exhibited desired behavior and shaming those whose actions challenged the so-called norms.

OF ROCKS AND MEN

In light of the earlier observation that the Andean universe was sexed, it is interesting to note that stone seems to have been the most common vessel for storing masculinity. Rocks, according to an Andean worldview, are potentially animate. There are numerous Andean legends of stone coming to life and of human beings and animals turning into stone. One popular legend concerns a recalcitrant boulder that the Inka attempted to move. The stone, distressed at

20 Classen (1993: 85–95) discusses some of the ways in which Andeans thought about the dead human body and its potential for affecting the lives of the living. It is clear that they considered the human dead as active participants in the social structure of the living (Urioste 1981: 15–17). Separating the masculine energies from the feminine malki seems to have been a way for Pre-Hispanic Andeans to isolate the particular contributions that the dead could make to the living. These ancient understandings have modern corollaries; see, for example, Bastien (1978: 173) on how the Bolivian Qollahuaya dead are reintegrated into the community.

21 There were, however, statues made in the likenesses of royal women (Estete 1968: 393), but their function was, unfortunately, never recorded.
being relocated and weary from travel, began to cry tears of blood. Guaman Poma relates and illustrates one version of this story (Fig. 24). He shows tears spilling from the monolith that the Inka, under the command of Inka Urcon, are trying to relocate; on the weary boulder itself, he has penned lloró sangre la piedra (“the stone cried blood”). The petrifaction of the Ayar brothers in the legendary accounts of the founding of Cusco and the pururauka—monoliths that came to life to fight for the Inka against the invading Chanka army—are just two more of the better known examples of “lithomorphing” in Inka lore. Given the rock’s potential for animating, this natural material would seem to have served as an ideal host for energies temporarily at rest.

In the gendered landscape of the Andes, rock appears to have been associated with masculinity. While the earth itself is conceptually feminine, most
rocks that are specifically identified are male, as are most mountain peaks, suggesting that masculine energies are what is ordinarily housed apart from the body, which is, in its essence, female. Females, however, do turn into stone in some instances and these exceptions are enlightening. In a myth from Huarochirí, the supernatural female Caui Llaca changes into stone rather than have sexual relations with the lustful deity Cuni Raya Vira Cocha (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 46–48). This myth accounts for the rocky islands off the coast of Pachacámac, surrounded and assaulted by “Vira Cocha,” which means “sea-foam.” The frothy white foam, which ceaselessly assails the partially submerged rocks, not only refers to Vira Cocha, but suggests his semen as well. When the woman becomes transformed in this legend, she is rendered unproductive as a female; that is, she cannot be inseminated by Vira Cocha and thus, although inundated in his (symbolic) semen, remains forever impregnable. Here, the process of petrifaction can be said to make her, at the very least, not female (if not conceptually male). In other tales from Huarochirí, lithification is directly associated with an end to female sexual activity (see, e.g., Salomon and Urioste 1991: 59, 63, 134).

Interestingly, Guaman Poma (1988: fol. 389 [391]) reports that the captive Inka ruler Wáskar, imprisoned and abused by followers of his half-brother, was given a rock dressed like a woman to serve as his wife (“le dio . . . por muger, una piedra larga bestida como muger”). The fact that the dethroned, doomed Wáskar would produce no progeny was cruelly apparent in the mocking sterility of the stone in feminine garb. Whether historically accurate or not, the story related by Guaman Poma employs a symbol—the rock—that resonates in the gendered landscape of the Andes.

In an illustration that in some ways mirrors the Huarochirí story of Caui Llaca and Cuni Raya Vira Cocha, Guaman Poma (1988: fol. 316 [318]) depicts the Chacan drainage system, most particularly the entry of the river Saphi (or Watanay) into Cusco (Fig. 25). Van de Guchte (n.d.: 115) identifies the place-names given in the drawing as being linked to this river system: Cinca Urco (Mt. Senqa), for example, is located to the north of the beginning of the Chacan

22 Although, in my opinion, it can be argued that rocks in the Andes are generally conceived of as masculine, there are exceptions. Núñez del Prado (1974: 243, 246) indicates that near Q'otobamba, in southern Peru, some outcrops (wiñaq rumi) are considered to be extensions of pachamama; they are called nusta (princess) and are said to house her female spirit. See Decoster (n.d.: 62–63) for a discussion of this notion in 20th-century Accha (in Paruro province south of Cusco); he also offers pertinent observations about the gendering of landscape features.

23 See Van de Guchte (1996) for a discussion of some of the other dimensions of this story.
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drainage system; Quean Calla (Quiangalla) is a famous huanca in the area; and Uaca Punku is the entry into Cusco below Sacsayhuaman. Thus, the artist has telescoped the Chacan drainage into a single image. Since the Andean landscape is gendered, Guaman Poma’s drawing can be understood to refer, metaphorically, to sexual intercourse. The place of the river’s entry into Cusco is occupied by two nude women. Two men sit atop (masculine) mountain peaks and blow (phallic) flutes; according to the caption, they are playing arawi, which are love songs. Guaman Poma’s female figures, awash in the raging river, are the very opposites of Cau Llaca in the Huarochirí myth, who turned into stone to avoid insemination; these females are vulnerable (note the long, loose hair, which, as mentioned above, suggests sexual receptivity). In the drawing, the blowing

Fig. 25  Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica, fol. 316 [318], 1615. “Canciones i mucica” (songs and music [of young men and women]) (after Guaman Poma 1988: 289).
of flutes is analogous to fellatio, which sets the fertilizing waters flowing. Interestingly, according to an Inka legend, Pachakuteq (identified as a son of Manko Qhápaq) once stopped torrential rains and prevented flooding by persuading a supernatural male entity not to blow his trumpet— the symbolic equivalent of ejaculation (Murúa, 1986: 313).

R. Tom Zuidema (1990), in his discussion of an Inka structure in Cuzco called the Casana, has commented on the fact that the Saphi gorge— the place shown in Guaman Poma’s drawing— was gendered female and conceived of as vaginal. He notes (1991: 165) that “the term casana is derived from casay, ‘to pierce,’ a verb used for ‘planting,’ that is ‘to put maize seeds in the ground using a stick.’ It can also be applied to other means of piercing. Yet casa also means a ‘gorge’ through which a river penetrates.” Thus, Zuidema suggests that the river penetrating the valley at the entrance to Cusco was a symbol of impregnation, both of the earth and of women. The Inka edifice known as the Casana was located on the northern side of the Huacaypata, on the eastern bank of the river Saphi (Watanay), close to the place where the river entered the city. Although its functions are not described in detail by any of the chroniclers, William Isbell (1978: 275) concludes that the northwestern side of the plaza, where the Casana was located, can be identified with masculine and intellectual activities, in complementary balance to the opposite side of the plaza, which was devoted to feminine fertility and production.

Casana also refers to a tunic design that was an arrangement of four smaller squares within a larger square. It refers, according to Zuidema’s (1990, 1991) insightful analysis, to the earth divided into its four parts and being pierced through by the Axis Mundi, which is a reference to male procreative power. When worn on an Inka tunic, the casana design, I would note, rather suggestively covers the man’s groin: his penis, when erect, becomes the axis that penetrates. This reading is especially apparent in Guaman Poma’s illustration of the Inka plowing ritual of August, in which the sexual metaphors, already discussed above, are obvious (Fig. 19).

Harris (1980: 73) discusses the phallic symbolism of wooden pipes among the Laymi of Bolivia today. The complementary opposition and conjugal union of metaphorized males/conquerers/mountain peaks/rushing water and females/conquered/valleys/still water are salient features of Andean oral and visual culture. For a discussion of the operation of these metaphors in the myths from Huaroche, see Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 9–10, 14–15). Bergh (1993: 82–85) argues that the Pre-Hispanic Moche culture on the northern coast of Peru identified mountains with masculinity and the water originating there with semen. Modern Andeans still compare rushing or foaming water to semen; see, for example, B. J. Isbell (1978: 124, 143, 163), Ossio (1978: 379–381), and Urton (1981: 202–4).
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CONTROLLING THE MASCULINE

Huancas, huauquis, and the gendering of nature in general not only allowed Andeans to utilize vital masculine energies associated with cultural heroes, but also afforded a sense of control over masculinity, which had a dangerous, destructive side. Andean legend and history are rife with examples of men whose “male” activity is excessive and, therefore, ruinous. According to Pachacuti (1993: 246), Wayna Q hápao endeavored to marry one of his sisters, Mama Koka and, when she rejected his advances, attempted to punish her by giving her to a decrepit, coca-addicted kuraka (native leader). These inappropriate and vindictive actions against his sister provoked divine rage, and a plague that ended his life was the result. Sexual intercourse and marriage between royal siblings were not prohibited among the Inka; what was offensive here was the forced nature of the act—the inappropriate and destructive assertion of the masculine over the feminine. Wayna Q hápao’s son and heir Wáskar committed similar “sins” when he defiled aklla(s), or chosen women (virgins dedicated to religious service). According to Pachacuti (1993: 254–255), Wáskar ordered his troops to rape a group of aklla(s). Duviols (in Pachacuti 1993: 25–26) points out that the sexual violation of aklla(s) was a challenge to the Creator’s authority, an assertion of control over what did not properly belong to the Inka ruler (see also Trexler 1995: 154). If the sexual act was equated with military conquest, Wáskar, in his rape of aklla(s), declared victory over the Creator or at least challenged His supremacy. Pachacuti offers this as the reason for the subsequent slaughter of Wáskar and his entire family by Atawalpa’s generals. What matters here is not whether this incident ever actually occurred, but that Pachacuti understood it to be a reasonable explanation for the demise of Inka rulers.

It is certainly the case that Pachacuti’s interpretation of Andean history was influenced by Christian precepts; control over the sexuality of the colonized was a preeminent concern of the clergy, and such moralizing tales no doubt reflected the preoccupations of the colonial church. There are, however, a sufficient number of such tales to suggest at least that Andeans and Europeans shared the belief that deities were concerned with proper sexual behavior. What constituted “proper behavior” in the minds of Europeans differed from the understanding of Andeans, of course. One instructive tale, recorded in the late sixteenth century, accounts for the downfall of the north coast ruler Ñempelœc.

25 For further discussion of this incident and its other implications, see Duviols (in Pachacuti 1993: 25–26).

26 Pachacuti (1993: 266) writes that Wáskar was found “[f]ornicating with virgins who were dedicated [to the Creator] without considering His grandeur” (Fornicando a [las] doncellas [del H azedor] y a él dedicadas sin hacer caso a su grandez a del H azedor).
His unrestrained sexual relations with a “demon” who appeared to him “in the form and figure of a beautiful woman” (en forma y figura de una hermosa mujer) prompted a heavy, prolonged rainfall, which resulted in disastrous flooding (Cabello Balboa 1945: 312). The Andean moral appears to condemn the fact that the ruler’s libido distracted him from his duties (tan poca la continencia del Fempelc), rather than the fact of his having illicit sex, which would be a more European reading. Not only did masculine lust bring about a natural disaster in this legend, but the resultant calamity came in the form of rainfall, a common Andean metaphor for semen. The irony here is rich: immoderate masculinity leads to excessive rainfall, which leads to destruction (specifically, sterility and hunger) rather than creation. According to the legend, to remedy the situation, Fempelc’s own priests and nobles took him prisoner, bound his hands and feet, and cast him into the sea. Similarly, in the origin myth of the Cañari of the Ecuadorian highlands, when male lust leads to rape, the transgressor is drowned (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1943: 37–38). In both cases—that of Fempelc and that of the Cañari—the libidinous male drowns, thereby suffering an appropriate fate.

The Inka likewise seem to have understood excessive rainfall, as well as prolonged drought (more of a danger in the Cusco region), to be divine punishment meted out for transgressions (Murúa 1986: 429). In Cusco, drought was often met with appeals to either the malki (the corpses) or the huauqui (the statuary “brothers”) of deceased Inka rulers. Inka Roqa (as a malki) or his huauqui, called Vicaquirao, was carried in procession to alleviate drought, for example. Apparently, it was appropriate to call on him because, according to some sources, it was Inka Roqa himself (and according to others, his mate, Mama Mikay), who was credited with ordering irrigation channels to be built to bring water to Cusco from the Chacan drainage. Their lineage, the ayllu also called Vicaquirao (or Vicaquirao Panaca ayllu), was charged with caring for this system of irrigation (Cobo 1979: 124–125). While Mama Mikay may have

The myth concerns two Cañari brothers, Ataorupagui and Cusicayo, who were the only two men to survive a great flood. One day, while they were away from their hut, sowing their land, they were left bread and chicha. After this occurrence was repeated, the brothers hid themselves near their hut and observed two Cañari women bringing them gifts of food. The brothers tried to capture the women but failed. Realizing they had done wrong, the brothers prayed to the Creator to let the women return, which He did in order that the men not die of hunger. Shortly thereafter, the elder brother had forced sexual relations with one of the women; apparently, as a consequence of this rash and unapproved act, he drowned in a nearby lake. The younger brother married one of the women and took the other as his mistress. By them, he produced ten offspring; five of them comprised the moiety of Hanansaya, and the other five, the moiety of Hurinsaya, and from them all Cañari descended.
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been associated with attracting the fertilizing fluid to Cusco, her male complement was called into action when there was a problem with its delivery.

Clearly, masculine energies could be summoned to aid the living. Their excess could be dangerous, however, and it most often required feminine forces to control them (B. J. Isbell 1997). As Frank Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 10) points out in his analysis of the Huarochirí manuscript, the paradigm of complementarity accounts not only for cooperative action, but for conflict and its resolution as well. In the Huarochirí myth of Collquiri and Capyama, male sexuality represented as rushing irrigation water is controlled by women (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 139-142). A second Huarochirí myth tells the story of how one of Chuqui Suso’s sisters seduces the fearsome Tutay Quiri, the strongest son of Paria Caca, by showing him her genitalia and breasts, and in so doing successfully brings to an end his conquest of the region (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 82-83). In both stories, masculinity is characterized as destructive unless countered by femininity, and the delicate fabric of society, as highly susceptible to ruptures emanating from conflict. Women, the prototypical weavers, represent in these stories feminine forces that sustain the social fabric against the rending effects of masculine aggressivity.

In contemporary southern Andean society, the unsocialized, sexually aggressive and unrestrained young male is likened to the bear, an animal of the forested lowlands; in fact, as Gary Urton (1985: 270-272) has noted, young men dressed in bear costume for ritual performances speak in falsetto, imitating the adolescent boy’s cracking voice. Only when a young man enters into a union with a female complement, begins to procreate, and finally assumes full adult responsibility and kin obligations is he recognized as being like animals of the Andean highlands: first he is compared to the fox and then, as a fully responsible member of the community, to the puma. B. J. Isbell (1985: 289), commenting on Urton’s findings, notes that this signals the man’s transformation from “sexually unbridled to socially reproductive, from self-gratifying to self-sacrificing for communal interests, from irresponsible to responsible.” The bear, as performed by young highland men, is a boisterous, sexually aggressive,.

28 Inverting this myth, the Inka evoked what has been called a “conquest hierarchy,” characterizing themselves as victorious males while the conquered were conceptualized as defeated females (Silverblatt 1987: 67-80; Zuidema 1986: 40-41). Under these circumstances, controlled masculine aggressivity was applauded, as it led to the further enhancement of the Inka empire while the feminine counteraction was held in abeyance. In this context, females were subordinated to males and metaphorized as victims. See Nash and Leacock (1982) for an analysis of how the concept of male superiority/female inferiority is often linked to male competition over social and economic prerogatives in stratified societies.
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unsocialized animal, identified with his forest origins and conceived of as an invader of highland villages, indiscriminate impregnator of women, and disrupter of civilized society. As evidenced by the Chunchos mentioned at the outset, the jungle—the complementary opposite of the highlands—produces unbalanced sexuality; in this case, the lowland masculinity of the bear threatens to destroy rather than properly complement its female counterpart.

CONCLUSIONS

This reprise of the lowland-highland opposition brings us back to Doña Pasquala's tacit attack on her husband's masculinity. Her bequest to him of Chuncho costumes accuses him not (or not just) of effeminacy, but of failing to perform as her complementary partner. She certainly offers ample evidence that he failed to participate with her in their conjugal union. In Andean terms, that means not merely that he was a man who was like a woman, but that he was not a man at all. Here Olivia Harris's (1978) discussion of the notion of chachawarmi among the contemporary, Aymara-speaking Laymi of Bolivia is extremely helpful. Chacha means “man” or “husband,” while warmi means “woman” or “wife.” Harris explains how this term operates to identify the pair bond as a single, distinct unit. In Quechua, q'ariwarmi (again, “man–woman”) or warmi-q'ari has a similar meaning (Allen 1988: 72–77; Platt 1986). Since Doña Pasquala's mate—the q'ari to her warmi—did not participate in the pair bond either in terms of work (he did not contribute to her income) or in terms of reproduction (he fathered no children by her), he failed to be an Andean man. She reasoned that since he did not perform the activities that would have defined him as a man, and since being a man did not exist outside of performance, he was no man at all. In fact, Doña Pasquala's bequest echoes the Inka custom of sending women's clothes to men who had failed as warriors and so had not lived up to their gender role (Guaman Poma 1988: 96, 360; Pachacuti 1993: 255).

Like the Inka state before her, Doña Pasquala practiced gender, that is, she purposefully put it into play in order to effect change, prompt certain behaviors, and/or preclude others. Doña Pasquala's argument was critical not just as a potent insult from beyond the grave, one final attempt to “get even” with the man who clearly did not live up to her expectations. Under Spanish colonial rule, a wife's belongings were legally controlled by her husband. Similarly, Platt (1986: 245–257) discusses the concept of yanantin (pair) among the Macha of Potosí, Bolivia, which includes the idea that the human couple is but a single body in two halves. Allen (1988: 85) also explores this concept.

See Silverblatt (1987: 119–120) for an insightful analysis of how this law affected Andean women in colonial Peru.
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ability to bequeath her possessions as she desired, in accordance with the Pre-Hispanic tradition of parallel inheritance, depended on her charge that her husband, because of his failure to act like her husband, was not entitled to anything but what she chose to leave him—and what she chose to leave him was a damning assessment of his masculinity and therefore, essentially and implicitly, a claim to her own independence.

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