

REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN IN THE INDIGENOUS REVOLT OF 1783, PERU

In 18th-century colonial Peru, Felipe Tupac Inca Yupanqui, claiming to be related to Tupac Amaru II, the head of the large but unsuccessful 1780 uprising against the Spanish Crown, leads with the same goal an indigenous rebellion in the province of Huarochirí. His attempts are unsuccessful and he is arrested and trialled in Lima in 1783 for his treason, along those who helped him. Among these are two women, Felipe's common-law wife Manuela Marticorena and Maria Rodriguez, who sheltered Felipe in her house with her husband while he was hiding from the soldiers trying to arrest him in Lima.

The goal of this research is to shed light onto the role of these two women in the revolt as well as their fate after the trial which condemned them both, by gaining more knowledge about the place they were sent to, the Beaterio de las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción in Lima. Their role in the revolt, albeit not leaders, is crucial to Felipe's undertaking, and was already understood as such as they had been led to court to explain their actions, the only two women alongside Felipe's accomplices: their example can help us see how women judged guilty of complicity in a crime were dealt with and perceived at the end of the 18th century in Peru.

Being little to no published research about Manuela and Maria most of my findings are original archival work, and I focus on these two women during the first part; there have been some works mentioning the beaterio, but there has not been any in-depth study focusing solely on the story of this institution from its foundation in the 17th century to its disappearance in the 20th century¹, which is my focus in the second part of this report.

¹ There are several articles doing an overview of the story of the beaterio : Van Deusen (2001) deals with it from foundation to 1730s (pp. 144-151) The journal *El Mercurio* (1792) in its general overview goes up to 1770, and Pina's article (2018) does a general overview of the place in relation to its occupation of what is today the Peruvian national school of fine arts.

I - MANUELA MARTICORENA AND MARIA RODRIGUEZ IN THE 1783 REVOLT

A word on the revolt and Felipe Tupac Inca Yupanqui

Very little has been written concerning the revolt led by Felipe Velasco, also known as Felipe Tupac Inca Yupanqui²: we know that he was an indigenous man who claimed to be related to and sent by Tupac Amaru II to raise troops against the Spanish Crown. The latter had led the most prominent indigenous revolt in Peru a few years before in 1780, and had been violently tortured and executed for his treason to the viceroy and king³. By claiming that Amaru was still alive and trying to restart a rebellion movement, Felipe presented himself as a middle man between a figure who would be already becoming a symbol of independence, and a people tired of the Spanish oppression.

The revolt itself is considered as “a last sputter of the great fire that swept the Andes in 1780-82” (Spalding 1984, p.290): these were the last movements of indigenous uprising against the Crown, but they show a wish of emancipation which culminated in the next decades in Peru’s war of Independence (1821-1824). In the case of the Huarochirí revolt, Felipe called to arms on May 31st 1783 and was arrested in June: the trial took place the same month, with the judgement decided in early July. The events of the revolt itself unfolded and were stopped quickly (which is also why it was not as pivotal as Tupac Amaru’s), with authorities realising the urgent need to cut short any new forms of rebellious movements after 1782.

Manuela and Maria: their role in the revolt

² This revolt is mentioned briefly in Walker (2014, pp.247-249) ; the only article focused on it is by Sala i Vila (1995)

³ For more information on the revolt, see : Walker, C. 2014. *The Tupac Amaru rebellion*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Felipe shared his life with Manuela Marticorena (also known as Manuela de Marticorena y Elizalde Gutierrez⁴). She lived in Lima, from where she corresponded with Felipe, doing what he asked her to and sending him reports, as well as attending meetings for him. Her letters are tender and talk about her love for him, and she also talks about her children, as if to remind him of his domestic duties in the midst of the reports for his cause⁵. Their daughter, Lorenza, had been placed in the Beaterio de las Amparadas for her education⁶, which at the time had a school for indigenous girls and was only a block away from Manuela's house on the plaza de la Buena Muerte⁷.

One of her letters to Felipe in March 1783, written with her usual tenderness, lists all the things she has done which he requested, while also taking care of his business because he had left Lima to find more men to join his cause. She is aware of being kept in the dark concerning his true plans ("aun que usted me tiene a mi en el templo del olvido pues no me comunica en nada")⁸. However, this seems to change after a confrontation between them: Felipe expects her, as a mestiza, to attend the meetings he sets in their house⁹, and she becomes more aware of the plans formed by Ciriaco and Felipe - although she repeats in the trial not suspecting them of actually putting their plans into action. That is because, in spite of the glimpses she got of the preparation of the revolt, both Ciriaco and Felipe in their confessions admitted to hiding things from her, to avoid causing her distress, and that her actions were motivated by her love for

⁴ Marticorena Carreiro, G. 2004.

⁵ Cuaderno 1, pp. 42-44.

⁶ AGN, Temporalidades, leg. 342, expediente 29, 1780. There is a cruel irony in Manuela sending her daughter to this establishment, which, because it also received criminal women, will also shelter her a few years later as punishment for her involvement in Felipe's revolt.

⁷ Personal comm. Sabine Hyland.

⁸ Cuaderno 1, pp. 42 :« even though you leave me in the dark as you do not tell me anything » (all translation are my own.

⁹ Cuaderno 2, 294

Felipe. Indeed, a couple of months later, informed by Ciriaco that her husband was presenting himself as Tupac Amaru and that a rebellion was getting closer, Manuela went to the village of San Mateo de Otao, accompanied by Maria, to try to discourage him, as Manuela must have been afraid of the reprisals Felipe could face. They found him there on May 13th 1783, and asked him to change his habits, even suggesting he moved away and changed his name to avoid reprisals: however, Felipe put the blame on Ciriaco, saying his bad influence is the reason of his actions - and Manuela throughout the trial continuously puts the blame on his right-hand man.¹⁰

The only other woman trialled in this cause was Maria (also known Maria de la Cruz Rodriguez de Almendras). She was the wife of Nicolas Almendras, a shoemaker, and they lived close to Manuela in Lima. Maria was brought before the Royal Court because her husband helped Felipe escape the royal guard by hiding him in their house for several days. However, contrary to Manuela, the transcript of her confession seems to indicate that she was unaware, or at least confused about the true nature of the man she was helping. She repeats during the trial that she was not aware of who Felipe was or what he had been doing before, only admitting to knowing Manuela because she was a customer of hers and she had seen her several times. She also admits to having seen Manuela with Ciriaco, at the time ignoring his identity. However, her testimony and her husband being different on too many points (Maria at one point says that she was even unaware that the man was in their house, contradicting earlier statements, and she does not mention the trip made with Manuela to San Martin), Maria was judged in the same way as Manuela for her involvement, albeit unintentional, in the rebellion.

Maria and Manuela: their fate after the trial

¹⁰ Cuaderno 2, p288.

In the end, the trial condemned both women to the same punishment: they are to be exiled to a beaterio for 10 years, and to be forever to a distance of 20 leagues from Lima after their stay in the beaterio¹¹. Before being sent to the beaterio, they were forced to watch the execution and torture of Felipe in the Plaza de Armas de Lima, while Maria saw her husband being sent away to Africa¹².

Both women were sent to the Beaterio de las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción: this place was then used to receive women looking for spiritual retreat, but it was also a place of imprisonment for “scandalous” and criminal women. Their sentence was decided in July of 1783, and the last traces we have of the two of them are a few months after only.

In late August 1783, a request is made in Manuela’s name, mentioning her physical suffering (“No necesito significar a su Señoria las incomodidades y padecimientos que sufre esta infeliz en su prision por que esto se manifesta a lera vista”¹³), but also her turmoil concerning her children. She asks for her clothes and belongings to be sent to her, for a suitable guardian for her son Manuel, and for her daughter Lorenza to be sent to the beaterio with her.

It seems like these requests were not fulfilled, as we have a letter from the Mother Superior of the beaterio dating from October 1783 which makes no mention of the daughter, and also notes how she is still wearing the rags she came with. It does, however, give a grim overlook at the daily life of Maria and Manuela in the beaterio¹⁴: they were not given beds and slept on the floor, and as the beaterio did not enough money to sustain them, they must not have been eating properly. Moreover, Maria was examined by the surgeon of the beaterio who diagnosed her

¹¹ Cuaderno 3, p.548.

¹² Described in Zudaire (1979, p.434).

¹³ P.820 carnet (“I do not need to specify to your Honour the inconvenients and sufferings that this wretched one is affected by in her prison, as this is evident at first glance”).

¹⁴ A full transcription of the letter can be found in the appendix.

with a chancre (usually the first sign of syphilis). The mother superior asks for her to be moved to the Hospital of the Incurables to avoid her infection spreading to other women, and so that she might receive proper care. She also asks for Manuela to be removed from her care (either sent to the beaterio de Copacabana, “which suits her people”, i.e. was reserved for indigenous people, or to the Hospital Santa Ana, to take care of others); she considers both of them to be bad influences for the other beatas and young girls coming to study in this religious space.

This is the last trace of both Maria and Manuela in records: we do not know if they did stay in the beaterio or were transferred to another hospital as the mother superior requested.¹⁵ If they were still living in such awful situations, especially in Maria’s weakened state, it would not be unexpected to learn that they both passed away soon after, in spite of their young age.¹⁶

¹⁵ Due to my limited time in Peru, I did not manage to find the archives of these three places to see if they ever admitted the two women, and I was unable to find more archives of the Beaterio (see more on this in the second part).

¹⁶ Personal commentary, Dr Sabine Hyland: they were both around 30years old at the time of the trial.

II - BEATERIO DE LAS AMPARADAS DE LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION: A TUMULTUOUS HISTORY (1670-1868)

The place where Maria and Manuela were sent, the Beaterio de las Amparadas de la Purísima Concepción, officially opened in 1670, had a very turbulent history in the City of the Kings. Founded to shelter “lost women” of Lima, this community suffered several moves because of natural catastrophes, a constant lack of fund and the questionable intervention of another religious community in their history.

I decided to focus part of my research to this beaterio once realising that its full story had never been covered in depth. The research is made even more difficult by the number of different names used to refer to this establishment (ranging from its official name to “Casa de las Recogidas” to “Recogimiento de las Amparadas” and everything in between) as well as the scattering of information and documents in several archives, when not completely absent, due to the organisation’s turbulent history and continuous moves during its 200 years of existence.

THE ORIGIN AND OPENING OF THE HOUSE (16th and 17th century)

Although previous viceroys of Peru (among them, Luis de Velasco and Marques de Montesclaros¹⁷) had already expressed the need their society felt for a recogimiento¹⁸ and had taken some steps towards its completion, actual plans for it did not began to shape until the Jesuit priest Francisco del Castillo, who tried to interest the viceroys of Peru in such a project from the 1650s. The lack of funds impeded the realisation of the recogimiento, until the arrival of the viceroy Conde de Lemos: the beaterio finally opened on March 21st of 1670. The location

¹⁷ Among them, Luis de Velasco (Mannarelli 2007, p.206) and Marques de Montesclaros (Martin 1989, p.164).

¹⁸ House of women ‘recogidas’ in order to « protect them from the contamination of the world; or conversely, to separate those women labeled as licentious and sexually immoral from others. » (Van Deusen 2001, p.270).

they had chosen for the recogimiento was neighbouring the house of don Gonzalo de la Maza: this was where Santa Rosa de Lima¹⁹ had passed away in 1617, in the house of her protector, and this location would later on be a source of problems for the amparadas.

The house was run as a recogimiento, but also a beaterio²⁰ (which is why documents often talk of the same institution under slightly different names). From its foundation, del Castillo's house served two purposes: a respite from the outside world for women who needed it, but also a way of containing those who were perceived as being as outside of the rest of society. The beaterio was a common place in which women stayed when they stopped belonging to society's clear female categories of the time: if they were not taking vows nor married, they became alien to a society which did not know what to make of them: it thus became a popular place for women going through divorces.

Up to then, although accepting different classes of women entering the beaterio for various reasons, the entry to the beaterio seems to have been voluntary: this changes in the 1690s, with the virrey Conde de la Monclova. He adds to the duties of the beaterio to receive prostitutes and "scandalous women" of Lima, using the beaterio as an available space. With so many additions, both voluntary and imposed with correctional purposes, by 1708 the beaterio had over 200 women living in it. From then on and for the rest of its history, the beaterio struggled financially, already finding it difficult to provide to all their needs with so many beatas and only relying on alms and the government, with the new input of "scandalous women", who neither the Church nor their own families were sending money for. However, this problem was almost inconsequential compared to what happened to them in the 18th century.

19 Santa Rosa de Lima was the first canonized saint of the Americas (1671), and had before that been declared the patron of the city of Lima (1669) and of the whole Americas (1670). She is still to this day one of the most important and celebrated saints in Peru.

20 A beaterio is « a community or house of women living under informal religious vows » (Van Deusen 2002, p.269).

A TROUBLED PERIOD: DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SANTA ROSA MONASTERY - 1708 TO 1771

As mentioned previously, the beaterio was built right next to the house where Santa Rosa de Lima had spent her last weeks and passed away. By 1708, Santa Rosa had been canonized and patron of Lima and the Americas for almost 40 years now, and the group of women wanting to live in her legacy that had been established at that time, known by the name of beatas de Santa Rosa, was growing by the day. They had a beaterio from 1669 in houses near the birthplace of the saint²¹, but it was then too small for the convent they wanted to become. They also had the support from various prominent members of the city who wanted to promote the cult of the saint, as well as create a prestigious convent for their daughters, judging the Beaterio de las Amparadas to be unfit for them because of the kind of women it received. They seem to have been dissatisfied with the location of their current beaterio, away from the rest of the monasteries, and close to the Rimac river which they deemed prejudicial to their health²². In spite of the bad reputation of the Amparadas, it then appeared as the perfect option for their own institution.

The eviction of the Amparadas was made secretly, without even the knowledge of the administrator of the beaterio de las Rosas, Francisco de Oyague, as it happened while he was absent: and without his consent²³. Forced to go back to their homes if they had them or the streets, some were welcomed in the houses of neighbours pitying their situation: by 1717, only four had kept the name of Amparadas, and they did not stop fighting for the reestablishment of their beaterio. Seeing that their efforts with the Viceroy Castel-dos-rius were vain (as he had approved of the foundation of the Monasterio de Santa Rosa) they went past him and managed

²¹ today known as the Convento and Santuario de Santa Rosa.

²² Van Deusen 2001, p.149.

²³ BNP, C3823, 1710, "Información dada por parte de Sgto Mayor D. Francisco de Oyague..." 1r, 5r-5v.

to reach the king. In the royal decree of May 26th 1717, king Felipe V appointed to them the house of Don Bernardo de las Heras, “the same one that the beatas Rosas had occupied before setting up the monastery, and ordered the restitution of the remaining possessions they have been deprived of.” (*Mercurio Peruano* 1792, p.246). A few years after, in 1735, they were put in a place “the same in size to the one they used to have, as well as the treasures and goods that up to then had been kept from them”²⁴. Still, the beaterio never managed to recover from its altercation with the Monasterio de Santa Rosa, and its reputation was tarnished forever.

A SEMBLANCE OF RESPITE - 1766 TO 1834

The year 1766 seems to bring hope again to the beaterio, almost a century after its creation. In the Royal Decree of July 23rd 1766, King Carlos III assigns a perpetual funding of 2000 pesos to it as well as the Ramo de Suertes (the income from a tax on gambling²⁵) for them to get a new local. In 1769, the Virrey Manuel de Amat y Junyent appointed to them the local left by the Padres de la Congregación de San Felipe Neri, and on January 6th 1770 the Amparadas entered this new place.

By the end of the century, this new local allowed the beaterio to start flourishing again, at least in the number of women it received: barely 34 in their former house, by 1795 we count 168 women²⁶. Among them were the two women previously studied, Manuela Marticorena and

²⁴ Fuentes 1866, p.297: "se asigno á las recojidas otro sitio igual en extension al que poseian y las alhajas y bienes que hasta esa fecha se habian conservado."

I was unable to find where exactly that new place was in Lima: the documents and articles talking about the beaterio at that time do not precise its location. Looking at maps of the city from that time (Source), it might be the establishment referred to as the “Concepcion: a monastery of recollects” and “La Concepcion Reco-on” in maps from 1744 and 1755, which would place them in what is today the Monasterio de Madres Carmelitas Descalzas de Lima.

²⁵ Warren 2010 p.47.

²⁶ Avilés y del Fierro, G. & C. Romero, 1901, p.17

Maria Rodriguez. The letter from the Mother Superior talking about them also shows her exasperation at having to receive them, and she laments how the usage previously was to send criminal women to hospitals rather than her beaterio, where they disturbed the public order of the house.

In the 19th century, as for many beaterios across Lima, began its decline: people dismissed them, no longer seeing them as a necessary institution in moral terms, and drastic measures made by the archbishop in 1804 drove women away from the beaterio²⁷. Moreover, the beginnings of the Republic with Peru's independence in 1821 also marked a shift in the organisation of the city. In 1834, the Sociedad de Beneficiencia Publica de Lima is created with the goal of helping those with "limited resources, the sick and the elderly"²⁸. They are put in charge of the charitable establishments of the city, among which the Beaterio de las Amparadas. With this in mind, a school for girls is transferred into a part of the beaterio in 1838²⁹: the Amparadas find their space being slowly reduced to welcome new institutions, like in 1857 again with the opening of a labour room. By the time of his report in 1858, Fuentes estimates the Beaterio to be reaching its "full disappearance"³⁰.

²⁷ Ibid, p.17: In 1804, wishing to see the state of the Beaterio for himself, the archbishop Domingo Gonzales Reguera went to the beaterio for a surprise visit. What he finds is a place for women to roam freely, entering and leaving the house as they wished, "and with such happiness that it did not look at all like a house of recogimiento".

²⁸ "Esta institución, con casi dos siglos de antigüedad, fue creada con el fin de servir a personas de escasos recursos, enfermos y ancianos. En general, todo aquel desamparado que lo necesite y que esté ubicado en los sectores vulnerables de la sociedad." (<https://www.beneficiadelima.org/nosotros/historia>)

²⁹ Two notices concerning the creation of the school in 1838 can be found in (Oviedo 1862, p.41).

³⁰ Fuentes (1866, p.300) also includes the report made in 1857 of members of the Beneficiencia reviewing it and asking for its closure, as the beaterio was supporting at the time 62 people (out of which only 9 beatas), and admitting that this life style was disappearing as well, proof of it being that no new beata had joined the Amparadas in 36 years at this point.

The exact date of closure is unclear³¹. However, Rabi puts its end at 1868³², and there are mentions of it having been closed by the early 1870s³³. Indeed, the house used by the Amparadas in the 18th and 19th century welcomed in the 20th century (and up to this day) the National School of Fine Arts³⁴. The remaining Amparadas might have gone to other convents or gone back to secular life, and without a drive to find a new space again like after the Santa Rosa affair, the Beaterio de las Amparadas finally closed its doors in the 1860s.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to shed light and understand the complex story of Manuela Marticorena and Maria Rodriguez, as well as the history of the Beaterio de las Amparadas. There is every year more interest and acknowledgement of the often-forgotten roles of women in Peruvian history: for example, the role of Manuela in the revolt was recognised in the 1980s with a street being named after her in the district of San Miguel in Lima³⁵. As for the beaterio, thanks to the 100th anniversary of ENSABAP, some people have started getting more interested by this institution with a troubled story, and I am looking into giving it more attention by sharing my findings with ProLima³⁶ and creating a Wikipedia page for it to make it more easily findable for others.

³¹ Due to the moving nature of the beaterio, I was unable to find the location of its archives after the 16th century: while there were some documents in the AGN, most documents must have been kept in the same place, but neither the religious ones (AAL) nor the ones in charge of the beaterio in Republican Peru (Beneficiencia) seem to have any trace of it.

³² Mannarelli (2007 p.529) mentions a conference given by Rabi in 1999 about the Beaterio de las Amparadas.

³³ Several notices in *El Peruano* (1972, p. 89) state the money collected by the Beneficiencia after its closure.

³⁴ ENSABAP (Escuela Nacional Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes del Perú) opened its doors in 1918.

³⁵ Personal comm. Gabriel Marticorena Carreiro.

³⁶ Programa para la Recuperacion del Centro Historico de Lima : this governemental institution has as one of its aims to promote and preserve the cultural history of the 500 year-old city centre of Lima, and have expressed an interest in the findings of my report.

APPENDIX

“Autos que promovió ante el Superior Gobierno, la Madre Teresa de Jesús, Superiora del Beaterio de Amparadas de la Concepción, solicitando que el Gobierno ordenase se sacasen de aquel Beaterio a las dos reas que había enviado el Juez del Crimen, eran ellas una negra y una india, la primera con una enfermedad contagiosa y la segunda, una india, de malas costumbres y que a la vez había estado comprometida en el levantamiento de los Indios de Huarochirí, estos malos elementos eran perjudiciales a la institución dedicada a niñas.”
AGN, Superior Gobierno, leg.17, C.464, 1783.

Lima, octubre 7 del 1783

Excelentísimo Señor,

La Madre Teresa de Jesús Superiora del Beaterio de Amparadas de la Concepción con el mayor respeto: digo que el escribano de diligencias de la Real Sala del Crimen, condujo a este Beaterio en el mes próximo pasado a Manuela Marticorena India, y a María de la Cruz mestiza expresándome venían depositadas de orden del Señor Don José Resabal, por comisión que tuvo de VE³⁷ para el conocimiento del delito de complicidad en el rebelión acaecido en la provincia de Huarochirí: y yo como actual Superiora de esta casa me veo precisada a representar a VE su situación y la de las reas. No ignora VE que el Señor Don José Antonio de Areche mando suspender la renta, que la piedad de nuestro Soberano había destinado para nuestra subsistencia: desde entonces experimentamos dobladas necesidades: porque las hermanas de habito, y las seglares empleadas en los precisos ministerios de la casa, como la Procuradora, que sale, y entra; la alcaidesa que cuida las Depositadas no puede dejar esos oficios, y así los individuos son los mismos que antes, y las erogaciones no son las mismas de cuyo principio nacen nuestras continuas urgencias, de suerte que en satisfacción de aquellas rentas, se recibieron algunas hermanas mas de las que entramos a fundar esta casa, y hoy no se pueden despedir sin nota.

También es necesario representar a VE que aunque en este Beaterio hay un patio destinado para deposito de mujeres, es para las casadas que litigan con sus maridos hasta que se les declare el divorcio, o ellos se quieran unir voluntariamente y estas se mantienen a costo de sus maridos y pagan 4 pesos mensales, así por la celda que ocupan; como por el cuidado, y vigilancia, que es necesario tener con ellas para que no hagan fuga escalando los techos, o abriendo forados en

³⁷ Vuestra Excelencia.

las paredes, como ha sucedió en algunas ocasiones. Estos cuatro pesos sirven para auxilio de la casa, para mantener las personas que las custodian, y para refaccionar los danos que ellas mismas ocasionan en la finca;

Enterados los Señores Jueces así eclesiásticos, como Seculares del fin de este Deposito, conforme a los Sagrados Cañones, jamás nos habían remitido otra clase de Depositadas, ni aun en aquel tiempo feliz que gozábamos de la renta de que estamos privadas: pues la costumbre santamente establecida, era que las reas de delitos criminales se remitían al servicio de las enfermas en los hospitales donde hay hombres, que refrenen sus osadías y así la Real sala destinaba al Hospital de San Bartolomé a las negras, y sambas como lo hizo con la que llamaban Goya la sosegada: el Santo Tribuna de la Inquisición las remitía al hospital de Guayaquil como lo hizo con la Malabia hechicera: porque consideraban que estas mujeres facinerosas, no son gente apropósito para ponerlas a la testa de una Juventud tierna, como las niñas educandas que aquí se crían hijas de personas honradas que las separan de su abrigo para que apartadas de todo lo que es ofensivo a sus oídos, se formen en toda virtud, y labor de manos, y salgan útiles al estado; VE es el Patrón de esta casa por SM³⁸ yo en nombre de todo mi comunidad le suplico se sirva ampararnos en la posesión, que hasta aquí hemos estado de no ser molestadas con el cargo de custodiar reas criminales, porque de la introducción de esta costumbre, tenga VE por cierto que se pervertirá el buen orden, y sosiego que hasta aquí se ha observado; y basta que se oiga en la calle decir que esta casa es destinada para las mas facinerosas, que solo esta moralidad bastara para que ninguna familia honrada quiera ya traer aquí a sus hijas por el mal sonido de casa de reas, de lo cual se sigue un gravísimo perjuicio a todo esta venerable comunidad, pues todas las hermanas (principalmente hoy que no tenemos aquella renta) se sostienen aquí retiradas del mundo, solo con lo que trabajan en la enseñanza de niñas que tienen a su cargo, y si por esa costumbre que hoy se quiere introducir de remitirnos delincuentes, se nos han de originar perjuicios, VE como que esta en lugar del Rey nuestro Señor y a quien le esta encomendada la conservación de esta casa, nos ha de amparar en la posesión de nuestro instituto, que es muy ajeno de la guardia de presas delincuentes: tampoco es conveniente que en este Recogimiento sean inquietadas las que se acogen a este sagrado, con el ruido de unos delitos que las amedrentan: fuera de que este retiro de mujeres que vienen a prepararse para vivir dedicadas a Dios y pensar en morir como cristianas, es muy distante de los vicios, que vienen a introducir insensiblemente esas mujeres perdidas, y sin sentimientos de virtud.

³⁸ Su Majestad.

Laidlaw Undergraduate Research and Leadership Program
Department of Social Anthropology (supervisor: Dr. Sabine Hyland)
Laura Nebout

En esta casa todas tienen su director espiritual y siguen unas distribuciones, que exigen silencio, y compostura, y en estas reas no hay rescato, ni modestia que edifique.

Este beaterio es pobre, no tiene fondos de donde mantener esas reas, ni de donde vestirlas, darles camas [ilegible], pues aquí han venido con sola aquella ropa que traían vestida. Los Señores Jueces habrán creído tal vez que aquí hay rentas de sobra o que nuestro instituto es guardar reas, o que estas servirán de algo a la comunidad.

La escasez que sufrimos es notoria, el deposito de mujeres divorciandas, es muy distinto de una cárcel de reas criminales, aquellas nos son muy útiles por que están separadas de nosotras, y ayudan a nuestro sustento; estas nos son inútiles y gravosas, porque amas de no contribuir, ni edificarnos, es preciso alimentarlas y vestirlas de nuestras porciones: ellas no sirven de otra cosa que de embarazo, de escandalo y perjuicio, pues no hay a que aplicarlas, sino a que salgan a la calle a los mandados, y esto no se puede hacer sin riesgo de fuga, conque aquí son inútiles, y se mantienen ociosas. También hago presente a VE que una de las dos reas que remito el Señor Resabal por comisión de VE nombrada María de la Cruz Rodríguez, se haya infestada de cancro que es accidente contagioso entre mujeres, y suplico a VE nos mire con piedad, para que no nos inficione toda la casa. Esta mujer debía separarse del trato, y comunicación de las gentes, o cuando mas remitirla al Hospital de incurables para que no contagie a nadie: elle no tiene cama, duerme en cualquiera rincón; esta gravemente enferma, como lo certifica el cirujano de este Beaterio, cuyo dictamen acompaño: ella no tienen mas ropa, que aquella inmundo con que fue presa, y que mantiene por no andar desnuda en el hospital la auxiliarían con medicamentos de su botica, que aquí no la hay: allí le darán cama, alimentos, medicinas, y todo lo que necesitare para su curación pues ese es el instituto de los hospitales. VE como nuestro Patrón, no ha de permitir se nos infiera un gravamen que de todos modos nos perjudica.

La otra rea Manuela Maticorena es India, ella si debía ser remitida a Beaterio, parece que correspondía al de Copacabana, que es proprio de su nación; si debía ir a hospital le correspondía a Santa Ana, donde podría ser útil sirviendo las enfermas Indias: allí serviría de ejemplo su humillación, para que escarmienten los naturales viendo su castigo.

Así mismo nos remitió la Real Sala del Crimen una Samba nombrada Trinidad de Moya, conocida por la Pelona: esta mujer fue cómplice de varios hurtos, y pasada por debajo de la horca: aquí estamos recelando prudentemente de que los ladrones sus compañeros se introduzcan por los techos, llamados de ella, y nos asalten impensadamente. Ella es una mujer que viste alto, contra nuestra costumbre, y no es conveniente viva entre nosotras: VE es

Laidlaw Undergraduate Research and Leadership Program
Department of Social Anthropology (supervisor: Dr. Sabine Hyland)
Laura Nebout

poderoso según sus superiores facultades para mandarla trasladar al hospital de las Sambas que es San Bartolomé, así lo esperamos de la piedad de VE que será merced, y Justa Sa.

Theresa de Jesus
De amparadas

(Letter from the doctor about Maria's condition)

Certifico yo el infra-scripto Cirujano revalidado en este Beaterio (ilegible) medicina y actual del Recogidas y Amparadas que en el deposito de este Beaterio he reconocido a la depositada nombrada María de la Cruz Rodríguez la que se haya con una llaga en la vulva (ilegible) vergonzosa de la mujer. Su situación es en toda la entrada de la derecha parte, su figura varia, su carácter galicoso. Por lo cual digo que tiene necesidad de los auxilios pertenecientes a la extinción de tal padecimiento pues de lo contrario la experiencia me ha hecho ver que se hacen incurables y así todo lo otro (ilegible): es la verdad lo juro a Dios nuestro Señor y a esta señal de Cruz en 28 de septiembre de 1783

Mariano Faustos

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

AGI 1047. “El levantamiento de Topa Inca en Huarochiri 1783”.

AGN, Superior Gobierno leg. 17 C 464 1783 “Autos que promovió ante el Superior Gobierno, la Madre Teresa de Jesús, Superiora del Beaterio de Amparadas de la Concepción...”

AGN, Temporalidades, leg. 342, expediente 29, 1780 “Carta de pago otorgada por Manuela de Marticorena...”

BNP, C4169, 1709 “Tant de la exclamación que hice sobre la mudada de las monjas de mi madre Santa Rosa, a la casa de las Recoxidas”

BNP, C3823, 1710, “Información dada por parte de Sgto Mayor D. Francisco de Oyague...”
1r, 5r-5v.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Avilés y del Fierro, G. & C. Romero 1901. *Memoria del virrey del Perú, marqués de Avilés*. Lima: Impr. del Estado. (available online at: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000052260&page=1> Accessed 4 June 2019).

Barrenechea, M. 2017. Reportaje | Cuántas calles de Lima tienen nombre de mujer. *RPP*. (available on-line: <https://rpp.pe/lima/actualidad/reportaje-cuantas-calles-de-lima-tienen-nombre-de-mujer-noticia-1027018>, accessed 30 May 2019).

Beneficiencia de Lima - Historia n.d. Beneficiencia (available online: <https://www.beneficiendelima.org/nosotros/historia>, accessed 23 June 2019).

Biblioteca Virtual de Cervantes. 2004. *Mercurio Peruano, volume IV, 1792*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. (available online at: <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/mercurio-peruano--18/html/027f5ec8-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064.html> , accessed 10 June 2019).

Bromley, J. 2005. *Las viejas calles de Lima*. (1st edition). Lima: Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima : Gerencia de Educacion, Cultura y deportes.

Cahill, D. 1995. “Financing Health Care in the Viceroyalty of Peru: The Hospitals of Lima in the Late Colonial Period.” *The Americas* 52, 123-154.

Campbell, L. 1985. Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780-1783. *The Americas* 42, 163-196.

Laidlaw Undergraduate Research and Leadership Program
Department of Social Anthropology (supervisor: Dr. Sabine Hyland)
Laura Nebout

- Cantuarias Vargas, R. 2014. "Beaterios y monjíos en el Perú virreinal." (available online: <http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/114523>, accessed 29 May 2019).
- Davies, C. 2019. Women and Independence in Latin America. *Nottingham.ac.uk* (available online: <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/genderlatam/database/search/index.php?lang=en>, accessed 10 June 2019).
- de Ulloa, A. 1751. Plan Senographique De La Cite Des Rois ou Lima, Capitale du Royaume de Perou. *Raremaps.com* (available online: <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/42822/plan-senographique-de-la-cite-des-rois-ou-lima-capitale-du-royaume-de-perou-ulloa>, accessed 2 August 2019).
- Defensoria del Pueblo - Republica Peruana 2017. *Defensoria.gob.pe* (available online: <https://www.defensoria.gob.pe/modules/Downloads/informes/varios/2017/Informe-Adjuntia-035-2017-DP-AAE.pdf>, accessed 18 June 2019).
- El Peruano. 1872. Empresa Editora del Diario Oficial "El Peruano." (available online at https://books.google.fr/books?id=cu4ZAAAAAYAAJ&dq=el+peruano+1872&hl=fr&source=gsb_navlinks_s , accessed 20 June 2019)
- El Sous Zavala, J. 2019. Del antiguo Hospital de San Pedro y el Real Colegio de San Ildefonso - Enciclopedia Católica. *Ec.aciprensa.com* (available online: https://ec.aciprensa.com/wiki/Del_antiguo_Hospital_de_San_Pedro_y_el_Real_Colegio_de_San_Ildefonso, accessed 14 June 2019).
- Fisher, L. 1966. *The last Inca revolt*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Flores Espinoza, J. 2016. "Algunas observaciones sobre el Diario histórico de Sebastián Franco de Melo y la rebelión de Huarochirí de 1750." *Histórica* 40, 145-152.
- Fuentes, M. 1866. *Estadística general de Lima*. Paris.: Tip. de A. Lainé et J. Havard.
- Hünefeldt, C. 2000. *Liberalism in the bedroom*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press.
- Hyland, S. 2017. "Writing with Twisted Cords: The Inscriptive Capacity of Andean Khipus." *Current Anthropology* 58, 412-419.
- Jauregui, A. 1783. *En la causa criminal, que de mi orden ha instruido de oficio al señor Alcalde del crimen Don Joseph Rezaval y Ugarte contra los rebeldes principales Felipe Velasco Tupac Inga, Yupangui y Ciriaco Flores sobre el detestable crimen de la comocion y alzamiento ...* Lima: [s.n.].

Laidlaw Undergraduate Research and Leadership Program
Department of Social Anthropology (supervisor: Dr. Sabine Hyland)
Laura Nebout

- Lima Martorell, I. 1780. Plano de la Ciudad de los Reyes, o Lima Capital del Reino de Peru. *Abebooks.com* (available online: <https://www.abebooks.com/Plano-Ciudad-Reyes-Lima-Capital-Reino/15557117489/bd#&gid=1&pid=1>, accessed 2 August 2019).
- Mannarelli M. E. 2007 "Espacios femeninos en la sociedad colonial". Rostowrowski M. (ed.) *La mujer en la historia del Perú siglos XV a XX*. 191-214. Lima: Fodon Editorial del Congreso del Perú.
- Martcorena Carreiro, G. 2004. *Martcorena.com* (available online: <http://martcorena.com/docu/geneal.pdf>, accessed 9 June 2019).
- Martín, L. 1989. *Daughters of the conquistadores*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.
- Monsalve, J. 1926. *Mujeres de la Independencia*. Bogotá: Academia de Historia.
- Nueva colección documental de la independencia del Perú : La Rebelion de Tupac Amaru*. 2014. (1st edition). ACUEDI Ediciones.
- O'Phelan, S. 1988. *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas."
- Odriozola, M. 1873. *Documentos históricos del Perú en las épocas del coloniaje despues de la conquista y de la independencia hasta la presente*. Lima: Alfaro.
- Pino, D. 2019. 100 Años de Bellas Artes: Historia de su edificio. *Limalaunica.pe* (available online: <http://www.limalaunica.pe/2019/05/100-anos-de-bellas-artes-historia-de-su.html>, accessed 4 June 2019).
- Sala i Vila, 1995, "La rebelion de Huarochirí de 1783", in *Entre la retórica y la insurgencia*, ed. C. Walker, 273-308. Cuzco: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Spalding, K. 1984. *Huarochiri*. Stanford, Calif.: Standord University Press.
- Van Deusen, N. 2001. *Between the sacred and the wordly*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Walker, C. 2014. *The Tupac Amaru rebellion*. (2nd edition). Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.
- Warren, A. 2010. *Medicine and politics in colonial Peru*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Zudaire Huarte, E. 1979. *Don Agustín de Jáuregui y Aldecoa*. Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, Inst. Principe de Viana.