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Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards

Resumen: En la colonia temprana la administración española de la región andina requería la producción de tributo en tejidos, especificando los tamaños de prendas de vestir para ambos hombres y mujeres. Cada “pieza de ropa” comprendía dos prendas de hombre y dos de mujer. En este trabajo se revisa la documentación tributaria para referencias a los tejidos tributarios y, en el caso de la camiseta del hombre, se comparan las medidas de los ejemplares que se conservan en colecciones de museo con las medidas especificadas en la documentación. En base a esta semejanza, además de otras razones, se concluye que la exacción española se basaba en otra semejante que se exigía durante el incanato. También se rebuscan referencias a la producción textilaria en la documentación para establecer una posible antecedente incaica para la exacción española.

Summary: In the early colonial period, Spanish administration in the Andes required native groups to produce garments in standard sizes for both men and women. Each “piece of clothing” was actually a pair of garments for a man and a pair for a woman. In this paper the Spanish requirement is discussed and, in the case of the men’s shirt, measurements given in the documents are compared with known examples of Inca shirts in museum collections. Because of the similarities in the measurements and for other reasons, it is probable that the Spanish exaction was based on Inca practice. References to Inca textile production are reviewed in a search for a precedent for the Spanish requirement.

Spanish colonial administration was not imported from Spain. It developed in the Americas. Our sense of the contribution of native institutions to the hybrid form of centralized administration that developed in the Andes is dulled because our sources were generated from a Spanish perspective. Administrators wrote reports for their superiors. Because of this audience, reports were phrased to stress the successful imposition of policies or directives from above. Administrative reports, not surprisingly, underrepresent the degree to which the new order relied on native organization.

If we look beyond the overt messages contained in administrative reports and read them instead for information about what administrators actually did, we can reconstruct aspects of Spanish administration that drew heavily on earlier native practice. A case in point is Spanish use of Inca textile standards in the exaction of tribute textiles. No administrator wrote a narrative report documenting the use of Inca standards. The evidence to support this assertion is found in a series of tribute assessments for the Lake Titicaca region and other parts of the former Inca empire. These assessments provide unique and valuable information about the textiles produced in the first decades after the Spanish arrival, and they expand our knowledge of both Inca practice and its reintegration in the emerging Spanish colonial order.¹

A number of tribute assessments that included textile specifications for the manufacture of four garments have survived. In each case, the garments, entirely-indigenous in origin, were required as partial payment of the obligation owed by a native group to the Spanish Crown. The garments were to be made according to size, and sometimes quality and fiber specifications outlined in the assessments. I will argue that Spanish assessment of this set of garments reflects some type of Inca exaction.

The case for continuity with Inca practice is based in part on comparison of the Spanish size specifications with the measurements of actual Inca tunics. The task has been greatly aided by recent studies on standardization of Inca tapestry tunics in size and patterning (John Rowe 1979) and on techniques used in their construction (Ann Rowe 1978). In his article John Rowe describes four standard tunic patterns documented by multiple examples which have survived in museum collections. He inferred an additional three standard patterns from surviving examples and documentary evidence from an illustrated chronicle (1979: 257-259, 261). In addition, he compiled measurements taken from the specimens (Table I, see appendix). Their uniformity confirmed Montell's earlier observation that tunics exhibit "a surprising consistency in the measurements" (John Rowe 1979: 239; Montell 1929: 194-195). Ann Rowe examined the tunics, following John Rowe's division into standard patterns, for details of their construction and was able to distinguish sub-groups. She also published the measurements of a number of additional tunics (Table I). Of the 28 tunics for which we have measurements, one is obviously a miniature (John Rowe

¹ My thanks are owed to Robert H. Dyson Jr., and Pamela Hearne of the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania who kindly consented to remeasuring the tunic excavated by Max Uhle at Pachacamac. A preliminary version of the manuscript was read and commented on by Anne Paul, John Howland Rowe, Martin Volland, Kristina Angelis, Ann Pollard Rowe, and Lynn Meisch. All provided useful comments, and the latter two provided additional data on unpublished garments. Martin Volland provided measurements from tribute documentation for Ecuador. Patricia J. Lyon located source material and made many useful editorial comments. This work builds on much recent research by both ethnohistorians and textile specialists, and to them I am also indebted.

1979: 250). Another is small enough to have been produced for a youth, but not an adult.² The remaining 26 are consistently similar in their dimensions, and the variation is slight enough to warrant the conclusion that a single size tunic, made to certain specifications, was produced.

Size Specification in Spanish Assessments

A number of early assessments have survived. A series that spans from the time of the first assessments in 1549 - 1550 through several decades is known for the Lake Titicaca region. The earliest assessment, for the encomienda of Soras and Caracollo (1550), has been published (Crespo 1972: 167-170). There is a complete series for the Lupaca province, an encomienda of the Spanish Crown, spanning the years 1556 - 1583 (Diez de San Miguel 1964: 171-179, 271-273; AGNA 9.17.2.5, f. 267v). A number of assessments for other parts of the Andes allow us to conclude that Inca exaction was not confined to the Lake Titicaca region, but generalized throughout the Andean area. Because the Lake Titicaca region assessments are show trends in one area, they will be discussed first.

The Lake Titicaca region assessment define a set of clothing to be paid as tribute as consisting of four discrete pieces: a *manta*, a *camiseta*, an *'anaku*, and a *lliklla*.³ In each assessment, the information given follows a similar format, although the details presented vary. A good example of this format is provided by the 1553 assessment:

² This tunic, held by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (no. 27569), is fragmentary and difficult to measure. Max Uhle first published ist measurements as 91 x 56 cm (1903, pl. 7, fig. 19; 37-38, fig. 51). Rowe questioned Uhle's measurements on the basis of their discrepancy with the scale included in the photograph. The piece was recently remeasured, at my request, and the measurements, 76.2 x 66 conform more nearly to the proportions of the 17 shirts with standard measurements. The size is still 15 per cent smaller than the size specified in the Spanish tribute assessments.

³ The Lupaca assessments are not ambiguous about the counting of four garments, two men's and two women's, as a single costume (*vestido*). However, in the 1567 *visita* of Chucuito, one of the Spanish witnesses gave another definition: "[...] una pieza de ropa [...] es manta y camiseta o añaco y liquilla" (emphasis added; Diez de San Miguel 1964: 45). There is some ambiguity in other assessment documents (Chinchacocha in Rostworowski 1976: 83; Chicama in Rostworowski 1985: 88; and Acarí in Museo Nacional de Historia 1973: 206). In these cases, the assessment was based on single pairs of either men's or women's garments, but a like number of pairs for the opposite sex was also assessed, so the result was like the assessment of double pairs.

An entry in the dictionary of González Holguín gives three names for a unit of clothing (1962: 343): *Huctinqui*, *o tinqui tinquippacha*, *o sayantinppacha*. *Vna pieça de ropa entera de hombre o muger*.

The word *tinqui* meant "pair" (1952: 343). The Inca terms *huctinqui* (one pair) and *tinqui tinquippacha* (pairs) may describe both the single pair of garments for each sex and the double pair for both sexes. This distinction may have been important in the Inca exaction.

Each year you will provide 500 costumes of wool and *qompi*, half for men and half for women; it is understood that one costume is a *manta*, a *camiseta*, an '*anaku*', and a *lliklla* of the following sizes: the man's *manta* and the woman's '*anaku*' at 2 *varas* long by 2 *varas* less $\frac{1}{8}$ wide, the man's *camiseta* at $1\frac{1}{8}$ *varas* long and 2 *varas* less $\frac{1}{8}$ *varas* around, and the woman's *lliklla* at $1\frac{1}{3}$ *varas* long and 1 *vara* wide, all placed in Potosí, half every six months [...]

Each year you will give 500 costumes of wool and '*awasqa*', half for men and half for women, it is understood that one costume is a *manta*, a *camiseta*, an '*anaku*' and a *lliklla* of the following sizes: the man's *manta* and the woman's '*anaku*' at 2 *varas* wide and $1\frac{3}{4}$ *varas* long, the man's *camiseta* at $1\frac{1}{8}$ *varas* long and 2 *varas* less $\frac{1}{8}$ *varas* around, and the woman's *lliklla* at $1\frac{1}{3}$ *varas* long a 1 *vara* wide, all placed in Potosí, half every six month [...]⁴

Two men's garments were woven: *manta* and *camiseta*. A *camiseta* was the '*unku*' or man's tunic (John Rowe 1979: 241; Cobo, lib. 14, cap. II, 1890-95, tomo IV: 160) and a *manta* was the *yakulla* or man's mantle, worn over the shoulders and tied in front.⁵ Two women's garments were woven: '*anaku*' and *lliklla*. Illustrations of native dress permit the identification of these two garments as a dress and a shawl, the latter worn like the *manta*, but pinned in front, not tied.⁶

The other assessments in the Lupaca series included the same four garments, and the definition of a costume for the purposes of tribute and the order of the garments

⁴ Author's translation; Diez de San Miguel 1964: 172: Item daréis en cada un año quinientos vestidos de ropa de lana de cumbi la mitad de hombre y la mitad de mujer que se entiende de un vestido manta y camiseta y anaco y liquilla de este tamaño la manta del indio y anaco de la india de dos varas y ochava en largo y dos varas menos ochava en ancho y la camiseta del indio de vara y ochava en largo y en el ancho del ruedo dos varas menos ochava y la liquilla de vara y tercia en largo y en el ancho una vara puestos en el asiento de Potosí de seis en seis meses la mitad [...] Item les daréis en cada un año quinientos vestidos de ropa de auasca la mitad de hombre y la mitad de mujer que se entiende un vestido manta y camiseta anaco y liquilla de este tamaño la manta del indio y anaco de la india de dos varas en ancho y una vara y tres cuartas en largo y la camiseta del indio de vara y ochava en largo y en el ancho del ruedo dos varas menos ochava e la liquilla de vara y tercia en largo y una vara en ancho puestos en el asiento de Potosí de seis en seis meses la mitad [...]

A *vara* equals approximately 78 centimeters.

⁵ Guaman Poma de Ayala 1936: 242, 244, 258, 318 and passim. The *manta* was also depicted as worn draped over the shoulder without tying, draped over the head without tying, and in the case of younger men, tied around the waist (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1936: 202, 206).

⁶ Guaman Poma de Ayala 1936: 242, 246, 250, 258, 287, 289 and passim; Cobo, lib. 14, cap. II, 1890-95, tomo IV: 162. Cobo describes specifically Inca dress and provides Inca names for the garments. The tribute assessments use Spanish names for men's garments (*manta* and *camiseta* for *yakulla* and '*unku*') and native names for women's garments ('*anaku*' and *lliklla*). The names given for women's garments in the tribute assessment are consistent, with two exceptions. The Soras and Caracollo document gives *maco* and *liquida*, and the 1574 Lupaca assessment uses the term *arxo* ('*aqsu*) for women's dress. Apparently both terms, '*anaku*' and '*aqsu*', were in use contemporaneously to describe the same garment.

and corresponding size information were substantially the same. The specifications varied over time, however. In the Lupaca assessments of 1553, 1557 and 1567, the four garment types were to be produced in one of two categories: *qompi* or *'awasqa*. The terms were described by various Spanish writers as denoting degree of fineness: *qompi* was fine cloth and *'awasqa* was ordinary or coarse cloth. These writers likened *qompi* to silk and *'awasqa* to ordinary wollens (Cobo, lib. 14, cap. XI, 1890-95, tomo IV: 205-207).

John Rowe presented evidence in his discussion of Inca tunics to support a conclusion that *qompi* could be tapestry weave, arguing that because *qompi* was woven on a special loom, the term probably designated technique as well as fineness (1979: 239). The description of a belt identified as *qompi* was included in the early 17th Century narrative on the Incas of Martín de Morúa. Sophie Desrosiers analyzed the description and found that the belt was a complementary-warp weave (1986). If *qompi* was a structural referent of some kind, it probably described a structure which created a design on both sides of the cloth and may have included other structures besides tapestry or complementary warp weave (Desrosiers 1986: 228-229).

The Lupaca documents contain evidence that the distinction between *qompi* and *'awasqa* had something to do with quality, although the perception of quality may well have been linked to structure. In 1567, the labor to make *qompi* garments was worth 4 pesos while the labor on *'awasqa* was only worth 2 pesos (Diez de San Miguel 1964: 32). Finished *qompi* garments were worth 7.5 pesos in the early 1570s, while finished *'awasqa* garments were worth only 2.5 pesos (Toledo 1975: 123-125, 231-232).

Size was also a source of variation. The sizes specified are specific to garment type, and in some cases, to the *qompi* and *'awasqa* categories. Measurements for garments in all five assessments appear in Tables II and III. They were given in *varas*, a Spanish unit of measurement equalling about 79 cm. Table II gives the measurements in *varas*, in the same order and following the form of the original text. Table III shows these measurements in centimeters, following the order of Table II.⁷

⁷ Although the garments can be discussed in terms of Spanish or English measurements, some native unit of measure is implied. Both the Spanish and the Inca units of measure were based on the human body, as Rowe notes in his discussion of Inca tunics (1979: 241). *Tupuna* was the term given in the Inca dictionary of González Holguín as the translation for the vara used as a cloth measure (Vara de medir paño. *Tupuna*. González Holguín 1952: 688).

The Spanish *vara* was equivalent to half a *brazo* (an english fathom), the distance between a person's outstretched arms. Another similar unit of measure was the *palmo*, the distance from the tip of the thumb to the little finger when the hand is outstretched (Rowe 1979: 241).

All of these measures had Quechua equivalents (González Holguín 1952): Rikra. Brazo (p. 316) – Sikya. Vara (p. 326) – Ccapa. Palmo (p. 62). Fractions were used in the measures of *coca* and *aji*, tillable land and urban lots: Runcu. El cesto de coca, o de agi. – Checta runcu. Medio cesto

Interpretation of the measurements requires some care. At least in the case of tunics, the measurements appear to have been described in reference to the garment as worn, not as woven. The length and width measurements were always given in the same order. The first measurement given appears to be the length of the garment when worn. The second measurement appears to be the circumference, taken horizontally around the body. Such a method of specifying size reflects the point of view of the wearer and not the weaver. A number of actual Inca tapestry unics were woven as a long strip of cloth with a slit left for a neck opening; the strip was then doubled and woven up the sides with openings left for the arms. The warp direction was horizontal when worn (John Rowe 1979: 241; Cobo, lib. 14, cap II, 1890-95, tomo IV: 160). Ann Rowe notes that these features are characteristic of highland tapestry tunics, but that coastal tapestry tunics were woven with the warps oriented vertically as worn (1978: 7-8). The manner of describing tunic measurements, with reference to the garment as worn, would have been appropriate for tunics from either the coast and highlands.

The other three garments were flat cloths which were pinned or tied on the body, and not sewn into a wearable shape. The *lliklla* is still worn in several regions of the Andes. Many are composed of two separately woven rectangles sewn together, to make a single, roughly square shawl, and earlier shawls may also have been seamed.⁸ The other garments are frequently worn by modern-day Andeans. The full *'anaku* is worn in Tupe in the highlands near Lima (Matos Avalos 1984: 66 and figs. 3, 6, 9 and 10) and in the Bolivian altiplano earlier in this century at least (Métraux 1935a: pl. Vb; 1935b, pls. XIVd, Xvb).

The *manta*, called *llakulla*, was worn in relatively recent times in parts of Bolivia.⁹ Tapestry *camisetas*, still known as *'unku*, have also survived in Bolivia. The measurements of two of these garments compare surprisingly well with the measurements of the 16th century garments given in Tables I-V. One, from Yura near Potosí, measures 81 cm in length and 140 cm around the body. It was woven in

cortado por medio. – Sillca runcu. La mitad del medio partido por medio. – Cullmu. Es la mitad del sillcu que es octava del cesto, y sillca es quarta parte y checta mitad, y esta division y nombres tienen las chacras. – [...] Y en las quadras y solares es lo mismo (p. 321).

⁸ Ann Rowe 1977: 20, fig. 9; 77, fig. 94; 86, fig. 104; 87, fig. 106; 95, fig. 111; 89, pl. IV. González Holguín (1952) gives a term for half a *manta*: "Kallu. Una pierna de la manta que es la mitad." Since he glosses *lliklla* as "manta de mugeres" (p. 213), the definition of *kallu* is ambiguous as to whether the garment was a man's mantle or a woman's shawl, or either.

⁹ Adelson/Tracht 1983. Some man's mantles have patterning: "A unifying characteristic found on these pieces is the yellow bands of warp striping near the weft selvedges" (Adelson/Tracht 1983: caption, p. 87). These yellow bands are a feature of all Tarabuco ponchos, according to Lynn Meisch. The poncho is a different garment with different origins, but Meisch believes that it has incorporated certain essential features of the man's mantle (Meisch, personal communication; 1986, p. 249).

warp-faced plain weave in one long piece with a slit for the neck, then sewn up the sides leaving openings for the arms (Meisch, personal communication). Another is 80 cm long and 168 cm around the body. This example has the same warp and weft orientation as the Yura tunic and classic Inca pieces (Adelson/Tracht 1983).

The size specifications found in the assessments (see Table III) lead to several general observations. Standardization in the size of the *camiseta* is constant, regardless of category or the passage of time. For the other garments, there is an absolute size difference between the *qompi* and *'awasqa* categories. The assessments also appear to reflect changes, probably local in origin, in the size of garments during the period under study. Two garments underwent parallel change over time and were always paired in the descriptions: the *manta* and the *'anaku*. In the Lupaca province, *qompi* garments were absolutely larger than their *'awasqa* counterparts, and they appear to have increased in size during the period. The earlier assessment, for Soras and Caracollo in 1550, did not specify category. If the difference in size specifications between the Soras and Caracollo assessment and the Lupaca assessments reflects some local trend, then the change in the *manta* and the *'anaku* that could be described is from a square to a slightly oblong shape. The *lliklla* was produced in a smaller size than the *manta* and *'anaku*. While the *qompi* category remained constant, the *'awasqa* requirements increased in size and specified a square shape. In summary, the most volatile garments with regard to size change were the *lliklla* of the *'awasqa* category and the *'anaku* and *manta* of the *qompi* category.

Three early documents for the northern Andean highlands are known: one for Chinchaycocha (modern Junin, 1549; Rostworowski 1976: 83),¹⁰ one for Huamachuco (1567; Espinoza Soriano 1974: 292), and one for Quito (1549; Rostworowski 1985: 95). For the far North coast of Peru and coastal Ecuador, there is information from Tumbes (1565; AGI, Contaduría 1536 no. 3, f. 43), Daule (1553, AGI, Patronato 104-B ramo 22, f. 35) and Yaguachi (1578-79; Archivo Histórico del Guayas 1972: 85). For the North coast of Peru, early assessments are available for Chicama (1549; Rostworowski 1985: 88), for Santa (1567), Túcume (1568) and Chérrepe (1568) (all, Zevallos Quiñones 1973: 123). Finally, a later 16th century assessment has been published for Acarí on the south coast of Peru (1593; Museo Nacional de Historia 1973: 206). All of the places listed were within the bounds of the Inca empire except for Daule and Yaguachi on the coast of Ecuador.

Most of the assessment required four garment types as noted in the Lake Titicaca region series, and where only one or two garment types were specified, they can

¹⁰ In the case of the Chinchaycocha assessment, all four tribute garments were required, but the measurements of each garment were not given because of a copying error. The description lists the four garments, then proceeds to give the measurements in the same order as the other assessment documents, but lists the *manta* and *'anaku* with the measurements of the *camiseta* and omits the *camiseta* entirely.

be identified with garments from the list of four. Information on size specifications can thus be organized for comparison with the Lake Titicaca region assessments (Tables IV and V).¹¹ When all four garment types were required, the language used to describe the garments and the size specifications is similar to the description of garments we have already cited for the Lupaca province. The following excerpt from the 1567 assessment of Huamachuco provides an example:

Each year you will give in tribute 330 pieces of cotton clothing, dyed in a solid color and made of four-strand yarn without any other treatment, half for men and half for women. It is understood that one costume [is] a *manta*, a *camiseta*, an *anaco* and a *liquida*, of the size and measurements to follow: the man's *manta* at 2 *varas* wide by 2½ *varas* long; the *camiseta* at 1½ *varas* long, and in width at the thigh, 2 *varas* less ⅛; the *anaco* has to be 2½ *varas* long and 2 *varas* wide; and the *liquida* 1½ *varas* long.¹²

For Tumbes, the textile tribute requirement was listed in the following manner:

16 costumes of cotton of the sort and kind your are accustomed to give, half for men and the other half for women. It is understood that a costume [is] a *manta* and *camiseta*, an *anaco*, and *liquida*, of this size: the man's *manta* and the woman's *anaco* of 2 *varas* in length and another 2 in width; the *camiseta* of 2½ *varas* in length, and 2 less ⅛ *varas* around; and the *liquida* of 1½ *varas* in length and the same in width [...]¹³

¹¹ Included in the list are only those assessments which include garments and their measurements. Scattered references to garments of *gompi* and *'awasqa* without measurements are found in the La Gasca assessment published by Rostworowski (1985), as well as references to a variety of other textile goods including pillows, mattresses, sheets, blankets, aprons, horse blankets, ropes and sacks, etc. Many of these items are of Spanish origin, though in one document, the possibility of substituting the (woman's belt) and the *chhuspa* (man's bag) for the four tribute garments is mentioned (Rostworowski 1985: 92).

¹² Author's translation; Espinoza Soriano 1974: 292: [...] Habéis de dar de tributo, en cada un año, trescientas y treinta piezas de ropa de algodón, teñidas, de un color, de cuatro hilos losas y no curados. La mitad de hombre y la mitad de mujer. Que se entiende cada un vestido manta y camiseta y anaco y liquida, del tamaño y medida conviene saber: la manta del indios, de dos varas de ancho y dos varas e cuarta en largo, y la camiseta de vara y ochava en el ancho del muslo dos varas menos ochava; y el anaco ha de tener dos varas e media en el largo e dos varas en ancho, y la liquida vara e media en ancho e vara e tres cuartas en largo [...]

¹³ Author's translation; AGI, Contaduría 1636, no. 3, f. 43: 16 vestidos de algodon, de la suerte y manera que la soleis dar, la mitad de hombres la otra mitad de mujeres que se entiende un vestido manta e camiseta anaco y liquida deste tamaño la manta del indio y el anaco de la india de dos varas en largo y otras dos en ancho cada una y la camiseta de dos y ochava en largo y en el ancho del ruedo dos varas mas ochava e la liquida de vara y media en larga y otro tanto en ancho [...]

The size specifications for the *camiseta* may be in error, since all of the others read "dos varas menos ochava" (see notes 4 and 12) where this one reads "dos varas mas ochava". The number 2½ would have been written "dos y ochava" as it was for the length measurement of the *camiseta* in this case and in all the other specifications I am citing.

While there are important differences between these specifications and the specifications for tribute textiles in the Lake Titicaca region, the definition of a costume as four garments, two for each sex, is the same. Moreover, the size specifications for the four tribute garments are roughly similar despite manufacture in cotton.

The other assessments, shown in Tables IV and V, exhibit varying degrees of similarity and difference. For example, the assessments show a symmetry between the *manta* and *'anaku*, and in every case except Huamachuco and Acarí. Specifications for the *camiseta* are identical to the Lake Titicaca region specifications except in the case of Tumbes where an error may explain the difference (see note 12). Production in either *qompi* or *'awasqa* was not specified in any of the assessments listed in the table except the 1549 assessment of Chinchaycocha, where a of the garments were to be made in *qompi* (Rostworowski 1976: 83). Presumably, the remaining b were manufactured in *'awasqa*.¹⁴ As in the case of the Lake Titicaca region assessments, wool was the fiber specified. Cotton was specified in the tasas of coastal Ecuador, Acarí, Chicama, and Huamachuco.¹⁵ While the use of a different fiber might be as much a cause of size variation as manufacture in *qompi* or *'awasqa*, there is no great difference in size specifications based on difference in the fiber required. The specifications for *manta* and *'anaku* to be produced in cotton compare well with the measurements of the wool and *qompi manta* and *'anaku* required in the Lupaca assessments. The relatively larger size of the *lliklla* required on the north coast is noteworthy. Again, the *lliklla* appears to be the most volatile of the four garments. Here, the difference in size appears not to be related to fiber, as the Quito *lliklla*, required to be made in cotton, is roughly the same size as the other highland *llikllas*, all required to be made in wool. The differences in size specifications may reflect local differences, as we have suggested in the case of the Lake Titicaca region.

Continuity with Inca Practice

The exaction of a set of four garments appears to mirror an aspect of Inca practice. No mention, however, was made of any type of native practice, so continuity can only be argued deductively. First, the continuity between the Inca tunic and the tunic produced for Spanish tribute purposes is one indication that the Spanish specifi-

¹⁴ Two other assessments which do not give measurements do specify either *qompi* or *'awasqa* manufacture. The 1549 assessments for Azángaro, in the northern Lake Titicaca basin, and Huamachuco both require half the garments to be produced in *qompi* and half in *'awasqa* (Rostworowski 1985: 74-75, 91-92).

¹⁵ The 1549 assessment of Huamachuco, for which measurements were not supplied, specified the use of wool fiber (Rostworowski 1985: 92).

cations had an earlier, and specifically an Inca, precedent. Also, the set of four garments defined by the assessments, consisting of two pairs, one for each sex, as well as the symmetry between the man's mantle and woman's dress, reflect organizational principles characteristic of cultural materials in the Cuzco region, in Inca times and the present.¹⁶ A simple list would have been sufficient for Spanish purposes.

Finally, size specifications for tribute textiles appear to have been included in Spanish assessments on a haphazard basis. While the central administration may well have been aware of the wide distribution of specifications for four tribute garments, the sporadic distribution of the specifications suggests that they did not result from a general policy of Spanish colonial administration. We can hypothesize that administrators simply continued a practice that had been incorporated into the tribute system since textiles were first given in tribute to Spaniards. If the practice had native origins, then the fest precedent for it, given its distribution, is some aspect of Inca practice.

Spanish narratives that drew on Cuzco sources do note Inca involvement in the specification of garment size. Some information was provided by Juan de Betanzos, who wrote in Cuzco in 1551 and who relied on members of the Inca dynasty for his information. Betanzos notes that Pachakuti, the 9th Inka in the standard king list, assembled a group of *kurakas* from the Cuzco area and ordered them to make clothing. The clothing was to be sent to Cuzco for storage:

In their lands, many women were gathered together, in houses and courtyards, and they were given fine wool in many colors, and many looms were set up. Men as well as women, as quickly as was possible, made the clothing that was required of them, each person individually, *according to the measurements of length and width that were given to them*. And the clothing made in this manner was taken to Cuzco.¹⁷

Betanzos was describing the first Inca textile exaction from subject peoples. His account often describes the origins of dynastic practice, probably because the oral

¹⁶ Ceramic vessels were often paired to accompany human burials (Julien n. d.). Interest in pairs of different types is obvious from a reading of the dictionary of González Holguín (1952): Chhulla. Vna cosa sin compañera entre cosas pareadas (p. 119). – Pactay pactaylla cuzca cuzcalla pacta pura. Dos cosas iguales parejas (p. 273). – Pituchani. Hazer pares o parear, o poner de dos en dos (p. 291). – Tinqui, Vn par de cosas yguales como guantes (p. 343). B Turuni. Estar desigual (p. 348). – Huaqui, o huaquilla. Dos juntos, o yanantillan dos juntamente, o yscay yscalla, o yscay-nillan (p. 181) (cf. Platt 1986).

¹⁷ Author's translation, emphasis added; Betanzos, cap. XIII, 1987: 62: [...] en sus tierras fuesen juntas muchas mujeres y puestas en casas e corrales les fuese repartida mucha lana fina e de diversos colores y que ansi mismo fuesen puestos y armados muchos telares e que ansi hombres como mujeres con toda la más brevedad posible hiciesen la ropa que les había cabido a cada uno por sí según la medida de largor e anchor que les fue dada y esta ropa ansi hecha e acabada fue traída a la ciudad del Cuzco [...]

tradition he had access to was a vehicle for these explanations. Seen in this light, Betanzos is telling us how the Incas began to collect textile tribute. We can conclude that specification of size was a concern, although we cannot be certain that the productive organization described mirrors actual practice in the provinces.

Four garments were assessed under the Spanish. Did the Inca exaction involve a set of four garments? We do have some evidence that both women's and men's garments were produced for the Incas. The narrative of Cristóbal de Molina, composed in 1575, mentions a textile exaction that would have involved both men's and women's clothing.

Molina describes the ritual events associated with *qhapaq raymi*, one of the three principal feasts celebrated in the Inca capital at Cuzco. During the celebration, young men who were descendants of the Incas through the male line were initiated into the ranks of Inca nobility. These rites lasted for several weeks and involved the use of particular costumes, described in some detail by Molina. One costume was given to the young men to be worn at a general assembly in the principal plaza of Cuzco:

[...] they took the *wak'a* of the Creator, the Sun, the Thunder and the Moon to the plaza, and in the plaza, together with the Inka, the priests of the Creator, the Sun, the Moon and the Thunder, gave clothing to those who were to become nobles. They were called *umisqa 'unku*, a *camiseta* with red and white bands and a white *manta* with blue braid and red fringe. This clothing was made by all of the people of this land and was given as tribute [...]¹⁸

The clothing was given to them in the name of the Sun. Clothing was also given to a group of young women, chosen to serve the initiates during the week which followed

[...] And the priest of the Sun, who was the person who gave the clothing in the name of the Sun, ordered the young women to be brought before him, and he gave each one a costume that consisted of an '*aksu*' which was red and white and called *ankallu* and a

¹⁸ Author's translation; Molina (Madrid) 1943: 52; Molina ms. 3169: ff. 22-22v: [...] sacauan a la plaza las guacas del acedor y sol y trueno y luna puestos todos en la plaza juntamente con el ynca los sacerdotes del hacedor sol luna y trueno que a la saçon cada vno estaua con su guaca dauan a los que se auian armado caualleros vnas uestiduras llamadas *vmisca* onco que hera vna camiseta bandeada de colorado y blanco y una manta blanca con vn cordon açul y vna borla colorada la cual dicha ropa tenian cuidado de hazer toda la gente desta tierra la cual dauan por uia de tassa [...]

Vmisca might be a rendering of *umusqa*, glossed by González Holguín as (1952: 355): *Vmuscca*. Enhechizado.

lliklla of the same type, and a [blank in the original] that was like an open sack of the same color. This clothing was also made as tribute for the Sun.¹⁹

The specifications for this clothing would have included specific colors and patterning.

Not all of the clothing produced for *qhapaq raymi* involved the pairs of garments described in the Spanish tribute assessments. During the week which followed the presentation of men's and women's clothing described above, the young men received breechcloths as well as *camisetas*:

[...] the *waka* official, or priest, gave each young man some cloths that they call *wara* and a red *camiseta* with white stripes. This clothing was brought, by order of the Inca, from the tribute that was given for this purpose all over the land.²⁰

In addition to the gifts given to participants, garments paired by gender were consumed in sacrifice. For the initiation of a person who was to become Inka, large quantities of both male and female clothing were sacrificed:

[...] the priests of the Sun and the Creator brought large quantities of kindling, tied in bunches and dressed with both men's and women's clothing. The kindling, dressed in this manner, was offered to the Creator, the Sun and to the Inka, and was burned with the clothing and an animal.²¹

The demand for clothing for *qhapaq raymi*, held once a year in Cuzco and in the provinces, was not large. Only the children of Inca nobles were initiated (Molina 1943: 52). If the sacrifice of clothing was only performed on an occasional basis, it would probably not have consumed very large quantities of clothing either. This type of sacrifice, the burning of dressed wooden figures, may have been performed on other occasions besides *qhapaq raymi*, and so, may have generated a large

¹⁹ Author's translation; Molina (Madrid) 1943: 53; Molina ms. 3169: f. 22v: [...] y el sacerdote del sol que hera el que dava en nombre del sol los uestidos hacia traer ante si todas las doncellas y les hacia dar a cada vna de ellas vn uestido que hera el axo colorado y blanco llamado angallo y la lliclla de lo mismo, y vna que hera a manera de talega aiuerta por entranbas partes de la misma color la qual dicha ropa asi mismo de la que se hacia de tasa para el sol [...]

González Holguín (1952) glosses *ankallu* as: Ancallo. Ropa antigua de las mugeres, muy preciada. – Ancallu pachayoc. La que viste vestido de mucho valor (p. 25).

²⁰ Author's translation; Molina 1943: 57; Molina ms.: f. 24v: [...] el guacamayo [sic] que hera el sacerdote dava a cada vno de los dichos manceuos unos pañetes que llaman guarda y unos camisetas colorados con unas listas blancas la cual ropa se lleuaua por mandato del ynca del tributo que para aquel efecto se hacia en toda la tierra [...]

The *wara* is the breechcloth: Huara. Pañetes o çaragueles estrechos (González Holguín 1952: 182).

²¹ Author's translation; Molina 1943: 59; Molina ms.: f. 25v: [...] los sacerdotes del sol y hacedor trayan gran cantidad de leña, hecha manojo y los manojos vestidos con ropa de hombre y de mujer la cual leña asi uestida la ofrecian al hacedor y sol e ynca y la quemauan con aquellas uestiduras juntamente con un carnero [...]

demand for men's and women's garments (Cobo, lib. 12, cap. XXI, 1890-95: 84-85). Large or small, however, any type of demand imposed generally throughout the area organized into provinces by the Incas could have provided a precedent for the Spanish exaction.

One colonial administrator Juan Polo de Ondegardo described the Inca exaction in a very general way. He mentions three classes of clothing that were generated for the Inca state:

One has to presuppose when one considers the contributions made by the Indians that one of the principal tribute obligations they were under was the clothing they gave to the Inca and for his religion. Given that they did not pay tribute to anyone else, which is true, the Inca distributed a great amount of [this clothing] among the soldiers and among his dependents and relatives, and they put it in the storehouses. An innumerable amount of it was found when the Christians arrived in these kingdoms in all of the places where there were storehouses, and there were many. This clothing was of many kinds, depending on the plan given out each year. The *corcumbe*, cloth with two faces, was woven in great quantity and the other common cloth [called] *abasca* and another type of cloth for the sacrifices that the Inca had each year in all of the customary rites that were performed. [These rites] required great quantities of clothing to be burned, and although [this cloth] was very rich and well-made, like other cloth, [it was] of a different sort and smaller and more colorful, and I have seen a lot of it. It was also different from the clothing that was offered to the *waq'as*. For the Sun they did the same thing [...]²²

Polo describes three kinds of cloth: *qompi*, *'awasqa* and clothing for sacrifice. The latter was smaller and more colorful. The two tunics made in smaller sizes may have been garments intended for sacrifice. The other tunics, and by extension, the garments specified in the Spanish tribute assessments appear to belong to the first two types of cloth on Polo's list.

Some of the Spanish tribute assessments were characterized by the assessment of both of these types of cloth, so we must also consider what we know about their production. *Qompi* was required in some of the Spanish assessments and may have

²² Author's translation; Polo 1872: 61-62: [...] se a de presuponer en lo que toca a las contribuciones destos yndios, que vno de los principales tributos a que estauan obligados, era la rropa que dauan para el Ynga e para su rreligion; porque dado caso que no dauan tributo a otro nynguno, como es verdad, el Ynga destribuya gran numero de ella asi entre la gente de guerra como entre sus deudos e parientes, e la ponyan en sus depositos, de la qual se hallo ynnumerale cantidad quando los cristianos entraron en estos reynos en todas las partes e lugares donde avia depositos que eran muchas: esta rropa era de muchas maneras conforme a la traça que se dava en cada vn año, porque del *corcumbe* texida a dos haçes, se hacía en gran cantidad, y de la otra comun de *abasca* y otra de otra suerte para los sacrificios que el mysmo Ynga hacía en cada vn año en todas las fiestas hordinarias quel hacía, en las quales quemaua mucha cantidad, y avnque era tan costosa y polida, como la otra era de diferente suerte y mas pequeña y con mas colores, de la qual yo e visto mucha: tambien era diferente la que se ofrecía a los guacas; e para el Sol se hacía lo mismo [...]

been required even where category was not specified. John Rowe, in his study of Inca tunics found that three categories of *qompi* producers were described in narrative accounts about the Incas: the *mamakuna* who wove *qompi* for cult images, for sacrifices and for the 'Inka himself; the wives of provincial administrators, who wove a set of fine garments for the 'Inka every year as a gift; and officials, or *camayos*, who produces *qompi* as part of the labor obligation of their province (John Rowe 1982: 102-105; 1979: 239). Rowe argued that standardization might logically be expected in the case of the latter group of producers, since garments made for the ruler or made by the wives of provincial administrators would be more likely to be distinctive, and purposely so (1979: 240).

Such garments may have been distinctive in other ways, but precisely for the garments produced by *mamakuna* we have evidence for size standardization:

and those [women] assigned to personally serve [the 'Inka] were given a house and service by him. He ordered them to make clothing for his person and to his measurements: these women were called *mamakunas* [...]²³

The wives of provincial administrators also produced clothing "for the 'Inka", in the specific sense. If some of the actual Inca tunics were woven by either of these groups, then we can hypothesize that a single size characterized all of the tunics produced for the Incas except for miniatures or clothing for the 'waq'as.

While the *mamakuna* may have woven to certain size specifications, and perhaps the same ones, their production probably does not provide the precedent for the Spanish exaction. The Incas organized groups of specialists in each province who were to produce textiles as part of the labor obligation owed by their province to the Incas. These specialists produced *qompi*. Lists of different types of provincial specialists provide names for two specializations:

Llano pachac compic – who made fine cloth for the 'Inka
Haua compic camayo – who made coarse cloth.²⁴

A distinction between fine and coarse was also made in the case of two other specialists on the same lists: both fine and coarse feather garments and fine and coarse sandals were to be made (Falcón cited in Rostworowski 1977: 249; Morúa, lib. III, cap. LXVII, 1946: 333). A distinction in fineness was also noted in the writings of some Spaniards who did not use the *qompi*-'*awasqa* nomenclature (Pizarro 1844: 270-271).

²³ Author's translation; Santillán 1879: 38: [...] y á las que aplicaba para sí tambien las mandaba hacer casa, y les daba servicio y mandaba que hiciesen ropa para su persona y á su medida; á éstas llamaban mamaconas [...]

²⁴ Author's translation; Falcón cited in Rostworowski 1977: 249: Llano pachac compic que hazian ropa rica para el Ynga. – Haua compic camayo, que hazian ropa basta.

Such a distinction may be evident in the *qompi* garments surviving in museum collections. Ann Rowe noted that diamond band tunics with alpaca fiber wefts were uniformly finer than tunics with cotton wefts. Not only were they more finely woven, but they were more elaborately finished with *alpaca* embroidery to form a separate category (personal communication; 1978: 15).

Missing is any reference to '*awasqa*' in the list of specialists cited above. '*Awasqa*' production was also omitted from a comprehensive labor assignment for Huánuco province, though *qompi* specialists were required (see Julien 1982: 135-138, Table 5.6). '*Awasqa*' was the term used for "ordinary cloth", and such cloth should have been available everywhere. The omission of any entry referring to '*awasqa*' production in the lists of specialists cited earlier can be interpreted as an indication that the Incas did not create groups of '*awasqa*' specialists in all of the territories they organized as formal provinces. Polo, cited above, listed both *qompi* and '*awasqa*' as types of cloth produced for the Incas, but he noted production in large quantities only in the case of *qompi*.

'*Awasqa*' was a particular specialty of the Lupaca province during the latter half of the 16th Century (Diez de San Miguel 1964: 17, 43-44), and earlier, when both *qompi* and '*awasqa*' were produced for the Incas (Diez de San Miguel 1967: 92-93, 106, 116-117; Julien 1982-138-141, Table 5.8). If the Incas organized a productive enclave of '*awasqa*' specialists, then the organization of Lupaca textile production differed from the pattern for provincial organization indicated by the lists.

If the Spanish tribute assessments reflect the production of textiles by these groups of specialists, then where only one category was assessed, the category should have been *qompi*. Where two categories of textiles were required in the early assessments, we can hypothesize that the organization of this province differed from the Inca pattern. *Qompi* and another category, presumably '*awasqa*', were specified in the 1549 assessment of Chinchaycocha (modern Junín). Both *qompi* and '*awasqa*' were specifically required in assessments of the same date for Huamachuco and Azángaro that did not include measurements (Rostworowski 1985: 74-75, 91-92). Not only the Lake Titicaca region, but also Junin and Huamachuco had a substantial local textile production that was not classifiable as *qompi*, and that the Incas could use to some purpose.

The distinctions, both between degrees of fineness within the *qompi* category and between *qompi* and '*awasqa*', are not incidental to the question of what purpose the exaction of textiles was to serve. The use of clothing was subject to sumptuary proscriptions, exemplified by the following ordinance issued by Pachakuti and preserved by his lineage:

He ordered that no lord in the land, no matter how important he was, could wear fine clothing or feathers or have valuable litters or wear woolen and not *cabuya* ties on his sandals unless that clothing, etc., had been given him by the *Inka* for his services, and if he used these things without permission he would die for it. If a Cuzco noble ran

across [this transgression] right there [the lord] would be strangled in order that there would not be equality and that the subjects would be identifiable [as subjects] and they would not want to be the equals of the Cuzco nobles [...]²⁵

The textiles produced to be worn by those who were being initiated as Cuzco nobles at *qhapaq raymi* would almost certainly have been made of fine *qompi*.

But what about the textiles that were not fine *qompi*, but rather, the coarser *qompi* or *'awasqa*? To what purpose were they made? In addition to the use of garments as ritual attire and for sacrifice, clothing was also given as gifts to people who performed particular services for the state (Murra 1975: 158-159, 164-165). Given the sumptuary laws, such gifts would have been appropriate to the status of the wearer.

Redistribution took the outward form of a reward or a gift, though when a *qompi* garment, a piece of jewelry, *llamas* and a small bag of *coca*, the gift may be construed as a payment (John Rowe 1979: 240; Gobierno del Inga 1920: 83). Some of the clothing made in the provinces was redistributed in this manner. These “gifts” may also have been very necessary to the performance of an office. Martín Qari, a descendant of the *hunu kuraka*, or head of 10,000 households, of the half of the Lupaca province known as Hanansaya, reported that under the Incas his forebears had received a share of what the province produces. First, the goods were placed in the storehouses, and then, a portion was redistributed to the *kuraka*. Martín Cusi, descended from the *hunu kuraka* of Hurinsaya, the other half of the Lupaca province, noted that his forebear received 100 pieces of the clothing produced in the province. The clothing was for personal use as well as for gifts to visitors who passed through the province (Diez de San Miguel 1967: 22-23, 34). The “gifts” could be construed as payment to the *hunu kuraka*, but to the extent that they were necessary to the performance of his office, they were employee expenses.

What was an appropriate gift? There were sumptuary rules governing the use of *qompi*, but what about the design of the cloth? We know that Andean people were distinguished on the basis of dress, especially headdress. Headdress was particularly important in signalling identity, and the Incas applied sanctions against individuals who wore the headdress of another group (Cieza de León, cap. XXIII,

²⁵ Author's translation; Betanzos, cap. XXI, 1987: 110: Ordenó y mandó que ningún cacique en toda la tierra por señor que fuese no pudiese vestir ni traer ropa fina ni pluma ni andas preciadas ni ataduras en los zapatos de lana si no de cabuya si no fuese que la tal ropa o plumaje o andas le hubiese dado el Ynga por sus servicios y el que ansi lo trujese no le siendo hecha merced dello muriese por ello y cualquier orejón que le topase con ello por la tierra allí donde le topase le ahorcase a fin de que no hubiese igualdad y fuesen conocidos los vasallos y no quisiesen ser iguales a los señores del Cuzco.

For other references to Inca sumptuary proscriptions see Falcón 1867: 472; Gobierno del Inga 1920: 82; Pizarro 1844: 270; Murra 1975: 164.

1986, pp. 68-69; Cobo, lib 12, cap. XXIV, 1890-95, pp. 230-231). The design of men's shirts and other garments also signalled identity, though they may have been less important in this regard than headdress. Would an important visitor have received a fancy piece of clothing in Inca or in the local style?

The Spanish tribute specifications contain little or no information about design. Only in the case of Huamachuco, cited above, and Acarí was any reference made to the color or design of the clothing. In the case of Acarí, the clothing was to be of four-strand thread and made in the colors that "they are accustomed to using" (Visita de Acarí 1973, p. 206). Under Spanish administration, tribute clothing was apparently either plain or it was woven in the local style.

Under the Incas, at least some of the clothing was also generated in provincial styles. The Inca gave gifts of clothing to soldiers, as noted above. These people went into battle in their own provincial dress (Cobo, lib. 12, cap. XXIV, 1890-95, pp. 231-232). Both men and women went to war (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua 1879, p. 294), so presumably, men's and women's clothing in provincial styles would have been required. However, the clothing required for battle was *qompi*, worn with feather and silver ornaments (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua 1879, p. 282). If fineness of clothing was part of the strategy of Inca warfare, then the best *qompi* was worn into battle.

When would '*awasqa*' or the coarser grade of *qompi* have been appropriate gifts? A particular occasion at which both men's and women's clothing might have been given was marriage. The Incas claimed the prerogative of marrying their subjects. The woman chosen was to be the principal wife, and her children would become the legitimate heirs (Ortíz de Zúñiga 1967: 31-32, 42, 53). Betanzos mentions mass marriage rites, authorized by Pachakuti in the area surrounding Cuzco for the purpose of uniting the people of this region on the eve of Inca expansion. Each couple was given two costumes, presumably comprising both men's and women's clothing (Betanzos, cap. XII, 1987: 57; cap. XIII, 1987: 63). Here again, Betanzos appears to be describing the origins of a widespread Inca practice. Inca nobles presided over similar mass marriages in the provinces. No mention was made of gifts of clothing to provincials, but such a practice would certainly have encouraged compliance. It may also have consumed fairly large numbers of garments eventually divided by gender and woven in provincial styles.

Change

An immediate concern in considering Spanish adoption of any feature of Inca organization is how native practice was incorporated into what was already a very different order. The distribution of tribute clothing need not and probably did not parallel native practice prior to the time of Spanish rule. Zevallos Quiñones, in a

study of tribute clothing produced on the North coast, argues that the clothing was consumed not by the Spaniard, the mestizo, the black slave, or the native nobility, but by the native commoner (1973: 116). He documents two means of distribution: one, as payment to those who performed occasional services at road stations or in Spanish towns, and two, for sale through a market (1973: 116-117).

The use of clothing as payment to those who served road stations may have been understandable under the old rules. The “gifts” given by the Spanish, however, may have violated the canons which governed the appropriateness of such gifts, and may have particularly debased the value of *qompi*. In the Lupaca province in the 1560s, work done on an occasional basis on public works projects or in fields required only that the workers be given food and *coca* during the time they worked. Local *kurakas* made gifts of fiber or clothing only to household workers or permanent retainers (Diez de San Miguel 1967: 20, 32, 86, 96, 107). Clearly, whole classes of clothing, particularly fine clothing, were generated for the Incas that would have served no purpose under Spanish administration. Market exchange of these textiles would have been a gross departure from past practice.

Production may have followed the old rules more closely than distribution. The use of Inca size standards is itself an indication that the Inca organization of production continued in some form, even if the new central authority did not orchestrate production as the old one had. The textile specifications appear with the first Spanish assessments, when the Spanish administration was just beginning to obtain a global vision of what native people were capable of providing. These assessments were set according to what had already been given directly to the *encomendero* (Santillán 1879: 63). Because the specifications appear at an early date, and not later when Inca practice was being consciously revived and recast to achieve Spanish ends (Julien 1983: 27-28), the chances are good that native people would have responded to a demand from the central authority as they had in Inca times.

While the early Spanish assessments may provide us with such hypotheses, no argument is advanced here that the officials who produced on behalf of their province were necessarily still organized into communities as they had been under the Incas, although at least in some areas, these specialist communities remained long after the Spanish arrival (Murra 1978: 418-420). I suspect that Spanish administration followed Inca precedent only because they could reasonably expect compliance with a similar exaction, and that native people were left to their own devices in obtaining both labor and raw materials. Of course, the obvious manner of supplying a demand similar to the Inca exaction was through the same productive apparatus.

Betanzos, cited above, described an early Inca exaction that did not require the settlement of textile producers in a separate community. A group of textile producers were gathered together for a brief period to produce garments on a full-time basis. This type of organization resembles the sort of job weaving prevalent in the southern

highlands today. When a textile is commissioned, the weaver works continuously on it until done, often on the premises of the buyer, and is supported by the buyer during the entire duration of the project. Gifts, such as coca leaf, are often expected by the weaver under this arrangement. This type of temporary resettlement might easily have been used to supply a Spanish demand for textiles.

We have only a little information about the organization of spinners and weavers to meet the tribute and other extraordinary demands imposed by the Spanish administration. In the Lupaca province, the curacas distributed the obligation equitably across units of population and not just to a small group of specialists (Diez de San Miguel 1967: 56, 66-67, 70). In the case of the Chupachos of Huánuco, groups of specialists met the Spanish demand, and were excused from other burdens. The organization of specialists there certainly had Inca precedents, but by the 1560s, groups of specialists had been organized to supply Spanish demands that had no Inca precedent (Ortíz de Zúñiga 1967: 37-38, 59, 61, 64).

Conclusions

Inca practice was recast in a very different mold under Spanish rule, whether the agents who interpreted it in its new context had Andean or European roots. While a given practice may have originated in Andean statecraft, the identification of its origins is a minor matter compared with the task of reconstructing its context either during the first decades of Spanish rule or even earlier, when it formed part of a coherent body of Inca practice. Here, the emphasis is not on “survivals” across a break represented by the change from an Andean to a European central authority. Rather, the emphasis is on understanding how the new order evolved from the old one.

Reconstruction of the transition between Inca and Spanish authority is no simple matter. Our sources for Spanish administration are the administrators themselves. We can expect them, in their own defense as well as to secure future favors, to portray their own or their master’s hand as rather more definitive in shaping Andean reality than it was. The reconstruction of Inca administration is a daunting task, and Spanish narratives do not provide a coherent overview of how system worked (Julien 1988). The period of transition between Inca and Spanish rule will prove to be just as difficult to reconstruct.

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APPENDIX

Table I: Measurements of 25 Inca Tapestry Tunics

Checkerboard tunics:	95 x 78 cm 89 x 78 cm 86.5 x 79 cm 86 x 74 cm 89 x 74 cm 83 x 74 cm <u>86.5 x 78 cm</u>	87.9 x 76.4 cm (average for 7 tunics)
Inca key tunics:	95 x 77.5 cm 92 x 76 cm 84 x 74 cm 84 x 71 cm <u>92 x 76 cm</u>	89.4 x 74.9 cm (average for 5 tunics)
Toqapu band tunics:	84 x 74 cm	
Diamond band tunics:	91 x 74.5 cm 87.5 x 74.7 cm 97 x 76 cm 94.5 x 76 cm 93.5 x 79 cm 97 x 77 cm <u>98.5 x 73.5 cm*</u>	94.1 x 75.8 cm (average for 7 tunics)
Zig-zag band tunics:	88 x 78 cm 95 x 77.5cm <u>80.5 x 73 cm</u>	87.8 x 76.2 cm (average for 3 tunics)
All-over toqapu tunics:	90 x 80 cm <u>91.5 x 77 cm</u>	90.8 x 78.5 cm (average for 2 tunics)
Q'asana tunics:	<u>88 x 76 cm</u> 89.6 x 76.1 cm	(average for 26 tunics)

Source: John Rowe (1979) and Ann Rowe (1978). B * *Note:* Ann Rowe supplied the measurements of an additional Diamond Band Tunic, given to the Textile Museum since the time her article was published (Catalog No. 1984.54.5).

Table II: Size information for tribute textiles in 1550 - 1574
from the Lake Titicaca Region (in varas)

	Manta & Anaco		Camiseta	Liquilla
Soras & Caracollo				
1550	2 long	x 2 wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ long x 1 wide
Lupaca Province				
Qompi				
1553	2 long	x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ long x 1 wide
1556	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ long	x 2 wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ long x 1 wide
1567	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ long	x 2 wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ long x 1 wide
'Awasqa				
1553	2 long	x 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ long x 1 wide
1556	2 long	x 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ long x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ wide
1567	2 long	x 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ long x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ wide
1574	2 long	x 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ wide	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ long x 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ around	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ long x 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ wide

Table III: Size information for tribute textiles from the Lake Titicaca region
(in centimeters)

	Manta & Anaco		Camiseta	Liquilla
Soras & Caracollo				
1550	156	x 156	87.8 x 146.3 around	104 x 78
Lupaca Province				
Qompi				
1553	156	x 146.3	87.8 x 146.3 around	104 x 78
1556	175.5	x 156	87.8 x 146.3 around	104 x 78
1567	175.5	x 156	87.8 x 146.3 around	104 x 78
'Awasqa				
1553	156	x 136.5	87.8 x 146.3 around	104 x 78
1556	156	x 136.5	87.8 x 146.3 around	117 x 117
1567	156	x 136.5	87.8 x 146.3 around	117 x 117
1574	156	x 136.5	87.8 x 146.3 around	117 x 117

Table IV: Size information for tribute textiles from other areas 1549 - 1593 (in varas)

	Manta & Anaco	Camiseta	Liquilla
Chinchay-cocha 1549		1 ¹ / ₈ long x 1f around	1 ¹ / ₃ long x 1 wide
Quito 1549			1 ¹ / ₂ long x 1 ¹ / ₂ wide
Chicama 1549	2 ¹ / ₄ long x 2 wide	1 ¹ / ₈ long x 1f around	1 ¹ / ₂ long x 1 ¹ / ₂ wide
Daule 1553	manta: 2 ¹ / ₄ long x 2 wide	1 ¹ / ₈ long x 1f around	
Tumbes 1565	2 long x 2 wide	2 ¹ / ₈ long x 2c around	1 ¹ / ₂ long x 1 ¹ / ₂ wide
Huamachuco 1567	manta: 2 ¹ / ₄ long x 2 wide anaco: 2 ¹ / ₂ long x 2 wide	1 ¹ / ₈ long x 1f around	1 ¹ / ₂ long x 1 ¹ / ₂ wide
Santa 1567	2 ¹ / ₄ long x 2 wide	1 ¹ / ₈ long x 1f around	1 ¹ / ₂ long x 1 ¹ / ₂ wide
Chérrrepe 1568	2 ¹ / ₂ long x 2 wide		
Yacuache 1578-79	acxo: 2 ² / ₃ long x 2 ¹ / ₄ wide		1 ³ / ₄ long x 1 ² / ₃ wide
Acarí 1593	manta: 2 ¹ / ₈ long x 2 ¹ / ₈ wide anaco: 2 ¹ / ₄ long x 2 ¹ / ₄ wide	1 ¹ / ₆ long x 2 around	1 ³ / ₅ long x 1 ² / ₃ wide

Table V: Size information for tribute textiles from other areas 1549 - 1593
(in centimeters)

	Manta & Anaco	Camiseta	Liquilla
Chinchaycocha 1549		87.8 x 146.3 around	104.0 x 78.0
Quito 1549			117.0 x 117.0
Chicama 1549	175.5 x 156.0	87.8 x 146.3 around	136.5 x 117.0
Daule 1553	175.5 x 156.0	87.8 x 146.3 around	
Tumbes 1565	156.0 x 156.0	166.0 x 166.0 around	117.0 x 117.0
Huamachuco 1567	manta: 175.5 x 156.0 anaco: 195.0 x 156.0	87.8 x 146.3 around	136.5 x 117.0
Santa 1567	manta: 175.5 x 156.0	87.8 x 146.3 around	117.0 x 117.0
Chérrrepe 1568	195.0 x 156.0		
Yacuache 1578-79	acxo: 208.0 x 175.5		136.5 x 130.0
Acarí 1593	manta: 165.8 x 165.8 anaco: 175.5 x 175.5	91.0 x 156.0 around	124.8 x 130.0