

~ Colonial Latin America

A Documentary History

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"As for the Spaniards, their time is up,"

Jauja, Peru

(1742, 1752)

Near the end of the rainy season, in the last days of May 1742, a man appeared in the upper reaches of the Shimaqui (or Shimá) River near Quisopango. In his navigation of the river systems in the plains beyond the eastern rim of the Andes known as the Pajonal* he had been aided by a Simirinchí (or Piro) leader named Bisabequí. The newcomer, who spoke Quechua as well as Spanish, was about thirty years of age and thought to be a highland Indian, although he was probably a Mestizo. He dressed in a bright red *cushma* (a finely woven tunic favored by the Inka and other Andean peoples for special and ritual occasions) and wore his hair unfashionably short. He came from Cusco, where he was educated in the Colegio of San Francisco de Borja, a school for indigenous noble youths run by the Jesuits, with whom he had traveled to Africa and Spain perhaps as a servant, but more probably as the kind of promising pupil whom the Jesuits were trained to identify in evangelization settings around the world. He called himself Juan Santos Atahualpa, as well as Huayna Capac and Apu Inka, his various epithets suggesting both a Christian identity

and an emphatic pride in a lineage he traced back to Inka royalty.

It emerged that Juan Santos was intent on gathering Indian peoples for a common rebellion against the corruption and abuses of Spanish rule. While his immediate aims appear to have consisted of ridding this vast region of all Spaniards and Blacks, it was also repeatedly claimed by Spanish secular and religious commentators that he meant to go further. His ultimate goal, most contended, was to attract highland peoples to what he had begun in the lowlands and thus to threaten Spanish rule across Peru.

In its most revolutionary, pan-Andean aspects, the rebellion of Juan Santos differed from most of the revolts led by and involving Indians in the central and southern Andes through the eighteenth century. The leaders of these many small-scale revolts were usually local notables who sought the reform of colonial administration rather than its destruction, typically singling out abusive regional officers (*corregidores*), work regimes, and tribute-collecting practices that threatened the indigenous community. As was the case with most

* The plains and brush country just to the east of the Andes off the Pachitea, upper Ucayali, and Perené river systems. See Reference Map 6.

of the Creole reformers who were their contemporaries, these Indian leaders conceived of the Spanish Crown as a poorly informed but ultimately benevolent force with the power and will to alleviate the sufferings of Indians as colonial subjects. Juan Santos joins a cluster of much more radical figures whose eighteenth-century uprisings caused much alarm, culminating in the rebellion in the south-central Andes from 1780 to 1782 led by the Mestizo José Gabriel Condorcanqui, who took the name of Túpac Amaru. Like their more moderate contemporaries, Juan Santos, Túpac Amaru, and others sprang from the native and Mestizo elite and, if anything, from the well-educated and more highly Hispanized slice of the indigenous ruling class, many of whose members prided themselves on their Inka ancestry. As John Rowe has memorably pointed out, to be an authentic Inka in the middle of the eighteenth century was to look good on horseback in your three-cornered hat.

One of the books these late colonial Inkas appear to have read as youths in their Jesuit schools must have resonated with their experience of conditions in Peru and their emerging sense of responsibility as an Indian leadership. The *Royal Commentaries* of Mestizo humanist El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was written in another time, originally having been published in Spain in 1607, and it was not widely known in Peru until its second edition of 1723. Yet it is not hard to imagine elements of the book speaking to the middle-cultural positions of late colonial Andean nobles such as Juan Santos and Túpac Amaru. Garcilaso's scholarly defense of his mother's people and his idealization of Inka rule came packed with information on the Quechua language, pre-Hispanic titles, symbols, and imperial institutions and achievements, and it even included a clever contention that the lords of Tawantinsuyu had prepared the way for monotheistic Christianity. When Juan Santos and Túpac Amaru dreamt past the mere correction of colonial abuses, and toward a more radical solution that would culminate in an expulsion of the Spaniards and a restored Inka rule, they did not call to

mind the Tawantinsuyu as it had been governed by Atahualpa or by his father, Huayna Capac. They thought of an Inka monarchy after the model of the king who ruled from Madrid. And they championed their understanding of native Andean cultural traditions and forms while envisioning an Andean Christian future.

Such dreams proved difficult to realize. In Juan Santos's case, any restoration of Inka rule pivoted on whether or not he could transform a rebellion in the vast but relatively remote region on the eastern border of the frontier province of Tarma into a movement embraced by highland and other peoples. His beginning in May 1742 was well-chosen. Either Juan Santos or his guide Bisabequí knew what they were doing, for the would-be Inka from Cusco was well received in Quisopango by a disgruntled group of Campa, and by a leader named Santabancori in particular. Only six years earlier, these Campa had been forcefully resettled from another part of the plains, and they harbored no love for the demands of their new situation. Quisopango became the first of a series of home bases from which Juan Santos Atahualpa sent emissaries and issued calls for other peoples to join him.

It is difficult to determine how much the sweepingly paternalistic appeals and manifesto-like messages attributed to Juan Santos by contemporary Spanish commentators reflect his actual words and wishes. The projection of a host of Spanish fears and imaginings seems present in equal measure. Yet, from what can be surmised from reports by missionaries and secular officials, it does appear that Juan Santos's leadership offered both the hope of fundamental change as well as the prospect of immediate vengeance and opportunity. If certain parts of the design attributed to him—such as freedom from work in textile factories and mines, or the reclaiming of a pan-Andean Inkaic title with help from the seafaring English—seem like a mixture of imported fears and revolutionary aims tuned by Juan Santos for ears other than those of the peoples of the mideighteenth-century Pajonal, part of his message was more immediate and local.

There was a fundamental call for a recovery of lands taken from the region's native peoples over the last two centuries as well as for a restoration of traditional authority based upon ritual responsibility and reciprocal gifting between indigenous leaders and economically (as well as politically) interdependent microregions.

The Franciscans, like other religious orders with mission stations on the frontiers of Iberian rule, were accustomed to uprisings led by their indigenous charges that often involved their stubbornly non-Christian neighbors. A religious chronicle treating such regions in the eighteenth century, like one from the two previous centuries, was not complete without its dual emphasis on the evil spread by a few "bad seeds" (commonly presented as trusted converts to Christianity who fall back into error [just like Juan Santos] and turn on their teachers), on the one hand, and heroic efforts and martyrdoms of a new wave of apostles, on the other. Even so, the effect of Juan Santos's arrival and call for a gathering of native peoples across the region seems to have startled the Franciscans. Their correspondence tells of over twenty functioning mission settlements (*conversiones*, most of which had been established at least sixty and as many as one hundred years before) of Ene, Perené, Cerro de la Sal, and Chanchamayo, abandoned by neophytes who answered the call of Juan Santos Atahualpa.

The first of the two documents in the selection is a letter written by Father Domingo García, a Franciscan from the College of Santa Rosa de Ocopa active in the missions based in Cerro de la Sal, to his superior about a month after Juan Santos had arrived in the region. Fear is emerging and little is understood, much less confirmed. The ideas, words, and actions of Juan Santos Atahualpa are, by the time that García's rendering is committed to ink, thirdhand. He tells of what two African slaves, who have narrowly escaped the uprising with their lives, report Juan Santos to have done and said. The slaves, for their part, appear to have offered more than casually gathered or simply sensational hearsay. They

claim to have learned much of what they reported from a meeting with Juan Santos himself, a solemn occasion in which he not only represented himself and his goals at considerable length but in which he also asked the slaves to swear not to misrepresent him to others.

Local violence had erupted quickly in the Franciscan mission towns. It appears to have been focused against perceived local oppressors, especially the Black slaves whose work it was to act as the friars' armed guards and foremen in the *conversiones*. Some, like García's informants El Congo and Francisco, managed to flee and tell their tale. But others were captured, apparently mutilated, and their hated weapons seized. Domingo García paints a picture of Juan Santos as a moderate leader in the face of these early eruptions against the Black slaves, a picture supported by other contemporary sources, and one can legitimately ask whence this picture comes. While García notes that the rebel leader made no secret of the fact that he wanted Blacks (as well as Spaniards) to be gone from his kingdom, the friar also claims that Juan Santos actively opposed the people's opportunistic attacks and proposals of vengeful killings of the guards, to the point of traveling with some of them as a force of restraint. García, whose apparently stern hand guided the indoctrination and moral reform of Indians in the mission town of Eneno, alleges a similar split between the Indian followers' purported wish to be rid of the Franciscans and Christianity entirely and Juan Santos's desire to maintain both, though very much according to his own terms.

Domingo García's resigned postscript, signed with two other friars, expresses regret and justification for the Franciscans' retreat from the zone of hostility, but what is most palpable is his fear and uncertainty. He and his companions were unarmed and without the protection of their fleeing Black slaves; neither the loss of their mission towns nor even of the whole kingdom of Peru is inconceivable. In June 1742 the friars decide not to chance a meeting with the rebel leader to

confirm what El Congo and Francisco had reported. When, in September 1742, about three months after the following letter was written, Father Domingo García and a companion did descend to the Pajonal, it was not as part of an embassy to Juan Santos but rather

as an advance party intent on smoothing the way for a company of soldiers sent by the viceroy from the highlands to apprehend the rebel. The two Franciscans did not get far before they were killed by the followers of Juan Santos Atahualpa.

~ *Long live Jesus! To the Very Reverend Padre Comisario Father José Gil Muñoz,*

The *padre presidente* [of this Franciscan mission region] wrote some time ago to warn that an Indian who said he was the Inka had appeared in the Pajonal and was calling out to all the peoples of the mountains and surrounding hinterlands. He [the mission administrator] asked if I would go down there to see him [the one calling himself Inka] about turning the peoples of the hinterlands away from rising up; I went down as far as Eneno, where I learned more than they told me in [Cerro de] la Sal. I ordered that no Indian from my town, nor from any of the others, should go down there. I went down to discover the truth about all this in order to advise you.

I came to the town of Pichana, where I found the padre alone, abandoned by the people, all of whom had fled against his will. Two Blacks named El Congo and Francisco, showing much alarm and all worked up from just having fled from down there themselves, have arrived with news that the Inka has told them he will talk, and we are preparing to descend to the Pajonal tomorrow, June 3. The Inka calls for Father Manuel del Santo, stating clearly that he [Father Manuel] should come alone, unaccompanied by either another padre or a Black. Not daring to have the padre go by himself, I am determined to accompany him. Yet, before we leave, it seems essential that we write to you, Reverend Father, about what we have just heard from the mouths of these Blacks, so that you, Reverend Father, can notify and inform whoever should know of these things, and so that the fathers [in their home convent at Santa Rosa de Ocopa] can read the letter; even though you are not now in Ocopa, we send an open letter [so that others can read it]. The report [what El Congo and Francisco have told us] is the following:

An Indian has come along who says he is an Inka from Cusco (called Atahualpa), brought down the river by a Simirinchí [or Piro] *kuraka* (indigenous governor) named Bisabequi. He says he has three brothers back in Cusco, one older and two younger than he, that he is a little more than thirty years old, and that his house is named *pedra* [rock]. His intention, he says, is to recover the crown taken by [the Spanish conquistador Francisco] Pizarro and the rest of the Spaniards who killed his father [Atahualpa Inka] (through whose line he becomes the Inka) and sent his head to Spain.

He says that he was in Angola and the Congos [in Africa], and that he has spoken with the English, with whom he has entered into an agreement that they will come by sea and help him take back his crown, while he will proceed by land, gathering his people, all toward recovering his crown; and that to this end he sent

his brothers, especially the older one, into the hinterlands. He assures people that he means well, that he does not intend to introduce a new law, but only the true one which the padres preach, and that once he has managed to gather the people here [in the forests and plains], he will climb with them to Quimiri, where he will call on the highlanders, his vassals, to join the enterprise. But [he says] that before this happens, Father Manuel del Santo must come alone, as he wants to write to the viceroy to demand the restoration of the crown that is rightfully his, or else he will come and take it by force.

His call is out to all the Amajes [and Amuesha], the Andes [Campa], the Cunibos [Cunibo], Sepibos [Shipibo], and Simirinchis [and Piro], and already he has brought the majority of them together and under his command. All are crying out [to him, saying] that they do not want padres, that they do not want to be Christians, and urging him to allow them to kill the Blacks, to which end they already have tied up three people and cut them across their faces with a knife. The Inka does not know about this [that is, the native people's actions against people of African descent and perhaps also their opposition to Franciscans], and [if he did] he would object to all of it, for he quarrels with them when they talk of it. The Indians—the Christians among them as much as the infidels—are holding many dances, as they are very pleased with their new King. They speak a thousand things against the Spaniards and the Blacks, and they do not pay any attention to the padres, but rather congratulate themselves a thousand times over for the coming of the cure for their ills.

(It is said that) this Inka speaks the highland language [Quechua, as well as] the Andes' [or Antis'] tongue [Campa], and Spanish. He calls upon all Indians, as we have said, but does not allow Blacks or Spaniards into his presence because [he believes] all of them to be thieves who have stolen his crown. He says that there are only three kingdoms in this world: that of Spain, that of Angola, and his own. And that while he has not gone to steal the kingdom from another, the Spaniards have come to steal his from him.

As for the Spaniards, [he says that] their time is up, and that his Kingdom has returned to him. His vassals have been worn out by the Spaniards [he says,] but already the textile workhouses, the bakeries, and [the many other] slaveries are at an end, since he does not permit slaves, nor the rest of the Spaniards' tyrannies, in his Kingdom. [He says] that now the padres will have to journey into the hinterlands to teach their Indians, but that [when they come] they must not be accompanied by Blacks or *viracochas* (Spaniards). And if the padres do not like it thus, [Juan Santos says that] he will bring the matter before the bishop of Cusco so that the Indians will be ordained as padres, for among the Blacks he has seen Black padres, with long beards, saying Mass. He says that although they were not Whites like the Spaniards, they make very good padres and priests. As for the Governor, he says that he [this Spanish official] comes to his hinterlands like a pig (the term is his [Juan Santos's]), frightening his Indians, tying them up, and carrying them away. And now [he says that] the Governor is no more, nor is there a King apart from himself.

He repeats that he calls upon all the Indians from the highlands, and that if the padres prevent them from coming down to join him he will be greatly angered. [Juan Santos says] that when he sent word to the people of Sonomoro, they

answered that they would not be coming because there were many Blacks who would block their way, to which he replied that he had feet to come find them.

He chews a lot of *coca* leaves and sends gifts to the towns so they will keep up the supply, and from it he shares with those who have none. He says that it [*coca*] is the Plant of God and not that of the witches, as the *viracochas* [Spaniards] claim.

He says that they [the Indians he calls to follow] are not surprised to find him poor, since everything [of his] has been stolen, but [also] that he has much gold and silver hidden away and that later, when he is crowned as King, he will reveal it, though he does not have more than the Spaniards possess.

In the uprising in the mission town of Sabirosqui, everything was taken, including the Blacks' guns, which he [Juan Santos] said he would return to the padres. And he advised that all Blacks should leave the Pajonal, as has happened. I had given three knives to a Black so that he could buy me three *cusmas*, and they were taken; but he [Juan Santos] will return them to me. He [Juan Santos] ordered that all the cattle that we had in Sabirosqui be rounded up in order to sell them; he said they were good livestock, and that he would also approve of taking sheep, but not pigs, because they were bad livestock. He had I do not know how many of the town's pigs killed.

His home base is Quisopango with [the protection of the Campa leader] Santabancori; he only went to Sabirosqui to be with the Indians who wanted to kill Blacks and help themselves to what was in the houses. He is in Quisopango now, and from there he orders everyone to gather.

All this—and much more that we suppress as insubstantial and so as not to go on and on—the Inka told the Blacks. Taking out a silver crucifix that he wears at his heart, he made them swear before Christ that they would tell the truth and not add to, or leave out, any of what he had said, and with that he took his leave of them.

One of the Blacks fled under cover of night. . . . The other was caught and tied up by the Indians that night, but by morning he had managed to free himself and get away. We can see the marks made by the bonds on his arms.

All of what is said above happened in Sabirosqui, and now, as we have noted, he [Juan Santos Atahualpa] is in Quisopango waiting on the Indians he has called upon—men, women, children, everyone. We write all this, and only what the Blacks have said, in the town of Pichana. Tomorrow we will go down to [the mission town of] San Tadeo [de los Antis], and the following day we will aim to arrive in Quisopango. We will see him and speak with him, employing appropriate shrewdness and caution until we know his intention, and once it is understood to the best of our ability, we will advise you of everything.

[Finally,] we add that he is a highland Indian, dressed in a *cusma* and nothing else; these Indians have said other things [about Juan Santos], but these were lies and their own imaginings.

We ask that you, Reverend Father, commend us heartily to God and that our brothers will do the same, and we ourselves ask that His Divine Majesty watch over Your Grace for many years to come. Pichana, June 2, 1742.

Fray Manuel del Santo
Fray Domingo García

Postscriptum [not dated, but perhaps as soon as the next day]:

This is to confirm the news contained on this paper, except for the resolution of the Reverend Fathers Manuel and Domingo to go down there. So as not to contravene the orders of the Reverend *padre presidente* of [the missions in] Quimiri, and according to the common consent of the three signed below, we have decided to withdraw back to Quimiri, bringing all the ornaments from the convents and churches with us. The people in all the towns are greatly stirred and unheeding of anything the *padres* order or ask of them; taking their women and children, they rush to go down [to the Pajonal] in search of their new King or Inka. Many times it seems that this people deserve the curse which Christ Our Father ordered to be cast, Matthew 10: 14: *Et quicumque non receperit vos neque audierit sermones vestros, executes foras de demo, vel civitate excutite pulverem de pedibus vestris*. [And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.]

I ask that there not be the least doubt about the information expressed here, and that it help bring about the necessary measures, and also that failings on the part of some in no way bring about the loss of the mission towns or maybe even the kingdom [of Peru]. Those who sign below do not take this decision [not to proceed with the plan to go down to talk with Juan Santos] lightly, but rather because the people are in such a state that at even the slightest hint they obey the orders of their new King even when, to be accurate, they do not agree with the intentions of this evil man. [Also,] if the *padres* had come face to face with him, they would have had to inform him of the truth, and they could not have anticipated good things to have come from their assertion that he has no right to his Kingdom, etc. And, what is more, the Blacks have been frightened off; there are none of them about, nor any of their guns. This is the sense of things from the Reverend Fathers, *salvo meliori* [save anything better], the below signed—

Fray Manuel del Santo
Fray José Cabanes
Fray Domingo García

Here we move on to the second introduction and text within this selection. By 1752, the rebellion had been going on for a decade. At least two things about it stand out. First, it seems clear that Juan Santos's stated objective of taking back lands stolen in Spanish colonial times was more than generally appealing to his indigenous followers. It was an objective taken literally and locally, and one in which a number of native peoples achieved promising results. By the end of 1752, groups of Amuesha, Piro, and Campa had gradually

reclaimed all the regions inhabited by their ancestors in the early seventeenth century, sending into flight the few Indians who had remained loyal to their friar's wishes in places such as Sonomoro.

Second, while Juan Santos's followers had not been decisively defeated by the forces that two viceroys had dispatched to the region, the larger goal consistently attributed to the rebel chief by Spanish commentators remained unfulfilled. The dream and/or fear that Juan Santos's message would spill into

the highlands and ignite a larger uprising that would threaten the Spanish government in Peru was foundering. Bold and decisive raids by the Inka struck chords of fear that reverberated through officialdom, but in a larger sense they were fleeting incursions.

Responses directed from Lima and the Tarma frontier tended to be tardy and repressive and, as time passed, to share the singular goal of preventing the problem of Juan Santos from spreading beyond the plains. When, in 1750, three local conspiracies of Indians in the provinces of Huarochirí, Canta, and Lambayeque were thought by authorities to have links to Juan Santos and to have organized themselves toward a common rising, the response was dramatic and decisive. The apprehended conspirators were publicly executed, their heads displayed in the plaza in Lima, and the viceroy immediately moved to deploy five new companies of soldiers in Tarma and Jauja. The fact that one of the escaping highland rebels appears to have taken refuge with Juan Santos suggests that the viceregal fear of localized protests becoming a spreading conflagration may not have been pure fantasy.

Negotiating peace on the Tarma frontier had been tried in the first years of the insurrection by religious (especially Franciscans, but also Jesuits) with knowledge of the region and its peoples. The most substantial of the peace proposals was set down by a Franciscan, Father Joseph de San Antonio, in a *memorial* sent to the king of Spain on July 11, 1750. San Antonio was openly critical of Spanish treatment of Indians in the region as well as of officials' handling of the uprising thus far, to the point of blaming the insurrection entirely on the authorities and the bad example of the Spaniards. He proposed that his home convent at Ocopa be given authority over sixty fresh missionaries in the region, and that the Indian insurrectionaries be issued a general pardon and invited into a network of new and fortified missions, the construction and development of which the friars would oversee. San Antonio suggested that the rebellion would only grow if his proposal or some-

thing very like it did not win support. He conjured up a specter even more unsettling to his readers than the one at which Father Domingo García had hinted eight years before: the possibility of Juan Santos setting out for Lima with 200 of his best Indian archers and sparking a general uprising across the land as he went.

The viceroy and his frontier governors did not have to take the Franciscan at his word. In August 1752, Juan Santos himself sent a reminder of his capacity to surprise when he led another short-lived but daring raid on the mountain towns of Andamarca and Acobamba in the valley of San Fernando. The towns submitted to his show of force and he proceeded to take prisoners, among them two friars, and some livestock. Three days later, Juan Santos had released his prisoners and abandoned his highland position for the safety of the plains, leaving the padres and the townspeople to tell a now fast-arriving company of soldiers what had happened.

The following document is the deposition of one Pedro de Torres, a Mestizo from the town of Apata, who claimed that he was taken prisoner by followers of Juan Santos Atahualpa in their assaults in this area in the first days of August 1752, and that, after being marched with the rebels as far as Andamarca, he had managed to escape. Torres's testimony was heard and recorded in Concepción on August 11, 1752, by the Marqués de Cassatorres Don Laureano José de Torres y Ayala, the *corregidor* and chief justice in the province of Jauja, and the latest brigadier of the royal army charged with mopping up after the fact.

While carefully critical of Juan Santos and the rebellion in general, Pedro de Torres also provides a hint of what becoming Juan Santos's "prisoner" actually meant, and of the message that Juan Santos and his emissaries were said to have broadcast in local highland settings in the hope of expanding his base of support and inspiring new recruits to the rebellion.

The incidents in Andamarca in August 1752, described below, have traditionally marked a beginning to the end of the hostilities attributed to Juan Santos Atahualpa. He

had once again eluded capture and direct defeat, but his inability to consolidate a highland base from which his rebellion might spread marked a limit on what he would achieve. Similarly, most commentators have found in Brigadier Pablo Sáez de Bustamante's unopposed arrival in Quimiri in 1756 proof of the rebels' further disintegration and an epilogue to this episode in colonial Andean history. Moreover, a Franciscan report from the upper Ucayali region in the mid-1760s, claiming that Juan Santos Atahualpa had died in Metraró perhaps as much as a decade earlier, seemed to mark an even more decisive end; here was evidence from two of his Campa followers, who purportedly told a friar that the Inka had "gone up in smoke."

Juan Santos may have died around 1756 at the treacherous hands of one of his wavering followers, and the fear of his expanding rebellion may have receded for officials in Peru, but it is less clear that his physical dis-

appearance mattered for everyone concerned. How much was changing for the indigenous peoples of the hinterlands whose possibilities had been transformed over the past dozen years? In 1766 a Setebo leader named Runcato gathered together his own people, the Shipibo, the Cunibo, and groups of Campa and Piro in a new uprising in the Ucayali region, keeping the vast area off the eastern slopes of the Andes as unattractive to Spanish colonizers and administrators as it had become between 1742 and 1756. What is more, when two fortified missions were tentatively constructed by the Franciscans (just as Father Joseph de San Antonio had proposed) as late as 1788 and 1789, they wrote as if Juan Santos Atahualpa was very much alive and as if his followers were about to renew hostilities. For many, the attack on Andamarca in 1752, about which we learn from the point of view of Pedro de Torres, may not have begun to signal an end at all.

Deposition of Pedro de Torres

In the said town, and on the same day, month, and year [Concepción, August 11, 1752], the said gentleman, the Marqués de Cassatorres, was told of how Pedro de Torres, a Mestizo from the town of Apata, and one of the people taken prisoner by the Chunchos [a generic term, like "Antis" or "Andes" for indigenous groups in the hinterlands] last year, had now found himself back in Apata, having fled from Andamarca on the fourth day of the current month [August 4, 1752], in the blockade the Rebel experienced. He appeared before His Lordship, and before me the public notary, swearing an oath before God and making the sign of the Cross, as the law prescribes. Thus entrusted, he promised to tell the truth about what he knew and was asked, and here follows the sense of what he said:

[He declared] that he was one of the prisoners the Chunchos had taken in their incursion on Uchubamba last year, and that in his estimation he was among the some 300 captured. He was taken, along with the rest, on a three-day march through Chontabamba, Monobamba, Vitoc, and Chanchamayo, until they reached Metraró, where the Rebel [Juan Santos Atahualpa] was staying. They were taken into his presence, and he received them, treating them as sons and daughters, and uttering some heretical propositions such as: "Come over here, my children: I am the owner of all these lands and the son of the True God." [The declarant said] that hearing this [statement], along with other similar heresies, had saddened him and he had called out to the Blessed Mary, and not in a voice soft enough to have been missed by the Rebel. He [Juan Santos] scolded him and threatened to kill him with a

club [*macana de chonta*], asking him why he was distressed, and telling him that this Mary of his was in Spain, and that he was not to mention her, but only to believe in him, [and] that he was the omnipotent God, absolute owner of all he had created. [The declarant said further] that he [Juan Santos] then ordered all of them to worship him and kiss his feet, as he said the following words: "Apo Capac Huayna, Jesús Sacramentado" [Lord Huayna Capac, Holy Jesus].

The declarant said that in this way he [Juan Santos] surrounded himself with followers. The highlanders were as many as forty, all with their wives, and the Chunchos were even more numerous, gathered according to their towns and villages. They all worked together in their plots of land and showed him much obedience and subordination. All this he [the declarant] could see going on from the jail [in which he and others were confined].

As soon as Easter was over in this present year [1752], the Rebel summoned all the Indian nations, pleasing each of their *caciques* [native governors] with [the gift of] a knife, and made plans to push at his frontiers. Last month, in July, he set out with a first party of Chunchos, which looked to be 600 or 800 strong, marching toward the Tarma frontier region. And, although about half of them deserted along the way, he came to the lumbering settlement of Ata and then the ranch of Runatullo on Tuesday, the first of this month [August]. From there, on Wednesday, they passed to Yauricalla. And early on Thursday [August 2,] they arrived at the town of Andamarca, having sent an Indian messenger ahead from Runatullo to ask if they [the townspeople] received him as their Inka or not, and thus if they chose peace or war; the messenger did not return.

The Rebel rushed straight in and met no resistance; two gunshots were all I heard, as well as the voice of an Indian from Andamarca crying out, "You are our Inka, come on in!" Having thus been allowed to enter, and arriving at the town square, he [Juan Santos] began to quarrel with the padre (Father Mauricio Gallardo), whom he took prisoner, along with his companion (Father Juan Fresneda). By this time, night had fallen and he [the declarant] seized his moment to escape to his town of Apata.

He said, under the oath he has sworn, that what he has declared is what he knows to be the truth. Having read over the declaration, he agreed and confirmed it, along with the fact that he is forty years of age and does not know how to write; at his request, his name was signed by one of the witnesses present, Don Julián Carrillo and Don Manuel de Marticorena.

[signed] Marqués de Cassatorres.

At the request of the declarant, and as a witness: Manuel de Marticorena.

Juan de Messa Valera, public notary

Two Castas Paintings from Eighteenth-Century Mexico

Through most of the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century a number of artists in New Spain produced sets of portraits collectively known as "*castas* paintings." These sets sought to portray different racial combinations in late colonial Mexico. The term "*castas*" referred specifically to those people thought to be of "mixed race" and excluded Spaniards (*españoles*) and other Europeans, Blacks (*negros*), and Indians (*indios*) even if, in the eighteenth century, it was common enough for anyone who was not Spanish to be considered a *casta*. Many of these canvases were not signed or dated, but the bulk of the works on the *castas* theme appears to date between 1750 and 1800, with the earliest series currently believed to have been painted about 1725.

Some of the painters of *castas* were obscure and anonymous, and some created series that were copied (at times crudely) from earlier *castas* groups. But the theme also attracted the likes of the master Miguel Cabrera (1695–1768), a Mestizo from Oaxaca who had moved to Mexico City in 1719 and was painting at the viceregal court by mid-century. Between 1761 and 1766, Cabrera produced portraits of a number of the most powerful secular and religious personalities

in Mexico. And it was roughly at this time that he executed a striking series of *castas* portraits (not all of which have been found) from live models. Other known artists of *castas* include Ignacio de Castro, Luis de Mena, José de Páez, Ignacio María Barreda, and two painters whose work is featured here: José Joaquín Magón (Figure 34) and Andrés de Islas (Figure 35).

In idealized ways, the *castas* paintings depict people in a variety of trades and occupations, in their homes and customary dress. A few of the pictures consist of a single canvas or panel on which the different racial combinations were compartmentalized and classified. Many others are separate compositions, commonly showing a mixed-race couple with at least one child, within a series of paintings (usually about sixteen) meant to be viewed in succession. Some, but not all, *castas* series included a final painting depicting not racial mixture at all but "savage" Indians, sometimes identified as Mecos (Chichimeca) or Apaches from northern Mexico. It became customary to inscribe a number and an identifying explanation on each canvas. The inscription described the racial mixture being portrayed and sometimes (as in Figure 34) included a short descriptive phrase.

Many sets of castas paintings have been found in Europe. Others have been discovered in Mexico, with their frames removed and rolled up in preparation for shipment. These castas were commissioned as souvenirs by Spaniards returning home after a time in America. Other Europeans who had never crossed the Atlantic sought them as exotic curiosities, both decorative and in some sense descriptive of the many racially mixed people of Mexico. Still other sets appear to have been undertaken for members of the Spanish and Creole elite within New Spain. The paintings can be viewed in part as another dimension of the increased regard for scientific inquiry in an "enlightened" and order-seeking Bourbon era, a general interest in descriptive classification and rationalization here delivered with a blunt message of

Spanish racial superiority. The urge to classify seems particularly pronounced in images such as Figure 35, in which the castas vignette with its careful description is accompanied by American fruits and vegetables similarly indicated and labeled.

The first image (Figure 34; Plate 14), without a precise date but from the second half of the eighteenth century, was painted by José Joaquín Magón, an artist from Puebla, Mexico, who approaches the level of Cabrera in his skills. This is the first of sixteen canvases, and an inscription at the top of the painting introduces the series: "In America are born people of diverse colors, customs, temperaments, and languages." The painting offers a peaceful and sentimental domestic scene in a household of some means. A bright red bird perched on the back of a chair to the far left is



Figure 34. *Castas* painting featuring the Mestizo, child of a Spanish man and an Indian woman, by José Joaquín Magón, Mexico (second half of the eighteenth century).

~ SEE PLATE 14 ~

the American marker, reminding the viewer that this locale is an exotic place. A young Mestizo boy, dressed as elegantly as any contemporary adult in his French-style coat and white shirt, exhibits the results of a recent lesson in letters to his father. His expression is expectant and proud as he receives his father's praise.

Light falls on the white paper that the boy is holding, on which he has written the word *parco* (meaning temperate and moderate), and on his father, an extraordinarily pink-cheeked, doe-eyed Spaniard seated at a desk on the left. The man wears an unbuttoned cutaway coat over a richly embroidered vest. His clothing and demeanor suggest that he is a professional man of some standing. He is at home; and thus in place of the white wig he would wear in public, he sports a cloth cap of the kind commonly worn by nobles and professional men to keep their heads warm when their wigs were off. The father is shown just closing Miguel de Cervantes's masterpiece, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*—further emphasizing the benefits of the education that his son is beginning to receive. (In another painting in this series, a Spanish father sits within reach of bookshelves upon which the labeled works of Virgil are prominently displayed.) Figure 34 seems to suggest that literacy in the Spanish language is the key to civility and refinement for the Mestizo (as it is for the Indian in the opinion of many of Magón's contemporaries in Spanish America, not least Alonso Carrió de la Vándera; see Selection 44). The father is only too pleased to receive his son and looks affectionately into his eyes. The boy's mother, a demure Indian woman to the right, dressed in a delicately embroidered garment and with glittering earrings and a necklace, regards the boy's exhibition with a tender smile as she points out a practice page of repeated letters. But the moment occurs mostly between Mestizo son and Spanish father. The Indian mother is painted in a shadow, framing the main action with her smile.

Here is a picture of a harmonious union, a successful fusion of European and Indian

resulting in a new "American" racial type, the Mestizo. A second inscription beneath a Roman numeral "I" (for the first class of race mixture) reads: "From a Spaniard and an Indian woman issues a Mestizo, who is commonly meek, tranquil, and straightforward." The Mestizo might be found wanting in a number of the qualities possessed so effortlessly by his Spanish father, the painting seems to say, but he is sober, obedient, and well-meaning. And, within certain limits, he is able to learn. There are worse qualities for a colonial subject to have. The Mestizo is imagined as an ideal servant.

Magón's portrayal of the Mestizo is a determined step away from the ways in which Mestizos and many other castas were usually described in contemporary literature, drama, and chroniclers' accounts. Especially in the sixteenth century, Mestizos were often the offspring of illicit unions. This illegitimacy contributed to their negative image among privileged Spaniards as rootless and disruptive figures. Like the Zambos (people said to be of Indian and African ancestry and often identified as "Mulatto" in seventeenth-century Mexico), Mestizos by their very existence demonstrated that official attempts to keep Europeans, Africans, and castas out of the Indian communities had failed, and failed rather spectacularly.

Mestizos were perceived as floating uncertainly between Spanish and Indian cultures, the very agents of chaos within a cultural and racial framework that colonial law defined in simple terms that did not go far beyond the idea of the "two republics" of Spaniards and Indians. Mestizos were said by their detractors to make cruel use of their acquaintance with the Spanish language and ways to victimize gullible Indians. Not that Mestizos could be much trusted by anyone else, either. The caricature of the Mestizo serves up a rash and absurd upstart who brags incessantly, a pretentious and uneducated half-breed, anything but "parco." By keeping such derogatory stereotypes out of this picture, Magón paints a new world in which Spaniards and Indians marry and live in peace

and in which Mestizos are accepted, tutored, and supported—even if, in an imaginary world as in the real one, there were limits to what a person supposed to be “meek, tranquil, and straightforward” would be judged capable of achieving.

The second castas portrait (Figure 35; Plate 15) was painted by Andrés de Islas about 1774.

It is the fourth picture in a series of sixteen. This work departs sharply from the realm of domestic bliss and literacy of Figure 34. Life for this family is seen as closer to basic matters of food, clothing, and shelter, with less room for luxuries and refinements. Whereas the Spanish father in Figure 34 seems to preside over a productive calm, the Spaniard in Figure 35



Figure 35. *Castas* painting featuring the Mulatta, child of a Spanish man and an African woman, by Andrés de Islas, Mexico, ca. 1774.

Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid.

~ SEE PLATE 15 ~

has no control and the family threesome is embroiled in a fierce quarrel. An African woman, gritting her teeth, has flown into a rage and grabs her Spanish partner by the hair. With her free hand she is about to strike him with a cooking utensil. The man's eyes are wide open as he tries to restrain her. The child of their union, a Mulatta, looks up and screams in fear as she grabs her mother's skirts.

At the foot of this domestic strife, fourteen carefully numbered "fruits from this country" seem an absurdity to the modern eye, except that the results of scientific classification fold into this painting's message and distance the scene from its presumably European audience. The painter and his patron have a negative view of Blacks, and the image warns Whites against unions with them. The African woman is portrayed as violent, and her union with a Spaniard has descended into an unhappy mess for both parents and the child. (Another canvas from the same series, not reproduced here, seems to underscore the point. In it, an industrious Mulatta is seen participating in a peaceful and shared task with her Spanish male partner, while their Morisco boy, lighter-skinned than his mother, looks on. The tension felt in Figure 35 is lifted as the artist seems to say that a further stage of miscegenation in the right, or White, direction is a good thing, altering a person of part-African extraction for the better.) Considering Figure 35 with Figure 34 (not to mention other depictions in the castas genre), the viewer is informed that Spaniards do not fare as well in their relationships with Africans as with Indians.

In making such statements or in taking on such commissions, Islas and Magón confirmed general opinions. In many learned as well as popular circles, *mestizaje*—miscegenation or racial mixture—was perceived as detrimental, bringing about the deterioration of human character, ability, and intelligence. Yet segregation laws and official warnings did not prevent it, nor did they eliminate miscegenation anxiety. And by the time most of the castas paintings were executed in the second half of the eighteenth century, the old racial

classifications of early colonial times—Spaniard, Indian, Black, Mestizo, Mulatto, Zambo, Castizo (offspring of Spaniard and Mestizo), and Morisco (offspring of Spaniard and Mulatto)—no longer sufficed to identify and order society. Most supposed "Mestizos" and "Mulattoes" were themselves the children of casta parents. Thus the categories grew considerably more elaborate, as the contemporary castas series and classification lists show. The more elaborate they became, the more impossible they became to distinguish visually.

A *tente en el aire*—a localized Mexican expression meaning "suspended in air"—was the offspring of six possible racial mixtures (a *torno-atrás* man and a Spanish woman, a *cambujo* man and an Indian woman, a *salto-atrás* man and an *albarazado* woman, a *jíbaro* man and a Mulatto woman, an *albarazado* man and a *jíbaro* woman, or a *cambujo* man and a *calpamulo* woman). Most of these castas themselves were the products of a comparable number of alternative unions. To consider only one of the parents of a *tente en el aire* for the purposes of illustration, a *cambujo* man (derived from the name of a reddish-black stallion) might himself be the offspring of some nine possible parental combinations.

Most of the elaborated classifications amounted to mental puzzles, exhibitions of pseudoscientific precision. They tell far more about an eighteenth-century elite's refined sense of racial privilege and order in society than about social realities. For people in Mexico and other parts of Latin America had long been spilling beyond, and defying, the bounds of even the extended ideals of race and privilege. And many racial categories (*cambujo*, for instance) effectively referred to a dark-skinned person who, in practice, might have sought and been identified by other terms—and perhaps by even more than one in the course of his life.

The castas paintings offer insight into the eighteenth-century elaboration of attitudes and prejudices toward miscegenation which, to some extent and from different points of view, would have been shared by painters and

patrons. Racial categories were more than abstractions, and they mattered to and for people beyond the various officialdoms and before the eighteenth century. The compartmentalized renderings and imaginings within the castas paintings capture only parts of these colonial realities—parts that might seem strange or simply amusing on a wall in Spain. As a number of selections in this book demonstrate, individuals and their actions could usu-

ally be depended upon not to conform perfectly to their officially designated categories, such as the image of the passive and dutiful Mestizo boy in Figure 34. People from among the so-called castas were sometimes able to live beyond the limits set on their activities, whether in separate communities, through their intelligence and charm, or by “passing” as Spaniards thanks to wealth, education, and personal connections.

Brazilian Slaves Who Marry

(1811)

When in 1563 the Council of Trent concluded nearly twenty years of deliberations, the Church had (among its many reforms) elevated marriage to the status of a holy sacrament capable of bestowing grace on those who "worthily receive it." Those who wanted to marry should not only have confessed and been absolved of their sins, but they also must marry freely by their own consent and without impediments.

The Brazilian Church also urged marriage as a remedy for mundane ills such as desire among those who found abstinence impossible, although chastity remained a more holy state than matrimony. A settled married life, said the Church, offered the way to spread order through a scattered, inherently disorderly and unruly population. It accused vagabonds who roamed from place to place of living "licentiously in the vice of lust and concubinage," feigning marriage with women whom they brought with them and many times leaving behind their legitimate wives (or husbands). Speaking through the *Constituições primeiras* of 1707, a codified version of the diocesan laws as they were to govern the Brazil archdiocese, the Church instructed priests to notify all vagabonds living in their parishes that within a month they must certify that they were legitimately mar-

ried and in what place. To stop all the comings and goings from parish to parish, the Church directed their congregants to live a married life in a fixed place, or at the very least to take their spouses with them and live in decency.

Church authorities worried, too, about slaves, warning that they could marry either with free persons or other captives and that their masters could not deny them marriage or their practice of it. Masters, although they might decide what was "an appropriate time and place," were cautioned against putting obstacles in the way of their slaves or against selling a slave husband to a faraway place where his wife could not follow. As encouragement to owners, the Church reminded them that married slaves remained slaves still fully obligated to their masters' service.

The following selection offers a glimpse into the making of marriage patterns that followed from the Church's prescriptions, drawing somewhat closer to the slaves' points of view. This small story shows how courtship proceeded between one young slave woman and her partner. It records a slave mother's change in preference of a husband for her daughter and, taking the petitioner at his word, the daughter's defiant response. The outcome of the petition remains a mystery.

And we know next to nothing about the protagonists—only that the mother came from the Mina coast of Africa or at least was transported from there, and that they all lived in the parish of São Pedro do Rio Fundo in Bahia.

Status as a slave or freed person, ethnic identity, and place of birth all counted here. West African Yorubas, or Nagôs as they were called in Bahia, figured increasingly among African Blacks in Bahia from the end of the eighteenth century into the early decades of the nineteenth. Among slaves buried by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia (assuming the buried dead were roughly representative of the living), Mina Blacks outnumbered both Fon-speaking Gêges and Nagôs, but all these were in turn outnumbered by Bantu-speaking Angolans. By the 1830s, Nagôs dominated among African slaves, a reflection of where the slave trading was most lucrative, and their numbers more or less equaled the often Muslim Hausas among freed Africans. Although Nagôs, Hausas, Gêges, and Angolans each sought to preserve their ethnic differences, for example, by maintaining separate religious brotherhoods, at times they found compelling reasons to form alliances. A rebellion in 1809 and, later, the 1835 Malê revolt by freed and slave Africans against Whites demonstrated how ethnic differences could be subordinated to strategic requirements. The far more insurmountable split was between Africans and Creoles. Regardless of whether they were slaves or freed persons, Creoles were excluded from participating in

the revolt; in 1835, Africans had even killed two Creoles in the one long night of fighting.

In this situation of competing ethnic origins and African religions, the Catholic Church might insist on a couple's consent to validate their marriage, but a Nagô mother acted according to different understandings. And if the daughter had not yet reached majority, as seems to be the case here, then civil law further directed that the mother could disinherit her daughter if she married without permission.

The proposed marriage of Joaquina Maria do Sacramento was not unusual among plantation slaves. As more and more research accumulates from various regions of Brazil, evidence shows that it was not uncommon for at least one-third or more of all adult slaves on a coffee or sugar plantation to be married, especially on substantial holdings where the pool of eligible slaves was larger and they might marry without having to choose partners from other plantations, a practice seen by owners as disruptive and which they tried to prevent. Sometimes two or three generations of a family survived intact, in extended families of brothers, sisters, aunts, or uncles and their children. But continuity was rare. Even when slaves were not sold, sooner or later the death of the owners required that the property be divided and distributed among the heirs, breaking apart whatever slave families were established there. On most of the prosperous colonial plantations, new Africans were regularly purchased and the cycle of forming families began again.

~ A Slave Mother Opposes Her Daughter's Choice of a Husband (Bahia, 1811)

Alexandre Francisco, a freed Creole, resident on the Jacuipe do Brito Sugar Mill, says that on the same lands lives a Black slave woman by the name of Ana, who has a Creole daughter, Joaquina Maria do Sacramento, of whom the petitioner is fond. He asked the mother [for permission] to marry and she did not hesitate, expressing appreciation for the favor he did her. And the alliance they planned thus being agreed upon and contracted, the petitioner frequently visited her house where she fed him and washed his clothes, as well as other things. The banns

having been ordered, the mother then raised an impediment. Being of the Nagô Nation, she allowed herself to be persuaded by those of her Nation; she now wants her daughter to marry a Nagô Black slave, arguing that the petitioner is a slave and married, which is entirely false because he is a freed man and a widower as the two attached documents reveal [attached in the original but since lost], and with which all the mother's suspicions are dispelled. [He says], moreover, that the said daughter wants to marry only the petitioner, and is together with him in that she has left her mother's house; she sought and was given shelter at the house of Dona Joaquina, owner of the Mill where the petitioner is supplying her necessities, such that (with all due respect) he has deprived her of her honor. For all these reasons the petitioner, received at the benign feet of Your Most Reverend Excellency, comes to beseech you through the depths of your mercy, that, if the impediment be as related, you order that they may be received in matrimony and [if] there be another cause it may be sent to the Archiepiscopal Chamber quickly without a loss of time and there its terms be dealt with, because the daughter of the petitioned says publicly that she wants to marry only the petitioner and not the other one, a Black Nagô slave. Hence he [the petitioner] asks that Your Most Reverend Excellency should deign to aid the petitioner in his intention in view of the related [facts].

Túpac Amaru I, Remembered (eighteenth century)

This painting by an unknown artist in the eighteenth century carries on a colonial tradition of idealized Inka kings' portraits and an interest in portraying Inka history. Yet the person depicted here is not one of the line of pre-Hispanic Inkas whose Tawantinsuyu was invaded by the Spaniards in 1531–32. Rather, this is a depiction of Túpac Amaru (d. 1572), the last from the dynastic line of Inkas which established a royal court and government in defiance of the Spaniards from a mountain fortress in the region of Vilcabamba, north of Cusco, between 1537 and 1572.

Manco Capac was a son of Huayna Capac, the last Inka to rule over a united realm. In 1534, after one half-brother, Atahualpa Inka, had been garroted and another half-brother, Topa Gualpa (the first of the Spaniards' puppet Inkas), had died, Manco Capac was crowned Manco Inka by a hopeful Francisco Pizarro. However, Manco soon defected and led Indian forces in rebellion in 1536. After a siege of Cusco that lasted over a year and nearly culminated in his retaking the imperial city from the Spaniards and their Andean allies, Manco Inka retreated with an entourage to Vilcabamba. Here the group, dubbed the "neo-Inkas" by George Kubler, built their capital-in-exile (in counterpoint to Manco's rival younger brother, Paullu [d. ca. 1550],

who became the Pizarros' next Inka in Cusco). The early Quechua interpreter and chronicler Juan de Betanzos, who accompanied a Spanish embassy to Manco Inka's young successor, Sayri Túpac (or Saire Topa, d. 1560) in 1556–57, wrote of a "town in the image of Cusco" that had emerged in the "wilds," a rugged country of mountain passes where horses soon became useless, where "even the Indians go up arm in arm on ropes and tree roots and vines." In 1610, Captain Baltasar de Ocampo wrote a narrative of the events surrounding Túpac Amaru's capture and execution, at a remove of almost thirty years and at a time when this aged eyewitness was seeking recognition and favors for the settlers in the region where he was now an official. He said that the fortress-city in Vilcabamba possessed "an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art." Manco and his successors exacted tribute from loyal groups in the region and organized raids against areas under Spanish rule.

After a succession of entreaties and promises, the Spanish embassy to Sayri Túpac persuaded the Inka to leave Vilcabamba and accept extremely advantageous terms in Cusco. Sayri Túpac's elder brother Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inka (d. 1571) spurned the palaces

and an Inkaic noble's life in conquered Cusco, however—and he knew something of what he was rejecting. As a young child, Titu Cusi had been captured by Spanish troops and taken for three or four years to live in the home of the Spanish noble Fernando de Oñate, until 1541 when Manco bargained for his return to Vilcabamba. Titu Cusi remained in Vilcabamba, usurping power from a legitimate heir and younger half-brother, Túpac Amaru, in about 1558–1560. Titu Cusi's strategy of hostilities and negotiation, along with his professions of interest in Christianity, were increasingly suspect in Lima and Cusco.

The newly arrived viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581), abandoned the luring and negotiating tack of his predecessors and acted decisively and swiftly in the matter of the rebel Inkas. He ordered an assault on Vilcabamba from Cusco in 1571–72. For the expedition, he augmented Spanish troops with some two thousand Indian auxiliaries, among whom were a large contingent of pacified Inkas and a company of Cañari guardsmen (the same native Andean allies discussed in Selection 38). By this time, Titu Cusi had died; and his Mestizo secretary, Martín Pando, and an Augustinian friar named Diego de Ortiz had been killed at court in Vilcabamba, on the suspicion that they had poisoned him. The assault led by Toledo's captains proceeded as planned, and perhaps with even greater purpose once this intelligence was known. On October 4, 1571, after a battle and a chase, the youthful new Inka, Túpac Amaru, was seized along with his elite guard.

Túpac Amaru had been a largely neutralized younger half-brother after Titu Cusi's assumption of power by 1560. He appears to have kept up hostilities against "pacified" regions and to have repulsed Spanish efforts to communicate with Vilcabamba in 1571. But his reign as rebel king was above all short and tragic; he took power as if only to preside over the dissolution of early colonial hopes for the survival of an independent Inka state. After Túpac Amaru Inka was captured and marched off to Cusco, the Vilcabamba over which he ruled so briefly was officially transformed: it

was reconsecrated in memory not of thirty-five years of heroic Inka resistance but of conquest and domination achieved. The Spanish town of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcabamba was founded with much pomp and fitted with a Spanish garrison, just in case.

According to Ocampo's narrative of events, the triumphal party stopped at the entrance to the city at the archway of Karmenka (in the parish of Santa Ana, again see Selection 38) to put the troops in order and chain together Túpac Amaru and the members of his court and guard. The Inka was said to have been wearing a brilliant crimson tunic and the fringed headpiece, or *masca paycha* (see Selection 2). He was marched through the streets, presented before Viceroy Toledo, and then imprisoned in a palace. The Inka's "captains" were sentenced to hang, although, according to Ocampo, after much mistreatment only two made it to the gallows. As if in reenactment of what had happened before Atahualpa's judicial murder forty years earlier, Túpac Amaru was instructed in the tenets of Christianity for "two or three days" and was said to have been baptized in his prison by two Quechua-speaking Mercedarian friars. Túpac Amaru was then led from his prison to a scaffold erected in the central square in front of the cathedral and beheaded by a Cañari executioner before a crowd of thousands who filled two plazas and the streets and watched from balconies, windows, and rooftops. The Inka's head was put on a high spike in the main plaza, intended as an example to anyone contemplating defiance of the Spanish will. However, the head was removed when, it is said, Indians were observed in what appeared to be nocturnal worship of it.

Figure 39 is no great work of portraiture, yet the rather wooden image is strikingly deliberate with its storytelling. What does one make of the expression and the stance of the young prince in the painting? With a serious expression, gazing upward as if awaiting a higher justice, he wears links of chain around his neck and arms, but the bonds appear more like reminders or props—the symbolic



Figure 39. "Don Felipe Tupa Amaru," artist unknown (eighteenth century).
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

attributes of a hero or martyred saint—than devices of restraint. He stands erect and dignified with his arms crossed in front, seemingly more out of choice than because the chains hold them thus. The plaque in the lower left corner, amid its basic identifying information, gives a reason for his stoical attitude to any viewer who cared to read it. This is "Don Felipe Tupa Amaru, last Inka of the Pagan Kings of Peru," it announces, proceeding to tell of his royal marriages and children, his public decapitation on the orders of Viceroy Toledo, and the burial of his body. The plaque carefully notes that Toledo's summary action was disapproved of by King Philip II, a piece of information perhaps gleaned from the claim by Mestizo humanist and historian El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), whose *First Part of the Royal Commentaries* (Lisbon, 1609) and *General History of Peru* (Córdoba, 1617) were widely read. Garcilaso had written that, upon the viceroy's return to Spain, the monarch rebuked Toledo for his actions in the case of Túpac Amaru and banished him from favor.

What were the expectations and needs of the late colonial audience of the painting? What kind of past is being drawn, and then drawn upon, and why? Why, some two centuries later, the survival, and even mounting, of concern over the treatment of a rebel and obstacle to Spanish dominion? Why the preoccupation with the justice of Toledo's decision?

Remarkably little is known of Túpac Amaru. Yet this short-term rebel was the last Inka of Vilcabamba, and, in being so and in dying as he did, he has become as evocative a symbol as one is likely to find in Andean Peru—with time, often merging in the collective Andean imagination, as Alberto Flores Galindo has shown, with Atahualpa, the last Inka executed by Pizarro at Cajamarca. The many local revolts, uprisings, and conspiracies in the Andes through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries frequently played upon the "Inka's head" and on the theme of beheadings, along with the transforming memory of Túpac Amaru and the expectation of an Inka's resumption of power. For some,

natural catastrophes such as floods and earthquakes seemed to herald an overturning of a corrupt order in Andean Peru.

Critical reflections on the way that Túpac Amaru died in Cusco in 1572 were popular among late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Peruvian Creoles and well-to-do Mestizos, the people who would have formed this painting's principal audience. At least until the great rebellion of 1780–1782 dampened many Creoles' enthusiasm for things Inkaic and "Indian," members of the eighteenth-century elite in Cusco even allowed spoken Quechua and the chewing of coca leaves in their intellectual gatherings. And they commissioned and collected paintings that featured indigenous themes and motifs, paintings like this one and the earlier examples from the Corpus Christi series (Figures 27 and 28 in Selection 38). José Gabriel Condorcanqui, the *kuraka* (regional native governor) from the south-central Andes who adopted the name Túpac Amaru II (d. 1781), became the most memorable, but not the first, Andean rebel leader to present himself successfully to a multi-ethnic audience as a disinherited descendant of the Inka Túpac Amaru I and to reclaim rightful authority in the land. Critiques such as those which seem to appear in this image could merge with hopes and plans for the coronation of a late colonial Inka who might rule over a new confederation, a reborn Tawantinsuyu, which might remedy any number of abuses that people perceived as embodied in the practice of Bourbon rule.

The prisoner in the painting seems to touch his viewers' discomfort and their dreams. He wears a glittering crown adorned with feathers and a tapestry tunic with a circular design (a stylized sun?) on his chest. His dress and accoutrements, his dignity, suggest royalty, yet now in a vague and patterned way. The details of a post-Conquest Inkaic tunic and a distinctive *masca paycha*, so carefully rendered in many earlier paintings and chroniclers' accounts, seem to have grown either less important or more dangerous. This Túpac Amaru seems depicted more as a legendary hero than as an actual Inka rebel. Artists and

viewers deemphasized certain details and recast the rebel, and events from the sixteenth century, for their own purposes. The painting's message about *peninsular* outrages in America seems clear. Viewers might attach this image of the heroic rebel Túpac Amaru, wronged and murdered without a proper trial by a peninsular viceroy, not only to similar depictions of the death of the Inka Atahualpa but also to a general brutality that, according to some views, characterized Spanish treatment of their American subjects, not least the Creoles.

The colonial memory of this sacrifice in Cusco in 1572 did not depend on a sense of grievance about Bourbon reforms. And it was well remembered by a wider set of observers and subsequent tellers than the early generations of disgruntled Creoles or native Andean eyewitnesses within the crowd in Cusco's center (who are said to have wailed and groaned at the sight of Túpac Amaru's death). Both Garcilaso's and Ocampo's

early seventeenth-century descriptions of the execution of Túpac Amaru precede the messages in this eighteenth-century canvas with similar feelings. In particular, they treat the subject as Toledo's serious, criminal blunder. A higher verdict seems required and awaited. Ocampo lists the heads of the religious orders in Cusco by name and claims that before the execution each of them pleaded with the viceroy to spare the Inka and send him to Spain to be properly tried by the king. El Inca Garcilaso, whose projections on the Inka past inspired a multi-ethnic elite readership in the eighteenth century that perhaps included Túpac Amaru II, implied even more about justice and legitimacy—explosive messages to many late colonial readers who reflected on his account of the death in Cusco's central square in 1572: "So ended the Inka," wrote Garcilaso, "the legitimate heir to the empire by the direct male line from the first Inka Manco Capac to himself."

José María Morelos's "Sentiments of the Nation," Chilpancingo, Mexico

(1813)

The two great leaders of the early, unsuccessful struggle for Mexican independence in 1810–1815 were parish priests from the Diocese of Michoacán: Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos. Hidalgo, a Creole Spaniard, held a doctorate in theology and was a leading figure in the cathedral city of Valladolid (modern Morelia) before running afoul of ecclesiastical authorities. He was charged with mismanaging funds of his diocesan seminary and was mistrusted for his eclectic intellectual life; there was some suspicion that he held unorthodox views about Christian doctrine. On the eve of the struggle he served the prosperous parish of Dolores in the modern state of Guanajuato. Morelos, the priest of a poor parish in the hot country of lowland Michoacán, had studied briefly with Hidalgo in Valladolid but was not as well educated—less well read and less bold in his ideas. His baptismal record identifies him as a Creole Spaniard, but he was evidently a Mestizo, or perhaps an *Afromestizo*. In any case, he came from more modest roots and relied on experience and studies of moral theology and pastoral manuals for his sense of political ethics.

Hidalgo's insurrection in 1810 did not openly declare for independence, but it was

clearly opposed to colonial government and the immigrant Spanish elite (*peninsulares*) in Mexico. He was captured and executed in 1811. Morelos had joined Hidalgo's forces some weeks after the insurrection began; and, after Hidalgo's death, he became the outstanding military leader in the first years of struggle against colonial rule and privileged Spaniards. But he did not succeed in overthrowing Spanish rule, and, unable to hold any important provincial cities for long, he operated mostly on the edges of the heartland of colonial Mexico—in lowland Michoacán, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Puebla. He, too, was captured and executed in 1815.

Nonetheless, under Morelos's nominal leadership, a declaration of independence was finally issued and a congress was convened to plan for a new national government in 1813. Morelos was not a political philosopher, and his ideas for an independent nation emerged slowly. They are most clearly expressed in the following document known as "Sentiments of the Nation," presented to the opening session of the Chilpancingo Congress on September 14, 1813. Usually regarded as a homegrown "liberal" document enshrining popular sovereignty, liberty, and

equality, the "Sentiments of the Nation" offer Morelos's growing belief in liberty and elements of equality without giving up a preference for hierarchy, precedence, status, and religious exclusivism. And he did not lightly refer to his words as *sentiments*. For Morelos, ideas expressed passions, longings, and frustrations, not just Enlightenment rationality. Religious sentiments and the social values behind them pervade the document, giving it the character of a pastoral lesson and a connection to the past, while critiquing the present and breaking with colonial rule and its hereditary inequalities.

Morelos's thinking in this text can seem contradictory. He opens with a clear call for national independence from any other sovereign power, but the second, third, and fourth of the original twenty-two articles turn immediately to religion in ways that seem to confuse the liberal cast of the document: Article 2 declares Catholicism to be "the only [religion], without tolerance for any other"; Article 3 provides for the financial support of the priesthood; and Article 4 affirms the responsibility

of the Church hierarchy to keep Catholic dogma pure.

Yet, to simultaneously affirm hierarchy, religious intolerance, popular sovereignty, and equality before the law would not have been a contradiction to Morélos, the parish priest. A unifying idea behind this mixture of apparent opposites was the old regard for moderation and balance. Morelos could speak of liberty and equality among Americans without accepting these principles as absolutes or abandoning his conviction that hierarchy was essential to social order, that the poor and humble—like Indians in the colonial conception—required parental care, and that salvation was the highest purpose of human activity. Liberty for Morelos still centered on the freedom to fulfill a Catholic Christian destiny, and it still centered more on freedom from unjust restraint than on freedom as an absolute good in its own right. It was not freedom to practice false religion. Nor was it, in J. H. Parry's words, "freedom to be idle, to be left to one's own devices, to refrain from making any contribution to the well-being of society."

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1. That America is free and independent of Spain and every other nation, government, or monarchy, and thus it shall be proclaimed, informing the world why.
 2. That the Catholic religion shall be the only one, without tolerance for any other.
 3. That the ministers of the Church shall live only from the tithes and first fruits, and the people shall not be required to pay for services, except as true offerings and expressions of their devotion.
 4. That the dogma of the religion shall be upheld by the Church hierarchy, consisting of the Pope, the bishops, and the parish priests, because *every plant that God did not plant should be weeded out*. . . . Matthew 15.
 5. That sovereignty flows directly from the people, and they wish it to be lodged only in the Supremo Congreso Nacional Americano, composed of representatives of the provinces in equal numbers.
 6. That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers shall be divided among those bodies that are established to exercise them.
 7. That the representatives shall serve for four years in rotation, the old ones leaving office so the newly elected can take their places.
 8. The representatives shall be paid a sufficient but not excessive salary. For now, it shall not be more than 8,000 pesos.
 9. Government posts shall be held only by Americans.

10. Foreigners shall not be allowed to enter the country unless they are artisans who can instruct others and are free of all suspicion.
11. States alter the customs of the people; therefore, the Fatherland will not be completely free and ours until the government is reformed, replacing the tyrannical with the liberal, and also expelling from our soil the enemy Spaniard who has so greatly opposed our Fatherland.
12. Since the good law is superior to any man, those [laws] that our Congreso issues shall be so, and shall promote constancy and patriotism, and moderate opulence and poverty so that the daily wage of the poor man is raised, his customs improved, and ignorance, preying upon others, and thievery removed.
13. That the general laws shall apply to everyone, including privileged corporations except as applies directly to their duties.
14. To draw up a law, there shall be a gathering of the greatest number of wise men possible, so that the deliberations may proceed with greater certainty. [These men] shall be exempt from some of the duties that might otherwise be demanded of them.
15. Slavery shall be forever forbidden, as shall caste distinctions, leaving everyone equal. One American shall be distinguished from another only by his vices and virtues.
16. That our ports may admit [the ships of] friendly foreign nations, but they cannot be based in the kingdom no matter how friendly they are. And only designated ports—ten percent of those that exist—shall be used for this purpose. Disembarkation in any other is forbidden.
17. The property of every individual shall be protected, and their homes respected as if they were a sacred asylum. Penalties shall be assigned for violators.
18. That the new legislation shall not allow torture.
19. That the new legislation shall establish by constitutional law the celebration of December 12 in every community of the land in honor of Our Most Holy Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of our liberty, and every community is to practice monthly devotions to her.
20. That foreign troops or those from any other [Spanish] kingdom shall not set foot on our soil unless it is to come to our aid, and then only with the authorization of the Suprema Junta.
21. That no expeditions outside the limits of the kingdom shall be made, especially not overseas expeditions; but others not of this kind are to be encouraged in order to propagate the faith among our brothers in the interior [*tierradentro*, or northern Mexico and the American Southwest].
22. That the plethora of tributes, fees, and taxes that weigh us down shall be eliminated. A five percent charge on grains and other produce, or a similarly light tax, shall be levied on every individual. It shall not oppress us like the alcabala, the tobacco monopoly, the tribute, and others. With this light contribution and good administration of property confiscated from the enemy, the cost of the war and the salaries of employees can be paid.

Chilpancingo, 14 September 1813.

[appended Article] 23. That September 16 also shall be solemnized each year as the anniversary of the beginning of our struggle for Independence and our holy Freedom, for on that date the Nation spoke, demanding its rights with sword in hand so as to be heard. Thus the distinction of the great hero, Señor Don Miguel Hidalgo, and his companion, Don Ignacio Allende, will be remembered forever.