

The Return of the Inca. The Andean Messianism (16th–18th centuries)

Nathan Wachtel

Recent studies suggest a set of relationships between the sixteenth-century *Taki Unquy* movement of the Central Andes, the so-called ‘Neo-Inca’ kingdom of Vilcabamba, the popular dramatized events of the Conquest, and the myth of Inkarrí. How can we explain these linked elements? To what extent can part of the *corpus* of documents on Inca resistance be subjected to structural analysis? In what way is the messianic dimension of this thematic area a long-term element? How are Occidental and Christian cultural elements combined with Andean sacred elements? To what extent does the messianic dimension permeate, in the Charcas Audience, the revolt movements of the 18th century?

Keywords: Inca, Andes, Messianism, Taqui Onqoy, Vilcabamba, Inkarrí, Rebellions, Tupac Amaru.

‘Time will come,’ ‘the time is near,’ ‘the time has come’: from the 16th to the 18th century, and until the 20th, hope for the advent of a new era of justice and bliss appears to be, at the various levels of the social scale, the constantly renewed expectation horizon of Andean populations.

The theme of ‘Andean messianism’ has become, in fact, a classic subject: it has inspired half a century of countless publications and vivid polemics. So let’s start by dismissing sterile linguistic quarrels: the words ‘messianism’ or ‘millenarianism,’ obviously of Western, Judeo-Christian origin, are used here solely for convenience and by analogy to designate an ensemble of phenomena, apparently linked to each other. It is important to first describe, analyze and follow their concrete evolution, as accurately as the sources allow for, then reinsert them into their various contexts (political, economic, social, cultural, religious, and symbolic) to try to gather their meaning. There is a vast bibliography on each component of this ensemble, which will not be exhaustively analyzed here. In this chapter, a series of questions will be

asked, within the boundaries of sound methodology, and efforts will be made to provide some answers.

To what extent—and on what terms—can we recognize a link between the components identified in the historiographical literature under the headings The Neo-Inca State of Vilcabamba, the *Taqui Onqoy* [*Taki Unquy*] Movement, the Inkarrí Myth, the Dances of the Conquest, and the Indian Revolts of the 18th century? It is our purpose to sketch out, in broad strokes, the persistence, throughout the colonial rule, of an essential dimension of the Andean world, namely the so-called ‘messianic’ aspiration, which takes on fluctuating forms throughout the centuries. Some recent works allow, in the context of this old issue, for renewing our perspectives,¹ confirming that the theme of the return of the Inca is stubbornly reinvented over time, undergoing many changes.

I. The Taqui Onqoy Movement

We know that Manco Inca (one of the sons of Huayna Capac), after having collaborated with the Spanish, eventually escaped Cuzco in 1536 to organize a large uprising. He returned to the city, which he sieged for more than a year, but the Spanish defenders managed to push him back. Manco had to retreat deeper into the Vilcabamba Mountains. It is in this almost inaccessible region that subsisted between 1537 and 1572, a last retreat of the Inca resistance. After the death of Manco Inca (murdered in 1546 by two Spaniards on the run who came to take refuge), his sons Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru succeeded him at the head of what can be called the ‘Neo-Inca State.’ A few years later, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo was able to organize a final, decisive expedition: Tupac Amaru was captured, put in irons, and then brought to Cuzco, where, on the large square, he was beheaded in front of a horrified crowd.

1. The Resurrection of the Huacas[Wak’as]

It is during the reign of Titu Cusi in Vilcabamba in the 1560s that the *Taqui Onqoy* movement (the ‘disease of the chant’ or ‘disease of the dance’), designated by our sources as a religious ‘sect,’ appeared in the Central Andes, especially in the Huamanga region.² From this nucleus, it spread eastward, to Cuzco, and southward,

1 Among these recent works, especially among those dealing with the major revolts of the 18th century, the following works should be mentioned: Sergio Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección en el mundo colonial andino. El norte de Potosí, siglo XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 2006; and Charles Walker, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru*, Lima, 2015. On the myth of Inkarrí and the ‘Dances of the Conquest,’ see the research by Jean-Philippe Husson and his students (see the bibliographic references below).

2 The main sources of information on the *Taqui Onqoy* movement are the ‘Informaciones de servicios’ of the ‘Visitor’ Cristóbal of Albornoz, kept in the General Archives of the Indies, Audiencia de Lima, legajo (file). 316. These documents consist of four notebooks, dated 1569, 1571, 1577 and 1584, which were published by Luis Millones, ed., in *El retorno de las huacas. Estudios y documentos sober el Taki Onqoy*, Lima, 1990. (As I have previously studied these documents firsthand

to La Paz. The preachers of the ‘sect’ announced that the Andean deities, the *huacas*, who were defeated during the Spanish invasion, would now resurrect; that they were about to fight a new battle against the Christian God, who would this time be defeated; and that afterward, the Spaniards would be driven out of the country. This struggle between divine powers implied much more than a political change (the end of colonial rule): this would be a truly cosmic event, a revolution which would lead to the end of the world and the advent of a new era:

‘They believed that all the *huaca* of the Kingdom, all the ones the Christians had destroyed and burned, had resuscitated [...] that all of these prepared to battle against God and defeat him, and that now they would be victorious. When the Marquis arrived in this land, God had defeated the *huaca* and the Spaniards had defeated the Indians, but now the world was accomplishing its return; God and the Spaniards would be defeated this time and all of the Spaniards would be killed, their cities engulfed, and the sea would swell to drown them and abolish their existence from memory.’³

The term *vuelta* (tour, return, reversal) used by Cristobal de Molina is noteworthy: the native representation of the end of a world is governed both by the categories of the dual organization and by the cyclical conception of time. The Spanish conquest had turned the world topsy-turvy, and it would soon go back to normal: indeed, the ‘turn of command of the Spaniards,’ their *mita*, would end and the rule of the Indians would return.⁴ The Andean notion of *pachakuti* can be applied here, a reversal both in space and time, accompanied by huge cataclysms. One of these is no other than the Spanish conquest itself, causing the decomposition of the Inca Empire and the submission of the Indians to the rule of the invaders. Co-

in Seville, I allow myself to keep the original archive references.) From the same Cristóbal de Albornoz, we have an ‘Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haciendas,’ published by Pierre Duviols in the *Journal of the Society of Americanists*, 1967, pp. 7–39. The chronicler Cristobal de Molina (cited as a witness in Albornoz’s ‘Informaciones’) devoted a long passage to the *Taqi Onqoy* movement in his *Relación de las fábulas y ritos Los Incas*, [1575], edited by Enrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, Madrid, 1988. Additional information, independent of the previous sources, can be found in the *Libro de Cabildo* of Cuzco (which I have also studied on site, hence the archival references).

- 3 Cristobal de Molina, *Relación de las fábulas i ritos de los Ingas...* [1575], eds. Enrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, Madrid, 1988, p. 130: ‘[...] ellos creyeron que todas las guacas del reyno, quantas havian los cristianos derocado y quemado, avian resucitado [...] y que todos andavan por el ayre hordenando de dar batalla a Dios, y vengçelle, y que ya la trayan de vencida y que quando el Marques entró en esta tierra, avía Dios vencido a las guacas y los Españoles a los yndios; enpero que agora dava la buelta el mundo, y que Dios y los Españoles quedarían vencidos desta vez y todos los Españoles muertos, y las ciudades dellos anegadas, y que la mar havia de crecer y los avia de aogar, porque dellos no huviese memoria’ (emphasis added).
- 4 Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia of Lima, Legajo 316, book dated 1571, ff. 16r–16v, testimony of Bartolomé Berrocal: ‘[...] la quales dichas guacas decían los dichos apóstatas questaban peleando con dios de los christianos y que presto seria devençida e que se acabaria su myta de mandar [...]’; Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia of Lima, Legajo 316, book dated 1571, f. 33r, testimony of Gerónimo Martín, Cristóbal de Albornoz’s interpreter: ‘[...] e que las dichas guacas harían otro mundo de nuevo y otras gentes ...’ (emphasis added).

lonial domination thus represents a scandalous mess, denounced by Guaman Poma of Ayala a few years later by repeating throughout his chronicle that 'the world is upside down.'

The disastrous outcome of the Spanish conquest was accompanied by an unprecedented catastrophe caused by new diseases (smallpox, measles, influenza, etc.), which were introduced by the Europeans and against which the indigenous populations, isolated for thousands of years from the rest of humanity, were not immune. Thus, epidemics succeed each other in the Andean area throughout the 16th century (and even far beyond). In fact, it seems that from 1524 to 1526, even before Pizarro's first trip, a first, difficult-to-identify epidemic outbreak occurred, one of its victims being the Inca Huayna Capac himself. The outbreak paved the way for the dynastic struggles that would facilitate the Spanish conquest. The epidemic waves succeeded each other, causing great losses of life in 1546, 1558–1559, and 1585–1591 (the conjunction of several diseases). It is estimated that, during the first half-century of colonial rule, the population in the Andean world fell around 80 percent; this was the magnitude of the social disintegration and trauma.⁵

How could the Indians explain so many misfortunes? Epidemics mainly struck the native population while the European invaders seemed to be spared. For the preachers of the *Taqui Onqoy*, this accumulation of disasters could only result from the wrath of the Andean deities, irritated by their abandonment: since the conquest, the *huaca* received no ritual sacrifices; they roamed neglected, 'desiccated and starving.'⁶ Out of revenge, the *huaca* inflicted disease and death to all Indians who have accepted baptism who would roam, in turn, head down and feet up in the air, or turn into llamas or vicuñas.⁷ Only those who rejected everything that bore the mark of the invaders would be saved: the Indians were forbidden from eating or dressing like the Spanish, entering churches or having Christian names. *Taqui Onqoy* followers moved from village to village to restore the cult of the destroyed *huacas*; they brought them back to life through rites of resurrection, chicha libations, and offerings of corn at the ruins of the sacred places. To reconvert to the worship of the *huaca*, the Indians had to fast for several days, avoiding salt, *ají*, and colored corn and abstain from sex; these were purification rites of a traditional type.⁸ Membership in *Taqui Onqoy* implied a break, establishing a split between the Spanish and the Indian worlds.

5 See Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse. Indian Peru, 1520–1620*, Cambridge, 1981.

6 Cristobal de Molina, *Relación*, p. 130: 'andavan predicando esta resurreccion de las guacas, diciendo que ya las guacas andavan por el ayre secas y muertas de hambre porque los yndios no les sacrificavan ya, ni derramavan chicha [...] y que estaban enojadas con todos ellos porque se havian bautizado, y que los avian de matar a todos si no se bolvian a ellos renegando la fe católica [...].'

7 Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia of Lima, Legajo 316, book dated 1571, ff. 32v–33r, testimony of Geronimo Martin: 'Y que si no adoraban las dichas guacas e hazian las dichas serimonias e sacrificios que les predicauan morirían y andarian las cabezas por el suelo y los pies arriba y otros se tornarían guanacos venados e vicuñas y otros animales [...].'

8 Cristobal of Molina, *Relación*, pp. 130–131.

The preachers of the ‘sect’ propagated scary rumors about the abominable crimes committed by the invaders. Real fears spread, stressing the rupture between the two worlds. It was thus rumored that the Spaniards had come to Peru to put the Indians to death because they were looking for human fat, which they used as a sort of drug for certain diseases. The terrified Indians avoided any contact with them, refused to enter their homes, and hid.⁹ Here appears the well-known motif of the ‘cutthroat,’ the *nakaq*, *pishtako* or *kharisiri*, described as a being with human appearance and magical powers, who specializes in extracting human fat, considered as the vital substance (the victim dies of anemia a few days later). This popular belief has endured for centuries, up to today, and has taken on very different characteristics over time.¹⁰

And yet, despite their hostility toward Spanish influence, the *Taqui Onqoy* integrated some aspects of the culture it was fighting, giving such influences a unique and never-seen-before meaning, as with the Chief of the movement, Juan Chocne, who was assisted in his preaching by Indian women called ‘Holy Mary’ or ‘Holy Mary Magdalene,’ and who were revered as such.¹¹ Was this done to assimilate the power of the Christian deity, to turn it against the Spaniards themselves? We also know that the phenomena of the revitalization of indigenous traditions—in the context of colonial domination—often included complex processes integrating elements borrowed from the dominant culture, elements that were reinserted into the mental mechanisms and categories of indigenous thought. At the same time, traditional representations also underwent processes of re-elaboration and recomposition: the resurrected *huaca* gathered around the two main deities within the Inca geographical space—those of Lake Titicaca and Pachacamac;¹² thus, a restructuring of the sacred geography of the Andean world occurred but was still governed by the dualistic scheme.

Innovations are also present in the beliefs relating to the manifestation modalities of the *huacas*. These are traditionally located in rocks, sources or lakes, all

9 Cristobal of Molina, *Relación*, p. 129: ‘[...] y creido por los yndios que despaña avían enviado a este reyno por unto de los yndios para sanar cierta enfermedad que no se hallava para ello medicina sino el dicho unto [...].’

10 Among a vast literature, see the recent book by Laurence Charlier Zeinedinne, *L’Homme-proie. Infortunes et prédation dans les Andes boliviennes*, Rennes, 2015; see the file published in the *Bulletin of the Institut Français d’Etudes Andines*, 20 (1), 1991; see also Nathan Wachtel, *Dieux et vampires. Retour à Chipaya*, Paris, 1992.

11 Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia of Lima, Legajo 316, notebook dated 1571, f. 14v, testimony of Pedro de Contreras: ‘[...] porqueste testigo vido a ciertas yndias del rrepartimiento de joan de Manueco vezino desta ciudad venir a pedir misericordia al dicho visitador que se nombrauan Sancta Maria y Sancta Maria Magdalena y otros nombres de Sanctas que entre ellas se hauian puesto para que las rreuerençiasen por sanctas [...].’

12 Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Lima, Legajo 316, notebook dated 1571, f. 4R, testimony of Luis de Olivera: ‘[...] todas las guacas del rreino [...] auian rresucitado y estauan rrepartidas en dos partes las unas con la guaca Pachamama y las otras con la guaca titicaca que eran las dos principales del rreino e questas se auian juntado para dar batalla a dios nuestro señor.’

objects of veneration which are addressed through ritual offerings. Thus, in the *Taqui Onqoy*, the divinity or the spirit may be internalized, i.e., the *huacas* are now incarnated in a number of the faithful. It is a state of possession that causes real trances: the Indian whose body hosts a *huaca* loses judgment, wanders like a lunatic, rolls on the ground, ‘makes grimaces,’ sings, and dances around.¹³ Thus ‘possessed,’ the faithful becomes, in turn, an object of veneration: offerings are addressed to him in large feasts during which the Indians assemble for several days and sing and dance, invoking the embodied *huaca*.¹⁴

2. The Muru Onqoy

The ‘dance disease’ leads to the ‘possession’ of a *huaca* by a spirit, and the context of the epidemics suggests that this dance can also be considered therapeutic, a ritual intended precisely to ward off disease and achieve healing. This is suggested by a similar episode, which developed about thirty years later in the provinces of Aymaraes and Vilcas, which neighbor Huamanga. This is the so-called *Muru Onqoy* [*Muru Unquy*] movement, the ‘spots disease,’ referring to the virulent epidemic of smallpox, which again befell the indigenous peoples. In the early 1590s, ‘prophets’ preached, as in *Taqui Onqoy*, that the disease was a manifestation of the *huacas*’ vengeance since their worship had been abandoned.¹⁵ So it came to be that a ‘ladino’ Indian (speaking the Spanish language), presenting himself as the envoy of the *huaca Picti*, explained that the misfortunes that tormented the Indians resulted from the abandonment of ‘their ancient rites and ceremonies.’¹⁶ He also exhorted the Indians to renounce Christian beliefs and practices; his followers gathered to destroy crosses, rosaries, and images of saints. Certain caciques declared Christian marriages as null, and as legitimate those which they decided. The ‘prophet’ eventually led the

13 Cristobal de Molina, *Relación*, pp. 130–131: ‘[...] que las guacas no se metían ya en las piedras, ni en las nubes, ni en las fuentes para hablar, sino que se yncorporan ya en los yndios y los hacían ya hablar [...] obo muchos yndios que temblaban y se revolcaban por el suelo y otros tiravan de pedradas como endimoniados, haciendo visajes [...] y respondía que la guaca fulana se le había entrado en el cuerpo.’

14 Cristobal de Molina, *Relación*, p. 131: ‘[...] y los yndios le entravan a adorar con carneros [...] y hacían fiestas todo el pueblo de dos y tres días, baylando y beviendo, e ynboçando a la guaca que aquel representava y decía tenía en el cuerpo.’ Bartolomé Álvarez, a priest posted at Pampa Aullagas, northwest of Potosí, describes in his book (written in 1587–1588) an ecstatic dance called ‘talausú’ in Aymara, which he explicitly compares to the dance called ‘taquiongo in the language of Cusco.’ But he does not mention a belief in the resurrection of the *huaca*; it can be assumed that this dance was a variant of an ecstatic ritual that was also largely widespread (see below on the revolt of the Tepehua Indians). This ‘talausú’ does not seem to be a direct extension of the ‘taquiongo’ of the area of Huamanga. cf. Bartolomé Álvarez, *De las costumbres y conversión de los indios del Perú. Memorial a Felipe II*, [1588], Madrid, 1998, pp. 124–127.

15 See Marco Curatola, ‘El culto de crisis de “Moro Oncoy,”’ *Scientia et Praxis*, 12, 1977; Juan José Villarias Robles, ‘La vuelta del Inca Rey: textos, tradición oral y acción política en el milenarismo andino,’ *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*, Madrid, 1997.

16 Antonio de Vega, *Historia o narración de las cosas sucedidas en este colegio del Cuzco destos Reynos del Perú ...*, [1600], Lima, 1948, p. 99–100. (Cited by Juan José Villarias Robles, p. 128.)

residents of several villages in pilgrimage to the top of a mountain, where they made offerings and sacrifices to the *huacas* to restore the idols.¹⁷

Descriptions of similar events are to be found in the chronicle of the Augustinian father Alonso Ramos Gavilan (an independent source, as compared to the previous one). In the year 1596, shortly after the ‘great general epidemic of plague, measles and smallpox,’ an Indian who claimed to be a ‘representative of God’ attributed these diseases once more to a chastisement punishing conversion to Christianity. He also brought, by himself, thousands of Indians to the top of the mountain Picti to accomplish the traditional rites.¹⁸ It is worth mentioning here that the 1592 Annual Letter of the Jesuit Accounts mentions an ‘Inca’ among the Indians of the province of Aymaraes, who exhorted them to return to the ceremonies and customs of their ancestors.¹⁹ The *Annual Letter* of 1594 (whose author is none other than Father Pablo de Arriaga) evokes ‘a famous sorcerer who said came on behalf of the Inca to liberate the Indians from death’ and made them practice rites of purification.²⁰

3. Among the Tepehua Indians

We allow ourselves a parenthesis, at this point, to draw a parallel with another example of the revitalization of indigenous customs. It is a case that is all the more suggestive in that it was very close in time to the *Muru Onqoy* but was located in a very remote geographical area: the great revolt of the Tepehua and Acaxee Indians between 1616–1620 in the extreme northern area of New Spain.

Both the context and the circumstances repeat themselves: the Sinaloa and Sonora populations are indeed the victims, in 1616, of disastrous repeated epidemics, which brought, since the Spanish conquest, a decline of around 80% of the population (similar to that of the Andean area).²¹ We will mention only a few traits of the movement, drawn from the excellent description of the Jesuit Father Andres Perez Ribas.²² First of all, under the direction of ‘healers and sorcerers,’ participants

17 Antonio de Vega, *Historia*, p. 100. (Cited by Juan José Villarias Robles, p. 128.)

18 Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia of Nuestra Señora of Copacabana*, [1621], La Paz, 1976, pp. 56–57: ‘En los pueblos de Piti y Mara Provincia de los Yanaguaras sucedió el año de mil y quinientos y noventa y seis [...] que un Indio enseñado del espíritu maligno, cual otro Anticristo, decía que era lugarteniente de Dios, predicando esto a los Indios [...] que una general peste de sarampion y viruelas, que pocos años antes había corrido en la tierra, era azote y castigo de su mudanza a la Fe de los Cristianos.’ See also Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, ‘Un movimiento Religioso de Libertad y Salvación Nativista. Yanahuaura, 1596,’ in Juan M. Ossio, ed., *Ideología Mesiánica del mundo andino*, Antología, Lima, 1973, pp. 143–152.

19 *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 5, (1592–1595), ed. by Antonio Egaña, Rome, 1970; Carta Anua de 1592, p. 208: ‘Mentiebantur alii a se visum Ingam [...]’

20 *Monumenta Peruana*, Carta Anua de 1594, p. 353: ‘Una India consultó a un echizero famoso, el cual decía que venia de parte del Inga a librar a los indios de la muerte.’

21 See Alicia M. Barabas, *Utopias indias. Movimientos sociorreligiosos en Mexico*, 2nd ed., 2000, pp. 112–113. On the revolt of Tepehua Indians, pp. 145 ff.

22 Andres Perez de Vidas, *Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fee entre Gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe*, Madrid, 1645.

performed a ‘pagan dance’ during which the Indians gesticulate and ‘make grimaces,’ ‘going from house to house to collect the disease’ to subsequently expel it on the mountain.²³ Here again, the dancers, after three or four days and nights, crumbled from exhaustion, ‘half-dead.’²⁴ The preachers exhorted the rejection of Christianity and the restoration of ancient rites. The movement was accompanied by violent actions resulting in burned churches and massacred Spaniards, including missionary priests. There is a meaning-rich detail regarding a ‘famous sorcerer’ of the Acaxee nation: he claimed to be the Indians’ ‘Bishop,’ and it is by ‘this name, Bishop, that he is known in the mountains.’ But he preached, like the other ‘wizards,’ for abandoning and destroying all that was Christian; he thus canceled the marriages celebrated by the missionaries and remarried people ‘as it seemed right to him.’²⁵ Yet another example of reusing, within the very act of refusal, an element of the colonial institution, turning it against itself.

4. The Taqui Onqoy and the Inca Refuge of Vilcabamba

Let’s now go back to the *Taqui Onqoy* and to the question already suggested earlier: Is there a relationship between this movement of religious revitalization and the Inca King’s rebel refuge in Vilcabamba? First of all, the *Taqui Onqoy*, as such, did not take the form of an armed enterprise: the Indians expected their salvation less from the immediate practice of violence than from the victory of the *huacas* over the deities of the invaders. The religious nature of the ‘sect’ confers it complete autonomy from the resistance struggle of the Incas of Vilcabamba. However, two of our main sources on the *Taqui Onqoy*, Cristobal de Molina’s *Chronicle* and the *Informations* by Cristóbal de Albornoz, explicitly attribute the origin of the ‘sect’ to ‘wizards’ from Vilcabamba, and accuse the Inca Titu Cusi of fomenting its diffusion by sending preachers (described as ‘Indian Ladinos’) to all the provinces of Peru, to announce that ‘the *huacas* had come back and were going to defeat the God of the Christians.’²⁶ How is this information to be interpreted?

23 Perez de Vidas, *Historia*, p. 18v: ‘[...] concertaron vn baile Gentilico a su vsança, y por remate del, tomando por las esquinas vna manta o sabana de algodón echaron en ella algunas cosas, en que assientan su pacto con el demonio, y haziendo visages, y otras sus ceremonias, soplando a vnas partes, y a otras, ivan por todas las casas del pueblo, diziendo que recogian alli la enfermedad, para lleuarla al monte [...]’

24 Perez de Vidas, *Historia*, p. 691v: ‘[...] que hizieron grandes bailes y mitotes, para aplacar (como ellos dezian) el rigor de la peste [...] que los hizo estar bailando tres y quatro dias con sus noches, sin comer bocado, y delante de vn idolo, en que se les aparecia, hasta que rendidos del trabajo, y baile Gentilico, caían en tierra desmayados, y medio muertos.’

25 Perez de Vidas, *Historia*, p. 487 has: ‘[...] este fue el mas celebre embustero, y hechizero, que se ha descubierto entre estas gentes: pues llegó su sobervia a fingirse por Obispo suyo [...]. El nombre con que le llamauan por toda aquella serrania era de Obispo: rebautizaua a los Indios ya bautizados por los Padres [...]’

26 Cristobal de Molina, *Relación*, p. 129: ‘[...] se sospeché y trató que fue ynventado de los echicheros que en *Vilcabamba* tenian los Yngas que alli estavan alçados [...]’ (Underlined in original.) Also, Cristóbal de Albornoz, *Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Piru*, [1584], edited by Henrique Urbano and Pierre Duviols, Madrid, 1988, pp. 193–194: ‘Estos yngas siempre desearon

Concerning the origin of the *Taqui Onqoy*, the religious revitalization movement could not have been only the result of the Inca's political decision, for it has its roots, obviously, in the very ancient popular beliefs of the indigenous masses. But it is no less true that the *Taqui Onqoy* coincides chronologically with preparations for an armed uprising uncovered in 1565 in the central Andes (extending at least from the region of Jauja to that of Andahuaylas), an area which adjoins or comprises the 'sect's' central area. Now the sources that mention this great revolt project are completely independent of those cited above. Thus, Governor Lope García de Castro learned 'with horror' that the Huanca Indians of the Jauja Valley (who had hitherto been among the most loyal collaborators and allies of the Spaniards) clandestinely manufactured more than three thousand pikes with bronze heads, and that they even collected arquebuses and horses.²⁷ Messengers circulated across the country to encourage the Indians to rise the same day, from Quito to Charcas. Lope Garcia de Castro's cry of alarm was probably an exaggeration, but there is no reason to doubt the existence of the plot. It remains to be seen whether any links exist between the armed revolt project of the Huancas, the ecstatic followers of the *Taqui Onqoy*, and the political maneuvers of the Vilcabamba Incas.

It is worth recalling that the general situation, in the 1560s, is marked by a deep crisis: the vice-royalty is experiencing disorders of all kinds and seems to be shaken to its very foundations.²⁸ The context is therefore complex: even if the *Taqui Onqoy* did not originate in the maneuvers of the Vilcabamba Inca King, the Vilcabamba Inca King could have encouraged the *Taqui Onqoy* and could have even contributed to its dissemination, seeing in it a means by which to weaken the Spanish enemy. It can also be assumed that Cristobal de Molina and Cristobal de Albornoz may have mixed up the messengers of the Inca, those of the *curacas* who prepared a great revolt, and *Taqui Onqoy* preachers who announced the resurrection of the *huacas*. We cannot distinguish between the political and the religious in this case, and we see (in sources that are totally independent of one another) that the different roles could very well interfere with one another.

Indeed, in a letter recorded in 1565 in the book of the Cabildo of Cuzco, Gabriel de Sotelo, *encomendero* of the region of Abancay, gives disturbing informa-

boluer a recuperar estos reinos [...] procuraron yndios ladinos criados entre nosotros [...] a estos derramaron por todas las provincias del Pirú, con un modo de predicación rogando y exortando a todos los que eran fieles a su señor que creyesen que las guacas bolvían ya sobre si y lleuavan en vencida al Dios de los cristianos.'

27 Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Lima, legajo 92: 'Los Indios del valle de xauxa [...] hicieron una cosa de que los que emos sauido estamos espantados y es que con ser los yndios deste balle los que siempre an acudido más al servicio de vuestra magestad que otros algunos agora secretamente an hecho hacer mas de tres mill picas.' Also, Archivos Históricos del Cuzco, Libro del Cabildo, no 5, f. 46v: '[...] y tenian rrepartidos en el pueblo de xauxa por sus ayillos mas de tres mill picas y abian hecho muchos hierros de cobro enastados en ella [...].'

28 On these conjunctural issues, see in particular the preliminary study of Guillermo Lohmann Villena in the edition of Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, [1567], Paris-Lima, 1967, (pp. VI–XXI).

tion: the Indians were preparing to assault the cities of Huamanga, Huánuco, and Chachapoyas, ‘and once they control half of the territory, the Inca will leave [his refuge] and join them in attacking Cuzco.’²⁹ Several meetings had been held for this purpose, and the cacique of the *encomienda* of Pedro de Villagran, at Parinacocha, ‘named Juan Chancavilca, had sent one of his sons, whom I know, dressed in red like a Spaniard, to preach the sect.’³⁰ The rest of the document reports that rumors were circulating about ‘the resurrection of Pachacamac, and that they [the Indians] had made great sacrifices and offered plenty of cattle to the devil of Pachacamac.’³¹ This can only refer to the ‘sect’ of *Taqui Onqoy*: the document adds that it was precisely in the province of Parinacocha that the movement ‘began.’³² And the rest of the documentation confirms that it is indeed the parish priest of Parinacocha, Luis de Olivera, who first discovered in 1564 the actions of the preachers of *Taqui Onqoy* and their followers.³³ Thus, the various clues, overlapping and corroborating each other, lead to the conclusion that a relationship between the ‘sect,’ the project of armed revolt, and the Inca king of Vilcabamba, even if complex, did indeed exist.³⁴

II. The Memory of the Inca

The collective memory perpetuated the figure of the Inca in various ways: mythical tales, popular theater performances, literary works, and fine arts. These different transmission means have each their own complexities and are loaded with a plurality of meanings.

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- 29 Archivos Históricos del Cuzco, Libro del Cabildo, no. 5, (1564–1567), letter by Gaspar de Sotelo, f. 47r: ‘[...] an acordado de que en acabando de coger sus comidas diessen en guamanga guanuco y chachapoyas y en teniendo la media tierra saldria el ynğa a juntarse con ellos y darian sobre el Cuzco.’
- 30 Archivos Históricos del Cuzco, Libro del Cabildo, no. 5, (1564–1567), letter by Gaspar de Sotelo, f. 47r: ‘[...] el cacique de Villagran enbió un hijo suyo que yo conosco vestido de grana como español para esta tierra a *predicar la seta* el cual prendieron en guánuco [...]’ (Emphasis added.)
- 31 Archivos Históricos del Cuzco, Libro del Cabildo, no. 5, (1564–1567), letter by Gaspar de Sotelo, f. 47r: ‘[...] porque en parinacocha se començó lo que se dixo en esta ciudad de la *rresurrección de pachacama* y habian hecho grandes sacrificios y ofrecido mucho ganado al diablo de pachacama.’ (Emphasis added.)
- 32 Archivos Históricos del Cuzco, Libro del Cabildo, no. 5, (1564–1567), letter by Gaspar de Sotelo, f. 47r. The precision concerning the village of Parinacocha in the testimony of Gaspar de Sotelo is probative here.
- 33 See, among others, Cristobal de Molina, *Relacion*, p. 129: ‘[...] porque en la provincia de Parinacocha, un Luis de Olivera, clerigo presbitero que a la saçón hera cura del dicho repartimiento que es en el ovispado del Cuzco, fue el primero que vio de la dicha yronia o ydolatria [...]’
- 34 See, among others, Gabriela Ramos, ‘Política eclesiástica y idolatrias extirpación: discurso y silencio en torno al Taqui Onqoy,’ *Revista andina*, no. 10, 1992, pp. 147–169; ‘Política eclesiástica, cultura e historia: Cristobal de Albornoz y el Taqui Onqoy, otra vez,’ *Colonial Latin American Review*, no. 11 (1), 2002, pp. 139–145. These articles develop interpretations that tend to diminish the significance of the movement. For a detailed and perfectly convincing rebuttal of the hypercritical position of these authors, see the article by Hélène Roy, ‘En torno del Taqui Onqoy: texto y contexto,’ *Revista Andina*, no. 50, 2010, pp. 9–58, as well as her doctoral dissertation, *Le royaume néo-inca de Vilcabamba. (Peru, 1537–1572): étude historique et anthropologique*, Université de Poitiers, 2013.

1. The Myth of Inkarri

One of the most common myths in the Andean world, up to the present, is the myth of Inkarri, which serves as an example of the expression of the collective memory of the Indians. Let us summarize the principal theme: the myth relates the war between the Inca and the King of Spain (or his envoy, Pizarro), followed by the Inca's defeat and his decapitation. His severed head was brought to Cuzco, then buried. But in the underground, the head becomes larger; a body grows. Once he is fully restored, the Inca will come out of the earth, the Spaniards will be driven out of the country, and a new era will begin. The myth thus possesses a strong messianic dimension.

Since the publication, in 1956, of the version collected in Puquio (department of Ayacucho) by José María Arguedas, who contributed to making the myth known to a large public, many other variants of the myth have been discovered over an immense area stretching from northern Peru to Bolivia, as well as in Chile and Argentina.³⁵ Within this abundant and extremely complex corpus, a recent dissertation provides the means to conclude on the myth's history and wanderings.³⁶ The author of the dissertation, Aurélie Omer, brought together more than a hundred variants in a 'Catalogue Raisonné.' Among these, two subsets can be distinguished: the first relates the rivalry between Inkarri and other Andean characters, most often the King of the Collas;³⁷ the second shows the war between Inkarri and a ruler foreign to the Andean world, usually the King of Spain (or his representative, Pizarro). The story's meaning differs, depending on the subset.³⁸ In the first group of variants, it is the Inca who, in a competition composed of successive trials, invariably triumphs over the King of the Collas (this subset contains no messianic dimension). In the second group, on the contrary, Inkarri is the one defeated and decapitated: this introduces a strong messianic dimension, with the theme of the underground growth of the body of the Inca and the expectation of his return.

The cartographic representation of the distribution of the myth's variants shows that while the area of distribution of the first group remains limited to the regions of Cuzco and Puno, those of the second group spread to the farthest outskirts of the ancient Inca Empire.³⁹ However, the most significant versions, both in quality

35 We reference here only a few works from a vast bibliography: José María Arguedas, 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio,' *Revista del Museo Nacional*, no. 25, 1955–1956, pp. 184–232; Juan M. Ossio, ed., *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino, Antología*, Lima, 1973; Alejandro Ortiz Recanieri, *De Adaneva a Inkarri, una visión indígena del Perú*, Lima, 1973; Marco Curatola, 'Mito y milenarismo en los Andes: del Taki Onqoy a Inkarri,' *Allpanchis*, no. 10, 1977, pp. 65–92; Mercedes López-Baralt, *El Retorno del Inca Rey: mito y profecía en el mundo andino*, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1998.

36 Aurélie Omer, *Le mythe andin d'Inkarri. Catalogue raisonné des versions du corpus et analyse*, Université de Poitiers, 2013.

37 Omer, pp. 543–556.

38 Omer, pp. 556–574.

39 Omer, see map p. 629.

and density, of the second group, are concentrated in the area of the Central Andes, particularly in the Department of Ayacucho (formerly Huamanga), and more precisely in the regions of Lucanas and Parinacocha. It should be remembered that the focal point of the *Taqui Onqoy* movement was in these same places, i.e., Parinacocha and Lucanas.⁴⁰

These observations allow for a proposed geographical and chronological reconstruction of the evolution of the mythical cycle of Inkarrí. The myth's first components (the versions of the first group) date back to prehispanic times, when the political formation, which was just the chiefdom of the Incas around Cuzco, was fighting against the mighty chief of the Collas. The primitive subset would have been prior to the rapid expansion that was to lead, under the reign of the Inca Pachacuti during the 15th century, to the establishment of a vast empire. After the Spanish conquest, the configuration of the myth was re-elaborated. This re-elaboration 'was made by substituting the character of the King of Spain for that of the Collas,'⁴¹ and thus served as a source for the versions of the second group. However, the defeat of Inkarrí, his decapitation, and the subterranean growth of his body modified the meaning of the narrative and introduced the new dimension of the messianic expectation for his return. Spatially, the first subset remained in the territory of the ancient Inca chiefdom and its southern boundary, in the regions of Cuzco and Puno (while coexisting with hybrid versions), while the second subset, i.e., the re-elaborated myth, spread over a wider area, to the edges of the ancient Inca Empire, following 'a radial diffusion from an original focal point' located in the regions of Cuzco, Ayacucho and Arequipa.⁴² It can be assumed that the myth's transformation occurred in the decades following the Spanish conquest and that the spectacular decapitation of Tupac Amaru in 1572 provided a major theme. There is also a remarkable concomitant geographical coincidence between the focal point of the *Taqui Onqoy* and that of the now messianic myth of Inkarrí.

2. The 'Dances of the Conquest'

Even today, in several Peruvian and Bolivian cities and villages, popular theatrical performances continue to represent the arrival of the Spaniards and the capture and execution of Atahualpa—cried upon at the end by a *ñustas* choir of lamentations (Inca princesses). I once ventured into a rash transcontinental comparison by studying a sample of 'Dances of the Conquest' distributed in an area extending from Mexico to the Andean world.⁴³ A structural analysis revealed one of the essential originalities of Atahualpa's 'Tragedy of Death,' namely, its messianic

40 Omer, see tables pp. 600–605 and p. 627.

41 Omer, p. 636, p. 656.

42 Omer, p. 630, p. 632.

43 Nathan Wachtel, 'La vision des vaincus: la conquête espagnole dans le folklore indigène,' *Annales E.S.C.*, mai–juin 1967, pp. 554–585. Reprinted in: *Des archives aux terrains, Essais d'anthropologie historique*, Paris, 2014, pp. 119–152.

dimension, which the ‘Dances’ performed in Mexico and Guatemala were devoid of. In fact, the Andean popular theater bears witness to a fundamental disjunction between Indians and Spaniards, manifesting a genuine ‘vision of the vanquished,’ while the Mexican and Guatemalan examples illustrate their conjunction, expressing, in general, a Spanish point of view as well as a Christian apologetics. I do not intend to repeat here the demonstration developed earlier, but to recall its main results, supplemented (and confirmed) with the contributions of more recent works, notably those of Jean-Philippe Husson and his students, based on the very distinct and complementary methods of linguistics, philology and documentary criticism.⁴⁴

While my analysis applied mainly to the version known as ‘of Chayanta,’ Jean-Philippe Husson incorporates the whole corpus of published versions of ‘the death of Atahuallpa,’ to which he attached those he could collect himself in the field. The corpus in question is from the 20th century and is localized within two distinct geographical areas: a southern one, in Bolivia (about a dozen versions, including those of Chayanta, Oruro, San Pedro de Buena Vista, etc.); and a more northerly area, in Peru, in the Central Andes (about twenty versions distributed in two sub-groups: on the one hand, that of Manas-Huancapón in the province of Cajatambo, and on the other that of Lamellin-Pomabamba in the department of Ancash). The detailed analysis of these two sets from Peru and Bolivia yielded that the variants have a common origin. It is important to place these ensembles, as much as possible, within a geographical space and a time frame.⁴⁵

Further study is required because of the many similarities (themes, images, scenes) that exist between the myth of Inkarrí and the drama of the death of Atahuallpa: features that point to a kinship between these two forms of collective memory. Just a few examples: First, the expression ‘Inkarrí,’ i.e., ‘Inca King,’ is noteworthy, since it is also by this title that Atahuallpa is hailed in the dramatic representation. Also, the theme of incommunicability between Indians and Spaniards seems to be central, in myth and dance, as illustrated by various similar episodes. Thus, when Pizarro’s Ambassador transmits a message to Atahuallpa, the latter, puzzled, turns once and again the strange piece of cloth where indecipherable signs are inscribed: ‘What are these swarming of ants, or worms,’ or ‘these traces of a bird’s feet?’⁴⁶ This scene echoes another episode (also historic), during which Father Valverde presented a Bible to Atahuallpa, informing him that the book contained the word of

44 Jean-Philippe Husson, *La mort d’Ataw Wallpa, ou la fin de l’empire des Incas. Tragédie anonyme en langue quechua du milieu du XVI^e siècle*, Genève, 2001; Jean-Philippe Husson, *La poésie quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Puma de Ayala. De l’art lyrique de cour aux chants et danses populaires*, Paris, 1985.

45 Husson, *La mort d’Ataw Wallpa*, pp. 153–157.

46 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 288–291: ‘Visto desde este lado, / se parece a un hervidero de hormigas, / Visto desde este otro lado, / es semejante a las huellas dejadas / por patas de pajaros/en el lodo, a orillas de un río. / Visto de por aquí, se parece a venados / con la cabeza abajo y las patas arriba. / Y si se lo mira así, / es como llamas con la cabeza abajo, / o cuernos de venados / Quien podría entender esto?’

God; the Inca brings the object to his ear, listens, and hears nothing: he then throws the Bible on the floor; this is the signal for the Spanish attack, for the capture of Atahualpa and the massacre of the Indians.⁴⁷ This theme of incommunicability is implicit in most versions because they are bilingual: the Spaniards speak Spanish, and the Indians in Quechua. However, in the Chayanta version, incommunicability is actually staged spectacularly; all the actors speak in Quechua for the entire performance except for Pizarro: he only moves his lips, but utters no sound; 'the interpreter' Felipillo then translates these silent words. This is perhaps a unique director's order 'in the history of the theatre,'⁴⁸ and at the same time a remarkable symbol of the disjunction between Indians and Spaniards.

Many other similarities are present, even lexical repetitions, when Atahualpa, dying, gives the order that gold and silver, the precious metals, should disappear by going underground.⁴⁹ This injunction of the Inca expresses not only a curse against the Spaniards, denounced for their greed; it also indicates that the underworld can serve as a refuge, or even for regenerating. At this point, let us consider the theme of the decapitation of the Inca as conclusive, an episode we know is erroneous, as Atahualpa was not beheaded but suffered the torment of the garrote. Why this change in the collective memory? It can be presumed that this modification was in accord with the context of messianic expectation. It is the theme of the severed head that allows introducing, in the myth, the image of the underground growth of the Inca's body, and in the drama, the final scene where the *ñustas* choir evokes the prospect of his return.

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Indigenous theater perpetuates an ancient tradition that dates back at least to the 16th century, and even to the prehispanic period, as evidenced by the words of Bartolomé de las Casas: 'they all had [...] various ways of dances and songs. All sang to the sound of their musical instruments and in response one to the other as we use to do in Spain.' 'What their songs expressed and narrated were the events, the riches, the lords, the peace, the government [that their ancestors had known], the life they led before the Christians arrived, the arrival of these and how they invaded their lands with violence [...], the ferocity of the horses [...] and dogs.'⁵⁰ Bartolomé

47 See Hélène Roy, *Le royaume néo-inca de Vilcabamba*, pp. 350–350; Jean-Philippe Husson, *La mort*, pp. 198–199.

48 Husson, *La mort*, p. 42.

49 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 336–337: 'que los tesoros de oro y plata/ se hundan en las entrañas de la roca, / y si subsisten algunos, / que se conviertan en cenizas.'

50 Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologetica historia de las Indias*, [], Biblioteca de Autores españoles, t. CVI, Madrid, 1958, p. 370: 'Tenian todas las gentes [...] muchas maneras de bailes y cantares [...] Todos al son de sus instrumentos musicales cantaban unos y respondían otros, como los nuestros suelen hacer en España. Lo que en sus cantares pronunciaban era raconar los hechos y riquezas, y señorios, y paz, y gobierno de sus antepasados, la vida que tenían antes que viniesen los cristianos, la venida dellos, y como en sus tierras violentamente entraron [...] la ferocidad de los caballos [...] y de los perros.'

de las Casas' description is a general one: but what, specifically, of the 'drama of the death of Atahualpa' in the Andean world?

Popular theatrical representations, components of the native 'folklore,' are usually not an object of interest in the historical documentation. They are, indeed, first of all, oral traditions, transcribed and often copied in 'notebooks for testing' (*cuadernos de ensayo*), but these manuscripts were lost over the centuries. The latest copy of the Chayanta version, for example, dates from 1871.⁵¹ A few rare clues allow us, however, to go back in time. We thus find a mention of the 'tragedy' of Atahualpa in the mission report written by the military engineer Amédée-François Frézier, who, between 1711–1714, skirted the Peruvian and Chilean coasts:

'In most major inland cities, they celebrate the memory of this death [of Atahualpa] through a sort of tragedy that they perform in the streets, the day of the Nativity of the Virgin. They dress in ancient style and still bear the images of their deity the Sun, the Moon, and other symbols of their idolatry [...]'⁵²

Another clue is provided by the 'idolatry' trials found in the Episcopal Archives of Lima, through which we enter the very rural area of Cajatambo. In 1662, Alonso Callan Poma, the *curaca* of the village of Mangas, was denounced because he had organized a ceremony during the covering of his house's roof. The ceremony featured four or five Indians, dressed as 'Incas,' which faced four or five other Indians, dressed as Spaniards; they danced and mimed a fight using their slingshots. In his defense, don Alonso protested saying that this feast was nothing pagan but a profane entertainment, and the *curaca* was in fact absolved.⁵³ The oldest trace is probably found in *The history of the Imperial City of Potosi* by Bartolomé Martínez Arzans de Orcua y Vela. This text reports ceremonies celebrated in 1555, among which was a theatrical representation of Atahualpa's capture and death.⁵⁴ The richness of the description suggests such an event was very likely, but it is true that the dating is questionable here, insofar as the future 'Imperial City' was still, in the indicated year, just an emerging mining camp. Moreover, a comparison between the 'tragedy' of Atahualpa and the famous *Chronicle* of Guaman Poma de Ayala highlights, again, many similarities, particularly in the chapter that the latter devotes to the Spanish conquest of Peru. These similari-

51 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 18–19.

52 Amédée François Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou*, [1716], Paris, 1995, p. 260.

53 Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía muerta y resurrección de los Incas*, Lima, 1988. The author quotes a passage from a 1662 lawsuit for idolatry against Alonso Callan Poma, *curaca* of Mangas, on p. 421: '[...] solo en el segundo día del cubrimiento de mi casa sobre la tarde nos pusimos unas camisetas de cumbi para salir hecho yngas y otros cuatro o cinco se hicieron como españoles, les hicimos un entretenimiento como a modo de alarde, y con chusos y hondas y nos holgamos toda la tarde [...]' (Archives Archiépiscolales de Lima (HI), legajo 5, exp. 6, fol. 77r).

54 Bartolomé Martínez Arzans de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, [beginning of the eighteenth c.], Providence, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 95–99.

ties allowed Jean-Philippe Husson, in his excellent analysis of the ‘missing link,’ to reinforce the hypothesis that the theatrical representation may have well originated in the middle of the 16th century.⁵⁵ Many motifs and images are present in both the drama and the chronicle (in drawings and text), especially the theme of the arrival of the ‘bearded white men.’ Concrete and picturesque details abound as if Guaman Poma de Ayala’s description gave a ‘narrative version of a representation’ that he would have attended:⁵⁶

‘They were afraid of the fact that Christians did not sleep [...], that they and their horses ate gold and silver, and that they wore sandals made of silver.’ [...] They said that the Spaniards spoke day and night with their papers *qillqa* [‘written document’] and that they were all wrapped in a shroud, that their faces were covered with wool and that only their eyes were visible; that they carried on their heads small red pots *ari manka* [‘new pot’] and *suri wayta* [‘ostrich feathers’].⁵⁷

One of the themes attracting particular attention is the putting to death of the Inca by beheading. It is often paralleled to two drawings by Guaman Poma de Ayala representing the executions of Tupac Amaru and Atahualpa, which seem modeled after one another. The decapitation of Tupac Amaru imposes itself as the strongest image, symbolically charged with messianic potential, also in accordance with the myth of Inkari (in its transformed version).⁵⁸

Another historical inaccuracy is repeated both in theatrical performances of the myth and the *Chronicle*: among the characters who accompanied Pizarro to Peru, Guaman Poma de Ayala inserts Christopher Columbus; a drawing represents him standing at the bow of the arriving caravel while the other companions of Pizarro spread over the ship’s bridge.⁵⁹ This anachronistic presence is also repeated in the theatrical work: in the city of Oruro, during the representation of the death of Atahualpa (which I attended in February 1971), Christopher Columbus paraded in the streets and participated in Pizarro and the Inca’s dance on the *socavón* square.⁶⁰

55 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 165–174.

56 Husson, *La mort*, p. 165.

57 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (Codex péruvien illustré)*, ed. Paul Rivet, Paris, 1936, p. 381: ‘[...] como tubo noticia atagu[a] lpa ynga y los señores prencipales y capitanes y los demas yn[di]os de la uida de los espanoles se espantaron de q[ue] los cristianos no dormiese es q[ue] decia porq[ue] uelauan y que comia plata y oro ellos como sus caballos y que trayya ojotas de plata decia de los frenos y herraduras y de las armas de hierro y de bonetes colorados y q[ue] de dia y de noche hablauan cada uno con sus papeles – quilca – y q[ue] todos eran amortajados toda la cara cubierto de lana y q[ue] se le parecia solo los ojos y en la cauesa trayya unas ollitas colorado – ari manta – y suri uayta.’ (Cited and translated by Husson, *La mort*, pp. 165–166).

58 See Figures 1 and 2: drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala representing the beheadings of Atahualpa and Tupac Amaru.

59 See Figure 3: drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala representing the arrival caravel of Pizarro and Columbus.

60 See Figures 4 and 5: the tragedy of the death of Atahualpa represented in Oruro in February 1971: Christopher Columbus parades and dances alongside Hernando Pizarro (photos by Nathan Wachtel).



Figure 1
Décapitation d'Atahualpa
Atahualpa's decapitation



Figure 2
Décapitation de Tupac Amaru
Tupac Amaru's decapitation

These amalgamated historical errors resulted from a centuries-long memory work. Is it the same for the annotations in the theatrical work, which suggests a strong relationship with the Inca's bastion of resistance in Vilcabamba? The theme of the 'refuge in the mountain' appears on several occasions in the Chayanta piece, and Atahualpa, in his recommendations to his son Inkaj Churin, actually designates this mountain 'Vilcabamba'.⁶¹ Could this be a later director's intervention?

The 'missing link' embodied by Guaman Poma de Ayala provides valuable landmarks, both in space and time. We know that he was born between 1535 and 1545, that he wrote his *Chronicle* for thirty years, and that he completed it in 1615. He is from the village of Sondondo, in the province of Lucanas, which, as we have seen above, coincides with the center from which the myth of Inkarrí was disseminated, concomitantly with the *Taqui Onqoy* movement. And we also know that Guaman Poma de Ayala accompanied the 'visitor' Cristobal de Albornoz as an assistant or interpreter in his campaigns to eradicate the 'sect.' It is perfectly likely for

61 Husson, *La mort*, p. 350: 'Partirás de aqui/ llevandolo [este diamante] contigo/ y te retiraras a Vilcabamba/conduciendo a los Incas.'

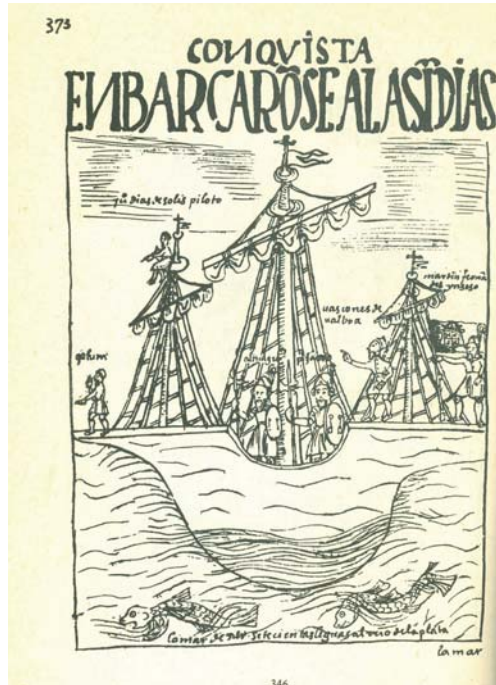


Figure 3
Arrival in Peru of Christopher Columbus and
Hernando Pizarro on the same caravel



Figure 4
Representation in Oruro of the drama of Atahualpa's death: arrival to the square of Socavon (in the foreground, Columbus carrying the Spanish flag)



Figure 5
Representation in Oruro of the drama of Atahualpa's death (in the foreground, Columbus; behind him Pizarro)

the chronicler to have attended theatrical representations of the death of Atahualpa at an adult age, in the second half of the 16th century.⁶²

From this data, Jean-Philippe Husson reconstructed the history and the geographic distribution of the drama. Created in the Kingdom of Vilcabamba, towards the middle of the 16th century, the drama was based on the prehispanic tradition transmitted by the Court of Cuzco and continued in the Neo-Inca refuge. Primitive versions probably accorded more room to the conflict between Huáscar and Atahualpa. The piece then begins its journey, first with the *Taqui Onqoy* messianic movement, establishing a new dissemination center in the Huamanga area (today Ayacucho). Its diffusion subsequently follows two main lines, one to the North and the other to the South, resulting in two subsets of the narrative: one centered around Peru and another centered around Bolivia. Towards the middle of the 17th century, the piece is reformulated and includes an epilogue in which the King of Spain condemns Atahualpa's execution and punishes Pizarro (the latter then throws away the mask and appears with his true face, that of a Jew!).⁶³ Later, at the end of the 18th

62 Husson, *La mort*, p. 174: 'les spectacles dont la chronique de Waman Puma porte l'empreinte méritent bien le nom de versions primitives de la mort de l'Inca dans la mesure où ils sont antérieurs à la différenciation du cycle dramatique en ses deux composantes actuelles.'

63 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 378–379. When the King of Spain announced to Pizarro that he would be punished, he exclaims (he does not move only the lips anymore): 'Ay! Ay! Jehova / Ay! Ay! Lord of Israel / I have thus committed a crime.'

century, in the zone situated between its two current areas of distribution, the representations of the drama disappear due to the severe prohibitions resulting from the suppression of the great revolt of José Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru.⁶⁴ This intermediate zone roughly coincides with the central geographical distribution area of the Inkarri myth. 'In other words, there, where the death of the Inca is not staged in theatrical form, the relay is taken by the myth.'⁶⁵

3. Processions, Iconography, Prophecies

The figure of the Inca never ceased to be represented in public demonstrations in the form of parades, processions, and masquerades. This is how Inca Garcilaso of the Vega described the celebration of Corpus Christi at Cuzco in 1555, during which members of the Inca nobility, dressed in their most magnificent traditional finery, and carrying their insignia, crowns, and coats of arms, stood on the main square (Plaza de Armas) to the right of the Santo Sacramento and behind the members of the city's *Cabildo*.⁶⁶ Such processions were held regularly on the occasion of votive holidays and civil ceremonies (royal births, coronations, arrivals of the viceroy, etc.) until the end of the 18th century, not only in the Cuzco but in most of the cities and towns of the Viceroyalty. The various Indian 'nations' paraded, showing their finery and emblems. These recollections 'of the time of the Inca' were tolerated, even encouraged, in a clearly Christian context, and as an apparent sign of submission to the colonial order. But these 'customs' involved, from different points of view, many ambiguities.

Ephemeral events of the baroque era (parades and masquerades) also inspired the arts, resulting in painted, engraved or carved images. A transition phase between artistic genres is seen in Potosi, in 1624, at the canonization of St Ignatius of Loyola: 'theaters,' composed of actors or puppets, were erected in various places in the city; in some of these were represented 'the entire series of the Incas, monarchs of the Peru, wearing their particular clothes, each with his name inscribed in gold letters on a sign; around these gathered such a crowd of Indians that it had to be dispelled so that the procession could pass through.'⁶⁷ One of the paintings celebrating the procession of Corpus Christi, in Cuzco, which may be dated to the 1680s, shows the cacique of the parish of San Sebastian, dressed as an Inca (but with lace-decorated sleeves) and crowned with the imperial *llautu*, walking at the head

64 Husson, *La mort*, pp. 183–184. See map on p. 186.

65 Husson, *La mort*, p. 161.

66 Quoted by Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento*, pp. 397–398.

67 See Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, La Paz, 1980, pp. 127–128. The autor cites a passage of Bartolomé Arzans y Vela: 'en la esquina del Tambo [...] estaba un gran teatro ricamente adornado, y en el (de escultura prima) toda la casa de Ingas monarcas del Perú, sentados por su orden con sus propios trajes y nombres cada uno en unas tarjetas, con letras de oro, donde acudió tanta multitud de indios que si de allí no los echaran no pudiera pasar el acompañamiento y procesión.'



Figure 6
Corpus Christi procession in Cusco (the caciقة of San Sebastian with llautu)



Figure 7
Corpus Christi procession in Cusco
(detail)

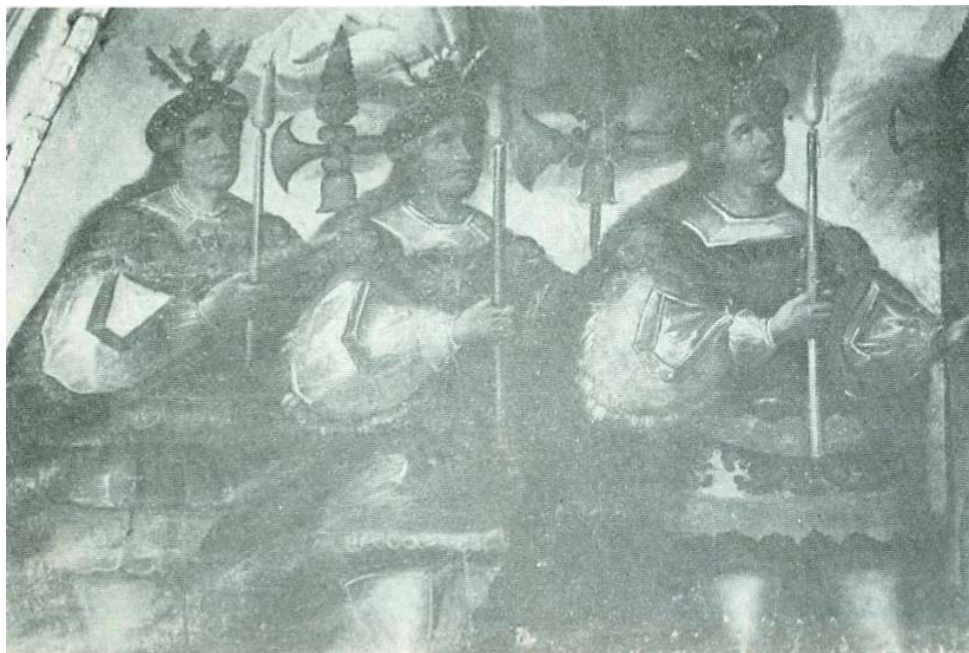


Figure 8
Three Cusquenian caciques (detail of the painting depicting the “Virgin of Sunturhuasi”)

of the chariot that carries the statue of the saint.⁶⁸ A few years later, the three caciques from Cuzco that donated the painting representing the ‘Virgin of Sunturhuasi,’ whose costume is more Hispanic, and who also wear the *mascapaicha* and brandish the other royal insignia.⁶⁹

The iconography of the dynastic series of twelve or thirteen Incas, most probably of prehispanic origin, was revived by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo himself when, in 1572, he had four large paintings made by expert indigenous craftsmen. The paintings were to be sent to Madrid.⁷⁰ Inca Garcilaso de la Vega also reported that, in 1603, he had received from his Inca parents from Cuzco in 1603 a painting of the busts of the rulers of the Tawantinsuyu, which he gave in person to Don Melchor Carlos Inca (grandson of Huayna Capac), who then resided in Valladolid. The work showed ‘the royal family tree from Manco Capac to Huayna Capac and his son Paullu.’ ‘The Incas were painted wearing their antique dresses, their heads ornated with the red *borla* (fringe).’⁷¹ It seems it was not unusual, at least in Cuzco, even in low-class circles, to keep portraits of Incas, as evidenced, in 1648, by the testimony of the artisan confectioner Juan Quispe Tito, who owned ‘eight paintings

68 Gisbert, p. 98–99. See illustration opposite p. 94 (colors) and no. 96: Figures 6 and 7.

69 Gisbert, p. 98. See illustration No. 100. Figure 10.

70 Gisbert, p. 117.

71 Gisbert, pp. 118–119.

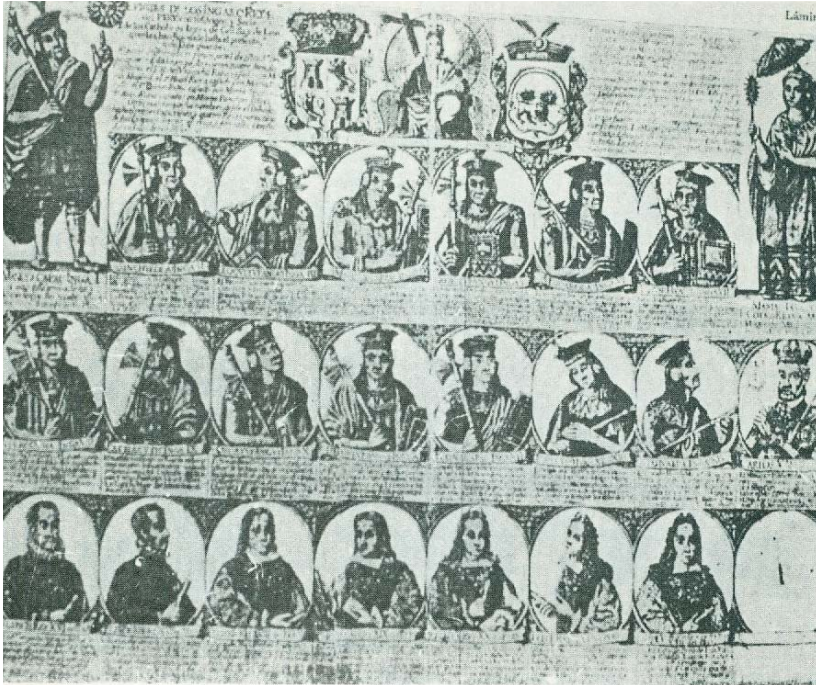


Figure 9
Engraving by Alonso de la Cueva depicting the Incan dynasty (1724–1728)



Figure 10
Incan dynasty, continued by the succession of the Spanish monarchs (Convent of San Francisco de Ayacucho)

representing various figures of Incas.⁷² The diffusion of the Incas' dynastic iconography accelerated at the beginning of the 18th century with a 1724 engraved work by Alonso of the Cueva, which was subsequently reproduced in many copies and imitations.⁷³ This engraving is special in that it features, together, the dynasty of Inca rulers and Charles V and his successors, up to Philip V, as Kings of Peru (after the latter, an empty box was even inserted).⁷⁴ This continuity clearly proclaimed that the King of Spain, heir to the Inca, was the legitimate ruler of Peru (but the succession could also lend itself to other interpretations).

Thus, works of art, as well as literature and history books, maintain a memory of the Inca.⁷⁵ It was primarily the caciques, and the 'noblest' among them, the highest in the hierarchy, that were able to cultivate this memory: the famous colleges run by the Jesuit fathers, 'del Príncipe' in Lima since 1618, and 'San Francisco Borja' in Cuzco since 1620, offered to the sons of caciques the highest level of education that could be provided. In this milieu of the native aristocracy, the *Royal Commentaries* of Inca Garcilaso of the Vega was among the most influential: the brilliant style of the author, his personality, and his idyllic picture of the Inca Government (which he compared to that of the Romans) could seduce and convince.

Inca Garcilaso of the Vega's public grew once more in the course of the 18th century, after the publication of the second edition of the *Royal Commentaries*, edited by Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, in Madrid in 1723.⁷⁶ This new edition was a greater success, as it was preceded by a 'Prologue' which, among other things, reported the strange prophecy given to 'Gualtero Raleg,' that is to say, Sir Walter Raleigh, by Théodore de Bry, according to whom 'the empire of the Incas would be restored by men who came from a country called England.'⁷⁷ To this prophecy would be added later on, in the 1770s, those of Santa Rosa de Lima and San Francisco, who announced the imminence of a series of disasters and a great uprising of the Indians. It is significant that after the uprising of Tupac Amaru in 1782, the order was given by the viceroy to collect all copies of the *Royal Commentaries* that could be found (even to buy them secretly at the expense of the Royal treasury) in order to destroy them.

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The myth of Inkarrí, the drama of the death of Atahualpa, iconography and literary works are all different modalities of the collective memory, and one has to

72 Gisbert, p. 126: 'ocho lienzos de diferentes figuras de retratos de los Ingas.'

73 Gisbert, pp. 128–130.

74 Gisbert, see illustrations No. 116 and 117. Figures 9 and 10.

75 John H. Rowe, 'El Movimiento Nacional Inca del siglo XVIII,' *Revista Universitaria de Cuzco*, n° 107, 1955, 17–47; reprinted in *El Antoniano*, n° 124, 2013, pp. 55–74.

76 Rowe, pp. 62–63. See also Gisbert, pp. 203–204.

77 Gisbert, pp. 203–204, cites the following passage: 'Gualtero Raleg en su relación de viaje a la Guayana, cuenta una profecía según la cual el Imperio de los Incas sería restaurado por gente que viniese de un país llamado Inglaterra.'

wonder: to what extent does the collective memory always refer to the same Inca? The term ‘messianism’ (which we use for convenience) should not suppress the complexity of the contexts. The representations of the Inca and their connotations differ considerably depending on the circumstances, modes of transmission, social settings, and eras. The masquerade in the village of Mangas in the middle of the 17th century is on a totally different level than the very refined education that the Jesuit fathers provided, in the middle of the 18th century in the College San Borja of Cuzco, whose walls were decorated with paintings representing the dynastic series of the Incas. In other words, the collective memory of the Inca creates various re-invented traditions which are the cause of inevitable ambiguities and a multiplicity of languages (which may, however, interact). The return of the Inca does not always have the same meaning for everyone, as evidenced by the many episodes of the major revolts of the 18th century.

III. The Great Revolts of the 18th Century

Social unrest, as well as countless riots, rebellions or uprisings, mark, in the Andean world, a long 18th century.⁷⁸ Most of these insurgent movements can be explained within the context of socio-economic problems: the recovery of population growth among the native population exerted pressure on the lands, while the so-called Bourbon reforms increased taxes and compulsory labor constraints (*mita*). These protests against the colonial system were, therefore, of a usual, regular and everyday nature. But the factors that explain the revolts are in fact multiple and not mutually exclusive. A messianic or millenarian dimension, somewhat underground, was perpetuated by the Andean populations through breakups and changes, as evidenced by the two great revolts that stand out, among many episodes, not only by their magnitude but by their huge symbolic significance.

1. Juan Santos Atahualpa

One morning, in June 1742, at the convent of Ocopa, near Jauja, word came that in the *montaña*, in the lowlands of the eastern side of the Cordillera, disturbances were being masterminded by an Indian named Juan Santos Atahualpa, who

78 Only a few references will be indicated here, from the classic work of Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la emancipación americana*, Buenos Aires, 1957, onwards:

Lilian E. Fisher, *The Last Inca Revolt*, Norman, 1966; Stefano Varese, *La sal de los cerros. Una aproximación al mundo campesino*, Lima, 1968; Steve Stern (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Century*, Madison, 1987; Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes*, Lima, 1987; Scarlett O’phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales. Perú y Bolivia, 1700–1783*, Cuzco, 1988; Jan Szeminski, *La utopía tupamarista*, Lima, 2nd edition, 1993; Maria Eugenia Valle de Siles, *La rebelión de Túpac Catari, 1781–1782*, La Paz, 1990; Nicholas A. Robins, *Genocide and Millennialism in Upper Peru. The Great Rebellion of 1780–1782*, Westport, 2002; Sergio Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección en el mundo colonial andino. El norte de Potosí, siglo XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 2006; Charles Walker, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru*, Lima, 2015.

proclaimed himself Inca and called for the recuperation of the Kingdom of his ancestors, unfairly conquered by the Spanish invaders:

‘This Indian maintained to be an Inca from Cuzco [...] His intention, he said, is to recuperate the Crown taken from him by Pizarro and other Spaniards, *who killed his father (this is how he calls the Inca), and sent his head to Spain.*’⁷⁹

We clearly recognize here an echo of the myth of Inkarrí (or of the ‘drama’ of the death of Atahualpa). Juan Santos accompanied his claim with a worrisome threat of intervention by sea from his English allies, who would help him regain ‘his Crown.’⁸⁰

A campaign of pacification was immediately organized. From 1742, two expeditions left Tarma and Jauja. Despite initial Spanish success, operations were disrupted by the rainy season. In the following year, 1743, the rebel Indians invaded the Quimiri Franciscan mission. New expeditions went to the rescue, but in the end, they fell into a trap set by Juan Santos: still another failure. In 1746, the continuing unrest and the English threat brought on the appointment of a new viceroy, José Manso, count of Superunda. He organized an even larger campaign with the reinforcement of troops from Lima. But the entry (*entrada*) into the forest began, unwisely, at the beginning of the rainy season; the difficulties of the ground brought about, for the Spanish troops, a new disaster.⁸¹

Thus, for at least 15 years (we do not know exactly when and how Juan Santos disappeared), a vast rebel territory—which some authors call ‘Kingdom’—subsisted on the eastern border of the Viceroyalty of Peru, escaping Spanish domination (as had been the case of the Neo-Inca State, two centuries before, in the Cordillera de Vilcabamba).⁸² This time it was the Amazonian slope of the Central Andes, i.e., the lowlands, covered by tropical forest, over which the Inca Empire had not managed to extend its control. But between the highlands and the lowlands, both in prehispanic times and during the colonial period, the movement of people and the exchange of products was always intense because of the complementarity of the ecological floors. On one hand, mountaineers appreciated—in addition to salt—coca leaves, cotton, vanilla pods, and bird feathers; on the other hand, the populations of the forest particularly coveted, more so since the arrival of the Spaniards, metallic objects (not only

79 Archivos Generales de Indias, Audiencia de Lima, Legajo 541, ‘Carta de Fray Manuel del Santo, Fray José Cabanas y Fray Domingo García a Fray José Mil Muñoz,’ June 2, 1742, cited by Arturo Enrique de la Torre y López, ‘Juan Santos: El Invencible?’, *Historica*, vol. XVII, 1993, n°2, pp. 241–242: ‘Viene este Indio que dice ser Inca del Cuzco [...] Su animo es, dice, cobrar la corona que le quitó Pizarro y los demás españoles, *matando a su padre (que así le llama el Inca) y enviando su cabeza a España.*’ (Emphasis added.)

80 Arturo Enrique Torre y López, p. 243: ‘[...] que habló con los ingleses, con quienes dejó pactado que le ayudasen a cobrar su corona por mar, y que el vendría por tierra.’

81 Arturo Enrique Torre y López, pp. 251–252. See also Mario Castro Arenas, *La Rebelión de Juan Santos*, 1973, pp. 114–116.

82 See Stefano Varese, *La sal de los cerros*. See also the older classic article by Alfred Métraux, ‘A Quechua Messiah in Eastern Peru,’ *American Anthropologist*, 1942, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 721–725.

knives or punches but also firearms). This long tradition of exchanges indicates that the troops gathered by Juan Santos consisted of very disparate contingents: warriors, or *chunchos*, provided by various ethnic groups from the forest (Asháninkas, Copibos, Piros, Matsiguengas, and Amueshas, etc.), but also many migrant Indians from the Highlands, as well as mestizos and even Spanish fugitives.

The colonial penetration in this border area had begun in 1635 with the foundation of the first Franciscan Mission in Quimiri on the Rio Chanchamayo, close to the Cerro de la Sal (the Salt Mountain). But in 1637, brother Jeronimo Jimenez and his neophytes were massacred by Asháninka warriors. A new attempt, in the 1670s, also failed. It is only from the beginning of the 18th century that the Franciscans from the College of Ocopa, founded in 1725 near Jauja, again tried to create a network of Missions in the basin of the Rivers Chanchamayo and Perené, as far as Gran Pajonal. But the Asháninkas revolts of 1737 and 1739 attest that these setups remained very fragile.⁸³ The populations along the Amazonian river refused the evangelization initiative and the permanent establishment of settlers from the Highlands: this was a resistance to the extension of Spanish domination and the colonial system. It was therefore in an already very disturbed environment and context that Juan Santos took action.

After the disastrous Spanish expedition of 1746, some sort of balance of forces developed: Juan Santos seemed invincible in the *montaña*, so much so that the Viceregal authorities resigned themselves and adopted an essentially defensive strategy, i.e., to contain the rebellion within the Amazonian area, and especially to prevent the rebellion from spreading into the Andean Highlands. The cities of Jauja and Tarma became, thus, real strongholds, with a permanent presence of regular troops and militias.⁸⁴ However, a few years later, in 1751, it was Juan Santos who turned to the offensive, trying to extend the uprising to the Cordillera. He attacked and occupied the town of Andamarca, which was located to the East of Jauja and at the extremity of the Highlands, at an altitude of 2,500 meters, and which served as a sort of sentinel above the Amazonian slope, for three days.⁸⁵ The news of this audacious enterprise awakened the worst fears on the Spanish side. But even before the relief expedition arrived, Juan Santos avoided the fighting and withdrew, contented with his domination in the lowlands.

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Why did he not persevere in his offensive? Did he imagine that Andean people would rally to him spontaneously, with enthusiastic momentum, due to his presence in the mountain, proclaiming the return of the Inca? Who was Juan

83 Arturo Enrique Torre y López, p. 240; Mario Castro Arenas, *La rebelión de Juan Santos*, Lima, 1973, pp. 74–78.

84 Arturo Enrique Torre y López, pp. 250–251; Mario Castro Arenas, p. 120.

85 Luis Miguel Glave, 'El Apu Ynga camina de nuevo. Juan Santos Atahualpa y el asalto de Andamarca en 1752,' *Perspectivas Latinoamericanas*, n° 6, 2009, pp. 28–68.

Santos? There are puzzling aspects of his personality. He was from either Cuzco or Huamanga, and studied at the famous College of San Borja, which was run by the Jesuits. He spoke both Spanish and Quechua, as well as the Campa language, and also knew Latin.⁸⁶ It seems that he was the assistant or servant of a Jesuit father with whom he may have traveled to Spain, and even to Africa, up to Congo. As for his reform program, it stood in continuity with the claims awakened by the colonial system, including specific issues explicitly related to the colonial system: removal of Franciscan missions and annulment of the tribute and compulsory labor as well as of the Spanish domination in Peru. However, the discourse of Juan Santos is not limited to political or economic requests, but is part of a truly subversive vision of the world in accord with the Andean category of the *pachakuti*: ‘*The time of the Spaniards was completed, and it is his time that is coming.*’⁸⁷

In other words, we find here, almost literally, one of the fundamental formulas of the *Taqui Onqoy*: the *mita* turn, i.e., the service or command of the Spaniards is now complete, and now that of the Inca returns. This means that the cataclysmic reversal of the order of the world is put back in place. But nearly two centuries had passed since the *Taqui Onqoy* movement’s activity, and the cyclic revolution was not exactly returning them to the previous situation, as it was no longer a question now of the return of the resurrected *huaca*. Juan Santos, a former student of the Jesuits, did not question the Christian religion in any way; he constantly wore a large cross on his chest, and if he advocated for the departure of the Franciscans, he praised, on the other hand, the work of the Society of Jesus in favor of the Indians.⁸⁸ What he claimed is the access of the latter to the priesthood, by the example of what was accepted in Africa, where he saw black priests celebrate Mass. In fact, Juan Santos considered Spain, Africa, and Peru to be countries or kingdoms that must remain independent of one another. He also thought that the Church remaining in America would be placed under the authority of the Inca.

But even if it was no longer the time of the resurrected *huacas*, at least the Messianic theme of Atahualpa, whose head would have been sent to Spain, being beheaded on the orders of Pizarro was recognized above. Therefore, the awaited moment of the return of the Inca—both monarch and restorer of the world order—was now with Juan Santos. Juan Santos’ attachment to the Christian religion did not prevent him, however, from uttering some quite heretical proposals; indeed, he called himself ‘Juan Santos Atahualpa Apu-Inca Guayna Capac,’ claiming the title of

86 Mario Castro Arenas, pp. 12–18.

87 ‘Carta de Fray Manuel del Santo, Fray José Cabanes y Fray Domingo García; [...] *que ya a los españoles se les acabó su tiempo, y a él le llegó el suyo,*’ quoted by Arturo Enrique Torre y López, ‘Guerra y Religión en Juan Santos Atahualpa,’ *IV Congreso Internacional de Historia de América*, Granada, 1992, p. 16. (Emphasis added.)

88 Arturo Enrique Torre y López, ‘Guerra,’ pp. 13–14. See also Daniel J. Santamaria, ‘La Rebelión de Juan Santos Atahualpa en la selva central peruana. ¿Movimiento religioso o insurrección política?’ *Boletín Americanista*, n° 57, 2007, pp. 237–239.

Inca both as a legitimate descendant in terms of kinship, and as a divine being or at least ‘chosen by God.’

‘He said, in this manner: to the Third Divine Person agrees the name Saint [...] now my name is ‘Saint’ [*Santos*], meaning I am the Holy Spirit. But to the first Person [of Trinity] corresponds to be Powerful [...] and indeed my name is ‘powerful,’ since that is what ‘Apu’ means: thus, I am the Powerful Holy Spirit.’⁸⁹

Analogous proclamations are attributed to Juan Santos by the witnesses and accused persons interviewed during the trials carried out after the Andamarca attack:

‘He came to kill no one, but to let them know the true God, which they did not know until then, because what the fathers taught them was false. He said that he himself was the son of the true God; that our Lord Jesus Christ was a poor Jew that his companions had crucified, there, in the Roman empire, and that having been resurrected after three days did not prove that he was the son of God [...] He himself [Juan Santos] hoped that his Eternal Father and his brother the Holy Spirit would help him and would bring assistance to regain his lands that the Spaniards had usurped when the *conquistador* Pizarro killed, at Cajamarca, his Inca brother and other sons of God.’⁹⁰

The same witnesses describe how Juan Santos was revered by those who approached him: they knelt before him and kissed his feet. These actions were not just protocol but were the manifestation of real fervor. The rebel Chief ‘called himself and was addressed as Santos Guayna Capac Apu Ynga Holy Jesus, Son of God and divine Holy Spirit, son of the Virgin Zapay Colla, which means sole Queen.’⁹¹ It seems that here, the Inca Princess, a *Coya* [*Quya*], is elevated to a divine rank, while Juan Santos forbade evoking the name ‘our Holy mother Mary, because she belongs

89 *Segunda Relación de la Doctrina, errores y heregias que enseña el fingido Rey Juan Santos Atagualpa, Apuinga, Guainacapac, en las Misiones del Cerro de la Sal* [...], published by Mario Castro Arenas, Documento n° 2, n° 18: ‘[...] aludiendo a la significacion de su nombre, y apellido de esta suerte, Dice [...]: à la Tercera Persona Divina le conviene el nombre de Santo [...] yo tengo por nombre Santos: luego soy el Espiritu Santo. Mas: à la primera Persona le conviene el ser Poderosa [...] yo tengo el nombre de poderoso, porque *Apu* significa esso: luego soy el Espiritu Santo Poderoso.’

90 Testimony of Pedro Paniagua, 23 years (described as Spaniard), cited by Miguel Glave, pp. 46–47: ‘No venia a matar a nadie sino a hacerles conocer al verdadero dios, que hasta entonces no le conocian, que era un error lo que les enseñaban los padres, que el era el hijo de dios verdadero y que nuestro señor Jesucristo era un pobre judio que lo habían crucificado sus compañeros alla en el Imperio romano y que bien que hubiese resucitado el tercero dia, que eso no era prueba de ser hijo de Dios [...] que por eso esperaba que su eterno padre y su hermano el espiritu santo le ayudara y daria auxilio y buen exito en las conquistas de sus tierras que se las tenían usurpadas los españoles, [...] con ocasion de haber muerto el conquistador Pizarro a su hermano el otro hijo de dios Ynga en Cajamarca.’

91 Testimony of Pedro Guama, a 30-year-old Indian, a native of Ayacocha (province de Huanta), cited by Miguel Glave, pp. 48–49: ‘se decia y tenia tratamiento de Santos Guaina Capac Apu Ynga Jesus Sacramentado, dios hijo y dios espiritu santo, hijo de la virgen Zapai Colla que quiere decir única reina.’

to Spain and the Jews.⁹² We perhaps find here, like in the *Taqi Onqoy*, traces of the division of the divine beings into the sacred powers that protect the Indians and those who have power only over the Spaniards, now pejoratively assimilated to the Jews (and we recall that, in the drama of the death of Atahualpa, represented in Chayanta, Pizarro, in the epilogue, removed a mask and revealed his true face, that of a Jew).

Many points are still to be elucidated concerning the undertakings and the personality of Juan Santos, particularly regarding the nature of his relations with the Amazon world. It seems that it is not only for strategic reasons that he installed the base of the rebellion in the lowlands; he was most probably tied to them by the bonds of kinship, namely a double Andean and Amazon ancestry. He was the son of a leader of the Asháninka, José Santos Shencari, and of Maria Atahualpa Coya.⁹³ The circumstances of his disappearance are unknown, but what is known is that his work was carried on by his crippled son, Jocecito. It is quite remarkable that the indigenous groups of the Amazonian piedmont remained practically independent, outside state control, up to the Republican period, in the middle of the 19th century. The memory of the Inca is, yet today, deeply engraved in the collective memory of the Asháninkas, whose oral tradition tells that, after the death of Juan Santos, the following singing was heard:

‘Juan Santos Atahualpa, son of the Sun God, don’t leave us, come back to live with the sons of this mother earth!’⁹⁴

2. The Kataris and Tupac Amaru Rebellions

While Juan Santos Atahualpa remains wrapped in a mysterious legend, Tupac Amaru has become a national hero in Peru, as Tupac Katari has in Bolivia. The great revolt of Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui Tupac Amaru, centered in the southern provinces in the vicinity of Cuzco (Canas y Canchis, Quispicanchis, Chumbivilcas), should not conceal the extent of the other rebellions led by Tomas Katari and his successors, including the rebellion of Tupac Katari, which, in the years 1780–1783, included a much larger area, spanning the old Collao and even beyond, around Lake Titicaca, the regions of Chayanta, Pacajes, Sica Sica, Omasuyos, Carangas, Cochabamba (in current Bolivia), and even down to Tarapaca (in Chile) and Tucumán

92 Testimony of Francisco López, Indian, aged 49 years, from Jauja, cited by Miguel Glave, pp. 49–50: ‘y que no nombrasen el nombre de nuestra madre y señora Maria santísima porque esa es de España y de esos judios.’

93 See Pablo Macera and Enrique Casanto, *El poder libre asháninka: Juan Santos Atahualpa y su hijo Josecito*, Lima, 2009, 268 pp. and 90 color illustrations. This book, on which a renowned historian and an asháninka painter and storyteller collaborated, describes many previously unknown events.

94 Macera and Casanto, *El poder*, p. 68: ‘Juan Santos Atahualpa, hijo del Dios Sol, no nos abandones, vuelve a vivir con los hijos de esta madre tierra!’

(in present Argentina).⁹⁵ We have therefore a multiplicity of uprisings which, by their violence and their radicalism, put the colonial power at risk. The insurgent movements of High Peru precede, chronologically, those of Low Peru. Although these revolts inevitably had common claims (on the forced sales of goods, the terms of obligatory work, or the abuses of the officers of the colonial administration),⁹⁶ they are distinguished by a fundamental heterogeneity, both ethnic and cultural.⁹⁷ On one hand, they are anchored at the center of the former Quechua-speaking Inca Empire; on the other hand, they cover an area populated mostly by Aymara people, once conquered and subdued by the Inca king, meaning that the collective memories can pass on, depending on the places and the contexts, as many different representations. Nonetheless, a common theme is repeated: the time has come and the just order of things should be soon restored.

One may wonder why the times would have come precisely in the years 1780–1781, when events suddenly precipitate. We know that historical phenomena result from the intersection of multiple—economic, social, political, religious, cultural and symbolic—factors. It would be also pertinent, in this chapter on Andean messianism, to recall the long work on economic history carried out by the regretted Enrique Tandeter and myself on the fluctuation of prices in Potosi and the evolution of agrarian production in Charcas in the 18th century.⁹⁸ Here, we cannot summarize an analysis that required a hundred pages, but a remarkable feature is worth noting: the Tupac Amaru and the Kataris revolts broke out after a long period of agricultural growth and low prices. A detailed review of the index curve of annual farm prices (see chart) shows that the years 1779–1780 correspond with one of the lowest growth periods of the 18th century.⁹⁹ Of course, we cannot reduce the historical

95 See the map published by Scarlett O'phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones*, p. 269.

96 Further classic sources: Jürgen Golte, *Repartos y rebeliones: Túpac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial*, Lima, 1976; Nicolas Sanchez Albornoz, *El Indio en el Alto Perú a fines del Siglo XVII*, Lima, 1973; *id.*, *Indios y tributo en el Alto Perú*, Lima, 1978; Alfredo Moreno Cebrian, *El corregidor de Indios y la economía peruana del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 1977; Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes*, Lima, 1987; Scarlett O'phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales*; Godoy, *La gran rebelión de los Andes: de Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari*, Cuzco, 1995; Ward Stavig, *The World of Tupac Amaru: Conflict, Community and Identity in Colonial Peru*, Lincoln, 1999. See also the most recent works by Nicholas Robins, *Genocide and Millennialism in Upper Peru: The Great Rebellion of 1780–1782*, Wesport, 2002; Sergio Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección en el mundo colonial andino. El norte de Potosi en el siglo XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 2006; Serulnikov, *Revolución en los Andes. La era de Tupac Amaru*, Buenos Aires, 2010; and, finally, Charles Walker, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru*, Lima, 2015, which presents recaps and updated perspectives.

97 See Leon G. Campbell, 'Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780–1782,' in Steve J. Stern, ed. *Resistance, Rebellion*, pp. 110–139.

98 Enrique Tandeter and Nathan Wachtel, 'Conjonctures inverses. Le mouvement des prix à Potosi pendant le XVIII^e siècle,' *Annales E.S.C.*, 1983, n° 3, pp. 549–613.

99 The general agricultural price index from the end of the decade points to a precipitous fall, so in 1776:114; 1777:104; 1778:107; 1779:81; 1780:76. The native world underwent two opposite types of situations, with negative effects: excessive increases (spikes in prices, usually resulting from poor harvests), or, inversely, phases of low prices. The latter case is illustrated by the years 1759–1780

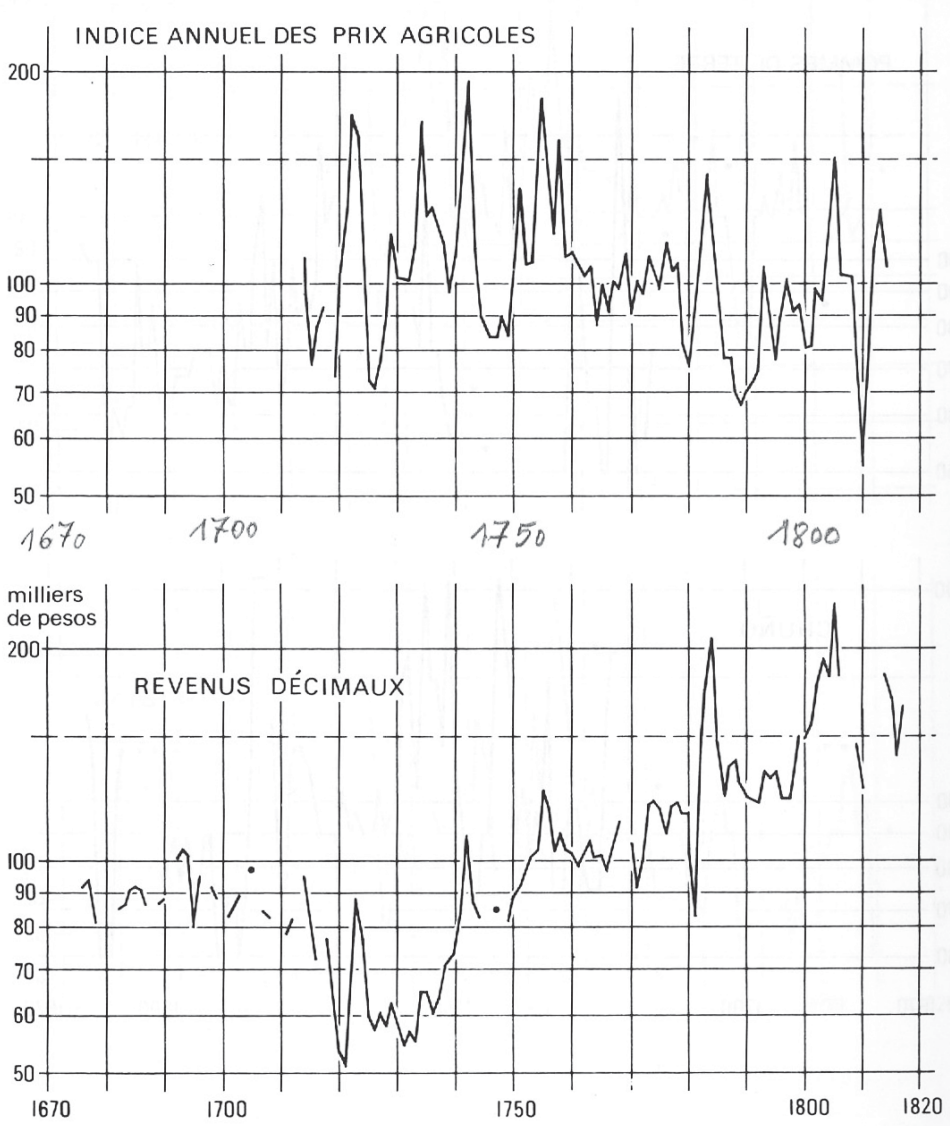


Figure 11 Annual index of agricultural prices in Potosi, and decimal income in Charcas (17th-18th centuries)

explanation to a basic economic determinism, but (on the contrary) should verify that events are the result of the interference of different conjunctures. The Messianic theme is a very long-lived structure in the Andean world (in a Braudelian sense more than a Levi-Straussian one), demographic and economic evolutions develop according to intermediate conjunctures (punctuated by ‘crises’), while social and political conflicts precipitate in the short run.

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The short time of revolts accelerates. Events are entangled in a complex way, and we can only evoke here their main sequences while highlighting a few key aspects.

One of the prophecies propagated by popular rumor, which is attributed to Santa Rosa de Lima and to San Francisco, announced that in 1777, the year of the three sevens, ‘an Inca King would be crowned as expected [...] and that the Kingdom would return to its original state.’¹⁰⁰ Is this a coincidence? In 1777, José Gabriel Condorcanqui went to Lima to present a program of reforms to the viceroy and get recognition as to the legitimacy of his rights to the rich marquessate of Oropesa. He was actually the *curaca* of the Tinta district, southeast of Cuzco, and a descendant of the last Inca, Tupac Amaru (who had been decapitated, in 1572, by the order of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo). José Gabriel had received an excellent Jesuit education provided by the College San Borja of Cuzco and harbored a fervent Christian faith. In addition to his duties as cacique, he managed a prosperous transportation business (through a large herd of mules), which ensured connections between Cuzco, the Amazonian piedmont forest, and Potosí. His travels had thus enabled him to establish an extensive network of partners and customers. In Lima, he attended the University of San Marcos, met followers of the Enlightenment, and plead his case before the courts. But to no avail: he received no decision regarding his rights, and his application for relief from *mita* for the Indians of his area was rejected. By the end of the year, he returned to Tinta, bitter and disappointed, but he enjoyed, locally, immense prestige.¹⁰¹

Tomas Katari, unlike Inca Tupac Amaru, was a modest Indian from the community of Macha in the province of Chayanta (North of Potosí). However, he also started his revolt by stubbornly presenting a series of legal claims to the authorities. He initially protested against the fraud committed by the mestizo *curaca* of

(see graph, Figure 11): the Indians faced a crowded market and they could hardly procure the money needed for the payment of the tribute or the regulation of the *repartos*. This is thus the paradox: if 1789 corresponds, in France, to the highest point in prices, 1780 designates, in the Andes, the second minimum for the century. Thus, the economic situations (Andean on the one hand, European—at least the French one—on the other hand) are indeed opposite.

100 Scarlett O’phelan Godoy, ‘L’utopie andine. Discours parallèles à la fin de l’époque coloniale,’ *Annales HSS*, 1994, n° 2, p. 490; see also Jorge Hidalgo Lehuédé, ‘Amarus y Cataris: aspectos mesiánicos de la rebelión indígena de 1781 en Cuzco, Chayanta, La Paz y Arica,’ *Chungara*, n° 10, pp. 117–138 (especially on the prophecies, pp. 120–122).

101 Walker, pp. 37–52.

Macha, Blas Bernal, who took for himself part of the tribute money through a very usual process that involved using a list that underestimated the number of tributaries of the community. In the years 1778–1779, Tomás Katari made many trips to present his grievances, first to the Potosi Royal Treasury, then to the Audience of La Plata, and even made the very long journey to Buenos Aires by foot; there, thanks to the Indian Defender, he was received by the Viceroy, Juan José Vertiz. This trip to the capital of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata (founded in 1776) was somehow symmetrical to that of Tupac Amaru to Lima. But during his peregrinations, Tomás Katari was imprisoned multiple times; escaping or being released that many times won him great prestige in the region of Chayanta.¹⁰² He was still incarcerated at La Plata when, on August 6, 1780, a riot broke out in Macha, the violence of which marked the first break from legal proceedings: the *curaca* Blas Bernal was beheaded. Sometime later, on 26 August, another riot took place in Moscari, where the contingent of Indians sent in *mita* to Potosi had met. The *corregidor* Joaquim Alos was captured, and 54 Spanish soldiers were killed. In exchange for the release of Alos, Tomás Katari was officially recognized as the *curaca* of Macha, where the population offered him, on August 30, a triumphant welcome.¹⁰³

It was the beginning of a violent cycle. As in Macha, many Indian communities of High Peru suffered a process of sidelining of their legitimate *curacas* since at least the middle of the 18th century. The legitimate *curacas* were often replaced by mestizos or Creoles, whose complicity facilitated the abuses perpetuated by the *corregidores* (because they got most of their profits from the forced sales of goods and indigenous tribute fraud). It is therefore first of all against these *curacas*, whose legitimacy was not recognized by the members of the communities, that a series of riots spread throughout High Peru.¹⁰⁴ Thus, on September 1, 1780, at Moscari, near the village of Macha, Tomás Katari's supporters invaded and looted the home of the *curaca* Florencio Lupa, whom they subsequently brought to Macha. Despite the intervention of Tomás Katari, the fate of Lupa was tragic: the rebels dragged him to the top of a mountain, where he was beheaded and his heart was ripped out. A few days later, on September 10, his head and heart were exposed at the top of a cross, a few miles from the city of La Plata, causing horror and amazement.¹⁰⁵

In the following months, the unrest spread into the towns of Chayanta, Ocuri, Challapata, Aullagas, Tinquipaya, Tapacari, San Pedro de Buena Vista, and so on. Tomás Katari traveled from village to village to announce the reforms (the tribute relief, removal of the *repartos*) that the viceroy would have commissioned

102 Sergio Serulnikov, 'Disputed Images of Colonialism: Spanish Rule and Indian Subversion in Northern Potosi, 1777–1980,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, n° 76, 2, 1996, pp. 189–226; Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección en el mundo colonial andino. El norte de Potosi en el siglo XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 2006, pp. 241–303. See also Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 75–77.

103 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 77–78.

104 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 79–80.

105 See Sergio Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección*, pp. 305–363; see also Robins, p. 81.

him to proclaim. It is during one of these trips, on January 15, 1781, that Tomas Kari was arrested and murdered. His death, despite rumors of ‘resurrection,’ marked the beginning of an even more radical phase of the rebellion.¹⁰⁶

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It may have been the news from Upper Peru that made Tupac Amaru decide to speed up his preparations and take action. On November 4, 1780, he captured the *corregidor* of Tinta, Antonio de Arriaga, and imprisoned him in his own house, in Tungasuca. He then organized Arriaga’s spectacular execution, on November 10, which took place in front of a large audience composed of thousands of Indians, hundreds of mestizos and Creoles. Symbolically, the order was given to Arriaga’s black slave to carry on with the hanging of his master.¹⁰⁷ Tupac Amaru claimed he was acting on behalf of the Viceroy Agustín de Jauregui and King Charles III. But in his speech, which he rendered in front of the crowd in Quechua while dressed in the Inca royal insignia, he proclaimed: ‘*The time has come to shake off the heavy yoke that the Spanish make us suffer.*’¹⁰⁸ He also referred to the prophecies, and the execution of the *corregidor* was intended to give the signal for the overthrow of the Spanish domination over Peru.

In the days that followed, Tupac Amaru, at the head of thousands of men, consolidated the rebellion in the provinces of the southern area, close to Cuzco (Quispicanchis, Cotabambas, Calca, and Chumbivilcas). Spanish properties, as well as *obrajes* (tissue factories), were looted, and the loot was redistributed to the rebel troops, whose numbers rapidly increased. Following the recommendation of Michaela Bastidas, Tupac Amaru’s wife, the insurgents ‘as good and loyal Christians bore on their helmet or their hat the insignia of the Holy Cross.’¹⁰⁹ That is when a detachment sent from Cuzco to repress the disorders reached Sangarara, north of Tinta. Tupac Amaru’s surprise attack, on November 18, inflicted very heavy losses: more than 500 loyalist soldiers were killed. This crushing victory for the rebels nevertheless comprised a reverse, with heavy consequences. During the battle, the church of the village was destroyed and burned, and the Creole Bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, pronounced Tupac Amaru’s excommunication for ‘this heinous crime’ (which would contribute thereafter to the weakening of the rebellion). In addition, the news of the massacre spread fear among the Creoles and mestizos. It appears that Tupac Amaru did not manage to maintain strict control over his troops.¹¹⁰

106 Robins, p. 82.

107 Walker, p. 21.

108 See Jan Szemiński, *La utopia tupamarista*, (citation), p. 231: ‘*Que era llegado ya el tiempo en que debía sacudir el pesado yugo que por tantos años sufrían de los españoles.*’ (Emphasis added.)

109 See Walker, (quote), pp. 66–67: ‘en señal de verdaderos y buenos cristianos, cargarán la insignia de la santísima cruz en sus monteras y sombreros.’

110 Walker, pp. 143–146.

In fact Tupac Amaru's project was based on the constitution of a broad, multi-ethnic movement, bringing together Indians, mestizos, Creoles, and even black populations to expel the peninsular Spanish (called *punka kunka*, 'red necks'). In a remarkable document dated November 16th, 1780, Tupac Amaru even proclaimed the liberation of slaves of African origin. Tupac Amaru's program essentially included the abolition of the *corregidor's* charge, compulsory labor (*mita*), the forced sale of goods (*repartos*), and taxes on business operations (*alcabalas*), but he maintained the indigenous tribute, as well as the royal fifth tax on the production of gold and silver. In other words, it was not about a simple return to *Tawantinsuyu*; certain institutions of the colonial system would be preserved, even if Tupac Amaru stated his intention to rule over Peru without the sheltering of the authority of the King of Spain, signing its edicts with the title of 'Inca King.'¹¹¹ In fact, even if he initially tried to protect Creoles and Mestizos, as the rebellion grew, it developed a more Indian, exclusive and radical nature. Up to what point did Tupac Amaru, avid reader of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's description of the Inca, encourage the popular aspirations of the messianic type? Many partisans of the 'Inca King' were persuaded that he had quasi-divine power, and Tupac Amaru exhorted them 'to fight the Spaniards without fear, because if they died, he would resuscitate them after three days.'¹¹²

After the victory of Sangarara, rather than directly launching an assault on Cuzco, Tupac Amaru directed his action to the South, to consolidate a rebel stronghold near Collao, in an area he knew well because of his previous trips. Despite spectacular successes, evidenced by his triumphal entry in Ayaviri and many rallies in the provinces of Carabaya and Lampa, he failed to obtain the support of the *curacas* of the Lake Titicaca area, who were very Hispanized and perfectly integrated with the colonial administration. Thus, Diego Choquehuanca, the *curaca* of Azangaro and a descendant of a great lineage of Indian nobility, immediately declared his loyalist fidelity and organized resistance to the rebellion. Serious dissensions thus appeared within the indigenous world.¹¹³

It was only at the very end of December 1780 that Tupac Amaru headed to Cuzco to begin the siege. The city had already had time to build up supplies and receive reinforcements. Meanwhile, his cousin Diego Cristóbal had not succeeded in opening another front, north of the city, in the Sacred Valley. The siege lasted barely a fortnight. After only a few skirmishes, the defenders found, on January 11, 1781, almost to their surprise, that the attackers had withdrawn. Had the 'Inca King' expected to receive a triumphant and spontaneous reception in the former capital of the *Tawantinsuyu*? Whatever the case, the failure of the siege marked a turning point in the revolt's movement.¹¹⁴

111 Walker, pp. 70–76.

112 Walker, p. 83: '[...] que entrasen sin miedo a pelear con los españoles, que si morían, a los tres dias los había de resucitar.'

113 Walker, pp. 131 ff.

114 Walker, pp. 168–183; Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 64–65.

Tupac Amaru fled to his stronghold in the region of Tinta and prepared to face the counteroffensive of the loyalist forces, which had received reinforcements from Lima. But desertions began to weaken the rebel troops. The loyalists' search lasted less than three months: Tupac Amaru was captured on April 6, betrayed by some of his supporters. Then, on May 18, on the great square of Cuzco, the horrible torment took place: the condemned was tied up for undergoing quartering, but the four horses, flogged, did not manage to tear off his limbs; he had to be decapitated (as had been his ancestor, the first Tupac Amaru).

This punishment was not considered sufficient. Before the execution of Tupac Amaru, the people closest to his family had also been executed before his eyes: his wife Michaela, their son Hipólito, Francisco Tupac Amaru (José Gabriel's uncle), and Antonio Bastidas (brother of Michaela). All the bodies were then cut up: head, arms, and legs were separated from the trunk. The trunk of Tupac Amaru and that of Michaela were burned on a stake and the ashes were thrown into the Rio Huatanay. As for the remaining parts of the body, these were scattered in different locations in the Cuzco region, to be exposed publicly: the head of Tupac Amaru in Tinta, one of his arms, one arm of Michaela, and the head of Hipólito in Tungasuca, and so on.¹¹⁵

Was the General Visitor Antonio de Areche, who ordered this macabre and spectacular warning for the populations, aware of truly playing the part of a *pishtako*, the figure who cuts throats and dismembers victims, with whom the *Taqui Oncoy* faithful already identified the Spanish invaders? Was he aware of the myth of Inkarrí? Probably not. But one can suppose that he actually reinforced it: the reconstitution of the body of the Inca would be able to start again, toward a new return.

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In Upper Peru, the assassination of Tomas Katari gave the signal for yet a more radical phase of the uprisings. His brothers Damaso and Nicolas succeeded him at the head of the rebellion in Chayanta and the neighboring provinces. An expedition led by Nicolas Katari to Aullagas on January 28, 1781 enabled the execution of the mine owner who had caused the capture of Tomas Katari, to which was added the massacre of 30 people. Damaso Katari, in early February, emboldened and massed troops in front of La Plata, the residence of the Audience of Charcas (as well as that of the Archdiocese), but the siege of the city lasted barely more than a week. The attackers had to cease on February 20 after their defeat at Punilla. A detachment moved, however, toward the borough of Yura, where the local *curaca* was killed, as well as 'all those who refused to join' the rebels.¹¹⁶

115 Walker, pp. 218–220. See also the map of the places where the heads and members of the condemned were scattered.

116 See Sergio Serulnikov, *Conflictos sociales e insurrección*, pp. 380–393; see also Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 82–84. Nicolas and Damaso Katari were captured in March 1781, following the same scenario: betrayed by their own supporters. Damaso was executed in April, and Nicolas in May.

Starting February–March 1781, the revolt movements of Upper Peru began to unfold in their greater extension. Katarist troops from Chayanta, Macha, Pocoata, Challapata, etc. invaded the Valley of Cochabamba and surrounding areas; the villages or towns of Tinquipaya, Colcha, Ayopaya, Arque, Tapacari, Tarata, Sacaba, etc. successively suffered rebel attacks.¹¹⁷ The outburst of violence further rose: the attackers entered churches and slaughtered all who were not Indians, hundreds of men, women, and children, including priests, while objects of worship were desecrated and corpses left unburied. A similar scenario was repeated in San Pedro de Buena Vista where, after the slaughters, the statues of Jesus and Mary were stripped and then cut up.¹¹⁸ At the same time, the uprisings were spreading farther to the South, into the distant provinces of Chichas, Porco, Lipes, and even farther still, passing through Huachacalla and Sabaya, down to the Chilean Atacama and Arica provinces, as well as Tucuman (in present-day Argentina).¹¹⁹

The events that took place in Oruro in the same months of February–March 1781 illustrate the impossibility of implementing Tupac Amaru's program, namely an alliance bringing together Indians, mestizos, and Creoles against the peninsular Spaniards.¹²⁰ Oruro, an important mining city in Upper Peru, actually sheltered a population composed mainly of Creoles and mestizos. At the beginning of February, following a conflict with the *corregidor* regarding the designation of the municipal offices, the Creole *alcalde* in exercise, Jacinto Rodríguez, posted and circulated the proclamations of Tupac Amaru, and then launched a call to the Indians of the surrounding communities, asking for their help. It was, therefore, a rebellion started by Creoles who were momentarily convinced by the original project of Tupac Amaru. But the alliance in question lasted only a few days: soon, indeed, Indians flocked by the thousands into the city. Obviously, they first attacked the Spaniards, massacring them, looting their properties, and ransacking churches. Soon they turned against the Creoles themselves, even claiming their property and land. The Creole rebellion had become an Indian uprising. Thanks to a skillfully executed stratagem, Jacinto Rodríguez succeeded in obtaining a short respite: a departure of the Indians by announcing the arrival of Tupac Amaru at the head of many troops. But at the beginning of April, the Indians of Paria, Challacollo and Challapata set out again to attack Oruro; the city underwent a siege for several weeks before being freed by the relief coming from Cochabamba.

After Tupac Amaru's torment his troops were headed by his cousin, Diego Cristobal Tupac Amaru, his young nephew Andres, and his brother-in-law Miguel Bastidas. It was, from then on, a coalition of several rebel groups that were more

117 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 124–127.

118 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 87–89.

119 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 128–130.

120 On the events of Oruro, see Oscar Cornblit, *Power and Violence in the Colonial City: Oruro from the Mining Renaissance to the Rebellion of Tupac Amaru (1740–1782)*, New York, 1995; Nicholas A. Robins, *Mesiánismo y la Rebelión indígena: La rebelión de Oruro de 1781*, La Paz, 1997.

or less coordinated. Diego Cristobal invaded the city of Puno in early May 1781, then continued toward Upper Peru; his troops would slaughter both Creoles and peninsular Spaniards.¹²¹ Andres moved toward the region located to the east of Lake Titicaca, where he organized the siege of Sorata, which lasted from May to August. This episode also reflects the radicalization of the Amarist troops: after the fall of the city, all the men of Sorata were indiscriminately killed, Spanish, mestizos, and Creoles; as for women, they were spared only to be forced to dress as Indians and chew coca leaves.¹²² Similar scenes were repeated in the towns situated on the west bank of Lake Titicaca: Chucuito, Acora, Juli, and Pomata. In the village of Tiquina, all Spaniards and Creoles in the church were dragged out of the building to be executed—the men by the Indians, the women by Indian women—and their corpses were scattered, without burial.¹²³

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Amarist and Katari troops had begun to merge, geographically, on the outskirts of the west bank of Lake Titicaca. The junction became a collaboration, not without suspicion and dissension, during the episode that constituted the culminating moment of the uprisings in Upper Peru: the siege of La Paz. This episode also witnessed the rising of a new charismatic leader, whose personality would make its mark in the aftermath: Julian Apasa, who took the name of Tupac Katari. (It should be borne in mind that the terms *amaru*, in Quechua, and *katari*, in Aymara, refer to a snake, with the connotation of the underground world, accompanied in turn by a messianic dimension.)¹²⁴ Julian Apasa said that he himself was the reincarnation of Tupac Amaru and Tomas Katari.¹²⁵ Originally from the village of Ayo Ayo, in the province of Sica Sica, his personality contrasts in some ways with that of the noble Inca José Gabriel Condorcanqui: Julian Apasa was a humble, common Indian who couldn't read or write, drank, and spoke only Aymara, but he exerted increasing power through his strange ritual practices, his skills as a strategist and his authority. Tupac Katari thought he had been 'elected' for his mission:

'I received a mission from God; no one has the power to harm me because everything I say is the word of the Holy Spirit.'¹²⁶

In fact, according to the testimony of father Matias de la Borda, who was held prisoner during the siege near Tupac Katari, the Indians 'executed his orders

121 Walker, pp. 247–254; Nicholas A. Robins, *Genocide*, p. 66.

122 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 66–67.

123 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 67.

124 Szeminski, pp. 219–220.

125 Maria Eugenia Valle del Siles, 'Túpac Katari y la rebelión de 1781: Radiografía de un caudillo aymara,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 1977, n° 34, p. 654; Lehuede, p. 128.

126 Maria Eugenia Valle del Siles, p. 652: '[...] pues yo soy mandado de Dios, que ninguno tiene potestad de hacerme nada, y asi me parece todo lo que digo es palabra del Espiritu Santo.'

blindly, they worshiped him through constant praise and obeyed him as if he really were a deity.¹²⁷

On March 14, 1781, after gathering troops in the Pacajes and Sica Sica provinces, Tupac Katari started the siege of La Paz; these troops would be joined by contingents from the other rebel provinces, Chayanta, Paucarcolla, Cochabamba, Paria, Carangas, and Porco. These contingents formed, at their peak (since their attendance fluctuated), an army of about 40,000 men. The city withstood several assaults until rescue arrived on June 30, which allowed for a temporary lifting of the siege. However, discouraged by scarcity and weakened by desertions, loyalist troops retreated at the end of July. Tupac Katari restarted the siege in early August, now joined by the troops of Andres Tupac Amaru, which originated in Sorata. Then, it was necessary to settle an initial disagreement, related not only to protocol: Andres did not accept Tupac Katari's self-proclamation as 'Viceroy.' The latter formally submitted to the authority of the Amarist Chief, agreeing to have only the title of 'Governor,' and the two armies occupied separate camps: the Quechua troops of Andres Tupac Amaru stayed on the heights of Alto, while the Aymara troops of Tupac Katari were in the low area of Pampajasi. The relationship between the two was filled with distrust.¹²⁸

The siege of La Paz continued for more than two months. Tupac Katari had arranged in his camp, under a large tarp, a sort of chapel with an altar that contained the Holy Sacrament. He had a Mass celebrated there every day by one of the priests who were being held prisoner. Father La Borda recounts that Tupac Katari sat under a canopy with his wife Bartolina during Mass, facing a large mirror in which he constantly looked at himself while 'making faces'; then, 'he would take from his pocket a small silver box which he always carried on him; he opened it and closed it and, from time to time, he would apply it to his ear, making everyone believe that, thanks to the messages he received through this little box, he knew everything and could not be mistaken in his undertakings. For he went so far as to proclaim that *God himself spoke to his ear*.'¹²⁹ (Note, by the way, a remarkable Levi-Straussian transformation: the scene is indeed symmetrical and inverse to that of the 'drama of the death of Atahualpa.' Tupac Katari takes the small box to his ear and receives the divine word; this reminds us that in the theatrical performance, Atahualpa took the Bible to his ear, but heard nothing.) Tupac Katari

127 Maria Eugenia Valle del Siles, p. 652: '[...] practicaban ciegamente sus ordenes, ensalzando con repetidos victores, y asistiendole como si en realidad fuese deidad.'

128 Leon G. Campbell, 'Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780-1782,' in Steve Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion*, pp. 130-132; Walker, pp. 232-234; pp. 263-265; Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 68-69.

129 Maria Eugenia Valle de Siles, p. 652-653: '[...] hacia sacar del bolsillo un cajoncito de plata, que siempre cargaba, el cual abierto un tanto, miraba adentro y al punto lo cerraba, y tambien de cuando en cuando se lo aplicaba al oido, dando a entender a todos que segun lo que se le comunicaba por medio del cajoncito, todo lo sabia, y no era capaz de errar la prosecucion de su empresa; pues aun llegaba a proferir *que el mismo Dios le hablaba al oído*.' (Emphasis added.)

also wore the Inca image of the sun on his breast, but he sometimes wore a Spanish outfit, with doublet, cloth breeches, and silk stockings. He often used esoteric language, as evidenced by the often-incomprehensible messages he dictated to his secretaries.¹³⁰

The horrific descriptions of the miseries suffered by the besieged abound. In the starving city, dogs were eaten—the same dogs that devoured the corpses—and cases of cannibalism are mentioned. Fighting, famine, and epidemics are thought to have killed some 10,000 persons, i.e., one-third of the population. The city was perhaps about to surrender when the troops from Buenos Aires, under the command of José de Reseguín, finally reached La Paz on October 17. These troops allowed for the definitive lifting of the siege, breaking, at the same time, the fragile alliance between Amarists and Katarists. This failure of the rebels in La Paz marks a decisive turning point: it is at this moment that the decline of the uprising begins. Tupac Katari was captured on November 9, also betrayed by his own supporters, and then sentenced, as Tupac Amaru had been, to the punishment of quartering. The execution took place on November 15; before the executioner cut his tongue, he seemingly shouted: ‘You will kill only me, but I will come back, and I will be millions!’¹³¹

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Tupac Katari proclaimed, as did Tupac Amaru and Juan Santos Atahualpa, that ‘the time had come when the prophecies that this Kingdom would return to them would be fulfilled.’¹³² And like Juan Santos Atahualpa thirty years before, he thought himself ‘elected,’ directly inspired by the Holy Spirit. Tupac Katari was called (said Father La Borda) ‘our Redeemer,’ as Tupac Amaru had once been; the charisma of the rebel leaders endowed them with a messianic dimension. ‘The time has arrived’ is the formula repeated everywhere. This is also the question posed by Santos Mamani (who commanded the Indians during the assault on Oruro) to the Franciscan father José Antonio Cervantes: ‘Don’t you know that the time has arrived, when the Indians are freed, and the Spaniards and Creoles annihilated?’¹³³ The formula used by Mamani (‘don’t you know’) clearly implies that this is a widely held belief. With the end of Spanish rule, a new era begins, that of another cycle, in which justice will be restored and the order of the world will return to its rightful place. In other words, we find, once more, the category of *pachakuti* in inevitably renewed forms.

130 Maria Eugenia Valle de Siles, p. 656.

131 Xavier Albo, ‘From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari,’ in Steve Stern, ed. *Resistance, Rebellion*, p. 415, note 17. The body of Tupac Katari was also cut up, and its fragments were scattered and exhibited. The following year, in July 1782, Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru and his relatives underwent the same punishment: execution, then the dispersion and exhibition of their body parts.

132 See Maria Eugenia Valle de Siles, quote p. 660: ‘las profecias sobre que este Reino volviese a los suyos.’ See also Robins, *Genocide*, p. 141.

133 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 112.

This is the return of the Inca, indeed, but not more than during the uprising of Juan Santos Atahualpa; there is no question of resuscitated *huaca* here. After the death of Tomas Katari, from February 1781 onwards, the radicalization of the rebellion often took the form of violent aggressions against churches and priests. In San Pedro Buena Vista, during the first invasion, in September 1780, the rebels spared the *curacas* and mestizos refugeed in the church. On the other hand, at the end of the assault of March 1781, they pulled six priests who had been massacred out of the building.¹³⁴ The rebels no longer hesitated and burst in during the celebration of Mass, burned down and looted the churches, and desecrated the objects of worship. At Oruro, when the Christ of Burgos was paraded through the streets, it aroused nothing but indifference, and an Indian exclaimed: 'It is but a piece of wood!'¹³⁵ In Palca, in the province of Cochabamba, a rebel holding a host cried out that it was only bread that anyone could make with flour.¹³⁶ In the village of Palca, as in the other towns of the region, Colcha, Tapacari, Tarata, and Ayopaia, the macabre scenes were repeated: all those who were not Indians, hundreds of men, women, and children, were massacred in the churches and even on the altars, which were 'bathed in the blood of those who had been beheaded.'¹³⁷

Do these sacrilegious actions imply, among these crowds, a rejection of the Christian religion? We should bear in mind that exclusive Andean beliefs had practically disappeared at the end of the 18th century and that a Pagan-Christian syncretism had long been consolidated. Even though the Andean deities continued to be worshipped, they were now integrated into a model of representations where the Christian sacred powers constitute an opposite but complementary pole, thus following the 'quadrature of the gods' schema governed by the logic of the dualistic organization.¹³⁸ It is therefore not necessarily due to a rejection of Christianity that the rebellious Indians exterminated the Spaniards and chased the priests. Quite the contrary! It can indeed be argued, without being paradoxical, that the rebels slaughtered the Spanish oppressors because these, by being greedy and corrupt, were bad Christians, instruments of the Devil, and that it was the Indians themselves that embodied the genuine and authentic Christians.¹³⁹ We are reminded of the sign of the cross that the supporters of Tupac Amaru wore on their helmets or their hats.

134 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 89.

135 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 106.

136 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 124–125. '[...] mirad el engaño que padecemos por estos picaros, esta torta la hizo el sacristán con la harina que yo conduje del valle y despues nos fingen que en ella esta Dios sacramentado.' (Also quoted by Lehuède, p. 127.)

137 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 126–127.

138 I would like to refer to the analyses I once developed on the formation and the consolidation of a 'Pagano-Christian' religious system, whose syncretic components are ordered following the Andean dualistic logic, during the 17th and 18th centuries: see Nathan Wachtel, *Le Retour des ancêtres. Les Indiens Urus de Bolivie, XXè–XVIè siècle. Essai d'histoire régressive*, Paris, 1990, pp. 187–192, pp. 578–585. In a similar sense, see Szemiński, *The utopia tupamarista*, p. 202 and following.

139 See Szemiński, *La utopia tupamarista*, pp. 238–239.

Thus, if the Spaniards had to be exterminated, it was because they were heretics, apostates, and even worse: authors of evil, monstrous, their cruel exploitation of the Indians attesting that they were actually ogres, vampires, that is, *pishtakos* or *kharisiris*, human fat eaters.¹⁴⁰ Their corpses remained abandoned without burial, often mutilated (punctured eyes, genitals torn off, disemboweled, etc.), because that was the punishment reserved for vampires to prevent them from coming back from beyond. We have seen above that the association of the Spaniards with the *pishtakos* goes back, precisely, to the time of the *Taqui Onqoy*. But two centuries had gone by. If the Spaniards still remained potential *pishtakos*, the Indians had now become, in their own way, and as Michaela Bastidas also put it, ‘good and loyal Christians.’¹⁴¹

Certain modalities of rebel violence manifest, symbolically, both the destruction of the colonial regime and the restoration of justice and the world’s order. Thus, when the insurgents in Challapata on January 1781 captured the *corregidor* Manuel de Bodega, not only did they put him to death, but they had him beheaded by his slave on the *rollo* that was installed in the middle of the public square, i.e., on the scaffold or the pillory of infamy. The *rollo*, the place where Indians were usually punished and tortured, represented Spanish authority and the power to sentence to death. Examples for this abound. At Juli, the *curaca* Fermin Llaga was also attached to the *rollo*, executed, and his head placed at the foot of the monument. In Oruro, a cluster of Spanish corpses was gathered before the *rollo*, clearly signifying the reversal of power relations.¹⁴² This role reversal was also displayed in spectacular fashion when, in Colcha, Arque, Tapacari, and Sacaca, the rebels spared mestizos or women, forcing them to wear indigenous clothes and chew coca leaves,¹⁴³ or also at Ayopaya, Tapacari, or Sica Sica, where Spanish women were to serve as servants, suffering ‘outrages that the horrified quill cannot repeat’ before being executed.¹⁴⁴ The inversion also applied to the relationship between the sacred forces—Christian entities and Andean divinities—which the rebels in Palca, San Pedro de Buena Vista or Condo Condo undoubtedly showed by drinking *chicha* in silver chalices or filling monstrosities with coca leaves.¹⁴⁵

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Exacerbated violence, the scale of the massacres, the cruelty of the executions, the macabre staging: the horror reached, on both sides, extremes hitherto unheard of. How can such rage be understood? On the Spanish and Creole side, colonial domination itself was endangered. On the Indian side, in the immense space covered by the revolts, different forms of radicalization can be distinguished,

140 Szemiński, *La utopia tupamarista*, pp. 234–234, pp. 248–249.

141 Szemiński, *La utopia tupamarista*, pp. 248–254. See also note 109 above.

142 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 175–176.

143 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 126–127.

144 Robins, *Genocide*, p. 125.

145 Robins, *Genocide*, pp. 146–148.

which come to light when we restore the events—through their recapitulation—in the context of regional particularities.¹⁴⁶

In the region of Cuzco, the memory of the Inca, obviously, appears to be the most present and intensely cultivated: it has even been reinforced, from the beginning of the 18th century, in a rebirth movement that may be described as ‘national.’¹⁴⁷ At the same time, the native nobility enjoyed high prestige: the *curacas* of the region exerted an undisputed authority, and the Indians of the communities obeyed them blindly, either by participating in the uprising or by staying, on the contrary, faithful to the King of Spain. Yet the failure of Tupac Amaru to win over most of the *curacas* of Cuzco’s region, and the rapid defection of the Mestizos and Creoles, accelerated the orientation of the rebellion against the initial project of the Inca and toward the elimination of everything that was not indigenous.

In the other original center of the revolts, the region of Chayanta, the legitimacy of the *curacas* (often Mestizo alternates imposed by the *corregidores*) was strongly contested in the 18th century by the Indians of the communities: the ‘usurpers’ were, moreover, frequently the first victims of the riots. For several decades, a process of petitions and judicial appeals to higher institutions (the Royal Treasury of Potosi, the Audience of La Plata, even the Viceroy in Buenos Aires) had developed against the local authorities in this area of Upper Peru, with the support of formidable mobilizations of the native masses. It is this original phenomenon of revindications, combining legality and the demonstration of force, which ended up slipping into the spiral of violence that merged with the advent of an Andean *pachakuti*.

The uprising of the high-plateau Indians of La Paz and the surroundings of Lake Titicaca was triggered later on (but after a long period of unrest in the 1770s), becoming part of a racial ‘caste’ war.

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Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, both in Peru and Bolivia, revolts and uprisings abound, but an examination of these revolts is beyond the scope of this essay. But one cannot fail to recall, in epilogue, how much the very names of Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari have become, not only in Peru and Bolivia, but also in all the countries of Latin America, symbols of heroic revolutionary movements and armed struggles. Times have obviously changed, and the myth of the return of the Inca is now very often expressed (from José Carlos Mariátegui to Abimael Guzman) as a Marxist or even Maoist discourse. But we do cherish certain continuities, at least geographical: there are, indeed, places of memory, mythical locations; we

146 The following exposition is inspired by Sergio Serulnikov’s excellent results in *Conflictos sociales*, pp. 421–431.

147 See John H. Rowe, *El Movimiento Nacional Inca*; today, the terms ‘national’ and ‘nationalism’ seem inappropriate, but this article has the merit of being pioneering.

can recognize regions that carry legacies of resistance and subversive traditions, from which remarkable coincidences result.

In fact, in Peru during the 1960s (and later), the Tupamarist guerrillas established themselves in the lowlands of the Amazonian side of the central Andes, where Juan Santos Atahualpa, two centuries earlier, had installed its rebel stronghold. Another type of echoing: in this same Amazonian region, in the 1980s (and onwards), the 'Israelites of the New Universal Pact,' which formed a peaceful movement that spread throughout Peru and was headed by their prophet Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal (himself recognized as Inkarrí), located the Promised Land, the Paititi, where, during the imminent *pachakuti*, they were to gather before being transported for their redemption to the land of Canaan.¹⁴⁸ As for the famous Sendero Luminoso, in the 1980s (and onwards), its original seat coincides precisely with the area of Ayacucho (Huamanga), which has been well-known since the time of *Taqui Onqoy*, and which also includes the epicenter of diffusion of the myth of Inkarrí. Could the implantation of this revolutionary Maoist-inspired movement in the space around the former colonial provinces of Lucanas and Parinacocha be explained only by the 'extreme poverty' and 'backward situation' of this region?

At this point, we would do well to recall Alberto Flores Galindo's observation: 'The southern area [of the action of the Sendero Luminoso] can be superimposed on the map of the *Taqui Onqoy* in the sixteenth century.'¹⁴⁹ It is as if a very long-standing memory, that of a *pachakuti*—at the same time arrived and awaited—had also been established in the territory of Huamanga. Another coincidence: a frightening rumor did not fail to spread, again during the 1980s, causing panic, that thousands of *pishtacos*, these formidable hunters of human fat, were invading the city of Ayacucho as well as the surrounding mountains!¹⁵⁰

In Bolivia, is it a coincidence that the reference version of 'The Tragedy of the Death of Atahualpa' is none other than the one represented in Chayanta, home to the rebellion that was once triggered by Tomas Katari? In fact, as Sergio Serulnikov confirms, '[...] it was the province of Chayanta that witnessed, during the 19th century, the most vigorous social movements defending the territorial integrity of the *ayllus*, and it was Bolivia, not Peru, which was the scene of a national-scale revolt, with deep indigenous roots, like the one led in 1899 by Pablo Zárate Willka.'¹⁵¹

148 See Juan Ossio Acuña, *El tahuantinsuyo Bíblico. Ezequiel Ataucusi Gamonal y el mesianismo de los Israelitas del Nuevo Pacto Universal*, Lima, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2014, p. 402.

149 Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, p. 355: 'El área del sur puede superponerse al mapa del Taqui Onkoy en el siglo XVI.' See also Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, the map of 'political violence in the region of Ayacucho (1983).' The work of the late Alberto Flores Galindo (written in the dramatic situation 1980s in Peru) is certainly questionable because of its political (and militant) inspiration, but it nonetheless contains certain hunches and historical considerations which seem very accurate.

150 Juan Ansion, ed., *Pishtacos de Verdugos a Sacaajos*, Lima, 1989.

151 Serulnikov, *Revolución en los Andes*, p. 199: 'No es coincidencia que la provincia de Chayanta fuera testigo durante el siglo XIX de los más vigorosos movimientos sociales en defensa de la integridad de los ayllus y que Bolivia, no Perú, fuera el escenario de una rebelión de escala nacional de fuerte

One of the leaders of the late nineteenth-century Indian revolts in the region of Chayanta, called 'Inca Willka,' promised to restore the cult of the Sun [...] and get rid of the white race.¹⁵² Pablo Zárate Willka was from a town neighboring Sica Sica (a province close to that of Chayanta), as Tupac Katari once had been. Coincidentally, the main leaders of the peasant trade union in the years 1960–1970, founders of the Tupac Katari Revolutionary Movement, namely Raimundo Tambo and Jenaro Flores, were also born in the same province of Sica Sica, the first in Ayo Ayo (like Tupac Katari himself) and the second in the neighboring village of Antapampa. In 1971, in the Ayo Ayo Square, in the presence of President Torres, a monument to the memory of Tupac Katari was erected.¹⁵³ Since then, every November 15 (the anniversary of his martyrdom), crowds have gathered in front of the monument. Thus, on November 15, 1977, Jenaro Flores could cry out to the assembled masses, echoing (two centuries later) the legendary cry of Julian Apasa: 'Today, Tupac Katari is back, and we are millions!'¹⁵⁴

raigambre nativista como la encabezada por Pablo Zárate Willka en 1899.' The *ayllu* is the basic social unit of the indigenous community.

152 Tristan Platt, 'The Andean Experience of Bolivian Liberalism, 1825–1900: Roots of Rebellion in 19th Century Chayanta (Potosí),' in Steve J. Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion*, 1987, p. 309: '[...] took the title of heir of the Incas, stirring up the Indians with promises to restore the Cult of the Sun, reestablish the rules of his race in all the branches of public administration, and get rid of the white race' (AHP-PD, 2201 n°16).

153 Xavier Albó, 'From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari,' p. 396.

154 Albó, p. 397.