



# SMOLDERING ASHES

Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru,  
1780-1840 ❁ CHARLES F. WALKER

Smoldering Ashes

A book in the series

*Latin America Otherwise:*

*Languages, Empires, Nations*

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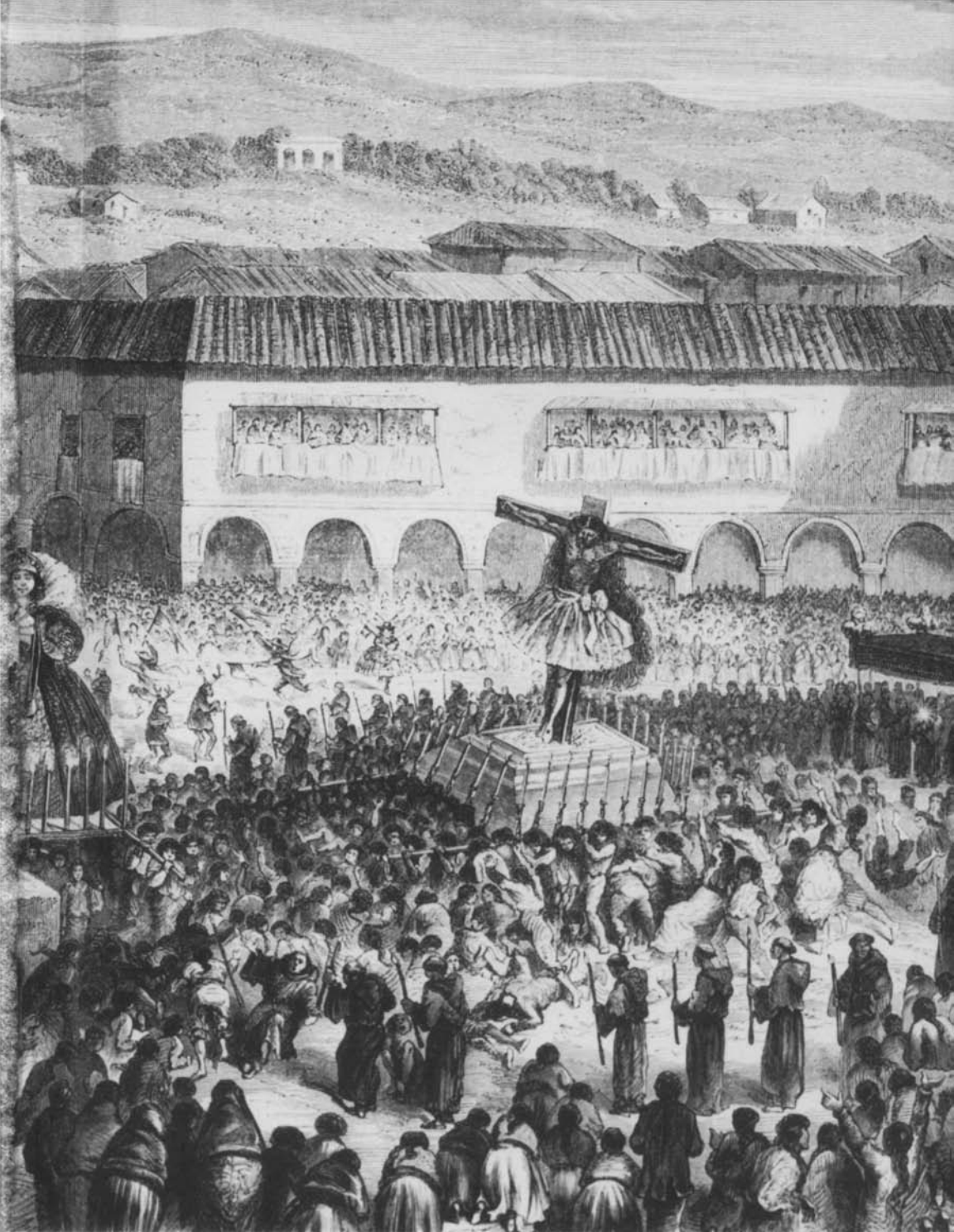
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# S M O L D E R I N G

CUZCO AND THE CREATION OF REPUBLICAN PERU,



# A S H E S

CHARLES F. WALKER

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FOR

NANCY WALKER

ZOILA MENDOZA

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## CONTENTS

About the Series	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
1 Introduction	1
2 The Tupac Amaru Rebellion: Protonationalism and Inca Revivalism	16
3 Smoldering Ashes	55
4 The Arrival of Saint Patria: The Long War of Independence in Peru	84
5 Cuzco's Black Angel: Agustín Gamarra and the Creation of the Republican State	121
6 The War of the Words: Urban Political Culture in Postcolonial Cuzco	152
7 From Colony to Republic and from Indian to Indian: Cuzco Rural Society	186
8 Conclusions	222
Notes	231
Bibliography	289
Index	321





## ABOUT THE SERIES

**L***atin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations* is a critical series. It aims to explore the emergence and consequences of concepts used to define “Latin America” while at the same time exploring the broad interplay of political, economic, and cultural practices that have shaped Latin American worlds. Latin America, at the crossroads of competing imperial designs and local responses, has been construed as a geocultural and geopolitical entity since the nineteenth century. This series provides a starting point to redefine Latin America as a configuration of political, linguistic, cultural, and economic intersections that demands a continuous reappraisal of the role of the Americas in history, and of the ongoing process of globalization and the relocation of people and cultures that have characterized Latin America’s experience. *Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations* is a forum that confronts established geocultural constructions, that rethinks area studies and disciplinary boundaries, that assesses convictions of the academy and of public policy, and that, correspondingly, demands that the practices through which we produce knowledge and understanding about and from Latin America be subject to rigorous and critical scrutiny.

*Smoldering Ashes* looks at the dying years of Spanish colonial rule and the early years of the Republic from the vantage point of Cuzco’s native peoples. Indian and Creole joined in the struggle against colonialism, but their visions of nationhood collided; the version of republicanism championed by the elite would ultimately allow Creoles to maintain their position of privilege. Indigenous anticolonialism imagined a more

equitable society modeled on the Inca empire. While mindful of their joint challenges to Spanish rule, Charles Walker underscores how the contradictions splitting apart Indians from non-Indians significantly shaped the emerging Peruvian state.

By shifting analytical focus from the elite to Peru's Indian peasantry, Walker forces us to recognize native peoples' decisive role in constructing the new Republic even as their political intentions were ultimately thwarted. Like other contributions to the series, *Smoldering Ashes* draws on subaltern and postcolonial studies. And, as a work of critical history, it reminds us that the political struggles between Indian and Creole that took place over 150 years ago weigh on the present.

Walter D. Mignolo, Duke University  
Irene Silverblatt, Duke University  
Sonia Saldivar-Hull, University of  
Southern California

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## SMOLDERING ASHES





“Cuzco is the only place where you can gain a true idea of Peru.”—Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, 1781

“The only word to sum up Cuzco adequately is evocative.”—Ernesto “Che” Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries*

**O**n May 18, 1781, horses dragged José Gabriel Condorcanqui into the central plaza of Cuzco. A local leader who claimed descent from the last Inca ruler of the sixteenth century, he had taken the title Tupac Amaru II to lead the largest rebellion in colonial Latin America. Backed primarily by Indians, the uprising had spread throughout much of South America and had nearly overthrown the Spanish. Six months into the fighting, however, colonial authorities captured Tupac Amaru II and several other key leaders. The punishment meted out to the rebels reflected the scope of the uprising and the panic of Spanish authorities. Tupac Amaru was forced to watch the execution of his comrades and family members, including his wife and key confidante, Micaela Bastidas, whose tongue was cut out before she was strangled. Executioners then tortured José Gabriel at length and tied him to four horses to be quartered. When his limbs did not separate from his torso, he was beheaded. The arms, legs, and heads of José Gabriel and Micaela were displayed throughout the viceroyalty.

Sixty years later, on November 18, 1841, the Cuzco caudillo and president of Peru, Agustín Gamarra, was killed when attempting to rouse his troops in Bolivia. Some contend that one of his own soldiers shot him. General Gamarra had participated in all of the major political

events in the region since 1815. He had fought on both the loyalist and rebel sides in the War of Independence (1809–24), invaded neighboring countries, conspired in and put down coup attempts, and held the Peruvian presidency for two terms, 1829–33 and 1839–41, as leader of the conservative coalition. Throughout his political and military career, this quintessential caudillo maintained a strong base in his native Cuzco.

These two deaths bracket the narrative of this book. The lives of Tupac Amaru II and Agustín Gamarra symbolize the challenges of converting Peru from an ethnically diverse but highly stratified viceroyalty into an independent nation. In these sixty years, people fought for a variety of options to Spanish colonialism, with republicanism finally taking hold. The Indian leader of a mass uprising in the twilight of Spanish colonial rule and the conservative mestizo caudillo at the dawn of independence confronted many of the same obstacles. They had to address the sharp divisions between Peru's Indian majority and non-Indians, as well as other social and geographic tensions, such as the animosity between coastal Lima and highland Cuzco. Above all, they had to search for ways to reconcile the demands of disparate and contentious groups into a formula for the seizure and practice of power. In the pages that follow, I show that the practice of caudillismo and its relationship to state formation—in Peru and throughout Spanish America—can be understood only through a careful examination of the desires and political efforts of the lower classes and of their relationships to regional and national political movements.

Throughout this book, I demonstrate that the vast population of highland Indians—often understood to be passive and usually presented as an anonymous mass rather than as individuals—is the key to understanding the turbulent transition from colony to republic. In fact, from the Zapatistas in southern Mexico to the indigenous movements in Bolivia and Ecuador, they remain today at the center of struggles over nation-state formation. Indians played important and often overlooked roles in the mass movements that fought (and defended) Spanish rule and clashed in the caudillo-led civil wars decades later. Indians not only followed leaders such as Tupac Amaru and Gamarra, but also influenced the movements' platforms by negotiating the terms of their participation. Historians have far too often accepted contemporary views that deemed Indians incapable of political consciousness and indifferent to the battles over the state.<sup>1</sup>

I argue that local, regional, and “national” political struggles can be understood only when studied together. Community-based struggles were connected to and affected broader political movements in two ways. First, members in the community—and at times the entire community—would couple their opposition to a particular authority or a set of policies with a broader coalition, as was the case in hundreds of Indian communities during the Tupac Amaru uprising, but also during less tumultuous and historically visible periods. Second, Andean communities used less confrontational tactics to resist the onerous demands of the Bourbon and republican states. For example, they took abusive authorities to court with surprising success. I demonstrate that they not only defended their political and economic rights, but limited the course of action that political groups could take in the Andes. These efforts help explain why, despite their claims to omnipotence, the colonial state and the republican state could not freely impose their programs on Andean society.

Similarly, I also emphasize that the debates about postcolonial Peru were not limited to elite ideologues. I show that ideological battles over the nature of colonial and postcolonial society are at the heart of Spanish American state formation and nation building. The interplay between national identities and those based on region, ethnicity, religion, and other markers shape politics in the early republic as much as it does in the late twentieth century. To address these questions, theorists have increasingly emphasized how diverse groups “imagined” or “invented” the nation and how the state implemented its particular vision.<sup>2</sup> In recent years, scholars have explored how different groups, elite and nonelite, constructed opposing notions of nationalism.<sup>3</sup> In Peru, ideologues crafted a definition of Peruvian citizenship that excluded the vast majority of the population. The exclusionary policies and discourses that characterize the Andean republics today can be dated from this period. However, Indians and other lower-class groups also participated in these discussions, and in doing so, they contested the narrow notions of citizenship and political rights propagated by elite groups.

In this study, I examine the intricate and difficult relations among national ideologies and policies, regional political movements, and the lower classes. These different spheres need to be integrated in order to understand the difficulties in nation-state building that Spanish America encountered. Integrating them requires both a careful recon-

struction of political movements that pays attention to a variety of tactics beyond insurrection and collective mobilization, and an examination of diverse ideological debates. I show how political movements included or excluded the dark-skinned lower classes, and how they were, in turn, influenced by and affected these groups. Subaltern political movements are neither autonomous nor fully dependent.<sup>4</sup> Examining the connections and misconnections between “peasant politics” and multiclass regional and national movements illuminates Spanish America’s difficult postindependence history.

A program that stresses the role of the lower classes and highlights ideological battles can be accomplished only by paying close attention to the political battles themselves. Far too often, the dizzying change of presidents and other signs of turmoil after independence in Spanish America have led scholars to interpret the postindependence period as mere chaos or as elite machinations and lower-class failures. Anecdotes about several politicians simultaneously claiming the presidency in Peru or statistics that show a dozen presidents in a decade serve as symbols for political and social backwardness. This book, in contrast, seeks to illuminate the logic and nature of these struggles. Although postindependence caudillos largely agreed on republicanism as the proper form of government in Peru, they incorporated strands of federalism, regionalism, and even Inca revivalism into their programs. Even as they apparently abandoned the Constitution when they seized power by force, they aligned with political parties and created multiclass movements. Examining the Gamarra movement highlights the ideological and social complexity of caudillo coalitions.

The related theoretical fields—political culture and the new cultural history—lend an explanatory hand. These schools have reinvigorated political history by examining how political behavior and language changed, rather than by searching for winners and losers. Both schools grant politics a certain autonomy, instead of seeing it as merely a product of broader structural processes, particularly economic. They also pay close attention to language, discourse, and practice, searching for patterns of behavior as well as shared and conflicting views on how politics was to be practiced in a particular period.<sup>5</sup> Latin Americanists who read studies on European cultural history envy the availability of sources and wonder whether such studies are possible for a period marked by turmoil in a region that has not always carefully preserved historical documents.

My experience demonstrates that such analyses of politics and culture in this period and region are possible. After I had conducted eight months of research in the Cuzco Departmental Archive, an employee mentioned the Velasco Aragón Collection locked up in an adjacent room. After removing a great deal of accumulated junk, dust, and miscellaneous books, we uncovered dozens of bound volumes containing newspapers and political pamphlets from the nineteenth century. These sources allowed me to explore the practice and rituals of caudillo politics, and to examine how the Gamarristas, the followers of General Agustín Gamarra, created and sustained a coalition in Cuzco and how it operated throughout Peru.<sup>6</sup> I look not only at mass political uprisings such as rebellions and civil wars, but also at elections, celebrations, and military campaigns. In the midst of civil wars, the groups vying for control of the state—which included a surprisingly broad section of civil society—competed for followers by expressing their views in the streets and in the active press. Throughout Spanish America, historians are dusting off old sources and discovering new ones that highlight politics, culture, and society.<sup>7</sup> I emphasize the need to link the study of public rituals such as parades and elections and discourse with the examination of the power struggles at the heart of caudillo politics. Scholars of political culture in Spanish America have too often separated political practices or rituals from material interests and battles over the state. Such a separation not only overlooks changes in political culture through time, particularly in the transition from colony to republic, but also lessens the explanatory power of cultural approaches to postindependence state formation.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE LOWER CLASSES AND CAUDILLOS

This book builds on current efforts to place the lower classes at the center of history. Taking advantage of the vast amount of research in “peasant studies” in recent decades, scholars from a variety of disciplines are correlating local histories or the “little tradition” with large processes such as state formation.<sup>9</sup> They explore how local, regional, national, and transnational trends intersect and affect one another. Accenting the reciprocal nature of this relationship, these studies demonstrate not only that national trends modify local society, but that local or regional spheres influence national politics and identity creation. They recognize

that “the move in social history away from state politics, and toward a focus on the ‘small people,’ has often gone too far by dropping the state out of the picture.”<sup>10</sup>

Throughout this book, I maintain that peasant and caudillo politics were not separate fields, but intimately linked. Caudillos relied on peasants, and inhabitants of the countryside often found themselves embroiled in political struggles. I contend that only by linking these two areas of study can the difficult path to political stability and state formation in Spanish America be understood. With few exceptions, political turmoil enveloped the nascent Spanish American republics. Throughout the continent, military chieftains fought for the control of the state. In some cases they formed alliances against the leading political groups, which were usually divided into liberals and conservatives; in many other cases they joined with them. Some fended off lower-class subversion, whereas others championed populist movements. Some remained in national office for decades, but others led small, isolated local movements. Through the analysis of the Cuzco caudillo Agustín Gamarra, this book attempts to understand why and how caudillos predominated.

The question has long troubled Spanish Americans. Dating from Domingo Sarmiento’s classic study of Facundo Quiroga (1845), caudillo analysis constitutes a prominent form of national self-examination, an enduring genre of Latin American literature that stretches from Sarmiento’s nineteenth-century romanticism to the literary boom of the 1960s and beyond.<sup>11</sup> Caudillos are the subject of countless novels, biographies, and social scientific essays, serving as lively metaphors for national problems and even national potential.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, as a symbol of “strong man” politics, caudillismo is not limited to the military chieftains prominent in the nineteenth century. The study of caudillos addresses enduring problems of instability, fragmentation, and disunity that outlasted the military leaders themselves.

Scholars have approached caudillismo in many ways. Richard Morse presented the military strongmen as a key element of postindependence efforts to resurrect Spanish patrimonialism.<sup>13</sup> Others contend that the lack of experience with self-government in the Spanish colonies and the deleterious effects of the long wars of independence hindered political stability and placed the military in a position to assume authority.<sup>14</sup> Social scientists frequently cite the continent’s economic problems as another cause of political instability.<sup>15</sup> In order to explain the difficulty in

establishing stable political institutions and thus the rise of caudillismo, some emphasize regional conflicts. According to this view, elegantly espoused by John Lynch, the caudillo emerged to represent politically and economically backward regions threatened by centralism or to control lower-class insurgency in this context of political disorder.<sup>16</sup>

One element missing from these works is a detailed examination of how caudillos built alliances, constructed programs, and ran the state. Despite the centrality of caudillismo to understanding Spanish America, few studies have concentrated on how caudillismo functioned. The bureaucratic structures and cultural projects created by figures such as Gamarra endured far longer than the caudillos themselves; they marked state and society for decades, if not centuries. For example, the tax system dating from the 1820s lasted for decades, and Gamarra's conservative "Cuzco First" discourse resonates even today. Consequently, I examine how Gamarra created his movement in Cuzco, stressing the administrative and ideological mechanisms of the postcolonial state. I focus on the question of why such diverse groups as the elite, the middle sectors, and the lower classes supported or opposed particular caudillos. This analysis seeks to fulfill Joseph and Nugent's plea to bring the state back in without leaving the people out.<sup>17</sup>

I emphasize the influence of ideological struggles dating from the eighteenth century on the nature of postcolonial Peru. The caudillo-led civil wars were not simply power struggles between greedy military officers. Throughout the country, they involved intense debate in the press and in public forums about the postindependence state, particularly the questions of political stability and the role of the lower classes. Government representatives and their allies inculcated their notion of state and society—their cultural project—through different policies, performance, and the press. I follow how these views were disseminated and contested by different sectors of Cuzco society, from the urban elite to the rural peasantry.

#### CUZCO AND ITS PEOPLE

The former center of the Inca Empire, the city and region of Cuzco affords a particularly rich case for analyzing the political culture of modern Latin America. Cuzco-based movements led the initial struggles against Spanish domination and, after independence was won, against

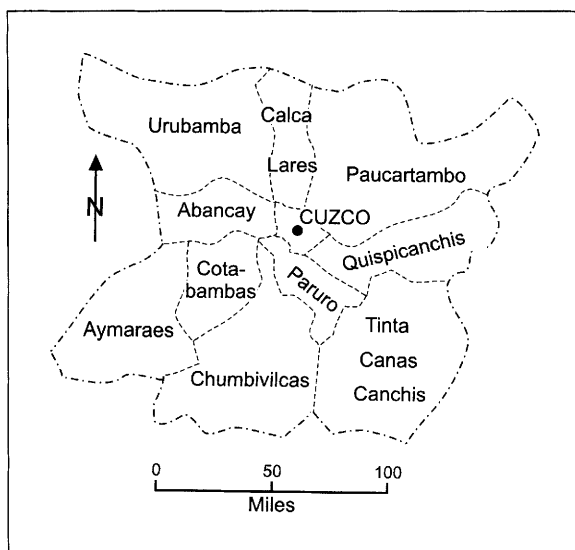




# 1. Southern Peru

efforts to centralize power in the capital, Lima.<sup>18</sup> These movements proposed diverse counterhegemonic ideological projects, all of them involving an Andean utopia. By invoking the Inca Empire, people in Cuzco attempted to create alternatives to colonialism as well as to coastal domination. These “invented traditions” ranged from revolutionary change, with Indians at the top of the social pyramid, to Incan monarchism—with an “Inca” replacing the Bourbon king, but social hierarchies otherwise remaining in place.<sup>19</sup> These diverse projects failed not only because of opposition in Lima and other regions but because of the tensions and disagreements between Cuzco’s urban population, particularly mestizos, and the rural Indian majority. Nonetheless, I show that even if not put into practice, these projects shaped efforts to build a postcolonial state and define who were to be deemed citizens. Gamarra himself incorporated the Incas into his discourse. In fact, I examine the transition of Inca revivalism from a revolutionary platform during the Tupac Amaru uprising to one that bolstered a conservative caudillo in the early republic.

Second at this time only to Lima in terms of population and of economic and political power, the city and region of Cuzco were at the



## 2. Cuzco in the Eighteenth Century

forefront of the anticolonial uprisings, the caudillo wars, and the tensions between coastal Lima and the Andes. In 1827, the department of Cuzco had approximately 250,000 people, up to 40,000 of them living in the city of Cuzco. Peru as a whole had a population of about 1.5 million.<sup>20</sup> Bounded by the upper provinces (*provincias altas*) to the south, the Amazon basin to the east and north, and Ayacucho and Arequipa to the west, the department consisted of eleven provinces, including the province of the city of Cuzco. The political boundaries of Cuzco—what in 1784 became the intendancy and in 1824 the department of Cuzco—have remained largely the same from the late eighteenth century until today, with only minor changes to the south and the west.<sup>21</sup> The political analysis at times spills over from the communities, towns, and city of Cuzco to include other areas of Peru and Bolivia, thus demonstrating the benefits of a regionally focused study that keeps both local and national societies in sight.

Most accounts of Cuzco past and present emphasize three distinct areas: the majestic city of Cuzco with its Inca “ruins” next to and under Spanish churches and colonial architecture; the imposing mountain ranges and narrow valleys running north and south; and the “exotic”

Amazon jungle to the east. More specifically, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the region was divided into approximately half a dozen production zones, mainly according to altitude and proximity to markets. Livestock was raised in the high ranges in the upper provinces in the districts of Chumbivilcas, Cotabambas, and Canas y Canchis to the south, most of which are at least 4,000 meters (13,125 feet) above sea level. The region surrounding Cuzco—the districts of Anta, Paruro, Quispicanchis, Urubamba, and Calca y Lares—was noted for its grain production, the latter providing much of the Cuzco market.<sup>22</sup> The fertile valleys surrounding the city of Cuzco supplied foodstuffs, and mills located primarily in Quispicanchis and in Abancay to the northwest produced the region's textiles.<sup>23</sup> Sugar was grown primarily in the western districts of Abancay and Aymaraes. Paucartambo, particularly the areas bordering the jungle, was the center of coca cultivation, although production from Urubamba and Calca y Lares increased in the eighteenth century. In the early republic, the lowlands to the east (referred to as the "frontier of the savage Indians" in the maps of the period) remained largely in the hands of Amazon peoples with cultures distinct from highland Indians as well as from the Spanish-speaking population.<sup>24</sup>

Between Lima and Upper Peru (which became Bolivia in 1825), the region of Cuzco maintained important ties to the coast as well as to other Andean areas. Cuzco producers marketed most of their sugar and textiles in Upper Peru, particularly the mining city of Potosí. Muleteers returned with a variety of goods—above all, mules. Cuzco merchants also traded actively with Arequipa, Ayacucho, and Lima. These circuits, as well as more localized ones, centered on the constant traffic on the Royal Highway along the Vilcanota River. Commerce was not the sole link with other regions. Several important religious pilgrimages brought Andean people together.<sup>25</sup> Mail routes give an idea of the distance from other regions. In 1834, three routes linked Cuzco with the outside. Mail carriers left Cuzco twice a month for each route: the five-day trip to Arequipa; the week-long journey south to Puno, where mail from Bolivia was gathered; and the all-important thirteen-day trip to Lima. To reach Lima, the carriers proceeded to Ayacucho to the northeast and from there down to the coast.<sup>26</sup>

Socially, the division between Indians and non-Indians shaped Cuzco society more than anything else in this period. In fact, at the heart of

this study are the racial dichotomies that persisted and even strengthened in the republic. In 1827, approximately 75 percent of Cuzco's population was Indian. They constituted approximately half of the city of Cuzco's population.<sup>27</sup> In 1845, 84 percent of the Indians registered in the tax rolls lived in communities—some located in the city of Cuzco—and the remaining 16 percent in haciendas.<sup>28</sup> The boundaries between Indians and non-Indians were by no means impermeable.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, people in Cuzco constantly used the term *Indian* to refer to the Quechua-speaking inhabitants of the Andes, rural and urban.

Who was an Indian? Centuries of miscegenation and cultural crossing meant that physical appearance or phenotype was not an adequate marker of "Indianness." Cultural markers included the Quechua language, simple clothing, a potato-dependent diet, rustic production techniques, and adobe housing. Authorities in the late colonial and early republican periods actually employed a number of words to refer to the indigenous rural population: *naturales* (naturals), *peruanos* (Peruvians), and more often *indios* (Indians). For the state, *Indian* was ultimately a fiscal category. Authorities espoused a tautological definition of what constituted an Indian: one who paid the Indian head tax and, in colonial times, fulfilled a series of other obligations, such as *la mita*, the labor draft. With a few exceptions such as the *caciques* (the ethnic authorities) and priests' assistants, all male Indians between the age of eighteen and fifty paid the tax, whereas non-Indians were exempt. Until its abolition in 1854, the head tax anchored racial definitions in Peru. In the period of study, Indians did not reject this category en masse. Although people challenged Peru's racial categories and used divergent understandings of what being an Indian meant, non-Indians and Indians themselves constantly used the term *Indian*. Independence did not weaken the bifurcation of Peru into Indians and non-Indians.<sup>30</sup> In Peru, the lines dividing Indians and non-Indians were more sharply drawn than in the other center of colonial Spanish America, Mexico, and intermediate groups, although important, were comparatively less significant.<sup>31</sup>

The other end of the social spectrum, the elite, changed from 1780 to 1840. Many of the region's prominent merchants and hacienda owners were ambitious Spanish immigrants who had arrived in Cuzco in the eighteenth century. They established business and political networks by marrying into powerful families and lending money to and paying bonds for colonial authorities. Like their brethren throughout the continent,

they managed a diversified portfolio, centering their interests in the city of Cuzco. A search for Cuzco's dominant class takes us to the neighborhoods around the Plaza de Armas, the central plaza, rather than into the haciendas throughout the region. Yet the leading families in 1780—the Ocampo, Ugarte, Guisasola, La Madrid, and Gutiérrez, among others—did not dominate Cuzco fifty years later.<sup>32</sup> The violent Tupac Amaru rebellion, the decline of the Upper Peru-Bolivia market, the defeat of the Spanish, and other factors led many of them to emigrate. This book examines who replaced them and why, and it follows the rise of a new group that weathered or even profited from the long War of Independence and forged ties with Gamarra and other political leaders.

Defining the two social extremes of colonial society, Indians and elites, is relatively easy. Intermediate groups pose greater problems. Although Cuzco had a scant black population, the mestizo population was large, making up almost a quarter of the region's population. These diverse people appear throughout this book. Individuals located economically, culturally, and politically “between” the Spanish and Indians—such as merchants who did not have the contacts or capital of the elite and residents of the small towns along the Royal Highway and the poorer neighborhoods of Cuzco city—participated as leaders and followers in the Tupac Amaru and Pumacahua rebellions. After independence, legislators recognized this group by including them in the head tax, as *castas*. Although this new tax encompassed all non-Indians, including affluent merchants and landowners, it affected mostly poor rural workers with a variety of occupations. Opposing political factions in postindependence Cuzco frequently clashed over the place of mestizos in the republic. I pay particular attention to the role of cultural brokers—caciques, parish priests, and muleteers, in particular—who mediated between Indian society and regional and national politics. This perspective illuminates clashing and changing notions about race and society at the center of Peru's difficult transition from colony to republic.

#### ORGANIZATION

From November 1780 to April 1781, the Tupac Amaru rebels controlled most of southern Peru, nearly taking Cuzco. The rebellion, the subject of chapter 2, stretched from its base in Tinta, just south of Cuzco, to what is today northern Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and much of Peru.

Rebels destroyed textile mills and estates, banished and occasionally murdered authorities, and in some areas created an alternative state. In all, up to one hundred thousand people died. Closely following the course of the rebellion, I underline its protonational platform. Although multiple ideological currents such as Enlightenment thought, neo-Inca revivalism, and disgruntlement over the Bourbon reforms nourished this rebellion, the leadership emphasized the bonds between all native-born Peruvians and the need to expel the Spanish. Social and racial divisions, however, undermined this platform, as the colonial state's portrayal of the rebellion as a caste war reinforced its military efforts. Although the Peruvian community of Creoles, mestizos, Indians, and blacks envisioned by Tupac Amaru shared an opposition to Spanish rule, they also mistrusted one another, which marked or marred future state formation efforts as well.

The defeat of the uprising and the brutal execution of its leaders signaled difficult times for the rebellion's mass base, Cuzco's Indian population. The state sanctioned harsh anti-Indian measures; ideologues condemned Indians for their backwardness and violence; and local authorities challenged their political autonomy. However, as chapter 3 shows, the colonial state failed to "reconquer" the region after the defeat of the rebels. The state could not greatly increase the tax burden it exacted or dissolve the autonomy enjoyed by caciques, local Indian authorities, because it was reticent to invest in a more effective administrative system. Moreover, fear of another uprising and the region's stagnant economy discouraged the state and non-Indians, who vividly remembered the Tupac Amaru uprising, from attempting to usurp Indians' land and exploit their labor. Above all, I analyze Indians' efforts, especially their use of the legal system, to thwart both the state and interlopers. These lawsuits indicate that local power relations varied greatly from community to community, with some caciques remaining in power and others being replaced by Indians and non-Indians. The difficulties that the Bourbon authorities encountered both foreshadowed and shaped the postcolonial impasse between the state and indigenous peasants. Neither the colonial nor the republican state could impose its will on the Andean peasantry.

From the Tupac Amaru uprising until the Pumacahua rebellion (1814–15), the southern Andes were the site of numerous Indian-based uprisings. After 1815, however, the center of the struggle for indepen-

dence shifted to the coast and Lima. At this point, patriot forces had to rely on foreign generals, José de San Martín of Argentina and Simón Bolívar of Venezuela, to lead the fight against the Spanish. Chapter 4 examines this riddle by reviewing Peru's long War of Independence, 1808–24, from the perspective of Cuzco. I show that by 1815 social divisions had crippled the movements based in the southern Andes. At this point, the Indian population had not only been ravaged by war but also found their hopes dashed. Disillusionment set in. Not only do I highlight many peoples' attachment to Spanish rule; I show that people in the southern Andes contemplated, and in some cases fought for, other alternatives such as Inca revivalism and reformed modes of monarchism, refashioning these alternatives according to their political traditions and goals. Contrary to the Whiggish and nationalist historiography, the replacement of Spanish rule with a republican system was not inevitable.

Chapter 5 studies caudillismo and postindependence state formation by examining Agustín Gamarra's coalition in his native Cuzco. After switching from the Spanish to the patriot army in 1821, he became a general, Cuzco's first prefect, and twice president of Peru. In Cuzco, Gamarra created a heterogeneous coalition. Using the military, the militias, and the subprefect office to foster loyalty and disseminate his program, he gained the support of military officers, influential priests, local Indian authorities, and much of Cuzco's common people. His movement created an authoritarian ideology that stressed Cuzco's claim to political and economic preeminence based on its former role as the center of the Inca Empire and its importance during the colony. In addressing the why and how of caudillismo, I stress the social complexity of his coalition, the important connections between local, regional, and national political movements, and the need to take seriously the ideological debates of the period.

Chapter 6 examines how caudillo politics worked on the ground and how political culture changed after independence in the city of Cuzco. I explore the public sphere—specifically, the press, festivities, and military campaigns and intrigues. People debated and fought over control of the state and the relationship between the republican state and civil society. Although only a small minority of Cuzco's population was literate and both major parties postulated a restricted notion of politics, these debates and struggles over the state involved surprisingly broad sections of urban society, including the illiterate. In studying how politi-

cal groups communicated their platform in the press and the streets, I contrast Gamarra's success in creating a regional coalition to his liberal opponents' failure to build a Cuzco-specific program. By incorporating the adoration of the Incas into his program, Gamarra drew from the most significant political symbol of the region. Because of their aversion to monarchism, which they associated with the Incas, and their emphasis on European ideologues, liberals could not ground their efforts in such a vivid historical precedent. Gamarra's success in building a broad coalition steeped in local customs and linked to a national movement provides important clues regarding the endurance of authoritarianism in modern Spanish America.

In the final chapter, I focus on the central question confronting Peru's postindependence politicians: what should be done with the Indian majority? The strapped republican state quickly reinstated the Indian head tax, thus resurrecting the keystone of Spanish colonialism and racial divisions in the Andes. Non-Indian authorities emphasized the backwardness of Indians and their lack of interest in politics, thereby justifying their own exploitative intrusions. Once again, however, the state could not impose its will in the countryside. On the one hand, the unstable nature of the state and Cuzco's declining economy hindered the neocolonial efforts of the Gamarristas. Political turmoil impeded authorities from establishing themselves, while continuing economic stagnation decreased demand for Indians' land and labor. On the other hand, Indians themselves negotiated improved conditions. In essence, they paid the head tax and received some political autonomy and special rights as landholders. Ultimately, even Gamarra could not bridge the division between Indian and non-Indian societies. His failure to recruit Indians for his military campaigns, as evident in the Battle of Yanacocha (1836), led to his demise and epitomized the enduring gulf between the republic of Indians and the republic of Peru.



## 2 THE TUPAC AMARU REBELLION: PROTONATIONALISM AND INCA REVIVALISM

From 1780 to 1783 the largest rebellion in Spanish American colonial history rocked the Andean region. Initially based in Cuzco, the uprising was felt in an area stretching from modern-day Argentina to Colombia. The Tupac Amaru stage lasted a little more than half a year, at which point the center of rebellion shifted to Upper Peru, what is today Bolivia. The rebels nearly overthrew Spanish colonial power and in doing so radically altered relations among the state, the elite, and the indigenous peasantry. Along with the Spanish Conquest, the uprising constitutes the most discussed phenomenon in Peruvian history and today is remembered and venerated by a variety of groups and organizations.

Despite the enormity of the rebellion and the considerable attention it has received from scholars, the aims and significance of the Tupac Amaru movement remain open to debate. There is no unequivocal answer to the question, What were the objectives of the rebels? Some historians have interpreted the rebellion as a mass antecedent to the War of Independence that would take place in the early nineteenth century. Others have emphasized its Inca ideology, depicting it as a revivalist or messianic movement. Others have not looked so far forward or backward in time, but instead have placed it within the colonial tradition of negotiated political rights. Part of the interpretative problem lies in the ambiguity of the leaders' platform as well as in the breach between their rhetoric and the insurgents' activities. In most of his proclamations and letters, Tupac Amaru advocated a broad, multiethnic movement that sought to cast off the more exploitative practices of colonialism as well

as the European exploiters themselves. He claimed to act in the name of the king and the Catholic Church and recruited the support of not only Indians but Creoles, mestizos, and blacks. He never specified what type of polity would replace Spanish colonialism. Although the leadership sought the support of non-Indians, thus emphasizing the movement's breadth and restraint, Indian insurgents often contradicted these efforts by sacking or burning estates owned by Creoles and attacking a broadly defined enemy: those people not considered Indians. These two intimately related features of the uprising—the vagueness of Tupac Amaru's platform and the tensions between a multiethnic and an "Indian" movement—came to the fore repeatedly during the rebellion and help to explain its demise.

An analysis of the Tupac Amaru rebellion can benefit from and contribute to debates about nationalism and colonialism. Most definitions of nationalism emphasize the existence of a unique body of people and the attempt to attain political gains for this body or nation.<sup>1</sup> The Tupac Amaru uprising fulfills the first condition and, as this chapter argues, the more questionable second one. Tupac Amaru addressed his movement to a coalition of social groups perhaps most easily defined in negative terms as all those not Spanish or European. He strove to include mestizos, Creoles, and blacks in his movement, emphasizing their union as native-born peoples mistreated by the Spanish. On the second point, however, the applicability of the concept of nationalism to the rebellion is not so clear. He never specified what form of government would replace the Spanish and combined seemingly contradictory elements such as Inca monarchism, "traditional" colonial practice, and hints of Enlightenment thought. Nonetheless, there is little doubt about his immediate objective: to demolish Bourbon colonialism.

The use of the concept of nationalism for an Indian-based movement in the Andes in the eighteenth century stretches its usual chronological, geographical, and social applications. Tupac Amaru rose forty-five years prior to the independence of Peru and before the nation-state predominated in Western Europe. Moreover, the movement was defeated and thus never put into practice its nationalist project. Therefore, the prefix *proto* must be attached to the terms *national* and *nationalist* to describe the movement. A variety of scholars have questioned whether nationalism could exist prior to nations. Although they recognize the cultural manifestations of broad-based identity, they note that these stirrings

were not translated into political action.<sup>2</sup> Today, most scholars emphasize the imagined or constructed nature of “the nation” and present it as a discourse grounded in a mythical past propagated by statemakers and their ideologues, rather than as some type of enduring, primordial legacy. In this view, nationalism followed the nation-state. Nonetheless, these “imagined communities” did not develop out of a vacuum, but rather from the reworking of various notions of identity and community.<sup>3</sup> Tupac Amaru embodied a form of protonationalism anchored in the Andes and the Indian population. This program contrasted with the platform of the Creole-led movement for independence and with the ideology of the postcolonial state. This chapter highlights these differences, and argues that the concept of a Peruvian nation needs to be pluralized.<sup>4</sup> The book follows the tangled relationship between Andean-based and Creole nationalisms.

In recent decades, numerous scholars and schools have attempted to free the examination of nationalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America from the constraints of a model largely developed for and in Europe.<sup>5</sup> Although the rich scholarship on anticolonial movements in Asia and Africa offers a sharp critique of Europe-centric perspectives and fascinating comparisons for Latin America, it is not easily transferable to Latin America, however. Again, timing is essential. Independence in Latin America came in the early nineteenth century, but in Africa and Asia not until the twentieth.<sup>6</sup> In general, the first great wave of nation building—independence in Spanish America in the early nineteenth century—has not been sufficiently examined in the literature on nationalism and (anti)colonialism.<sup>7</sup> The analysis of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru can shed light on this process.

#### PRECURSOR, INCA, OR TRADITIONALIST?

#### TUPAC AMARU AND HISTORIANS

The uncertainty about the nature of the Tupac Amaru movement reflects the highly ideological nature of its treatment by historians. The uprising has been at the forefront of diverse interpretations and debates about Peru’s past, present, and future. No period has featured as prominently in the debates about what is Peru and why it is so highly divided than the years of the War of Independence, when insurgents in Peru had to rely on foreign armies to defeat the Spanish. The analysis of the