

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Textile Society of America Symposium
Proceedings

Textile Society of America

1996

Syncretic Cloth, Yh:gins and Colonization in the Peruvian Andes

Karen Michelsen

Textile Society of America

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf>

Michelsen, Karen, "Syncretic Cloth, Yh:gins and Colonization in the Peruvian Andes" (1996). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. 868.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/868>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Textile Society of America at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

Syncretic Cloth, Virgins and Colonization in the Peruvian Andes*

by Karen Michelsen

The current cult of the Andean Virgin of Snow, patron of seamstresses in Cuzco, is a paradigm for the syncretic processes that Andean religious rituals have undergone. The exploration of how this Virgin became associated with textile production mirrors a parallel process whereby an Andean understanding of cloth intermingles with Catholic religious practice.

The Virgin of Snow appears in western history in the fifth century A.D., when in 435 Sixtus III consecrated the church of St. Mary Major under the title of the Virgin Mary. This church was named St. Mary ad Nives, or at the Snow, after a purportedly miraculous apparition by the Virgin Mary in Rome. Upon her invocation snow fell, in the middle of the summer, on Mount Esquilin, the designated area for her church.

This particular dedication of the Virgin Mary thereafter gained popularity in Spain as Saint Mary the White (*Santa María La Blanca*). Exalted was the aspect of purity inherent to snow, the Virgin becoming the most celebrated embodiment of the Catholic Church. It is noteworthy that the temple dedicated to her in Seville in 1665 was constructed over an old synagogue. If Spanish Catholicism sought to depict a triumphant Church over Judaism, pagan priests, medieval heretics, and reformers (Angulo Iñíguez 1981 : 338), so colonial representations of the Virgin are adamant about her participation in the conquest of Peru. Hence the Church virtually transplanted methods of assimilation to the New World.

The chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala's drawing of the battle of Sunturhuasi, in which Spaniards are about to perish in the fire set by the surrounding Inca army, shows the Virgin Mary saving the Christians from the heathen by virtue of throwing sand into the eyes of the natives. Her vestment, according to Guamán Poma, was "whiter than snow" and her face "resplendent" (1987: 410). Therefore the presence of snow mirrors Mary's own purity as she extinguishes the hellish fire of pagan religion.¹

The Virgin the chronicler mentions is the Virgin of the French Rock (*Virgen de la Peña de Francia*). His choice of this particular dedication of the Virgin Mary was certainly influenced by the wide circulation of religious images at that time, each admonishing the faithful on the particular powers of a given

---

* I wish to thank the Canada Council for the Explorations grant that allowed me to conduct fieldwork and research in Peru.

¹ Calderón de la Barca in his comedy *La Aurora en Copacabana* creates yet another image of the Sunturhuasi battle, where the Virgin appears dressed in white over a cloud that is snowing (Miró Quesada 1982:184).

saint (Miro Quesada 1982:191), and indispensable to religious colonization (Murra et al. 1987:XXXIII). Guamán Poma's version exhorts both "natives and Spanish" to honor not only the aforementioned Virgin in gratitude for the performed miracles, but also the Virgin of Copacabana.

Guaman Poma's inclusion of this latter Virgin within the same rank of the European-introduced Virgin of the French Rock is revealing as a sign of religious syncretism. This Virgin was enthroned by the Jesuits over a mountain in the formerly pagan ceremonial center of Copacabana at Lake Titicaca, and the chronicler relates the mountain element to the cult of the Virgin of the French Rock (Murra et al. 1987:1335).

The example of the Virgin of Copacabana illustrates how Christian deities will be adopted in response to elements found in Andean rituals existent before the conquest. The Spanish Catholicism of the counter reformation developed its particular character in Latin America by adopting elements of the Precolumbian past that would help establish a link between Andean and Catholic tradition (Urbano 1993:266).

What is retained in Andean Catholic religious expression is therefore not the individual history pertaining to each Marian devotion, but interpretations of Christianity that will work when coupled with the Andean belief system. In the cults of the Virgin Mary in the Cuzco area that this paper will introduce their original Catholic provenance is changed, if not disregarded, in favour of an association with a ritual use of textiles.

Christianity *per se* has a syncretic tradition of its own, in that the religious experience is tinted by the cultural expressions on which orthodox Catholicism sought to impose itself. Catholic iconography is not devoid of such pliant character. In the west, medieval representations of the Virgin engaging in textile activities, whose origins derive from the apocryphal gospels, were adapted to the textile and pictorial traditions of the region (Wyss : 155). Hence a chosen passage from the life of the Virgin Mary portrayed her either spinning, embroidering or weaving on different looms, the particularity of the textile technique a product of regional preference (ibid).

As a variety of interpretations of the Virgin's textile iconography existed in the West, so a Marian "taxonomy" proliferated in the Andes. Urbano explains how the successive waves of missionaries and the conflicts that aroused between the different religious groups did not allow for the primacy of a single figure of the Virgin Mary, the religious geography of the Andes remaining as diversified as the interests of each branch of Catholicism (1993:292). It is within this context that the diverse dedications of the Virgin in the Andes can be understood, and how a Marian cult will be adopted in relation to local needs.

The festivity of the Virgin of Snow is celebrated in some towns of the department of Cuzco, on the fifth of August of every year, according to the Christian calendar that commemorates the dedication of the first church to the Virgin Mary, as described earlier. In the city of Cuzco, the Virgin of Snow is the patron saint of seamstresses, their devotion present in the silver basket with sewing tools which the Virgin holds during the procession.

Seamstresses wear and sew *mestiza* attire, a gesture that effaces reference to indigenous identity, which is directly connected to weaving and agriculture. *Mestizo* women therefore include, among others, those who have renounced ethnic dress. Oral tradition has recovered accounts of apparitions of the Virgin of Snow wearing regional *mestiza* garb (Morote Best 1988:32). Hence her costume connotes the position of the saint's devotees towards their own cultural identity.

When asked about their devotion for the Virgin of Snow, seamstresses at the San Pedro market credited both their sewing skills and improvement of living conditions to her. The most important of her qualities was by far her ability to teach them how to sew. This very aspect explains why Mrs. Felipa Alvarez, a seamstress, holds a painting depicting the Virgin Mary embroidering as a treasured representation of the Virgin of Snow. This may not be an art historically correct assertion, but reflects again how Christian iconography undergoes transformation in order to suit cultural contexts in state of flux.

The seamstresses' reverence towards their patron has to be demonstrated in prayer, burning of candles and participation in her procession. Older seamstresses were very critical of the current *mayordomo*, in that he had not adequately organized the *jurka* (whereby obligations are delegated) nor ensured the Virgin a new vestment. The Virgin was a generous yet dangerously powerful deity if not tended to properly, and accounts of her miracles mingle with stories of the deaths of unprepared *mayordomos*.

The importance accorded to the costume of the Virgin of Snow has its origins no doubt in the Spanish baroque tradition (García and Santamaría 1979: 17). Catholicism likewise accorded the clothing of saints with the power to invest sculptural representations of the Virgin with her miracle performing abilities (Calancha 1974:1351).

While the mingling of Catholic and Precolumbian divinities has to be carefully deconstructed, textiles are a measure of how rituals were reinvented to incorporate elements of western and Andean culture. Although differing greatly in world view, both medieval Catholicism (Brading 1992:172) and Andean religion required their spiritual truths to be expressed in a material way. The power with which Catholicism invested sculptures of the Virgin reverberates the belief at the beginning of the middle ages whereby saint's relics, or their corpses, were seen as the preferred medium through which the Christian God acted (Geary 1986:176).

The humanization of deities and their need for symbolic clothing appears also as an element of Andean religion. Nature is seen as a living entity and is tangible evidence of the gods that pervade it. Within the hierarchy of mountain deities or *Apus*, snow peaked mountains have ranked among the most venerated since Precolumbian times (Murúa 1987:428; Albornoz 1989:170). The mountain at the former ceremonial center at Lake Titicaca, later to be converted through the imposition of the cult of the Virgin of Copacabana, was "covered (...) with a curtain of *cumbi*² the most delicate and subtle ever seen in the Indies" (Ramos Gavilán 1976:60).

Mountains were also part of the repertory of *huacas* (holy sites) that had an elaborate system of veneration in which cloth figures as an important sacrificial offering. The chronicler Cristóbal de Albornoz , noted for his inventory of *huacas* in an effort to "extirpate idolatry", explains that "all [*huacas*] have their own services, land and cattle, and clothing and particular sacrifices (...)" (1989:170). Furthermore, he relates that "all [*huacas*] (..) have *cumbe* clothing which they call *capaccochas*, of the very size of the [*huacas*]. And what needs to be done first is to procure these *capaccochas* , because if they remain in their possession, they will turn to dress whichever stone they want (...)" (196).

Huacas were also associated with landmarks of origin: "(...) they came out of such places and began to multiply from there, so they made [*huacas*] and temples of those places, in memory of the first of their lineage that proceeded from there and this is how each nation wears the clothing with which they dressed their [*huaca*] " (Molina 1989:5).

A strong relationship between rock or mountain deities and cloth emerges. Rocks appear often as naturally endowed goods, their properties related to that of skillfully crafted goods - such as textiles - in that they are *tangible*, "composed of and exemplative of particular values or qualities, rather than as merely material things, characterized by physical properties alone" (Helms 1993:150).

The value laid upon the powerful materiality of rock and cloth was evidenced in their use to personify precolumbian deities. The statue of the god Viracocha, housed in the temple of Coricancha, "was made of woolen blankets" (Cobo 1964:156), and there were also "three statues of the Sun, which were made of thick and tightly woven cloth, so that they stood without artifice" (157).

In addition, rocks were often adored in their own raw state. The chronicler Bernabé Cobo describes a rock "idol" at the *huaca* of the Huanacauri mountain, one of the most important temples of the Inca empire. The rock kept at the temple purportedly embodied one of the brothers of the first Inca.

---

² *Cumbi* refers to finely woven, silk-like cloth used for highly regarded clothing and ritual purposes.

The rugged, medium sized stone was in the eyes of the Spaniards of such "ordinary" nature that it was spared and overlooked when the temple was looted of all its gold and silver (Cobo 1964:181).

The correlation of cloth and stone acquires a contemporary dimension in the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Andes. The researcher Gertrude Solari, in an effort to explain the Andean metamorphosis of the Virgin of Snow, provided the statement of an Ayacucho peasant: "the snow clothes the sacred mountain, which is in turn covered in a black cloth that melts the snow, providing in that way abundant water for the valleys" (19?:2).

The mountain appearing in the original Roman Catholic legend of the Virgin of Snow transmutes in the Andean context where gods are embodied by mountains. In the town of Cora Cora, department of Ayacucho, where this Virgin is also venerated, a rock "whose appearance resembled that of the Virgin" was discovered among the snow, in the mountain facing the village (Ruiz de Castilla 1970:74). I found that in other towns of the Cuzco area her role as textile patron saint, although with different interpretations, appears connected to a mountain. A seamstress in the city of Cuzco explained that the virgin "appeared on a snow peak", while a peasant in the town of Sangarará explained how the Virgin of Snow, patron of seamstresses, had performed a miracle in the mountain that faces the town. In addition, the mountain had a woman's name: Juana Susoyac Accoyac. The men interviewed explained that she was "dangerous", "not allowing people to work in the mines".

Colonial representations of the Virgin Mary, such as the painting of The Virgin of Potosí, show the iconic, triangular gestalt of the Virgin being related to mount Potosí, which becomes part of her vestment (De Mesa and Gisbert 1982:301). Hieratic gestures, along with a triangular-shaped robe, richly decorated in a painting style which aimed to represent sculpture (302), contextualized the image of the Virgin as celestial queen within the Andean religious perception, relating her gender to the fecundity role ascribed to mountain deities and the *Pachamama*, or Earth Mother.

The Virgin does not, however, substitute in any way the cult of the *Apus* (mountain gods) or the *Pachamama*. Rather, she is "added" to the Andean cosmological pantheon. In the community of Q'ero, department of Cuzco, the Virgin Mary is considered to be the "sister" of *Pachamama* (Müller 1984:167). This places the Virgin Mary, regardless of the particular dedication, within a feminine realm.

Although textile production in the Andes is by no means limited to women, the chroniclers explain that a woman "made most of the cloth in which she dressed herself and her family and took the spindle into her grave as a symbol of womanly activity" (Murra 1962:711). In contemporary Andean society, men weave cloth in treddle looms and only occasionally on backstrap looms. Women, on the contrary, mostly specialize in intricately patterned backstrap-woven textiles.

During the month of August, special rituals are performed both for the *Apus* and the *Pachamama*, coinciding with the festivity of the Virgin of Snow. The Spanish-imposed Catholic calendar is adapted to the Andean life cycle that celebrates each period of the year according to its agricultural character. The first days of August, therefore, are considered the beginning of the new year, as the new agricultural cycle starts and the connection between the Andean population and the supernatural is renewed (Müller 1984:169). In addition, the first days of August are among those in which the life of the *Pachamama* is believed to become that of a woman (Condori and Gow 1982:5).

Weaving occurs mostly during those months in which the agricultural demands decrease, therefore August appears to be explicitly related to weaving (Urton 1981:30; Zorn 1978:18). In the community of Q'ero, it is mostly men who, in representation of their families, perform the *despacho*, or ritual offerings, to the *Apus* and the *Pachamama*. However, the women separately enact personal rituals by offering a small *despacho* of coca leaves to the "Star of the Weavers" (Müller 1984:169).

Different *Apus* "rule" throughout the Andes. The cult to the same mountain deities can overlap over geographically close communities. Once an Andean native identifies an *Apu* as its protector and provider, he or she chooses a "star", to which offerings are given to secure protection. A sign whereby the believer understands that his petitions have been recognized by the *Apu* is finding a small sacred stone, or *inkaychu*, whose shape resembles, for example, the animals of his herds in need of protection (Condori and Gow 1982:40).

One of those *inkaychus* was found in the ritual bundle of a weaver in the town of Marcapata. She purportedly found it as she walked through the *puna* (highest altitude level in the Andes, cold and believed to be inhabited by deities), and understood it as a sign of good fortune to have encountered it during the month of August, symbolically dedicated to weaving. The sacred stone in question resembled the shape of a weaver's amulet: a carved stone representing a hand holding a *wichuña* (weaving tool). This "amulet" was referred to as *Mamacha Qapachiqa*.

In analogy to the women weavers in the Q'ero community, weavers in Marcapata offer a set of three coca leaves or *coca k'intu* to the *Mamacha Qapachiqa*, as the sacred stone and the amulet in the ritual bundle were named after. Elayne Zorn describes a weaver's ritual in Puno, before warping, where after offering the required *coca k'intu* she whispered: "Santa Tierra Pachamama, *Apu Qapachiqa* q'aytuta qataypaq qellaqa chumpi puchu, puchu qellapaq (Saint Earth Mother. Lord (spirit) Strengtheners, (make) this thread for warping the leftover loose belt, left over for the lazy to redo)" (1978:4).

The weaver in Puno mentions the *Qapachiqa* as "Strengtheners". The Marcapata weavers also explained that such stone helped them "to weave faster". *Inkaychus* being produced either by a mountain deity or the

Pachamama herself, this *Mamacha Qapachiqa* appears to possess a female supernatural power which aids the weavers in their laborious textile creation.

Before colonization, the androgynous deity Cuniraya Viracocha was identified by weavers as their protector, "(...) and when they started difficult work, they adored him, throwing coca leaves to the ground [and saying]: "make me remember this, that I may divine it, Cuniraya Viracocha (...) the ancestors talked to him and adored him. And even more so the master weavers who had such difficult work, adored him and pleaded" (Avila 1966:25).

In the contemporary Andes, therefore, the female weavers' belief in the power of the *Mamacha Qapachiqa* to aid them in the weaving process manifests the continuity of Precolumbian cosmology. At the same time, the powers of a female deity are also transferred to the Virgin Mary.

Another Marcapata weaver's ritual bundle contained a triangular stone which she referred to as *Mamacha Santa Barbara*. As observed earlier concerning the flexibility in switching loyalties to different Marian cults, naming a sacred stone after Saint Barbara underlines the pivotal role of gender in determining the relationship between Andean women, textile production and the Virgin Mary. In addition, the woman's choice of Saint Barbara over, for example, the Virgin of Snow, reflects both a personal and community based definition of identity (Urton: 1981:28), analogous to the way an Andean peasant chooses to live under the jurisdiction of a specific *Apu*.

Silverblatt has pointed out to the fact that most informants on whose information the chroniclers based the reconstruction of precolumbian and Inca history were male. This is crucial to the understanding of the Andean belief system, where parallel religious organizations based on gender featured separate rituals for female and male deities (Silverblatt 1990: 30).

The rituals involving the Virgin of Fátima at the Qoyllor Rit'i pilgrimage show another instance where the Virgin Mary's role as patron of female weavers resurfaces regardless of the particular dedication. Certainly the history of the cult of the Fátima Virgin is of relevance only to the Jesuit priests who imposed the small altar of this Virgin on top of a rock that was revered as sacred.

As the Virgin of Snow teaches *mestiza* seamstresses to sew, indigenous weavers believe that the Virgin Mary, or *la Mamacha*, teaches them to weave. The rock beneath the small altar housing the Virgin of Fátima is a repository for the weaver's offerings. These consist of small woven *pallay* (patterns), small drop spindles, unfinished³ woven bands and little scraps of fiber. Some weavers actually create the weavings beside the Virgin's rock,

---

³ Among ritual offerings of great importance, the chronicler Martín de Murúa mentions fine clothing, including some that had not been finished (1987:420).

others hurriedly leave their community camps to subtly deposit the small objects.

The practice of leaving offerings among rock's openings is a ritual gesture for reaching the *Apus* (Urbano 1976:124). The *Pachamama* as well had holy fields to which small female clothing was offered (Cobo 1964:1978). In fact the small size of textile objects characterizes them as ritual gestures directed at the veneration of the *Apu* (Urbano 1976:136).

As the central Christian image of the pilgrimage, the Lord of Qoyllor Rit'i, appears painted (purportedly a miraculous apparition) on a formerly sacred stone, so the Virgin of Fatima's altar crowns a stone allegedly related to a female mountain deity. The sacred stone of the Christ of Qoyllor Rit'i manifests the importance the *Apu* Ausangate holds for the indigenous communities, who come as pilgrims to revere the rock situated close to the Sinacara snow peak (at 4,500 m.a.s.).

The rock of the Virgin appears related to the daughters of the *Apu* Ausangate, namely María Huamantilla, Juana Sakapana and Tomasa Quinchu, who lived close to the Ausangate (Condori and Gow 1982:51). An oral account from the village of Pinchimuro explains that "María Huamantilla lives forever. She is an *Apu*. It is the **star** of weavers and spinners, **the star of women**" (53). Analogous to the female mountain Juana Susoyac connected to the Virgin of Snow in Sangarará mentioned earlier, the Virgin Mary at the Qoyllor Rit'i (meaning "Star of Snow" in Quechua) festivity adopts powers of a female mountain in helping weavers to perform textile activities.

While gender is the definitive thread that holds the acculturation of a female *Apu* in the cult of the Virgin Mary together, earlier observations on how Andean cultures received Spanish catholicism explain how the Virgin Mary acquires powers similar to the ones attributed to natural deities. The chronicler Arriaga denounced that natives had used the same cloth to dress a *huaca* and an image of the Virgin Mary (qtd. in Morote Best 1988:36). Christian religious images, to whom miracles were continuously attributed, "were themselves cult objects, a fact which gave rise to the Indian observation that (...) [they] were the *huacas* of the Spaniards " (Mc Cormack 1984:13).

The Virgin Mary served as tool of colonization in that the Andean people became "her children". However, Andean women appropriated her image in order to reenact female Precolumbian rituals. Before colonization, it was believed that the mythic hero Tocapo protected all those who made or used textiles. Given the importance that textiles continue to hold in Andean culture, the Virgin Mary could enact the role of a culture hero who protects weavers.

With the campaign to "extirpate idolatry", weavers in possession of ritual bundles had been branded as "witches". The contents observed in contemporary weaving bundles in Marcapata, namely weaving amulets, coca

leaves and a dissected bird, along with the fibre offerings at the Qoyllor Rit'i's Virgin Rock resound in the case of the Catholic Church against a woman in Cajatambo, in 1662. Juana de los Reyes was accused of witchcraft for possession of ritual bundles in which a three-colour bird's head and a white stone (García Cabrera 1994:406) were found. Another woman confessed that she had received from this Juana de los Reyes a small bundle containing, among other things, birds' feathers of different colours, and some bits of wool and earth. Juana had promised that, if she kept the bundle secretly, the woman would have many clothes and would be helped in spinning (ibid).

The colonial witchhunt pushed women to the forefront as representants of traditional Andean culture (Silverblatt 1990:143); many women refused to conform to the impositions of Catholicism. The Virgin Mary, as female deity, was appropriated and its acculturating role subverted, as She became the deity that allowed for a continuity in textile ritual practices.

WORKS CITED

- Albornoz, Cristóbal de. "Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haziendas". Fábulas y mitos de los incas. ed. Henrique Urbano y Pierre Duviols. Madrid: Historia 16, 1988.
- Angulo Iníguez, Diego. Murillo (Tomo I). Madrid: Espasa- Calpe, 1981.
- Avila, Francisco de. Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1966.
- Brading, David A. "Imágenes y milagros: El mundo barroco de Antonio de La Calancha (1584 - 1654)". Europa e Iberoamérica: Cinco Siglos de Intercambios. iX Congreso Internacional de Historia de América, Vol. II. Sevilla, 1992: 169-180.
- Calancha, Antonio de la. Crónica Moralizada. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1974 [1638].
- Cobo, Bernabé. Historia del Nuevo Mundo. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles/Ediciones Atlas, 1964 [1653].
- Condori, Bernabé y Rosalind Gow. Kay Pacha. Cusco: CBC, 1982.
- De Mesa, José y Teresa Gisbert. Historia de la Pintura Cuzqueña. Lima: Banco Wiese, 1982.
- García Cabrera, Juan Carlos. Ofensas a Dios. Cusco: CBC*, 1994
- García-Sauco Belendez, Luis G. y Alfonso Santamaría Conde. La Virgen de las Nieves de Chinchilla y su ermita en los llanos de Albacete. Albacete: Instituto de Estudios Albacetences, 1979
- Geary, Patrick. "Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics". The social life of things. ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge/NY: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 169-191.
- Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe. Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno. eds. John Murra, Rolena Adorno y Jorge L. Urioste. Madrid: Historia 16, 1987
- Helms, Mary W. Craft and the kingly ideal: art, trade and power. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

---

* CBC: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas".

- Mc Cormack, Sabine. "From the Sun of the Incas to the Virgin of Copacabana". Representations 8, Fall 1984.
- Miro Quesada, Aurelio. "Calderón de la Barca y el Perú: La Aurora en Copacabana". Nuevos Temas Peruanos. Lima, Perú, 1982: 181-211.
- Molina, Cristóbal de. Relación de las Fábulas y Ritos de los Incas. eds. Henrique Urbano y Pierre Duviols. Madrid: Historia 16, 1989.
- Morote Best, Efraín. Aldeas Sumergidas. Cusco: CBC, 1988.
- Müller, Thomas y Helga. "Cosmovisión y celebraciones del mundo andino: a través del ejemplo de la comunidad de Q'ero (Paucartambo)". Allpanchis No.23, Año XIV, Vol. XX. Cusco, 1984: 161-176.
- Murra, John. "Cloth and its functions in the Inca State". American Anthropologist 64, 1962: 710-728
- Murúa, Martín de. Historia General del Perú. ed. Manuel Ballesteros. Madrid: Historia 16, 1987.
- Ramos Gavilán, Fray Alonso. Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana. La Paz: Academia Boliviana de la Historia, 1976 [1621].
- Ruiz de Castilla Escuzza, Emilio. Una fiesta tradicional como medio de sociabilización. Tesis para optar al título de antropología, Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cuzco. Cuzco, 1970.
- Silverblatt, Irene. Luna, sol y brujas. Cusco: CBC, 1990.
- Solari, Gertrudis B. La Virgen de las Nieves: patrona de las tejedoras. Unpublished manuscript, Lima, Perú.
- Urbano, Henrique. "Lenguaje y gesto ritual en el sur andino". Allpanchis vol.IX, No.9. Cuzco, 1976: 121-150.
- "Sincretismo y sentimiento religioso en los Andes. Apuntes sobre sus orígenes y desarrollo." Ética y Teología ante el Nuevo Mundo: Valencia y América. Valencia, 1993.
- Urton, Gary. At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Wyss, Robert. "Die Handarbeiten der Maria". Artes Menores: Dank an Werner Abegg. ed. Michael Settler und Mechthild Lemberg. Bern: Stämpflie; 113-188.
- Zorn, Elayne. Before Beginning Warping: A Ritual in the Peruvian Andes. Unpublished manuscript. Institute of Latinamerican Studies, November 1978.