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15. Tupac Amaru Protests the *Mita* to the *Audiencia* of Lima

The provinces of Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis were part of the mita system established for the mines of Potosí by Viceroy Toledo in the late sixteenth century. The peoples of these provinces suffered even more than those in other provinces due to their distance from the Cerro Rico (Rich Mountain, Potosí); they often served two years instead of one and lost a great deal of time traveling to and from the mines. In the following document, Tupac Amaru presents his demands to royal officials in Lima that the mita be eliminated for the people of his province, Canas y Canchis, because of the suffering it created and the depopulation of the province that resulted from people fleeing their homes or not returning following their service in Potosí. The mita became one of the sources of concern around which support for the rebellion Tupac Amaru was able to coalesce. The future Inca also grew in stature among the indigenous people of his region because of his opposition to the mita. Note that Tupac Amaru refers to sections of the colonial law and older orders by the Crown to support his argument that the indigenous peoples from the provinces should be removed from their service in the mita and replaced by resident labor and slaves. He also implores that laws providing for travel payment, known as leguaje, be enforced. Thus, in his petition Tupac Amaru not only deals with the abuses and deteriorating social and economic conditions fostered by the mita, he also uses colonial laws and royal proclamations to enhance his case. Use of the colonial legal structure was quite common; in general, violence ensued only when legal options had failed or been exhausted.

Honorable Sir: I, José Tupac Amaru, *Cacique* of the pueblos of Surimana, Pampamarca and Tungasuca in the Province of Canas y Canchis (alias Tinta) and in the name of the *Caciques* of the other pueblos of said provinces, and in virtue of the powers that I duly represent, I put myself at the feet of your

Excellency with the utmost respect and say: that the supplicant [Tupac Amaru], on behalf of the Pueblos, humbly presents himself to Your Excellency on behalf of those Indians, who are your subjects, due to the imponderable toils that they suffer in the *mita* of Potosí, more than 200 leagues distant; and what is more, the grave damage that the uprooting of these Indians from their villages visibly entails. Who, forced to travel to such a distant mine, take their women and their children with them and make a painful farewell to their relatives and their home [*patria*]; because the harshness and ruggedness of [living on the] road kills them, annihilates them; the strange nature and heavy work of Potosí, or their dire poverty, does not afford them the means to return to their pueblos when the calamity [of the *mita*] has not already taken away their lives.

The other pueblos of the Province suffer the same misfortune, and all of them call for relief from the unbearable toil. The province has always been big [large in population], but in earlier times there were many more Indians, and they could take turns going to the *mita* with some time in between for rest. What happens now happened then, but somewhat differently. Back then Indians died or deserted, but the pueblos were still more populated and their absence was felt less. Today due to the extreme decline in which [the pueblos] find themselves, it is almost impossible to comply with the *mita* because there are not sufficient Indians who can serve, and it is necessary that the same ones return or that the *caciques* are forced to make it palatable for outsiders to serve [in their place] paying them with their own money whatever they require.

Thus, there is a lack of people who can work the rich mines to remove the ore for the public benefit and fulfill their service to the King as humble subjects in a matter so important to the Royal Crown and the Kingdom. Today, full of despair, they go to serve those who in name only are miners. The deficiency of ore has transformed the *mita* into a "family business," that includes the mine owners renting the Indians of their *repartimiento* to others or occupying them gathering ore from the tailings [*broza*] of the mining process that is called "to venture." And after having done the job well they are forced to work with the ore as if it were ready to be hauled, thus forcing them to work three days to accomplish what in other circumstances would be done in one.

The attention that Your Majesty has benevolently shown in the multiple laws and regulations is none other than that of good treatment and conservation of the Indians. Even as far as the *mita* is concerned, your Royal preference is for mercy, ahead of the utility gained from the extraction of ore and other riches; because they [the riches] would be of little importance as the extinction of the Indians would make . . . [such benefits] short lasting. For if there are no Indians, there are no riches either. . . . [T]he population of the Cerro de Potosí could provide the workers, instead of bringing them from remote provinces like Canas y Canchis that are more than 200 leagues away

from Potosí. We would ask Your Excellency to consider what a turn of events this is, and what type of roads these miserable Indians are forced to walk. Now you can see the gravity of their work, their vexations and their grievances.

In addition to the time that they must spend in the journey, they arrive totally ruined, incapable of suffering the hardships of the work in the *mita*. The vexations they suffer during their residence are not any less, as it seems that bad treatment of the Indians has become the nature of things . . . at the same time that they [the *mitayos*] are considered to be so necessary and useful. The work that they are forced to do, the tasks that they are forced to comply with, and all the other abuses that they suffer have been recorded. . . . These complaints have been duly submitted to the Superintendent because, even though the truth of Indians is not held in esteem, they are, after all, the unfortunate ones and carry the weight [*trabajo*] and the worst aspects of their humble condition. . . . Wickedness [is done in] hiding the wrongs against some *naturales* that merit Your Majesty's and Your Excellency's compassion. [This is done] in order to give a different color to everyday occurrences, so that complaints about their grievances are not believed.

This, however, is not the primary subject of this present petition. It confines itself to exposing the impossible situation in which this province finds itself in continually complying with the Potosí *mita* due to the extreme decline [in population] that prevents the very small number of Indians remaining from meeting *mita* demands as they conform to the Royal Laws and Ordinances; and all this in circumstances such that the Indians come from great distances and are fatigued [while at the same time] there are a great number of workers who have established themselves in said Cerro of Potosí and who could work in the mines without need of the *mita*, even if they [the mines] were thriving.

With the Ordinances contained in the Book 2, F.18 to Ch.10, dealing with the conservation of these provinces that depend on labor and the refining of the mines, and the limited need of the Indians' industry, Your Majesty expresses great desire that those provinces be relieved from their duty as soon as possible and that there should be no *repartimiento* for them. In the meantime the miners should supply themselves with Blacks [one assumes he means slaves] or voluntary day-laborers; Chapter 12, dealing with the ore of Potosí, mandates that to expedite work, labor should be supplied through the best way and form possible, [through] the *mitas* of those Indians who live in the settlement or nearby territories; Chapter 14 deals with the punctual and adequate day-wages that they should be paid, and the particular care of their health and spiritual and material well being, and that the travel costs of those who serve in the mines from outside the settlement should be reimbursed going and coming.

In Ordinance 2, Chapter 2, it is repeated that miners should buy slaves in order to help alleviate the [burden of the] Indians; Chapters 4 and 8 require that settlements be built around the mines so as to lighten the burden of *mita* and "*repartimientos*" and avoid bringing them [*mita* workers] from outside. Chapter 5 requires that the *mita* and *repartimiento* do not exceed one-seventh of the population (adult male tribute payers) of each town at the time of said *repartimiento*; because the extraction of gold and silver should not be given more attention than the conservation of the Indians. And finally, Chapter 13 (requires) punishment of those *caciques* who send to the second *mita* the same Indians that were sent to the first.

These Ordinances are in compliance with the laws included in Book 6, F. [Folio] 12 of the Recompilation of the [Laws of the] Indies. According to them, in all circumstances the claims of the provinces of Canas y Canchis are just. The main reason is because of the decline of Indians who, reduced to miserable numbers, cannot find respite [from the *mita*]. And against [the expressed desire of] those Ordinances, they who went first [to the *mita*] go a second time as otherwise the *mita* requirements cannot be met. Whether the limits of one-seventh of the population are being met cannot be determined, as we hardly have one-seventh of our population left as can be demonstrated with little difficulty. . . .

The *Corregidor* of the Province sees and experiences the decreasing numbers and the difficulty it takes for *Caciques* to deliver said *mita*, but they do not cease in always informing them that it is necessary. Distance is a grave inconvenience, more than 200 leagues of journey and same amount to come back merits serious concern over the suffering. . . . They say their farewells as if they were dying or never returning to their homeland [*Patria*]; they sell their huts and their furniture in painful transactions due to the strong disposition Indians have towards their people, their furniture, and their animals. Loaded with their women and children, each Indian *mitayo* who leaves the pueblo takes a whole family with him, preventing the propagation of the community. Thus they take to the road which is more than two hundred leagues of rugged terrain, rivers, mountains and *punas*. And if they suffer going to the *mita*, they suffer even more when deciding to go back especially when, as regularly happens, they do not foresee having the work to maintain themselves and [for this reason] they never return.

When Indians were indispensable to the *mita*, their conservation was given more attention due to their poverty, it now is beyond understanding that when the need for labor has decreased and the availability of labor has increased in Potosí, poor Indians of these distant provinces of Canas y Canchis would not be relieved of such *mita* in conformity with the expressed literal context of said Royal Ordinances. That, responding to the present case, the

miners should opt to hire those large numbers of Indians who have become part of the indigenous barrios and have located themselves in the Cerro of Potosí and who voluntarily contract themselves out to work. This would end the problem of lack of workers that made the *mita* necessary in the first place. The miners know this situation very well, but they still want the *mitayos* because they can treat them worse than slaves; because they pay them less, and use their privilege as miners as a pretext and to feign difficulties in the extraction of ore as a pretense to preserve the *mita* so that they can abuse the Indian labor, regardless if those Provinces are being annihilated, reducing the Royal Treasury of Your Majesty through the innumerable lost tributaries. Miners are so engrossed with getting immediate returns from the *mita* that even though they are required to pay the *leguaje* [travel payment for *mitayos* ordered by the Crown] covering the Indians' travels to and from their communities, this is the last thing they think of doing, so much so that the Superior Government issued a decree on August 25th, 1768, to the Governor of Potosí ordering him to require the payment of the *leguaje* by the miners at the request of the Indians of the province of Lampa. This [law] cannot be enforced and the miserable Indians embark on their long journeys without the support that is due to them. . . . [E]ven if they were in the same numbers as previously, it would always be fair that they get paid their *leguaje* and be offered support both ways. Without [this payment] they should not be found guilty if, lacking that support, they decide not to comply with the *mita*. It is in these conditions that I ask and beg you that, having presented to you such written authority and instruments of representation, you would deign to declare the Indians of said province of Canas y Canchis exempt from the *mita* of Potosí due to the decline in which they find themselves and other just causes that I the petitioner have presented. I beg for mercy which we expect to justly attain from your powerful hand. Lima, 18 of December 1777.

—José Tupac Amaru [CDIP, 17. 1777-XII-18]

16. Three Documents Related to the Potosí *Mita*

The first of the following documents deals with mita workers leaving for service in the mines of Potosí, as described by the newspaper Mercurio Peruano in 1792. This description could have come from nearly any community that was subject to the mita at any point during its long history. It gives a sense of the sadness of the situation and its impact on the people leaving, as well as on those who remained in the community.

The process of forced migration began in earnest when the corregidor or his representative notified a community and their kuraka of their obligation to serve in the Villa Imperial (Potosí) and the date of their departure. The kuraka was normally required to bring his people to a designated point of departure. In the case of Pomacanche, this was the central plaza; near Quiquijana, there was a special location—Antucota Pampa—where people gathered.

The second document addressed the provisions the mitayos and their families took with them. The kuraka was responsible for making sure that his people traveled with enough goods, such as coca, to support their journey to—and hopefully some of their stay in—Potosí.

One of the most serious consequences of the mita was the separation of families. Children from rural Cuzco often accompanied their parents to Potosí, but this was not always the case. Communities—and the parents within them—had different customs. Some took their children, whereas others did not. When the contingent from Papres departed in 1687, many mitayo couples left their children behind: Agustín Quispe and his wife bid farewell to three children; Mateo Masi and Isabel Poco had to leave “one young (tierno) son”; and Melchor Canaya, who had been selected as a backup worker (remuda), and his wife, Juana Caya, left two “hijos tiernos.” A list of mitayos from Papres does not mention children either being left behind or going. In the same year, twenty-one mitayos from Acopia included no children accompanying their parents to Potosí, whereas the same document recorded that couples from Pomacanche had children with them. Pedro Chuchocane and his wife, Juana Micayla, took their two sons—ages seven and nine—and Gabriel Quispe and Ysabel Ticlla took one child. In a 1689 survey of parishes in Quispicanchis and Canas y Canchis, some priests mentioned the Potosí mita, and others did not. Almost all of those who did, such as those of Sicuani, Langui, Layo, San Pedro de Cacha, and San Pablo de Cacha, noted that the families accompanied the men. Mitayos from Cuzco almost never went alone. Thus, the mita was, in reality, a family mita. If there was no spouse, another female was often sent to accompany the mitayo. When Diego Choque left Pomacanche for Potosí, his mother went with him. When Juan Pacha departed from Sangarará, the eight-year-old daughter of Aria Rosa was sent along to assist him.

The third document discusses the compliance of the communities of Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis with the mita and compares them to the nearby province of Chuquito. The peoples of Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis strictly complied with the imposed colonial obligation of mita service, unlike the peoples of Chuquito. This is especially interesting because the mitayos were to be paid for their travel to and from Potosí. Payment (leguaje) was, however, a matter of continual contention—not only between mitayos and miners, but also between the Crown and the mining sector. Despite repeated royal orders,

colonial officials lacked the will, or perhaps the power, to enforce payment. Because it was against the Crown's interests to suspend the mita if the leguaje was not paid, the position of those authorities who were inclined to enforce payment was weakened. Thus, the leguaje, instituted to help mitayos and those left behind to survive, was nonexistent or inconsistent for most of the colonial period. For Cuzqueño mitayos this meant that one half year of service—three months each way—typically went uncompensated. As seen in the petition of Tupac Amaru concerning the mita, in the late 1770s mine owners were still avoiding the payment of leguaje.

In addition to the other difficulties, the sheer distance to Potosí was a significant problem. A Sicuani priest reported that the number of community members continued to decline: "It is rare that [the mitayos and their families] return for lack of provisions and for the very great distance that they are from Potosí and because the Royal ordinances are not complied with." Mitayos were supposed to serve one year in Potosí, but the great distance and travel time influenced the communities of Canas y Canchis and some other distant regions to develop a policy of two years of service. Thus, the burdens and separations forced on the peoples who came from villages in these provinces were even greater than for those who lived closer to the Cerro Rico. A Canas y Canchis priest, sensitive to the impact of colonial exactions and abuses, complained that the communities were "dissipated" by pressures from corregidores "and principally the mita of Potosí, where each two years they dispatch from each parish more than twenty Indians, that are entire families." For all of these reasons, it is no wonder that Tupac Amaru tried to lift the burden of the mita from his people.

Document 1: Mita Workers Leave for Potosí

The Indians that go to Potosí and its refining mills leave their homeland with great mournfulness. . . . The day of their departure is very sad . . . [After mass] they pay [the priest] in order to entreat from them all-powerful success in their journey. Then they leave for the plaza accompanied by their parents, relatives and friends; and hugging each other with many tears and sobs, they say goodbye. Followed by their wives and children, they take to the road preoccupied with their suffering and depression. The doleful and melancholy nature of this scene is augmented by the drums and the bells that begin to signal supplications.

Document 2: List of Goods Taken by Mitayos to Potosí from Pomachape

Goods Taken to Potosí by Indians of Pomachape

Name	Goods Taken to Potosí
1. Joseph Lope, <i>capitán de mita</i> and Josepha Asensia	6 llamas loaded with <i>chuno</i> , wheat, corn, <i>coca</i> and shelter (<i>toldo</i>).
2. Joan Vilca Poma, with <i>enterador</i>	3 llamas loaded with corn, <i>chuno</i> , wheat, a <i>burrigo coca</i> and shelter.
3. Martin Choque, <i>cédula</i> and Josepha Malque	6 llamas loaded with corn, <i>chuno</i> , wheat, <i>coca</i> and shelter.
4. Joseph Alvarado, <i>cédula</i> and Teresa Sisa	4 llamas loaded with corn, <i>chuno</i> , wheat, <i>coca</i> and shelter.
5. Joan de Mendoza, <i>cédula</i> and Jacoba Poco	5 llamas loaded with corn, <i>chuno</i> , wheat, <i>coca</i> and shelter.

Document 3: Spanish Evaluation of Community Compliance with the Mita

Reputation for Mita Delivery in Cuzco and Chuquito

Community and Province	Mita Ordinaria (number of mitayos)	Buenos, Medianos, Malos
Canas del Cuzco		
Siquane	19	buenos
Singa y Lurucache	15	buenos
Marangani	5	buenos
Coporaque	11	buenos
Yaure	31	medianos
Checasupa	15	buenos
Layosupa	11	buenos
Pichigua	43	medianos
Cacha	17	buenos
Charrachape	2	buenos
Ancocaba	1	bueno
Llanguisupa	12	buenos
	185	
Tinta Canches		
Checacupi	21	buenos
Cangalla	5	buenos

(continued)

Community and Province	<i>Mita Ordinaria</i> (number of <i>mitayos</i>)	<i>Buenos,</i> <i>Medianos, Malos</i>
Tinta Canches	24	<i>buenos</i>
Combapata	7	<i>buenos</i>
Combapata de D. Ant.	5	<i>buenos</i>
Yanaoca	29	<i>buenos</i>
	91	
Canches Quispillactas (Quispicanchis)		
Pomacanche de Rios	19	<i>medianos</i>
Pomacanche de P. Arias	6	<i>buenos</i>
Sangarará	13	<i>buenos</i>
Collopata	8	<i>buenos</i>
Acopia	7	<i>buenos</i>
	53	
Chuquito		
Chuquitos	116	<i>medianos</i>
Acora	90	<i>buenos</i>
Hilave	83	<i>medianos</i>
Jule	105	<i>medianos</i>
Pomata	93	<i>malos</i>
Yunguyo	61	<i>malos</i>
Cepita	70	<i>malos</i>
	618	

[WOTA, 174-76, 182-83].

19. Tupac Amaru and Troubles over the *Reparto* with Geronymo Cano, *Cobrador* (Tax Collector)

It was not just through the exploitation of poorer community members that Tupac Amaru experienced the oppression and greed of the forced sale of goods known as the reparto. Even in his position as a relatively well-to-do kuraka, he experienced difficulties meeting payments. Many others were also aggravated by not receiving the goods they had to pay for, or by getting goods that were not needed. Although the corregidor was in charge of the reparto, someone who worked for the corregidor usually was directly responsible for the distribution of goods and the collection of payment. In the following case, it was a tax collector named Cano who aggravated Tupac Amaru. Many cobradores were harsh in their methods of collection, verbally and physically abusing people or having them sentenced to hard labor to work off debts. In the following document, Tupac Amaru complains of not getting the materials he was supposed to receive, and then having the cobrador take extra monies or goods as well.

Demand against Mr. Geronymo Cano.

I, Sr. Joseph Tupac Amaru, *Cacique Principal* and Governor of the Town of Pampamarca of this Province of Canas y Canchis, appear before you by right,

and express that Mr. Geronymo Cano, collector of the *Repartimiento* of this Province, had noted in the book of the *repartimiento* that he had given me two and one-half *arrobas* [one *arroba* equals 25 pounds] of iron at six and a half *reales* per pound, or what amounted to fifty pesos and six *reales*: which belonged to General Gregorio Viana, *Corregidor* who was from this Province and by whose order I was being charged those fifty pesos and six *reales*. Mr. Baltazar Calvo (a collector who worked for Cano) collected this amount with notable efficiency, even without my having received the aforementioned iron. This I paid only to avoid the embarrassment of the prison term with which he was threatening me. And due to this wickedness he [Cano] owes me those fifty pesos and six *reales*.

He also owes me 150 pesos in rent for the land belonging to the *Casicasgo* [estate] that I was given by Your Majesty. . . . [E]ven though it is customary that when a new *Cacique* starts in office he needs to harvest the produce available to help defray the costs of his office, you determined that the above mentioned Mr. Geronymo Cano should harvest the produce so that the tribute could be paid, and that I would only charge for the renting of the land. Without regard to such just determinations, he nonetheless cashed for himself those 150 pesos, if not more. . . . and that with the 50 pesos and six *reales* cited above, he owes me 200 pesos and six *reales*.

In addition he took six loads from the harvest of the potatoes that I planted, valued at more than sixty pesos and he should have informed me of this. He took them with him, as if daring me, a deed witnessed by past *Alcaldes*, to whom I will protest; these together amount to an additional sixty pesos. [Taken all together] the three complaints amount to 260 pesos, six *reales*. This sum is sufficient for you to order an embargo on all the goods and properties that apparently belong to the said Geronymo Cano of the town of Tungasuca, and some of his potato harvest, so that I can be fully reimbursed for the entire amount. . . . and that a date should be fixed so that those items be put under the custody of a trusted person until the transactions and auctions of same can proceed.

Thus, I ask and beg you, based on what I have presented, that you order this restitution be made as it is fair and legal, and I swear before God and the [Holy] Cross that what I have charged against Sr. Geronymo Cano is certain and truthful,

Joseph Tupac Amaru [CDIP; 6. 1768]

20. A Tupac Amaru Proclamation Concerning the *Reparto*

One of the efforts undertaken by Tupac Amaru was to win the support of those who would benefit from the changes he proposed, such as ending the hated reparto. However, due to doubts about the success of the rebellion or about joining the rebellion, not all indigenous people were quick to follow the rebel leader's admonitions. In the following proclamation, the liberation from colonial exactions carried with it an implied threat that the indigenous people must support the insurrectionary program or face the consequences.

Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, ["From:] Don Joseph Inca of Royal Blood, descended from the principal trunk of the Royal Family Tree. It has come to my attention that the inhabitants from the *doctrina* [parish] of Asillo have not yet participated. . . . in the enterprise that I have at hand, which is to remove all the encumbrances coming from the *reparto*, taxes, customs and other perverse impositions. To this end, it is beneficial that all should be willing to help me by joining my troops, so that we can apprehend the *corregidores*, and all those who are their allies, so that we can give them sentences that match their Deeds; for it was they who oppressed the provinces with their *repartos*. And, if scorning my reasoning, they do not comply with my decisions, I will make them pay for their omission with their lives, as I am working for their own good and commissioning Don Genonimo [*sic*] Guampo Tupa and Don Francisco Diaz to explain [to the people] what I have verbally communicated to them. Done in Ayaviri. On December 6th, 1780.

Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, Inca [CDIP; 93. 1780-XII-6]

21. Proclamation Published in Lima to Take the *Repartimientos* away from the *Corregidores*

Spanish officials, alarmed by the rebellion and aware of the continual complaints against the reparto and the frequent abuses of those who profited in one way or another from the reparto, acted quickly to end this system of forced sale of goods. Undoubtedly, the royalist officials hoped that this lessening of their burden would deter indigenous people from joining the rebellion, or induce some of those who had rebelled to abandon the uprising.

Don Agustín de Jáuregui and Co. Taking into consideration the pity with which our Catholic King, mindful of the well-being and utility of the Indians of this Kingdom, gave permission and license to the *Corregidores* and Governors . . . of the Provinces to distribute *repartimientos* to said natives. [The *reparto* consisted] of mules, clothing, and other items that were needed for their traffic and commerce, to cultivate their crops, and other necessary items for their clothing and comfort; under [the conditions that] assure the liberty of the Indians in this type of transaction, the legitimacy of the prices, and the fairness in collecting them. To this end a Board of *Oidores* [Judges] of the Royal *Audiencia* was created in order to set the tariffs or taxes so that those items that were distributed in each Province, according to their need and convenience as well as the prices to be charged, without exceeding . . . [need or price] under grave penalties. And just in case said *Corregidores* might commit abuse or excess might as to the quantity or quality of the items, or over their value, or the mode of collection; this Royal *Audiencia* should be informed so that it can compensate the natives. And even though all safeguards that seem just and convenient . . . have been set in place by the Supreme Government and said Tribunals to enforce them, the favorable effects promised and expected by these regulations have not been effective. Much to the contrary, the *Naturales* have experienced generally dark consequences through the abuses the *Corregidores* have imposed on them, causing grave harm and damage to the *Indios* themselves, who were supposed to benefit from the supposed safeguards. For these reasons . . . and taking into consideration all the matters expressed in the tribunal, it was unanimously agreed to . . . extinguish all *repartimientos* of all the *Corregidores*. Thus, I declare that from now on all *repartimientos* should be abolished and extinguished and considered to be so in all the provinces of this Kingdom. And it is ordered that not one of them try to carry on [the *reparto*] under any circumstance; in small or large quantity, nor for any items or things even though they might claim that they are useful to the Indians of their jurisdiction, or are given for a very small price, or are distributed following their wishes, their consent or their request. None of these actions, or any others whatsoever, will excuse a transgression, nor will they exempt any of them from losing their jobs, their property and anything else that might be deemed necessary depending on the circumstances. Penalties will be enforced against any *Corregidor* or Governor who shall serve in the provinces of this Kingdom if it can be proven that they imposed a *repartimiento* on the Indians. Only those who have concluded a *repartimiento* or have it mid-way are allowed to finish it and collect what is just, with the precise understanding that there will be no abuses, excesses, or harm done towards the Indians. Transgressions will be examined and severely punished by a court of this Royal Audience composed by ministers that I will name, who are professionals who know about these matters and will compensate

the Indians so that justice may be done and pity expressed to them. . . . Any new *Corregidor* entering the provincial government must know that they will not be able to benefit from the *repartimiento*. . . . And so that this information can be distributed to all, it should be published in all cities, pueblos and villages of this Kingdom and enough copies are to be printed so that the *Corregidores* and Justices can be given sufficient copies to affix in public and customary places to this end. Dated in the City of Kings of Peru on December 9th, 1780.

—Don Agustín de Jáuregui

—By order of his Excellency, my Lord.

—Simón de Dolarea [*CDIP*, 99. 1780-XII-9]

22. Edict Due to the Revolt of José Gabriel Tupac Amaru to End the *Repartimientos* and Some Other Established Contributions

Officials in Cuzco were especially concerned with neutralizing indigenous sympathy for the rebellion as much as they could, and with making appeals to mestizos and other castas to support the loyalist effort. In the following document, produced just days after the execution of Arriaga, the corregidor of Cuzco and the Junta de Guerra make it clear that the reparto is to be done away with. At the same time, they encourage people to engage in trade by removing certain fees and hindrances, because they know that their survival depends on the supply of food as well as their military force. They also abolish various taxes. The officials appeal to a sense of loyalty to the Crown—as well as to faith—to keep people in line. Additionally, they offer amnesty to the rebels and encourage people to join their military forces.

I, Dn. Fernando Ynclan y Valdes, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Lieutenant Captain General, *Corregidor* and *Justicia Mayor* of this great city of Cuzco and its jurisdiction, for the sake of your Majesty. I say: As it is of the utmost importance to sustain by any means available to us the Catholic Faith that we all profess due to God's almighty mercy, as good Christians we profess to live and die by it [our faith] . . . worshipping the Divine Cult and sacred images that, as we all know, have been desecrated by José Gabriel Tupac Amaru and his allies. [This] fact can be verified by the events that took place in the Church of the Pueblo of Sangarará, which with disrespect and notorious

irreverence was set on fire even while the Sacred Sacraments were there and it was polluted with all the blood of those who were inside and in its Doors and Cemetery and were . . . wounded or killed on the 18th of said month, by a multitude of people who attacked the Spaniards. . . . This being a crime of detestable nature and therefore banned and punished by Canonic and Royal Laws with heavy penalties, which said Tupac Amaru . . . is deserving, as well as those who collaborated in the sacrilegious activities. . . . [B]earing in mind that said Tupac Amaru has raised the Pueblo of Tungasuca in rebellion and conspired against our Lord the King (God save him), his operations give ample proof of his criminal actions. . . . [He also] put *Corregidor* Dn. Antonio Arriaga to death . . . and is planning to execute others. Hidden behind the mask of piety, he has offered to free the Indians of that Province from tributes, . . . and sales taxes, customs and other contributions, without having the authority to do so, and using the supposition that he has superior orders for which he has not produced any proof nor will be able to do so.

Therefore I should order, and I do order, that this Edict be published as a Notice of War so that the news reach everybody, not only in this City and District but in all Provinces subject to its Royal Treasury, doing this in the name of the King our Lord, so that all Indios and other provincials will defend, as is expected, the Dominions against the Rebel and his followers by any means available so as to make clear their loyalty and faithful adherence to the Sovereign. And taking into consideration the piety and benevolence with which these Indians have been treated by our Catholic King, as his Laws and Royal Ordinances attest, we protest in his Royal Name that their privileges are being punctually and exactly safeguarded through the compliance of His Majesty's decision of not having them pay the tithes in this episcopate. This was done in accordance with the rulings of the . . . Royal *Audiencia* of Lima and later confirmed by His Majesty, and as it is attested in the books of this municipal council. Moreover, they will also be free immediately from the *Corregidores' repartimientos* and will not need to pay for anything those *Corregidores* have distributed to them, and will not, under any circumstance, be imprisoned in *Obrajes*. . . . [T]he *Mestizos* are promised the benefit of not having to pay taxes, nor custom charges, and that they will benefit from this freedom and exemption as well as their children and their children's descendants.

. . . [T]hose who cooperated in the present excesses are pardoned and given general Amnesty. They will not be prosecuted in any way and will not be treated as rebels, but those who label themselves as rebels . . . will pay with their lives. Finally, they [the Indians] will be given a new distribution of lands and they will be given enough land so as to be able to support themselves, having experts supervising the distribution and assisted by appointed Protectors. All this will be approved by our Excellency the Viceroy of these Kingdoms, the Lords of the Royal *Audiencia*, and the *Visitador General* without

any discussions. And this will be confirmed by our Lord the King as his royal intention is to benefit his Subjects from whom he expects them to show their courage and strength to catch the Rebels so that our armies have the laurel of victory, for our glory, the good of the nation, and in service to God and our King. And this edict will be made known to the Royal Officials so that they will not, under any circumstance, charge taxes or custom duties to the Indians and *Mestizos*. They (the Indians and *Mestizos*) can bring their loads and commercial products coming from their harvests, husbandry, and farming so that they can sell them. The Guards of the *Visita* and *Camineros* are to be made aware of what has been agreed to so that they allow these loads to come in freely, without causing or charging the most minimal expenditure under penalty of death. Thus, I, the present *Corregidor*, have provided, ordered, and signed with the approval of the members of the War Council who also signed it in the said City of Cuzco on the 20th of November of 1780, which I attest. And in this situation the said *Corregidor*, after consulting with the Council also ordered it to be published that all those *Mestizos* and other peoples who would enlist under the Banners of the King be paid a daily salary of two *reales* or more, depending on the rank they are given, as is being done with all those who are presently working for them and in the service of the King. Don Fernando Ynclan y Valdes, Don Marco Antonio de la Camara y Escudero, Don Sebastian Josef de Ocampo, Dn. Miguel Torrejon, Dn. Joaquin Calcarcel, Don Pedro Josef Veles, Dn. Francisco Javier Olleta, Dn. Josef de Saldivar y Saavedra, Dn. Matias Baulen, Dn. Ysydro Guizasola. By orders of their Mercies, Miguel de Acuña notary public and of His Majesty. [CDIP; 77. 1780-XI-20]

V. The Rebellion

34. Account of the Most Horrible Crime Committed by José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, *Cacique* of Pampamarca

The following document is an account of the first stages of the rebellion, beginning with the dinner that Tupac Amaru and Corregidor Antonio de Arriaga shared with others on November 4, 1780. Subsequent to this social gathering, Tupac Amaru took Corregidor Arriaga prisoner. The corregidor was then sentenced to death, which was carried out on November 10, 1780—the executioner himself was a slave of Arriaga's. The rebel leader Tupac Amaru declared himself the new Inca. The author of the document also refers to Micaela Bastidas, the wife of Tupac Amaru, as no less cruel of a monster than her husband. In this way, the author indirectly attests to the important role Bastidas would have in the rebel leadership.

The document is most interesting in that so much has been made of the antagonisms between Tupac Amaru and Arriaga. Although this discord is obviously true, they were also united by the bond of fictive kinship. Perhaps this is the reason that the person working for Arriaga did not hesitate to put the corregidor's wealth in the hands of Tupac Amaru when he received a letter from the corregidor asking him to do this.

One of the first things Tupac Amaru did as the new Inca was to attack textile mills (obrajes). In doing this, he not only attacked a symbol of oppression, he distributed the cloth—just as the Incas had done to reward people. Thus, he most likely called on this ancient tradition to solidify his claim to the title of Inca.

On Saturday November 4th of 1780, the day on which our Sovereign Monarch . . . Dn. Carlos the Third (God keep him) is celebrated, a dinner was held at the house of Dr. Carlos Rodriguez, priest of the Doctrine (Parish) of Yanaoca with Crl. Don Antonio Arriaga *Corregidor* of the Province of Tinta, the priest of the Doctrine of Pampamarca, and the *Cacique* of that town José Gabriel Tupac Amaru. Once the banquet was over, the *Corregidor* was pressed to leave early for Tinta where he had some unfinished businesses, but having offered to keep him company, the *Cacique* (who was like his *compadre*) would not hear of it. Instead, José Gabriel left before him so that he could meet with those who were waiting in a ravine ready to ambush the *Corregidor* who had to take that route. Once the *Corregidor* arrived to said site, Tupac Amaru came

out and confronted him with all his men. The *Corregidor*, . . . trying to defend himself, grabbed a pistol but he was immediately caught with a rope around his neck and was forced down off his mule before having a chance to shoot. They also wounded the clerk who was accompanying him and captured the rest of his slaves who were following him at a distance. They were all taken to a hidden, secret site off the path and were left there tied up, guarded, and under threat of death if they shouted.

Having done this the traitor promptly went back to a house he owned in the annex [community of a parish] named Tungasuca. And having given his orders, he went back at midnight to bring the prisoners to this house. He put the *Corregidor*, burdened with chains and shackles, in one of the underground cells, and his clerk in another; as well as the other slaves. He made the clerk write several letters of convocation and forced the *corregidor* to sign them and address them to: his principal cashier Dn. Manuel San Roque; to all those who called themselves Spaniards in the region; and to other subjects, from whose persons and resources he desired to take advantage due to being who they were and because of their wealth. In fact, the letter addressed to the Cashier ordered him to come to Tungasuca without delay, bringing all the sealed and minted silver and firearms . . . as these were all necessary to serve the King and to which end he was sending his *compadre* with the necessary mules. In the letters of convocation he threatened, under penalty of death, all those who would not present themselves with their arms in Tungasuca. To Don Bernardo de la Madrid, and the Galician Dn. Juan de Figueroa, the first the overseer of Pomacanchi and the second of Quipococha, he wrote to them in the following manner:

Esteemed friend: it is imperative that you put yourself on the road for this pueblo of Tungasuca as soon as you read this, for we have several matters that we need to discuss tonight. And from here I am planning to go to Cuzco where I intend to clear my name. I wish your Honor perfect health and that God keep you for years to come. Tungasuca, November 5th, 1780. Your dear friend—Arriaga.

After sending these letters of convocation, Tupac Amaru got two strings of mules ready after one in the morning and left immediately carrying the letter to the Cashier himself. The Cashier, recognizing the handwriting and signature of the *Corregidor* and seeing that his *compadre* was in charge, did not hesitate. The traitor carried 22,000 pesos in cash, carved silver, ninety muskets, two boxes containing the sabers of the province, and all the various weapons of said *Corregidor*. And accompanied by the *Corregidor's* family—whom he convinced had also been summoned—he left without delay for Tungasuca. Once there, he put everybody in jail, doing the same thing with Dn. Bernardo de la Madrid and the Galician Dn. Juan de Figueroa.

Such silence was maintained that nobody knew the whereabouts of the *Corregidor*. Some were told that he had left to visit the higher villages of the Province. Others were told that he was attending to very important business in Tungasuca, which did not allow him to attend to anything else. He [Tupac Amaru] put spies in all entrances to Cuzco so that nobody in the Province could go and inform [people there] about what was going on in Tungasuca.

While the armed Indians and *Mestizos* of his faction were arriving, thanks to the Letters of Convocation, he [Tupac Amaru] had a gallows built in the Tungasuca plaza and he sentenced the *Corregidor*, his *compadre*, to die on it. Intimidated by his sentence, the *Corregidor* sent for the priest Dr. Dn. Antonio Lopez, who happened to be in the principal pueblo, a league and a half away, to come and hear the confession of an invalid. The priest walked there and discovered that he had to confess the . . . *Corregidor*. He asked why he was treated in such a way, and he answered that the *Cacique* Tupac Amaru was thinking of killing him. . . . [Tupac Amaru] told the Priest that he had orders from the *General Visitador*, authorized by the *Royal Audiencia* of Lima, and he had had it for twenty-six days. He was worried that he was guilty of taking too much time [to comply with the order]. . . .

The priest then proceeded to assist the unfortunate *Corregidor*, giving him confession and the last *viaticum* [communion] and supporting him during the six days he was given.

On the morning of Friday, November 10th, Tupac Amaru ordered that three columns . . . be organized from all the people from his Province that were already there. Two were composed of Spaniards and *Mestizos* armed with muskets, sabers, and sticks; and one of Indians with slings. In the middle of this, he brought out the *Corregidor*, dressed in his military uniform, and publicly started taking his uniform off, stripping him of his rank following the rituals he had understood and seen in other occasions, until he was left in his shirt. He then put a shroud on him . . . that had the title of *La Caridad* on it. He then gave the order to take him to the gallows, accompanied by the Priest and two other clergymen, where he went with a resignation and patience worthy of somebody who was already touching the portals of eternity.

Once on the gallows the *Corregidor* was forced by the tyrant to publicly declare that he deserved to die in that way. A black slave of the *Corregidor* served as his executioner, but the ropes snapped and both fell to the ground. But they suspended them again with a lariat around their necks, and thus they completed the execution in clear sight and tolerance of all his Province. Not one voice was raised that would disturb the operation. And most surprising of all was that those same Collectors and those close to the *Corregidor* were the ones who (oh, what an awful spectacle of perfidy!) sped his way to the ignominious place of execution, and who pulled on his feet so he could die even more violently.

While all this was happening, the *Cacique* [Tupac Amaru] circled the village and its entrances on his horse. The troops were surprised at an action so unimaginably cruel as . . . that of a *Corregidor* being executed by one of his subjects. . . . They were all so intimidated by these events that nobody dared to complain or contradict what was being carried out. And everything was done with such secretiveness and care that even though the execution took place six days after his arrest, the news was not known in Cuzco until after the death of the *Corregidor* was confirmed by those closest to him. Two days later the body was buried with the regular pomp in the church of the same town. The *Cacique* was not present at the function as he was occupied on other expeditions.

With this first coup the tyrant was getting ready for even more audacious deeds, showing himself capable and willing to do whatever it took. Several years before he had gone to Lima and appeared before the Royal *Audiencia* to determine the legitimate quality of his descendancy from Dn. Felipe Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas. It is there where he gladly started down a path filled with contradictory judgment. . . . The papers that were approved through the recklessness of those who handled the documents of his lineage gave him the chance to form a high idea of his own lineage, a fact that took him where he should have never gone.

Returning from Lima with even more presumption than when he had left, he knew how to hide his intentions under a facade of moderation, general affability, and generosity . . . tricks used by those who try to command the affection of all only to despotically dominate them later on. Nothing of his plans was discovered until the very insolent act of publicly killing the *Corregidor*. More than six thousand men, Indians and *Mestizos* from surrounding villages, assisted him. And having called upon those in the surrounding area, he intimated in the tongue that the Incas used [Quechua]: *That the time had come when they must shake off the heavy burden under which they had been suffering for many long years at the hands of the Spaniards. . . . The Corregidores of the Kingdom would be punished in equal measure for all the taxes they had imposed. . . . They would exterminate all Europeans and terminate the repartimientos, customs, and other similar burdens that were only devastating the kingdom. He added that this in no way went against the obedience due to the King and . . . the Catholic Faith. The . . . [Catholic Church] had all his veneration, and . . . respect. Once all injustices were removed, his only goal was to bring the infidel Indians to the faith and retire to enjoy the fruits of his expeditions. They should not despair at the beginning and they would attain their freedom. They should rest assured that the love that he expressed through all this would probably cost him his life in a similar torment as they had just witnessed, but that he would do it with happiness if it meant giving his nation glory and restoring its ancient state.* He then put a rope around his neck as used in the previous

execution, so as to move the Indians, who . . . cried out offering to follow him and to lose their lives before withdrawing their support.

He then proceeded to issue a proclamation with this beginning: Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, Inca, of royal blood and main lineage. In it, he called on all his beloved American *Criollos* of all classes, as well as Spaniards, *Mestizos*, and Indians . . . to follow him. He made it clear that he was a Christian Catholic and that he would never violate the Church's immunities. His only objective was to abolish the introduction of *Corregidores*, free the Kingdom of customs, monopolies and other taxes, and to do away with everything that was European and responsible for such institutions. Those who would oppose and resist his plans would suffer . . . the full weight of his anger. Copies of this proclamation and other edicts were distributed through people of trust so that they would be posted in public places in the Provinces and cities close to Cuzco and Arequipa. . . . He wrote . . . to the priests so that they would not influence the believers of their parishes and prevent their following his precepts. He did the same with other private individuals, even those who he did not know and whose trust he assumed, even though in reality he did not have it.

It was mentioned that the traitor Tupac Amaru did not attend the burial of the *Corregidor* for he was busy with other expeditions. These were reduced to him going personally to Tinta, to the said *Corregidor's* house, and ransacking it of what he had not had the chance to get when he went there with the Cashier. He took everything of taste and value that had been left, leaving not a mule nor food, of which he took plenty. Then he went to the *obrajes* of Parupuquio and Pomacanchi. He demolished the first and looted all the fine clothes he found and which he used as the first demonstrations of his generosity to all those who were helping him with the rebellion. In the second, we were assured, he took even more loot. . . . [H]e took over twenty mules loaded with clothes, lots of provisions, and 13,000 pesos in cash.

He then proceeded to go to the neighboring province of Quispicanchis to conquer it and surprise its *Corregidor* Dn. Fernando Cabrera, who . . . was in the town of Quiquijana some eight leagues from Tungasuca. He had arrived from Lima not even one month before but had the fortune of being able to flee to Cuzco, hidden by the dark of the night and riding bareback on a mule or mare that he managed to get. He was forced to leave 2,000 pesos in . . . silver and all his jewelry, which the rebel confiscated. This Province (Quispicanchis) declared itself in support of the rebel, and the Indians kissed his feet and hands as if he were their lord. He distributed the clothes that the *Corregidor* had for the *reparto* among the Indians and went back to his pueblo of Tungasuca where he established his royal throne with great ostentation and with guards who were named chiefs so as to better rule their people.

Then he went to hang those Europeans that he had taken prisoners when he arrested *Corregidor* Arriaga, but his wife, the *Cacica* Micaela Bastidas (she

is as cruel a minister as he is), convinced him not to kill them for they could be of help in fixing arms, casting cannons and bullets, especially the Galician Figueroa whose skills in these matters were well known. And, in fact, after securing them with shackles and guards, he put them to work on those tasks. Tinta, November 10th, 1780. [CDIP, 60. 1780-XI-10]

35. Death Certificate of Corregidor Antonio de Arriaga

The priest Antonio Lopez de Sosa was almost like a father to Tupac Amaru. He was probably the person responsible for getting the future kuraka into the kuraka school in Cuzco after Tupac Amaru's father died. He also performed the marriage ceremony for the rebel leader to Micaela Bastidas. He was asked by Tupac Amaru to hear the confession of Corregidor Arriaga, and the priest was then present during Arriaga's execution. In the following document, Lopez de Sosa presents Arriaga's death certificate in a very matter-of-fact way, giving no indication of his personal relationship to the rebel leader nor the momentous implications of this death (one would not necessarily expect him to say such things), but briefly mentioning his role in the events surrounding the execution.

Don Antonio de Arriaga, *Corregidor* of this Province. In the Pueblo of San Felipe de Tungasuca, annex of the Doctrine (Parish) of Pampamarca, Province of Tinta, on the thirteenth day of the month of November of 1780. I, Dr. Don Antonio Lopez de Sosa, Priest and Vicar of this Doctrine, buried the body of Don Antonio de Arriaga, *Corregidor* of this province, whom I assisted [with his confession] at his request and after seeing that all my efforts to save his life were in vain due to the resistance and disturbances of those [who were] accomplices in his imprisonment. And it was not registered then due to the rebellions, loss of the [register] book, and being late so that I forgot to register it, so I am doing it now, and signing it.

Doctor Don Antonio Lopez de Sosa [CDIP, 64. 1780-XI-13]

36. Tupac Amaru Declares Himself Inca and Ruler

Tupac Amaru most often argued that he was acting on behalf of the Spanish monarchs to create good government, but in the following selection he declares himself the Inca and ruler of his Andean territories and people. He also discusses how the Spanish rulers have usurped his legitimate position and exploited his people. The document was undated and unsigned. For this reason, and because other documents do not declare a break from the Spanish Crown, the possibility that it could be a forgery has been suggested.

Don José I by the grace of God, Inca king of Peru, Santa Fe, Quito, Chile, Buenos Aires, and the continents of the seas of the south, highest duke and lord of the Césars and Amazonians, with dominion in the Gran Paititi, commissary and distributor of divine piety . . . decided in my council . . . on repeated and secret occasions, already made public, that the Kings of Castile usurped the throne and dominion of my people three centuries ago, making them vassals with unbearable services, tributes, money, custom dues, *alcabalas*, monopolies . . . tenths, and fifths. The viceroys, *audiencias*, *corregidores*, and other ministers [are] all equally tyrannous, selling justice at auction; and to him who bids most, most is given. Ecclesiastical and secular officials enter into [administering justice] without fear of God, trample upon the natives of this kingdom as beasts, and take away the lives of all those who do not wish to rob. . . . In the name of God, all powerful, we order and command that none of the said pensions shall be paid to the intrusive European ministers of bad faith or shall they be obeyed in anything. Respect shall only be held for the priesthood. We shall pay the tenth and first fruits [*primicia*], which are given to God and the tribute and fifth [*quinto*] for the King as the natural Lord; and this with the moderation which shall be made known with other laws to be observed and kept. . . . I command . . . an oath to be taken to my royal crown in all the cities, towns, and places of my dominions; and [I wish] to be informed briefly of the ready and faithful vassals, for rewards, and those who rebel, for imposing fitting penalties. [LIR, 134–35. Translated by L. E. Fisher.]

37. Tupac Amaru's Proclamation of Freedom for Slaves

One of Tupac Amaru's first actions was to try to gain support for the rebellion and to undermine the strength of the Spanish. One of the ways he attempted to accomplish this was by stirring up the fears of the Spanish and by creating

and them, especially the people who worked for them. In the following proclamation, he asks all Spaniards to desert the rebellion, and he calls not only for the freeing of the slaves but for the slaves to leave their masters. He offers the slaves their freedom if they comply with his orders, and he makes it clear that those who do not accept his offer will suffer his wrath for their disobedience.

Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru Indian of noble-blood of the Incas and royal family (*Tronco Principal*).

Proclamation of November 16, 1780 to the citizens of Cuzco so that they desert the Spaniards [*chapetones*] and free the slaves.

Through this proclamation let it be known to all Peruvians who live and inhabit the City of Cuzco who are friends of Spaniards and *Mestizos*, religious men that are in the city, priests and other distinguished persons who might have developed friendships with the Peruvian people and those who participate in my efforts to benefit this Kingdom: let it be perfectly understood: the hostilities and ill-treatment caused by all European people, who without fear of the Divine Majesty nor abiding by the Royal Orders of our natural Lord, have pushed to the limit the peace and tranquility of these lands by their ill-treatments and affronts, their taking advantage of the common good, even letting the natives die. And as everybody has experienced rough treatment from the Europeans they should all come, without exception, and support my position by totally deserting the Spaniards, even if they were slaves to their masters with the added benefit that they will be freed of the servitude and slavery to which they were subjected. And if they do not abide by this proclamation they will experience the most severe punishment that I can impose, regardless of whether they are Priests, Friars or of any other quality or character. And so that nobody can allege ignorance, I order that this proclamation be posted in all public places of the city. This was done in the Sanctuary of Tungasuca¹ Province of Tinta the 16th of November of 1780.

Joph. Gb. Thupa Amaro Inca [sic] [CDIP, 69. 1780-XI-16]

1. One of the four annexes of the parish of Pampamarca.

57. Edict That Was Found in the Pocket Tupac Amaru's Pocket When He Was Captured

This edict was in Tupac Amaru's pocket when he was captured. It demonstrates that he had clearly committed himself to being the Inca king of the lands in South America that were under the Spanish Crown, and that he had also given himself the power to distribute divine piety. In the edict, he seeks to cripple the colonial economy by relieving people of the burdens imposed by unjust officials and leaving in place only those taxes that he, as king, would need to run his kingdom. It is interesting that, although some people connected with the church are mentioned among the evildoers, religion is still respected.

Don José the first, by the grace of God Inga [*sic*] King of Peru, Santa Fe, Quito, Chile, Buenos Ayres [*sic*] and Continents of the Seas of the South, Duke of la *Superlativa*, Lord of the Caesars and Amazons, with dominion over the Great Paititi, Commissary distributor of Divine Piety. . . .

As it was agreed by my Council in several careful meetings, both publicly and privately, that the Kings of Castile usurped the Crown and dominion over my people for almost three centuries, taxing vassals to pay unbearable service, tribute, excises, duties, customs, mercantile taxes, monopolies, land taxes, tithes, and fifths (*quintos*), and the Viceroy, *Audiencias*, *Corregidores* and other ministries all sharing in the same tyranny, selling justice in public auctions . . . Ecclesiastical and Secular people who, without fear of God, harmed the *naturales* of this Kingdom like they were beasts. . . . For all this, and for their just clamors that have regularly reached the heavens, in the name of God Almighty we order that the aforementioned peoples, and intrusive European ministers, should not receive any payment nor be obeyed in anything. Full respect being shown only to the clergy, paying them their tithes and offering them the first fruits as it were given directly to God: and the tribute and fifth to their King and Natural Lord [Tupac Amaru], and this with

52. Micaela Bastidas Admonishes Her Husband, Tupac Amaru

Micaela Bastidas, Tupac Amaru's wife, proved to be a very capable leader and an important influence on her husband during the insurrection. She understood, perhaps better than her husband, the importance of not losing momentum by taking too much time to achieve goals or allowing the troops to become demoralized. In the following letter, she takes her husband to task and tells him to take action. She, in a wifely tone, warns Tupac Amaru—whom she refers to as "Chepe"—about protecting his image, about the tenuous commitment of their troops, and about the very real danger that existed for all of them.

Chepe: you will kill me with grief for you slowly go through the villages, especially Yauri, taking two days with great disregard for soldiers who have reason to get bored and who want to go back to their villages.

I do not have any more patience to face any of this, as I myself am capable of surrendering to the enemy so that they take my life. I see you with very little eagerness in confronting this very serious issue that might take our lives. We are in the middle of enemies and we do not have our lives secured. And it is because of you that the lives of my children are also in danger, and the lives of those who are with us [supporting our cause].

I am tired of telling you not to dally in those pueblos where there is nothing for us to do. But you occupy yourself passing through them without any consideration that our soldiers need to be fed even if one gives them money and this will also run out in due time. Then everybody will leave, abandoning us, so that we pay with our lives. For they—as you might have figured out—are only here seeking their own interests and to get as much as they can from us. . . . The soldiers are deserting us after having heard what Vargas and Oré are saying about the provinces of Lampa and Arequipa getting together to ambush you. They are terrified and trying to flee the punishments to which they might be subjected. We will also lose all those who I had rallied for our taking of Cuzco and they will unite with the soldiers sent from Lima who already have been on the road for days.

I have been warning you of all this, and it hurts me. But if what you want is our ruin, you can go to sleep in the same way that you thought you could wander alone through the streets of the village of Yauri, even going to the extreme of climbing the church tower, when you should not have committed these excesses, given the present situation. These actions do not correspond to your honor, but can be used to discredit you and make people think very little of you.

I thought you would understand these issues and would not show so much carelessness that it is taking my breath away and I do not have any to waste! So I beg you to go forward with these particulars.

You promised that you would honor your word, but from now on I will not believe in your promises, because you have betrayed your word.

I do not mind losing my life, but I do mind losing that of this poor family who needs your help. And thus, if the forces from Paruro come here, as I insinuated in my last letter, I will soon be on the march with our people, leaving Fernando [their youngest son] in a designated spot, as the Indians are not able to mobilize themselves now with so many threats.

I warned you many times to go immediately to Cuzco, but you have not paid any attention. This has given them time to prepare themselves, as they have done, placing cannons on the Picc[h]u Hill and other such dangerous machinery, so you no longer hold the advantage. May God keep you safe for many years. Tungasuca, December 6th, 1780.

I also want to inform you that the Indians of Quispicanchi are already tired and bored of serving as guards for so long; I guess God wants me to suffer for my sins.—Your Wife.

After finishing this [note] I have been given true information that those from Paruro are in Acos; so I will begin my march, even though I know I will lose my life. [CDIP, 95. 1780-XIII-6, 7]

53. Letters to and from Micaela Bastidas

The following series of letters written to and from Micaela Bastidas offer different insights into her power, character, and how she was perceived by others. In Letter 1, she is the local leader of the rebellion—in Tupac Amaru's absence—to whom one of the few female caciques writes to warn her of the dangers surrounding her. In Letter 2, this same female cacique (cacica), Tomasa Titu Condemayta, complains of some of her problems with maintaining authority because, as she sees it, she is a woman and therefore not as respected as she should be. In Letter 3, Bastidas writes to her husband ("Chepe") and tells him that he needs to hurry because her life is in danger. Thus, she is really telling him what he should be doing. In Letter 4, she orders the arrest of a cacique who has sided with loyalist forces. Finally, in Letter 5, two officials of the community of Santa Lucia de Pichigua inform Bastidas that they are trying to comply with her orders and that they will take advantage of the day of Santa Lucia (December 13) to try to recruit more people for the cause.

1. Letter from *Cacica* Tomasa Titu Condemayta to Micaela Bastidas about Fears of Capture and Tupac Amaru's Absence

Señora Doña Micaela Bastidas.—Tungasuca.—My very dear Lady.—I hereby inform you as I have been surely informed, that those from Cuzco are determined to get out to the provinces and Chumbivilcas this Monday.

That individual who you left or put in place as *Justicia Mayor* in Livitaca, Juan Zubizarreta, left with all his people for Cuzco, but was apprehended in Paruro. And in this manner they [loyalists] have come from Quiquijana from the ravines, from everywhere to surround us. They know that the Inca is far away and with this lack of protection they want to ambush us. I do not know what we can do. Be mindful so that they do not descend on your Mercy.

I have been very worried by Don José's (Tupac Amaru's) tardiness; I hope God will bring him back safe as soon as possible.

In Corma, 500 sheep and some cows have been seized from Bedoya, who has been against us, for which Pedro Antonio will account, and in this I suppose Your Mercy will give me counsel and advise me when you arrive. May God conserve the health that Your Mercy desires, and I beg that you will keep and protect us with your power. Acos, December 9th, 1780.—I kiss your hand—Your humble vassal.

—Tomasa (Titu Condemayta)

2. Letter from *Cacica* Tomasa Titu Condemayta to Micaela Bastidas on the Difficulties of the Situation and Being a Woman

Señora Doña Micaela Bastidas.—My most beloved lady. I received yours [letter] and have taken due notice of its content. I have to say that here among our Band we are so close [intimate] that just for being a woman, I have done much to defend my position; that Don Marcos (de la Torre) is so fresh that he presumes I go about putting on airs.

And under these circumstances I do not know what to do; I am so at a disadvantage just by being a woman, and despite this I did what was needed and all I could in Los Altos, and thus you can see my situation. Also, I warn Your Mercy that you will not be able to get out of Acos or Acomayo, as we are in a bad spot. I warn you so that you can choose a better leader like Don Julián Escalante, who is young and more educated than Marcos . . . so that we have somebody who can motivate us, and you can name Marcos as a sergeant.

And please, Your Mercy, will not permit us to be ruined; already two people have not returned, and I am being very careful; and I do not know when you will be coming here. . . . Your humble.

—Tomasa (Titu Condemayta).

3. Letter from Bastidas to Tupac Amaru about Problems and Betrayal

Chepe: I just received information as to how those [loyalists] from Cuzco departed for three different places, and one of them is Catca, whose people (based on trusted information) have been wiped out. Sucacagua and the others have betrayed us, as indicated in the attachment; and thus I am not myself, because we have very few people. You have ignored my letters, trying to deliver me to the bulls' horns, but do not allow them to take my life, for your absence has been the reason for all this. On Monday, which is tomorrow, they will enter in Quiquijana and then Acos and the surrounding villages on the same day; so, speed up your march.

May God keep you for many years.—Tungasuca, December 10th, 1780.

—Your Mica

4. Bastidas Gives Orders to Apprehend a *Cacique* Who Betrayed Them

COMMISSION.—Don Diego Berdejo is commissioned to go to Quiquijana as soon as possible, and with the help of the people and their *alcaldes*, apprehend Francisco Sucacagua for contradicting the orders of my husband, Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, and bring him to this town of Tungasuca, well guarded and protected; preventing him from asking the *caciques* of Combapata and Checacupi for help, who will also be dealt with, under the threat that if they do not carry them out [the orders] they will severely be punished.—Tungasuca, December 10th, 1780.

—Doña Micaela Bastidas

5. Letter from the *Caciques* of Santa Lucía de Pichigua to Micaela Bastidas about Sending Reinforcements

Our Lady Doña Micaela Bastidas. Revered Mother. We received your letter today the 12th, on which [day] all the people should go. But the *caciques* have not arrived, nor any more people than those who were with the Governor, your husband.

Tomorrow, we will celebrate Santa Lucía's day, patron of this village, and we will gather all the people who have not yet gone and are able to arrive. The *caciques* will send them as you have ordered, and if not, we, the two *Alcaldes*, will go with the people [on the following] Saturday; and we are always ready to obey and comply with your orders; May our Lord keep your life safe.—Pichigua, December 12th, 1780.—Your servant *Alcaldes* kiss the hand of Our Lady.

—Andrés Cotates.

—Marcos Chasares.

[*CDIP*, 100. 1780-XII-9, 10, 12]

54. Letter from Her Brother to Micaela Bastidas

The following letter is from Antonio Bastidas, the brother of Micaela Bastidas, and contains the warmth and concern of a brother for his sister. As part of the insurgency, Antonio is also informing his sister about having received the food so necessary to maintain forces. Without rations, the army would quickly disintegrate. He also asks for more munitions for his forces.

Sra. Doña Micaela Bastidas.—My most beloved, sister of my heart.—I received Your Honor's [letter] dated 28th of the current month, where you warn me to be careful of my enemies; I do not relent, I am always very careful and always successful.

I received six blocks of cheese, sugar, rice and tea *yerba* for which I am most grateful. I am not sending the bread, as we do not seem to find any. I am keeping the four *reales* with me, so I can order it to be kneaded and will send it soon.

Please ask Your Honor the Inca to send us *piedra de fusil* [rocks specially rounded for the mortar or cannon] which we are badly missing, and to God, whom I beg to protect Your Mercy for many years.—Quiquijana, March 29th, 1781. Your Honor's brother.

—Antonio Bastidas. [*CDIP*, 171]

the moderation that will be known, along with the other Laws that will need to be obeyed and respected. And so that everything mentioned here is promptly enacted, we order that the declaration of my Royal Coronation be disseminated and published throughout the cities, villages and places of my dominions and I should be informed as soon as possible of those willing and loyal subjects so that they may be rewarded. And those who may not follow the order will be given the sentence that suits them in reference to this Declaration. . . . Done in Tungasuca, March 18th, 1781.

Don José Gabriel Tupac Amaru Inga [*sic*] King of Peru.
[CDIP; 165. 1781-III-18]

58. Confession of Micaela Bastidas

After her capture, Micaela Bastidas was interrogated. In her confession, Bastidas very cleverly attempted to use the Spanish paternalistic system to her advantage. She denied having power, or having exercised power, on her own. She claimed to have done only what her husband ordered and not to have had access to many of his decisions. She contended that she remained ignorant of most of what was happening and only acted on direct orders she received from her husband. She also stated that Tupac Amaru was strict or stern with her, indicating a proper husband-wife model that was designed to make her claims more believable. The Spanish did not believe any of this, but nonetheless she attempted to use the language, culture, and paternalistic-sexism of the colonial world to give credence to her claims of innocence. Thus, she mocked the Spanish until the very end.

In the city of Cuzco, on April 22nd, 1781, before Señor Don Benito de Mata Linares, of His Majesty's Council, *Oidor* [Judge] of the Royal *Audiencia* of Lima appeared a woman, who is held prisoner . . . from whom the Judge received an oath which she swore by God, and having made the sign of the cross, as it is her right, and having done all that was required, she promised to tell the truth.

And having been asked her name, where is she from, her age, marital status, quality, and whether she knows the reasons for her imprisonment, she said: that her name was Micaela Bastidas, originally from Pampamarca, that she is over twenty-five years old, married to José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, *Cacique* of Pampamarca, Tungasuca, and Surimana, and that she is in jail because her husband killed the *Corregidor* [Arriaga].

She was asked whether she was in jail for other reasons, and she answered no. She was asked how could she not know that she was in prison for other reasons, when it was clear she had taken up arms jointly with her husband; she responded: that it had not been against the King or against the Crown.

She was asked what the reason was for her husband to kill the *Corregidor*, being their superior; she responded: that her husband told her that the *Corregidor* wanted to hang Pedro Mandigure and her husband (José Gabriel Tupac Amaru).

She was asked since when was she informed by her husband of what he was thinking of doing: she responded that she did not know, nor did her husband tell her, anything until after the *Corregidor* was in jail; even though based on her husband's declarations and that of others she knew that this was not so and that she knew of this long before [the events occurred]; and even when her husband wanted to start the uprising on October 2nd, she told him to wait; she said: her husband only told her when he went to see *Corregidor* Arriaga, and it was then when he revealed that he had a Royal Edict to apprehend the *corregidores*.

She was asked, whether this same intention that her husband shared with her, she shared with others, and she said: she never said anything, and that she only discussed it with Diego Tupac Amaru, and that her husband always treated her sternly.

She was asked exactly what her husband had communicated to her, and she said: that he only wanted to abolish the *repartimientos*, *corregidores*, taxes, customs and other taxations; but that he never went against the King, nor had he ever thought of such a thing.

She was then asked why did she not dissuade him from these thoughts and, seeing his obstinacy, why did she not flee and retreat, and she said: that even though she tried to dissuade him, he would dismiss her, and sometimes he had even wanted to beat her because of it; she did not flee because she couldn't; that she has relatives here [in Cuzco] and she had wanted to come [and stay] with them. She was reminded of her previous answer where it is clear that she, in the absence of her husband, remained in charge, giving orders to rally people, even leaving with some in some instances, and she said: it is true that she stayed giving orders, but it was because her husband ordered her to do so; and that it was the scribes who wrote those orders and that she only went as far as three or four leagues, and that she could not come [to Cuzco] due to the number of people who were keeping guard.

She was asked, how in light of wanting so much to come back she did not flee when she went to Picchu, as some others had done; and said: that by then she was practically dead with fear and that just seeing her they would know she was José Gabriel Tupac Amaru's wife and she would be killed.

Asked how her husband mobilized the *caciques* and Indians, whether it was by telling them that he was of royal blood or other means; and she said: that he gathered them in the name of the *Corregidor* [Arriaga], and then later it was they who called her husband Inca.

She was then asked with whom her husband had communicated in regards to gathering the *corregidores*, who had advised him to do so, who had helped him, with whom he had corresponded, who would come from Cuzco, what type of letters did her husband receive, with whom had he written these things; and she said: she does not know whether her husband shared this [information] with anyone, nor does she know whether somebody had advised him, nor who could have helped him, nor to whom he might have written, or who would go to Cuzco, nor had she seen any Indian disseminating the news, nor did she know whether her husband ever received letters in regards to this issue; only his agent wrote to him from Lima regarding his suit, and that was Mariano Barrera. Asked how could she not know, when her husband and others had confessed that they had received letters and others had helped them; and that it is quite incredible that she would not know all this as his wife; and she said: I never knew anything, nor did her husband ever communicate any of it to her.

She was asked whether it was true that her husband had hanged the *Corregidor* Arriaga, why he had done so, and who had helped him to do so; and she said: that it is true that her husband ordered *Corregidor* Arriaga to be hanged, and he had been hanged by a *zambo* named Antonio, who had been with Noguera before, and he had offered to do it; and that he hanged him to abolish the *repartimientos* and that those who had helped him in the execution were the Priest of Pampamarca, Don Antonio Lopez de Sosa, Don Ildefonso Bejarano, Don Jacinto Castañeda, and Don Clemente.

She was asked whether her husband had a good friendship with these priests, or with some of them; and whether he consulted with them about his business, or with some of them; and she answered: he did not have any friendship in particular nor did he consult on anything with them.

She was asked whether these priests admonished him and asked him why he was attempting this crime; and she said: that the Priest from Pampamarca asked why he was doing this and whether he had a wife and children; and he responded that he knew what he was doing, and that the other priests did not say a word.

She was asked whether after Arriaga's death her husband wrote letters to some people or whether he received letters from others, and she said: that she knows her husband wrote to several *caciques*, asking them to take their *corregidores* prisoner, and that he had also written to the *caciques* in Cuzco; and she knows that among them were Chillitupa and Sahuaraura, but that she does not know of others nor whether others wrote to him.

She was asked whether she knew if the scribe José Palacios wrote to her husband, or any other important person; and she said: she does not know anything, that if Palacios had written to him, she would have been told.

Asked whether she had any knowledge of correspondence between her husband and the Ugartes of this town, she responded: she does not know anything.

She was asked about who were the persons her husband trusted the most; and she said: everybody was his friend, and those who he associated with were his relatives.

She was asked who, among all the scribes he hired, was the one he trusted the most, and she said: Mariano Banda and Felipe Bermúdez; and later when he came to Cuzco, it was Manuel Galleguillos and Francisco Cisneros who handled all his papers.

She was asked who among those scribes was the one who incited him the most to pursue this enterprise and whether Molina and Cisneros were on his side with enthusiasm; and she answered: all of them were united, and some would say that it would be good to gather all the *corregidores* together, although she does not remember who they were. She was then asked for a second time, how can you not remember when those were people . . . who were customarily more esteemed and distinguished; she responded: I do not remember.

When asked who were the main leaders of this expedition, she said: remit this to her husband, that he should know.

She was asked whether those captains obeyed orders that she would give in the absence of her husband; and she said: yes, they did.

Asked who the most trusted of the scribes was, and she said: Mariano Banda.

She was then asked whether she had not tried to rise in arms against the Crown in the belief that her husband would be successful and that he would rule; and she said she never thought of anything like that. This charge was made against her: how could she claim that she never thought about it, when in the orders she gave, which accompany these indictments and are signed, it appeared that she was in fact interested in the victory of her husband; and she said that it is true that she gave orders, following her husband's orders, and that those were written by the scribe Mariano Banda, and that she cannot say what they are as she does not read or write. She was asked one more time how can she insist in denying that she did not think of ordering anybody, and that she would only order when she was told to do so, when it is obvious that she called him, without a doubt, Inca, assuming he was of royal blood; and she says: that she called him that because she heard him call himself that and he also said that he was going to be taken to Spain and that the King would make him Captain General; and everything included in those orders were included there by the scribes.

She was asked whether she knew that her husband had been excommunicated, as well as all those who followed him; and if she knew this, how was she not fearful of that and why had she not abandoned her husband; and she said that her husband told her that they could not be excommunicated, that God knew his intentions, and that they should not fear.

Asked whether she knew of a draft that discussed her husband's coronation and swearing in as José I; who had brought it; to what letter had it been attached to; who had sent it; and she said she knows about the draft, that an Indian from Marcapata brought it, that he gave it to her telling her that he had grabbed it from the pocket of the *alcalde* of Marcapata who had been killed on the road, they hadn't given her any letter, nor did she know who sent all this.

She was asked whether she was hiding documents, silver, gold, jewelry; and she said that she is not keeping anything, and that everything she had she gave to the Inspector [General José del Valle].

She was asked whether she or her husband had a hidden mine; she said: no.

She was asked from where did her husband get all that silver, gold, and jewelry; and she said that all of it was from what they had confiscated from Arriega [*sic*], plus a few more things that the Indians had brought.

Asked whether the Indians brought her husband silver or gold as tribute, and she said: yes, they indeed brought him that, but not as tribute.

She was asked what belongings, gold, silver and jewelry, she had when she was apprehended; whether she gave some away; she said that she had three pairs of earrings, eleven rings, golden buckles, a golden choke, four golden weavings, and some small bundles of gold dust, part of which she had bought from the Indians and part from what they had brought to her; 600 pesos in stamped silver, four boxes of gold, much engraved silver, some clothing from Castille and from the region, all that was taken by the men from Langui, and that they gave it to the Inspector; that the *Yaya* [priest] of Langui asked her for a silver trunk and that she gave it to him; and that she knows that a certain Landaeta distributed what he grabbed, and that his wife took some clothing.

She was asked whether any Indian from Cuzco would bring them news . . . how could she not know, when it was obvious that an Indian Pedro Sotelo, had come and gone [with news] of what was happening in Cuzco; she said she didn't know. She was asked again if he continually came to her house; she said she does not know him.

She was asked whether she knew of any priest who might have helped her husband; and she said she does not know. She was asked again, how could she claim she didn't know when the case documents made it clear that the priest Maruri, under orders from her husband, had sent people to him; and she said that she does not know anything.

They showed her a canvas on which a portrait of her husband had been painted, mounted on his horse with royal insignias showing, so that they could ask her who had painted it, who had given them the idea, and to what end had it been painted; she said it is true that it is her husband's portrait, with the royal banners, that it was painted by a *zambo* Antonio [Oblitas?] who was in prison and was ordered to paint her husband; saying that if they killed him, this portrait would remain so the family of Tupac Amaro [*sic*] would remember him; that the idea was her husband's, and was made with the intention of showing it in the provinces and later on in Spain.

She was asked whether all their relatives, both his and hers, participated in this; defended the effort, under oath or otherwise; and she said everybody was helping together, but that she does not know whether under oath.

She was then asked and asked again; and she said that she did not know anything else, and that was the truth under the oath that she had sworn; and she ratified and affirmed all said, and her confession having been read to her, it will remain open for any convenient issue; she did not sign it as she did not know how, Don José Brito and your Honor signed for her; which I certify.

—[Signature of Mata Linares].—For the accused,

José Brito.—*Manuel Espinarete Lopez.*

Cuzco, May 1st, 1781.—In respect to Micaela Bastidas who finds herself under many charges that are part of this trial and the witnesses who made their depositions.

—[Signature of Mata Linares].—*Manuel Espinarete Lopez.*
[CDIP, 192. 1781-IV-V]

59. Three Lists of Rebel Prisoners and Executed Rebels

The following lists contain the names of rebels held, killed in battle, or executed by royalist forces in the Cuzco region. Among them are not only many of the principal rebels but also some creoles (Spaniards), slaves, and mestizos. Some were officers; others had skills that were useful to the rebel forces. The list includes many family members as they became a focal point of repression. One list also includes the name of Pomainca, a cacique from the Quiquijana region of Quispicanchis who was nearly beaten to death by a tax collector in the years preceding the rebellion despite having a solid reputation for working with the state. To save his life, the people of his community rose up and freed him, killing the tax collector. Given this history, it is hardly surprising that Pomainca

joined the rebel forces, even though the colonial state did not punish him or his people for their action. The comments about the prisoners and what happened to them are especially interesting.

List 1: List of the Principal Rebels That Are Held in This Jail [Barracks] of Cuzco, and of Those Who Have Died in the Fighting That Has Taken Place between the Sacrilegious Troops of the Traitor and Our Forces

José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, principal leader
 Michaela [*sic*] Bastidas, his wife, from Abancay
 Two of his children, one eleven years of age, the other twenty
 Francisco Tupac Amaru, uncle of José
 Marcos Torres, *cacique* of Acomayo
 José Mamani, Indian of Tinta, his colonel
 Diego Berdejo, Spaniard of Macari, son-in-law of Francisco Noguera, his commander
 Tomasa Titu Condemayta, *cacica* [female *cacique*] of the pueblo of Acos
 Melchor Arteaga, Spaniard, from Layo, overseer and cattle guard
 Ramon Ponce, Spaniard, from Livitaca, commander and guard of powder and bullets
 José Hunda, Spaniard, from Cuzco
 Manuel Galleguillos, Spaniard, from Oruro, scribe
 Diego Ortigosa, Spaniard, from Arequipa, advisor
 Patricio Noguera, Spaniard, from Surimana, cousin of the rebel
 Estevan Vaca, Spaniard, from Cuzco, founder [metal caster]
 Blas Quiñones, *mestizo*, from Tinta, confidant
 Mariano Cataño, Spaniard, from Huancavelica, sergeant major
 Andrés Castelo, captain
 Felipe Menizabal, captain
 Isidro Poma, commander and *cacique*
 Ursula Pereda, maid of the rebel
 Miguel Zamalloa, captain
 Pedro Mendigure, *capitan*
 Cecilia Tupac Amaru, half-sister of the traitor
 Manuel Quiñones, captain
 Pacual Mancilla, same
 Manuel Ferrer, same
 Rafael Guerra, same
 Antonio Valdes, same
 Lucas Herrera, same
 Francisco Herrera, same
 Mateo Avellaneda, same

Gerónimo Andia, porter
 Lucas Colqui, *cacique* of Pomacanche, commissary and *alcalde*
 Francisco Torres, confidant, and commissioned in various jobs (*asuntos*)
 José Manel Yepes, slave of the priest of Pomacanche
 Antonio Oblitas, slave, and the one that hanged Arriaga
 Pedro Pablo, slave of D. Manuel Tagle
 Miguel Landa, slave of Tiburcio Landa.

List 2: The Following Have Been Prisoners in This Jail (*Cuartel*) for Some Time

Mariano Banda, Spaniard from Cuzco, scribe of the deceased Arriaga, and afterward of the rebel
 José Estevan de Escarbena y Villanueva, from Arequipa, also a scribe of the rebel
 Francisco Castellanos, he brought the edicts and letters of convocation [summons] of the rebel to Cuzco
 Dionisio Medrano
 Jacinto Inquillitupa, *cacique*, of the parish of Hospital, accused of being a follower of the rebel

List 3: Killed in Battle or Hanged

Juan de Dios Valencia from Velille, captain
 Tomas Parbina from Colquemarca, famous captain and *Justicia Mayor* of the rebel, in the province of Chumbivilcas
 Felipe Bermúdez, Spaniard of Cuzco, treasurer of Arriaga: afterward secretary, principal commander, and one of the five who composed the private *Junta* of the rebel

... These three led the rebellion in Chumbivilcas, and commanded the troops the rebel had there. They were killed by a column from Cotabambas in the four battles that took place from the 19 to 22 of March; the heads . . . were brought to Cuzco . . . [and] displayed on the gallows two days and afterward they were placed on the main roads at the entrances to the city.

Pomainca, *cacique* of Quiquijana and *Justicia Mayor* of the same by order of the rebel. He was shot in the back for lack of an executioner.

In Tinta, sixty accomplices were hanged on April 8, not of as serious crimes as the others. [*CDIP*, 195. 1781-V-15, 18]

60. Sentence Pronounced in Cuzco by the Visitador D. José Antonio de Areche against José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, His Wife, Children, and Other Principal Prisoners (Defendants)

Spanish reprisals against rebels were usually harsh and swift, with special tortures and gruesome mutilations added to the sentences of many of the leading rebels—especially Tupac Amaru, his wife, and other family members or notables. José Antonio de Areche ordered and supervised the torture and execution of nine leaders on May 18, 1781. Areche was not unaware of the importance of the image of the Inca and Inca rule in the rebellion, thus he also sought to do away with Inca symbols and to undermine people who held authority based on their birth as nobles dating back to the period of Inca rule. Making the victims witness the deaths of their compatriots, and having the youngest child of Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas—Fernando—witness his parents' execution and that of other family members and associates, shows the Spanish determination to teach a very powerful lesson to those who might rise up against their authority, especially with body parts of the rebels being displayed at key places in the insurgent territory such as the pueblo of Tinta in Canas y Canchis. The Spanish, however, were not able to completely erase the memory of the Inca from people's minds. The following are excerpts from Areche's execution order of Tupac Amaru and other rebels along with the provisions taken to secure the region. This document is written in the run-on style that is characteristic of many colonial documents. We have altered some of the punctuation, but much of the original style has been maintained due to the difficulty of altering this document and keeping it readable.

In the criminal case that is before me, and that has been officially brought by Royal Justice against José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, *cacique* of the pueblo of Tungasuca, in the province of Tinta, for the horrific crime of rebellion or general uprising of Indians, *mestizos*, and other castes, planned for more than five years, and executed in almost all territories of this Viceroyalty [Peru] and that of Buenos Aires, with the idea (of which he is convinced) of desiring to have himself crowned as their Lord and of liberating them from what he terms the "miseries" of these classes of inhabitants, whom he has managed to seduce; and he began this [rebellion] by hanging his *corregidor* D. Antonio de Arriaga. . . . [T]he defendant has twice tried to flee from jail . . . [and] in order to bring the most rapid tranquility to the provinces aroused by him, the news of the carrying out of his death sentence will prevent the spread of various ideas that have been extended throughout the nation of Indians, who are

filled with superstitions, inclined to believe the impossibility of his execution due to his elevated character and who believe him to be from the principal line of the Incas, as he said himself, and therefore absolute and natural ruler of these dominions and their vassals. I have also kept in view the nature, condition, low customs and education of these same Indians, and those of the other castes of commoners, contributed a great deal to the ease with which the depraved intentions of said defendant—José Gabriel Tupac Amaru—were carried out. Having been deluded [by him], they were submissive, and quick . . . to obey any of his orders and they were among the first to resist the vigorous fire of our arms, even against their natural horror. And he has succeeded in making them express an implacable hatred against everything European or any white face, or *pucacuncas* [rednecks], as they call them, committing himself and them to innumerable ravages, insults, horrors, robberies, deaths, rapes, unimaginable violence, church desecration, vilification of his [Spanish] ministers, and making a mockery of [our] most important weapon, which is excommunication, considering themselves immune or outside its reach. And to assure them of this, with other cursed inspirations, he, whom they call Inca, at the same time he was publishing in numerous convocations, proclamations, and orders (of which there are numerous of originals among these documents) that they were not going against the Church, he deprived it [the Church], as has been stated, of its greatest force and authority, making himself legislator of its most sacred mysteries and ministries, and pursuing this system in his own fashion against his legitimate sovereign, against the most magnificent, benign . . . and most venerable and kind of all the monarchs who have filled the throne up to this time in Spain and the Americas; depriving one and the other high authority of their most particular prerogatives and power: he placed priests in the parishes . . . he named justices in the provinces, stopped the *repartimientos* or tariffs . . . collected the ecclesiastical perquisites, extinguished the royal customs and other levies that he called unfair. He opened and burned the *obrajes*, [also] abolishing the benefits of the *mita*. . . . He ordered the embargo of particular properties . . . and not content with this, he wanted to do the same with the riches of the royal treasury. He imposed the death penalty on those who did not obey him. He built . . . gallows for this end in all the pueblos, executing many. He made everybody pay tribute to him. He managed to mobilize peoples and provinces through fear and his devilish offers, removing those dwellers from their just obedience towards their legitimate and truthful Lord—he who has been installed by God Himself as the sovereign who rules them: to the point that he tried to convince his followers to believe the . . . illusions that all those who would die in battle would arise from death after he would be crowned; making them believe that the cause he defended was just, as much because he was their liberator as because he was the only descendent of the principal blood

line of the Incas. . . . He wanted to make patent his oath to all the nation, attributing to himself royal dictates. He had a portrait of himself painted as proof of these clumsy designs, with the royal insignias of *unco*, *mascapaicha* and others, placing as trophies the triumph attributed to him at Sangarará, representing the dead and wounded with the fire that ravaged the church . . . and lastly he ruled as a king from the beginning of his uprising under the false and frivolous pretext of being the only legitimate descendant . . . of the royal blood of the . . . emperors, especially from the Inca Felipe Tupac Amaru, whose dynasty he usurped . . . without right; as the tribunal of the Royal *Audiencia* of Lima, where this case was pending, had not granted him any right to that ascendancy. . . . [B]ut his pretensions of descendancy, despite their dubious state, have made such an impression on the Indians that they believe him, and they would talk and write to him with the utmost submission and respect, treating him as their Lord, Excellency, Royal Highness or Majesty, coming from various provinces to render him the proper obedience and submission, failing to honor the strict obligations of fidelity and religion that he, as well as all subjects, should have towards their natural king. . . . [H]e pretended that he had orders to execute what he so barbarously executed, something that even the most stupid should not have believed to be legal. . . .

Considering, then, all of this, and due to the liberties that this vile insurgent invited Indians and other castes to enjoy so that they might follow him, even going so far as to offer slaves their freedom, and reflection additionally on the unhappy and miserable state in which these provinces find themselves, altered [by the rebel], and which they will only overcome with great difficulty, or it will take many years to recover from the grievances caused by the aforementioned José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [*sic*]; and, finally, seeing the remedies required to appease these territories through the punishment of the guilty, the just subordination to God, the King and his Ministers, I must condemn, and I do condemn José G. Tupac Amaru to be taken out to the principal public plaza of this city, dragged to the place of execution, where he shall witness the carrying out of the sentences imposed on his wife, Micaela Bastidas; his two sons, Hipólito and Fernando Tupac Amaru; his uncle, Francisco Tupac Amaru; and his brother-in-law, Antonio Bastidas, as well as some of the leading captains and aids of his iniquitous and perverse project or intent, all of whom have to die on the same day. And these sentences having been carried out, the executioner will cut out his [Tupac Amaru's] tongue, and then tie or bind strong ropes [*cuerdas*] to each of his arms and feet in such a way that each of these [ropes] can readily be tied or fastened to others hanging from the cinches of four horses so that, placed in this way, each one of these [horses] pulls in his direction, facing opposite corners or points of the plaza, and the horses, all at the same time, will be ordered to pull so that his body will be

divided into as many [four] parts and then, once dead, the parts should be taken to the hill or summit known as "Picchu," where he dared to come to intimidate, lay siege to, and demand the surrender of this city. . . . [His body] shall be burned in a bonfire, which shall be prepared in advance, and then his ashes shall be tossed into the air and a stone tablet will be placed there listing his principal crimes and his death as the only memory and warning against his accursed action.

His head will be sent to the town of Tinta where, after having been on the gallows for three days, it shall be placed on a pike at the most public entrance to the town; one of his arms will go to the town of Tungasuca, where he was *cacique*, for the same [treatment], and the other likewise in the capital of the province of Carabaya; similarly one of the legs shall be sent to Livitaca in the province of Chumbivilcas for the same type of observance, while the remaining [leg] shall go to Santa Rosa in the province of Lampa along with an . . . order to the respective *corregidores* . . . so that this sentence be publicly proclaimed with the greatest solemnity . . . as soon as it arrives in their hands, and on the same day every year hence. . . . Let his houses be torn down or destroyed and [the ground] salted in full view of all the residents of the pueblo or pueblos where he had them or they existed. Let all his goods be confiscated . . . the commission for this being given to the corresponding provincial judges. I command that all the individuals from his family, who until now have not come and may never come under the power of our arms be brought to justice (which sighs for them in order to punish them with equally rigorous and ignominious punishments), will remain infamous and unable to acquire, possess, or obtain, in any manner whatsoever, some inheritance or any succession they may sometime desire or to which they may in the future claim some right. Let the legal proceeding developed to claim his [Tupac Amaru's] descent [from the Inca] be gathered in the Royal *Audiencia*, having the executioner burn them publicly in the public plaza of Lima so that no memory remains of such documents. . . .

[B]ecause of the views of the deluded Indian nation, I advise Your Majesty . . . [that this is an] opportune [moment to make clear] . . . if now, or at some point, someone wants to claim nobility and equal or similar descent, from the ancient kings . . . [this be] absolutely prohibited under the gravest and most severe penalties. . . . This traitor succeeded in arming himself and forming an army and forces against the royal arms by making use of, or seducing and gaining the support of, the *caciques* and their aids [*segundas personas*] who commanded in the villages with his lies. . . . They should not be governed by such *caciques*, but rather by *alcaldes* [mayors] who are elected annually by the vote or nomination of the [leading community members] . . . and the *corregidores* should give preference to those who know Spanish and who are of

the best behavior, reputation, and customs in order that they treat their subjects well and with love toward those whom they govern. . . . [Choosing those who have] justly demonstrated their tendency and loyalty, desire, respect and obedience, submission, and gratitude to the greater glory of our great Monarch through their willingness to sacrifice their lives, properties, or haciendas in defense of their country or religion, hearing with valiant scorn the threats and offers of the said principal rebel and his military commanders, yet taking care that these elected leaders are the only ones with the right to be called *caciques* or governors of their *ayllus* or pueblos, without passing on [the position] to their children or others of their generation (family members).

To this same end, you should prohibit that the Indians wear pagan clothes, especially those who belong to the nobility, since it only serves to represent those worn by their Inca ancestors, reminding them of memories which serve no other end than to reconcile them more and more in their hatred toward the dominant nation [i.e., Spaniards]; outside of their looking ridiculous and not in keeping with the purity of our religion, since they wear images of the sun . . . which was their most important [*primera*] deity; and this prohibition be extended to all the provinces of South America [*América meridional*] in order to completely eliminate such clothing, especially those that directly represent the clothing of their pagan kings through insignias such as the *unto*, which is a kind of vest; *yacollas*, which are very fine blankets or shawls of black velvet or taffeta; the *mascapaycha*, which is a circle like a crown from which they hang a certain emblem of ancient nobility signified by a tuft or tassel of red alpaca wool, and whatever other things of this type or symbolism. This shall be published in bans in each province, so that they dispose of, or surrender to, the *corregidor* whatever clothing they may find of this kind, as well as all the paintings or portraits of their Incas which are very prevalent in the houses of the Indians who consider themselves to be nobles and who use them to prove their claim to, or boast of, their heritage. These latter shall be done away with without fail as they do not merit the dignity of being painted in such places, and toward that same end any paintings of them shall also be removed from walls . . . churches, monasteries, hospitals, holy places or personal houses. The duty [to do this] first part rests with the reverend archbishops and bishops of both viceroyalties; and if it is necessary it would be best to replace such adornments with images of the king and our other Catholic sovereigns.

Also, the . . . *corregidores* should make sure that no plays (*comedias*) or other public functions be performed in any pueblo of their respective provinces as the Indians are accustomed to use them to commemorate their said Inca ancestors; and having carried out the order, these officials shall provide a certified account to the secretaries of the respective governments. In like manner,

[the *corregidores*] are to prohibit the use of trumpets or bugles that the Indians use for their ceremonies and which they call *pututos*, being the shells of sea snails which make a strange and mournful sound that announces their mourning and the pitiful memorial that they make for their ancestors. And they shall also bring the black clothing [the Indians] are accustomed to wear as a sign of mourning, a custom that is still carried on in some provinces, in memory of their deceased monarchs and also of the period of the conquest which they consider ill fated and we consider fortunate since it brought them into the pale of the Catholic Church and the very loving and gentle domination of our Kings.

Toward the same end, it is absolutely forbidden that the Indians give their signature as "Incas," since it is a title that anyone can take, but which makes a great impression on those of their class; ordering. It is ordered and required that all of those who have genealogical trees or documents that prove in some way their descent from them [the Incas], that they produce them or send them certified and gratis to the respective secretaries. . . . And the *corregidores* are in charge of carefully seeing that such requirements are complied with, verifying and finding out who does not observe them, with the end of having them comply or collecting them with the purpose of sending them [to the proper officials], giving the owners a [legal] quittance.

In order that these Indians free themselves from the hatred that they have conceived against the Spaniards, and that they follow the legal dress [codes], adopting Spanish dress customs and speaking Castilian, schools will be introduced in a more vigorous manner than has been done up to the present, imposing the most rigorous and just penalties on those who do not use them once enough time has passed for them to have learned. . . . They shall be given a period of four years for the people to speak fluently or at least being able to make themselves understood and to explain themselves in Castilian. . . .

Finally, the manufacture of cannons of all kinds shall be prohibited. . . . Any noble found manufacturing such items shall be sentenced to ten years of prison in one of the *presidios* in Africa and any commoner will receive 200 lashes as well as the same penalty for the same time period; reserving for now a similar resolution regarding the manufacture of powder, which will follow [at a] later [date]. And since there are a variety of cannons of almost every caliber in many haciendas, grinding mills, and textile mills, the *corregidores* will gather them once the pacification of this uprising has been completely finished. . . . Thus I have decreed, ordered, and signed. . . .

José Antonio de Areche. [*CDIP*, 195. 1781-V-15, 18]

61. List of the Individuals of the Family
of Tupac Amaru Arrested by Me, Colonel
D. Francisco Salcedo, *Corregidor* and Commander
of Arms of Canas y Canchis (Tinta)

The Spanish went to considerable lengths to bring the family of Tupac Amaru under their control so that they would no longer be a source of problems for the colonial regime. This meant not only executing many of them but also exiling some to Spain and detaining others. The following documents list people who were linked to the family and had been detained but were not major activists in the rebellion. Furthermore, it mentions others who were yet to be apprehended. The very length of the document reveals the extent of Spanish concern regarding the potential for the extended family of Tupac Amaru to be a source of further problems for royal authority.

Cecelia [sic] Tupac Amaro [sic]
Mariano Mendiguri, son of said Cecelia
Felipa Mendiguri, daughter of the said
Juan Barrientos, grandson of Bartolomé Tupac Amaro, [sic] first cousins of
the vile José Gabriel and Diego Tupac Amaro [sic]
Margarita Castro, sister of Marcela and aunt of the same Diego
Antonia Castro, same same
Paula Castro, same same
Martina Castro, same same
José Sánchez, *cacique* of the pueblo of Surimana, married to the
aforementioned Margarita Castro
Francisca Castro, wife of Francisco Noguera, first cousin of José Gabriel
and Diego Tupac Amaro [sic]
Lorenzo Noguera, son of Francisco Noguera and of Asencia Castro
Paula Noguera, daughter of said Francisco Castro
Antonio Castro, uncle of said Diego
José Castro, uncle of the announced Diego
Cayetano Castro, same
Bernardo Castro, same
Francisco Castro, son of aforementioned Antonio Castro, second cousin of
Diego
Patricia Castro, first cousin of Diego
Manuel Castro, son of said Patricia
Asencia Castro, cousin of Diego Tupac Amaro [sic]

Maria Luque, daughter of said Asencia Castro
Silvestre Luque, same
Miguel Tito-Condori, father of Manuela Tito-Condori, wife of Diego
Gregorio Tito-Condori, same
Marcelo Tito-Condori, same
Feliciano Tito-Condori, sister of the same
Antonia Tito-Condori, same
Manuel Tito-Condori, brother of the same
Luis Tito-Condori, same
Mariano Tito-Condori, same
Isidora Escobedo, first cousin of the vile José Gabriel and Diego Tupac
Amaro [sic]
Bartola Escobedo, same
Catalina Guancachoque, mother of the referred Isidora and Bartola
Pedro Venero, husband of the aforementioned Bartola
Ventura Aguirre, father-in-law of Juan Tupac Amaro [sic]
Nicolasa Aguirre, daughter-in-law of said Juan
Antolin Ortiz, husband of Nicolasa Aguirre
Marcelo Puyucagua, uncle of the wife of the vile insurgent, José Gabriel
Tupac Amaro [sic]
Simon Capatinta, a blood relative of the wife of said José Gabriel
Martin Capatinta, the same in everything
Pascual Cusiguaman, of the same ties
Andrea Uscamanco, wife of the aforementioned Cayetano Castro
Juan Belestrán servant of the said Cecilia
Santusa Castro, sister of Marcela, wife of Diego
Maria Cruz Guamani, *ponga* [servant] of the said Cecilia.
Francisco Diaz, her husband
Pablo Quispe, brother of Manuela Tito-Condori, wife of Diego
Ignacio Quispe, first cousin of the said wife of Diego Tupac Amaro [sic]
Gregoria Malque, wife of Manuel Tito-Condori, uncle of the wife of Diego
Juliana Tito-Condori, daughter of said Manuel, and first cousin of the said
woman
Antonia Cayacombina, wife of José Castro, uncle of said Diego
Paulino Castro, son of José, first cousin of Diego
Antonia Castro, daughter of said José Castro, first cousin of Diego
Santusa Canque, wife of Antonio Castro, uncle of Diego
Margarita Condori, aunt of the wife of Diego
Dionisia Caguaitapa, wife of Marcelo
Puyucagua, uncle of José Gabriel and the rest
Diego Ortigosa, secretary-advisor of José Gabriel and Diego Tupac Amaro [sic]
Tomas Araus, confidant and overseer of the farms of Diego

Margarita Cusi, wife of the aforementioned Tomas Araus Crispin Guamani, one of the most inhumane colonels of José Gabriel and Diego Tupac Amaro [*sic*]: he who destroyed Cailloma and attacked the column from Arequipa under the command of D. Pedro Vicente Nieto on the 27 of May of the past year of 1782

Tomas Jacinto, famous colonel of the Punas of San Pedro and San Pablo de Cacha, and the most obedient of the orders of Diego

Eight Indians who were remitted to me from the Punas of Checacupe and Pitumarca for the crimes attributed to them

Maria Ramos, born in the pueblo and province of Soroata, concubine of Diego Tupac Amaro [*sic*], who, when arrested and pressured confessed to where the hole was where the document [*esquela*] was hidden

Those of the Descendants That Remain to Be Apprehended

Juan Tupac Amaro [*sic*]

Susana Aguirre, wife of said Juan

Francisco Noguera

Antonio Capatinta

Juana Coriyuto (alias Bastidas), aunt of Mariano Tupac Amaro [*sic*]

Diego Anco, confidant of Diego, in whose house he maintained his concubine

... Later [in addition] to the detention of the above mentioned, they succeeded in capturing Melchor Ramos, famous partisan of the rebels, in the Altos de Checacupe. [CDIP, 284. 1783-III-25]

62. Punishments Carried Out in the City of Cuzco with Tupac Amaru, His Wife, Children, and Confidants

As the following document attests, the day of the executions was met with extra security and a strange turn in the weather: to some Indians, and perhaps others, it was an omen intended to alert the Spanish and the crowd to the cruelty of the situation. The brutality of the executions was almost without comprehension. The rebels were not simply put to death—their bodies were dismembered and sent to various locations. Horses were tied to Tupac Amaru's limbs as the Spanish tried to literally pull the rebel leader apart while he was still alive.

On Friday, May 18th, 1781, after having surrounded the plaza with the militias from this city of Cuzco, who had their pikes and firearms, and surrounded the four sides of the gallows with the corps of mulattoes and *Huamanguinos*, all arranged with their muskets and bayonets fixed, nine individuals came out of the [church of the] *Compañía* who were the following: José Verdejo, Andrés Castelo, a *zambo*, Antonio Oblitas (who was the executioner who hanged . . . Arriaga), Antonio Bastidas, Francisco Tupac Amaru, Tomasa Condemayta, *cacica* of Acos, Hipólito Tupac Amaru, son of the traitor, Micaela Bastidas, his wife, and the insurgent José Gabriel. All came out at the same time, and one after the other they walked with their shackles and handcuffs, [and then they were put] inside some bags like those used to carry *yerba* from Paraguay and were dragged behind a pair of harnessed horses. Accompanied by the priests who were assisting them, and guarded by the aforementioned guards, they all arrived at the gallows, and were put to death by two executioners in the following manner:

Verdejo, Castelo, the *zambo* and Bastidas were hanged as usual: the tongues of Francisco Tupac Amaru, uncle of the insurgent, and his son Hipólito, were cut out before the bodies were thrown down the stairs of the gallows; the Indian Condemayta was strangled through *garrote* on a scaffold that was fitted with a metal spindle that was built for this purpose and that we had never seen before around here: all of which the Indian (Tupac Amaru) and his wife witnessed with their own eyes, including the torture of their son Hipólito who was the last to go up the gallows. Then, the Indian Micaela was brought up on the scaffold where they cut out her tongue in front of her husband and then she was put to death through *garrote* from which she suffered immensely as her neck was long and thin and the spindle could not strangle her, forcing the hangmen to tie ropes around her neck and pull them every which way while kicking her in the stomach and breast to finish [killing] her. The last to be executed was the rebel José Gabriel, who was brought to the middle of the plaza, his tongue cut out by the executioner, and after taking the shackles and handcuffs off him, they forced him to lie down on the ground: they tied ropes to his feet and hands, and then cinched these to four horses, and then four *mestizos* had the horses pull in different directions—a spectacle that had never been seen in that city. I do not know whether it was due to the horses not being strong enough, or because the Indian really was made out of iron, [but] they absolutely could not tear him apart, even though after pulling hard for quite some time in such a way that he was suspended in the air, in a fashion that looked like a spider. . . . [T]he *Visitador*, moved with compassion so that the miserable [Tupac Amaru] would not suffer any longer, sent an order from the *Compañía*, to cut off his head, an order which the executioner obeyed. Immediately afterwards, the body was taken back under the gallows where they cut off his arms and legs. The same was done to the women and the rest

had their heads cut off so they could be sent to different villages. The bodies of the Indian and his wife were taken to Picchu [a mountain above Cuzco], where a fire had been started so that their bodies would be reduced to ashes that would then be thrown in the air and in the creek that flowed nearby. This was the end of José Gabriel Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas, whose loftiness and arrogance led them to declare themselves kings of Peru, Chile, Quito, Tucuman, and other places including the Gran Paitití, with other insanities of this same tone.

Very many people were present that day, but nobody screamed, nobody raised their voice: many noticed, I among them, that amidst the many people, very few Indians were seen, at least dressed in their customary attire, and if there were some, they might have been disguised wearing capes and ponchos. Some [strange] things seemed to occur as if the devil had planned them, in order to confirm those Indians in their abuses, omens, and superstitions. I say this because, after having enjoyed dry weather and calm days, that day dawned so overcast that the sun did not show its face, [and those clouds] threatened to rain everywhere; and around noon, just when the horses were [trying to] pull the Indian [apart], a strong wind sprang up, followed by a heavy downpour that forced everybody, including the guards, to seek refuge in a hurry. This is the reason why Indians have started saying that the heavens and nature felt the death of the Inca, who was being put to death by inhuman and impious Spaniards who were very cruelly killing him. [CDIR, 195. 1781-V-15, 18]

63. Distribution of the Bodies, or Parts, of the Nine Principal Prisoners of the Rebellion, Executed in the Plaza of Cuzco, May 18, 1781

In an effort to put fear into people and quell the rebellion, the colonial state not only sentenced the main rebels to death, it also had their bodies dismembered. The body parts were then distributed to various communities that had been involved in the rebellion, such as those the rebels were from or places that battles had been fought. This was meant to send a clear and powerful message to indigenous peoples who might think of rebelling about what their future would be, while at the same time sending these bloody "assurances" to the loyalists that those who threatened their very being would be dealt with severely. Thus, the severed heads and limbs were used as both a punishment and a deterrent. The following is a list of people who were executed, their body parts, and the provinces and communities to which they were sent following the executions in Cuzco.

José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic]
Micaela Bastidas, his wife
Hipólito Tupac Amaro [sic], his son
Francisco Tupac Amaro [sic], [his] uncle
Antonio Bastidas, his brother-in-law
La *cacica* de Acos [Tomasa Titu Condemayta]
Diego Verdejo, commander [Lt. colonel]
Andrés Castelo, colonel
Antonhio [sic] Oblitas, executioner

Tinta

The head of José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic] (pueblo of Tinta)
An arm to Tungasuca
Another of Micaela Bastidas, the same
Another of Antonio Bastidas, to Pampamarca
The head of Hipólito to Tungasuca
An arm of Castelo, to Surimana
Another to Pampamarca
Another of Verdejo, to Coporaque
Another to Yauri
The remainder of his body, to Tinta
An arm to Tungasuca
The head of Francisco Tupac Amaro [sic], to Pilpinto

Quispicanchi

An arm of Antonio Bastidas, to Urcos
A leg of Hipólito Tupac Amaro [sic], to Quiquijana
Another of Antonio Bastidas, to Sangarara [sic]
The head of the *cacica* of Acos, the same
That of [the head] of Castelo, to Acamayo

Cuzco

The body of José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic], to Picchu
The same with the body of his wife with the head
An arm of Antonio Oblitas, en route to San Sebastian

Carabaya

An arm of José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic]
A leg of his wife
An arm of Francisco Tupac Amaro [sic]

Azangaro

A leg of Hipólito Tupac Amaro [sic]

Lampa

A leg of José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic], to Santa Rosa
An arm of his son to Ayabiri

Arequipa

An arm of Micaela Bastidas

Chumbivilcas

A leg of José Gabriel Tupac Amaro [sic], in Livitaca
An arm of his son, to Santo Tomas

Paucartambo

The body of Castelo, in its capital
The head of Antonio Bastidas

Chilques y Masques

An arm of Francisco Tupac Amaro [sic], to Paruro

Condesuyos of Arequipa

The head of Antonio Verdejo, to Chumbivilcas

Puno

A leg of Francisco Tupac Amaro [sic], in its capital

[CDI, 195. 1781-V-15, 18]

VII. The End of the Struggle: Diego and Andrés Tupac Amaru, Lessons to the Spanish, and Indigenous Afterthoughts

64. Cuzco Lampoon Written after the Death of Tupac Amaru

Creole dissent and problems in the empire did not come to an immediate end with the death of the Inca. Indigenous forces continued to fight for some time, but creoles also let it be known by various means that they too had concerns

and grievances. The following lampoon was found in Cuzco and warns against abusive officials and, especially, the visitador Areche.

Oh, King Don Carlos III, by the grace of God, if you knew the great danger your kingdom of Peru is in, because of the tyranny of the *corregidores*, the *visitador*, and other tyrants, you would come from Spain and take measures against the persons who are the cause of this hell that we suffer. Know especially that your most distinguished Creole people are not very contented because the [tyrants] wish to monopolize salt, and discontent fills the chests of these your vassals. Although Tupac Amaru is dead, others are not lacking to get rid of tyranny by killing the cruel *visitador*. [LIR, 238–39. Translated by L. E. Fisher]

65. Spanish Discuss Exploiting Tensions between Blacks and Indians

In the Andes, peoples of African descent—even slaves—were often placed in positions of authority over indigenous peoples. Serving as agents of those who hired or owned them, the Afro-Andeans were frequently perceived by indigenous peoples as abusing or tricking them. As early as the writings of Guamán Poma, one gets a hint of these racial tensions. During the Tupac Amaru rebellion, peoples of African descent fought effectively against the indigenous rebels, leading authorities to discuss the important role that blacks could play in maintaining the security of the region as they sought to exploit the racial tensions between Afro-Peruvians and castas against the Indians.

The Ministry should also foment and expand the introduction of *Negroes* because they, and their descendants, as people of mixed blood (*Castas*) opposed to the Indians, will serve to counteract their [Indians'] forces and they will be beneficial to the support of agriculture and the other professions (*Artes*). No measure has been more effective in the present revolutions than that of opposing some provinces against others, and being natural the antipathy of the *Negro* and his predominance over the *Indio*, we will succeed by this method to present to them [the Indians], in times of necessity, an irreconcilable and powerful enemy. [RTA, 727]

67. Prohibition of the *Royal Commentaries*

In the wake of the rebellion, the Spanish were adamant in taking the actions necessary to prevent further revolts and to eradicate the Incas from the memory of the native peoples of the Andes. The immediate family and supporters of Tupac Amaru were executed or arrested, with some even sent to Spain to remove them from their ancestral home. Pictures of the Inca were also removed or destroyed.

In the following document, the king orders that Garcilaso de la Vega's work on the Incas (Royal Commentaries, or History of the Incas) be removed from circulation, even if this meant having to buy up all of the copies. The book had been an important source of pride for many of the indigenous elite, although most of them remained loyal to the crown. However, Garcilaso's book had been an influence on Tupac Amaru and seemingly on other rebel leaders as well. At the same time, the following order seeks to greatly restrict and control any attempt by indigenous peoples to make claims of, or attain, titles of nobility that usually involved being descended from the Incas. The Spanish wanted nothing more to do with the Incas, their memory, and the continuing allegiance of the naturales to their Inca rulers.

Reserved

There are many sinful ideas shared by the Indian masses of this Kingdom of Peru and other provinces. From them stem their abominable customs regarding many things, such as trying to preserve the memory of their pagan ancestors. Amid that chaos and misplaced enthusiasm one can mainly observe the lack of solemnity and truth, while they are convinced that their ancestral lines or descent from primitive Pagan Kings gives them the right to nobility and to call themselves Ynga [*sic*]. It has been painfully observed how many of those claims have been authorized implicitly and explicitly by the Royal *Audiencia*. This practice is abominable and the authority for it should be abolished.

In view of this habitual disorder, which was not corrected by the magistrates the way it should have been, so that it would have become extinct, the King has resolved for now that Your Excellency should take great care to make the Royal *Audiencia* of Lima understand that they should not accept any such information as valid or supportive of such ancestry, nor any proof or declaration of nobility by any Yndian [*sic*], regardless of which class they belong to. This prerogative, . . . should rest with the Royal Chamber of the Supreme Council of the Yndies [*sic*] to which any petition and related documentation should be submitted. . . .

Equally, the King desires Your Excellency to sagaciously retrieve, with the same care, the History of the Ynga [*sic*] Garcilaso through which those *Naturales* [Indians] have learned many pernicious things, as well as those other slanderous papers from the Tribunals and Magistrates of the Kingdom that were printed when it was believed that they were innocent, even though the supposed prophesy of this History's preface should have never been allowed to be published. To this end I advise Your Excellency, by order of His Majesty, to use all normal means possible, even if it means secretly buying all copies available through trusted third parties who will be paid by the Royal Treasury. It is important to make sure that all [copies] have been retrieved so that these *naturales* will not have any way to verify their bad customs through such documents. Your Excellency will need to coordinate this very serious matter with Don Jorge Escovedo whom will be properly advised so that he can fulfill what was ordered.

God and Aranjuez, April 21st, 1782.
Viceroy of Peru. [*CDIP*, 259. 1782-IV-21]