



R. ALAN COVEY

INCA APOCALYPSE

THE SPANISH CONQUEST
AND THE TRANSFORMATION
OF THE ANDEAN WORLD

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For Lauren and Charlotte

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Acknowledgments

Writing this book has been an intimidating opportunity. The story of the Spanish invasion and colonization of the Inca world is ripe for retelling, but moving off the well-worn path forged by previous authors meant charting a new course through the scholarly thickets that have sprung up in history and archaeology over the past fifty years. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to a number of people who convinced me that I could pick my way through to produce a narrative that asks and answers some new questions, drawing attention to issues that linger almost five hundred years after Francisco Pizarro's first expedition to Peru.

Generous mentors shaped my early intellectual and scholarly development, from my parents to my undergraduate professors. Some names that stand out along the way include Paul Goldstein, Roberta Stewart, Roger Ulrich, and John Watanabe. When I reached my graduate studies at the University of Michigan, I had the good fortune to study with Joyce Marcus, who taught me to read Latin American ethnohistory critically. Sabine MacCormack offered a pivotal seminar on South American contact-period literature, and her work on Inca religion and the apocalyptic worldview have informed this book in profound ways. Kent Flannery, Jeff Parsons, and Bruce Mannheim guided me with their Andean expertise as I was learning to make my way in Peru. Brian Bauer, Chip Stanish, and Mike Moseley gave me my start in Andean archaeology, welcoming me onto their projects and helping to steer me toward my own research. Brian in particular has been an inspiring colleague to work with in the Cuzco region, where I enjoyed the company of several other excellent researchers, including Kenny Sims, Véronique Bélisle, Allison Davis, and Miriam Aráoz Silva.

Since leaving Ann Arbor, I have passed through several other anthropology departments as my career has taken its winding journey. In every department, I have had brilliant colleagues who offered inspiration and support. At the American Museum of Natural History, Craig Morris supervised

my postdoctoral research, but Bob Carneiro, Elsa Redmond, and Chuck Spencer generously read early manuscripts and gave important career advice. At Southern Methodist University, David Freidel and David Meltzer helped me to get my bearings as an assistant professor, and Deborah Nichols provided guidance while I was at Dartmouth College. In my current position at the University of Texas, I am fortunate to have colleagues whose work carries from pre-Hispanic cultures, across the ruptures of European colonization in the Americas. It has been a pleasure to work with Maria Franklin, Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, Mariah Wade, and Sam Wilson, as well as many other UT faculty.

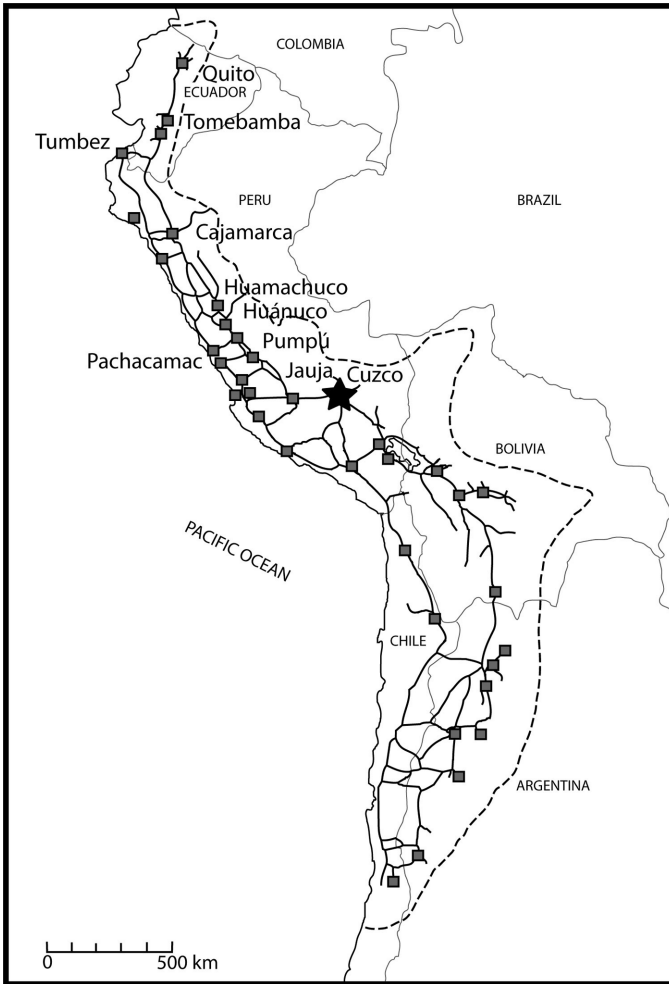
The actual work of researching and writing this book took place at UT, and I am grateful for a semester-long leave in 2017 that allowed me to pursue the project full-time. My editor, Stefan Vranka, has been a patient advocate throughout the process of writing and revision, and I thank the staff at Oxford University Press for the logistical support during production. As I have tried to make meaning of a new collection of primary sources and recent scholarship, several colleagues have listened thoughtfully to unprocessed ideas about the project, including Brad Jones, David Carballo, Kylie Quave, Steve Kosiba, and my sister Catherine Covey. The anonymous reviewers of the book proposal and first manuscript draft helped to make a better and more readable final product, and I thank Brian Bauer and Chris Heaney for sacrificing huge amounts of their time to read the manuscript and help me to articulate what the Inca apocalypse was about.

Finally, I thank my wife and daughter for their support along the way. To Lauren for helping me to find writing time, for listening to “book talk” that spilled over from the work day, and for reading chapters with a critical eye and gentle tone that helped me to tell a more coherent story. And to Charlotte, a child who asks important questions about the world, and is always up for venturing out on a quest for answers.

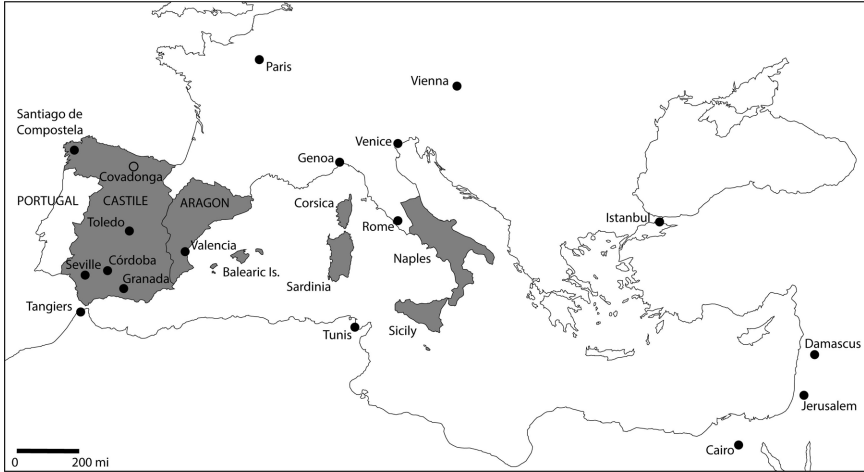
Orthographic Note

Writing across time—and multiple disciplines and languages—presents some challenges for spelling different names, places, and concepts consistently, while also trying to produce an accessible narrative. I have chosen to use the English spellings for some well-known figures—Christopher Columbus, Isabella I of Castile, Charles V—while using common Spanish renderings of other names that appear in colonial texts. I use accepted scholarly spellings for archaeological sites and other places. For key concepts in Quechua, Latin, and Spanish, I use modern versions of terms in the text, but usually preserve the original spelling when quoting from primary sources. Throughout the book, all quotes from non-English sources are my own translations, unless the citation indicates a translated edition.

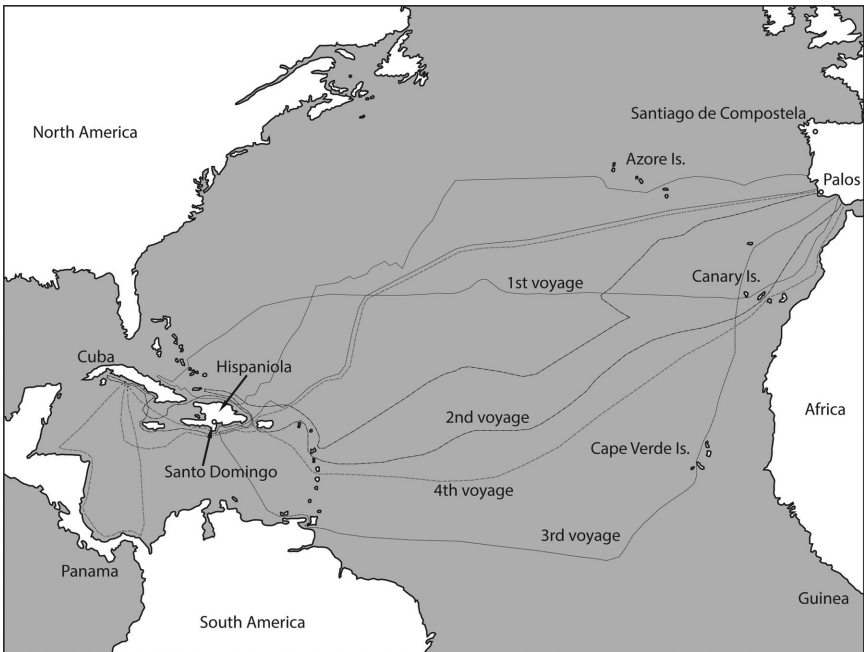
Maps



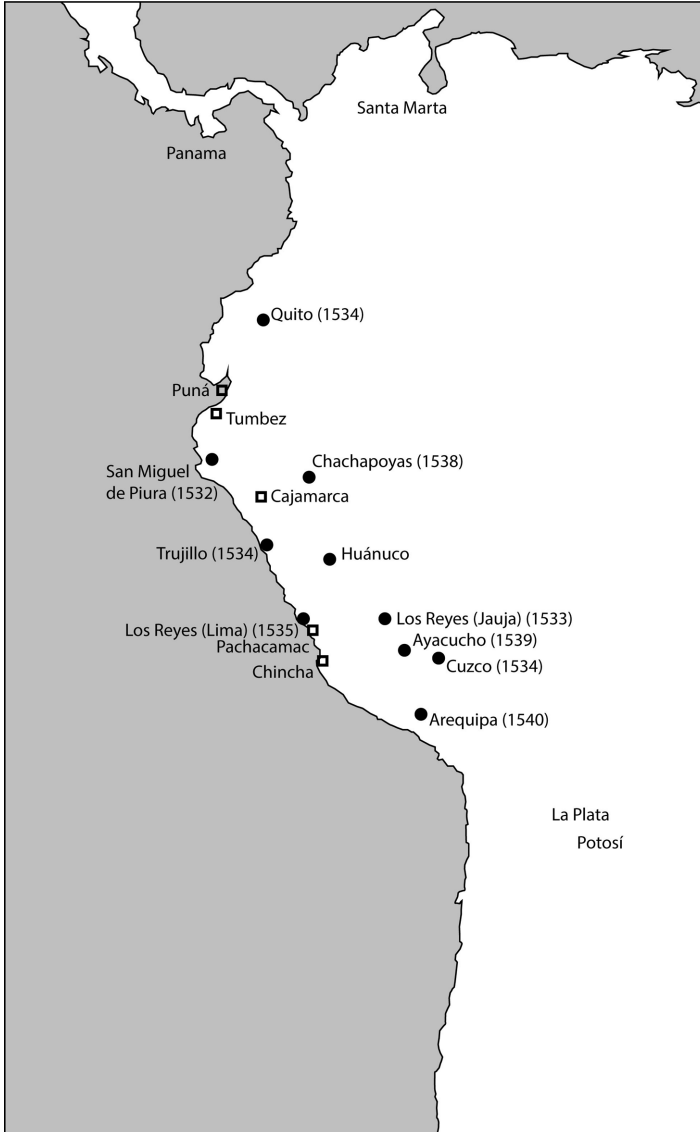
Map 1. The Andean world, showing the approximate territory of the Inca Empire, with major roads, administrative centers, and frontier outposts.



Map 2. The Mediterranean world, showing the territories of Castile and Aragón in 1492.

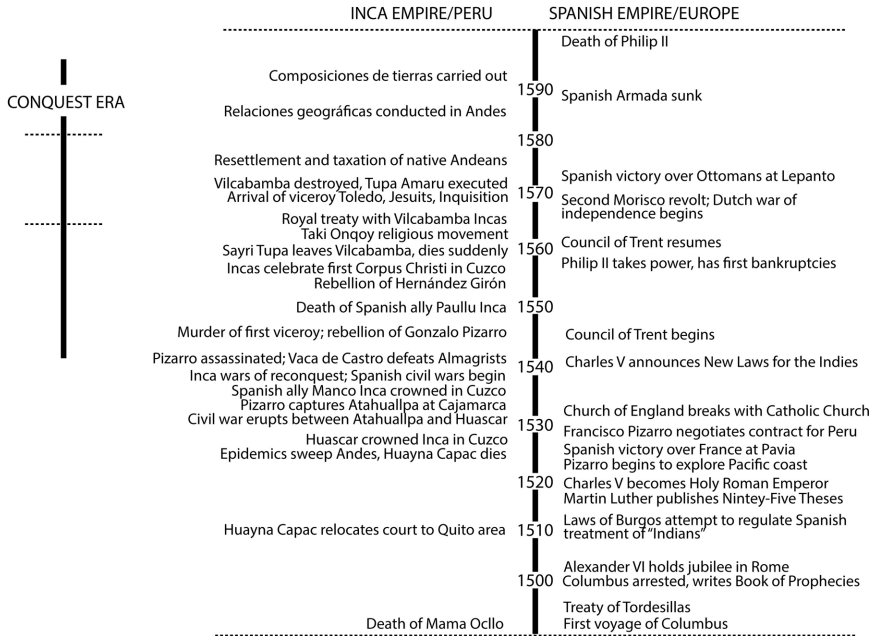


Map 3. The Atlantic world, showing the routes of Columbus' four voyages (1492-1504).

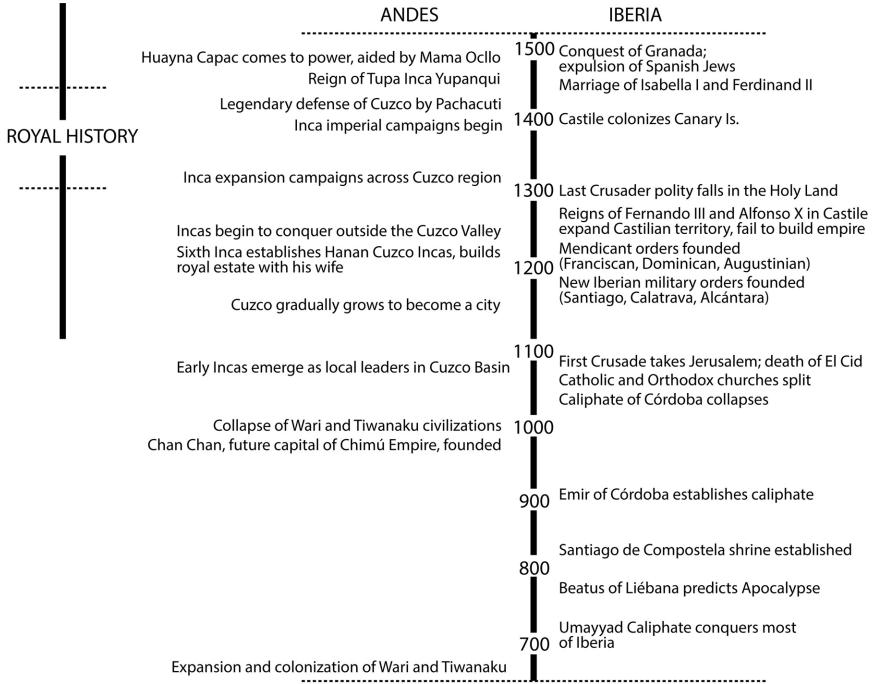


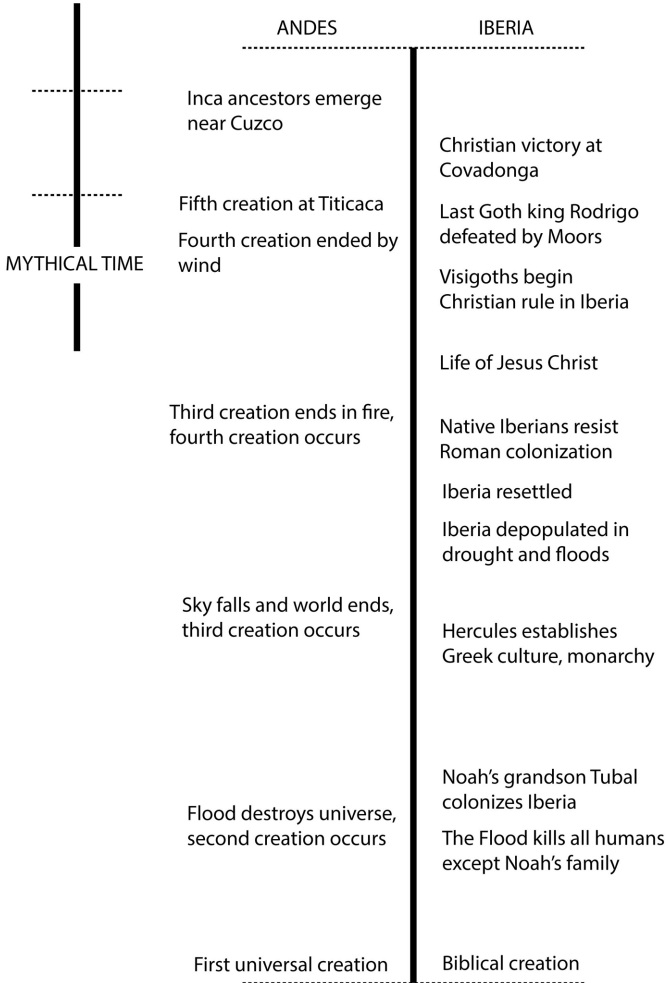
Map 4. Spanish Peru, showing important places (squares) and early Spanish towns with their founding dates.

Timelines



TIMELINES





Introduction

Revelations of the Spanish Conquest

On March 23, 1833, an American naval surgeon named William Ruschenberger sat down to drink *chicha*—home-brewed maize beer—with a colorful Peruvian friar named Tomás. The two men had met by chance in a ramshackle bar at the edge of Lambayeque, a dusty trading town in the coastal desert of northern Peru. Ruschenberger had arrived there the day before with a group of sailors from the USS *Falmouth*, a newly commissioned American warship that was on a three-year mission to cruise the coast of South America. It was only a decade since a wave of determined independence movements had toppled anemic Spanish colonial governments across Latin America, and the *Falmouth* was visiting the waters of new Andean nations—Chile, Bolivia, Peru—to look after the interests and well-being of American citizens living there. To defray the costs of the voyage, the warship also took on freight from towns like Lambayeque, where the local customs house oversaw the export of profitable commodities, including silver bullion, sugar, and tobacco.¹

Having arrived in Lambayeque on one of the hottest days of the year, Ruschenberger fled the unforgiving sun during the day. He visited the town's small adobe church and sweated through an afternoon of small talk in the home of a local matron. By the time the heat broke, in the late afternoon, he had a thirst for Lambayeque's famous *chicha*, and a desire for more stimulating conversation. Ruschenberger and his companions made their way out onto the streets and soon found themselves at a rundown establishment at the outskirts of town, where they met Fray Tomás, who was drinking from a large gourd and smoking cigars with some friends.

¹ Ruschenberger (1835:366–368).

The surgeon and the friar were a study in contrasts. The son of a sea captain, Ruschenberger was a young military man with a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He was a nonreligious ascetic whose sole passion was natural history, and during the *Falmouth's* voyage, he labored tirelessly to collect specimens that could be used to name and organize the world's flora and fauna. Later in life, he would author books on botany, ornithology, mammalogy, herpetology, ichthyology, and conchology and a two-volume natural history.² Ruschenberger's new acquaintance, Fray Tomás, was a "merry son of the church," a stout fifty-year-old who carried a gold-handled walking stick and wore a flamboyant outfit made of silk and velvet, adorned with ruffles, black ribbons, and gold buckles. When not holding Mass, Fray Tomás enjoyed smoking, drinking, and playing cards.

Over foamy gourds of *chicha*, the two men fell into conversation and soon found that they shared an interest in *huacas*, the ancient mud pyramids that could be found scattered amid the green farmlands of Peru's coastal valleys. The friar was a passionate antiquarian who loved to talk about the Incas, and he told the American surgeon that the *huacas* were storehouses for ancient treasure, places shrouded in local legends of enchantment. Ruschenberger had already visited *huacas* in other parts of the Peruvian coast, and he knew that some of them were tombs used by the Incas and their ancestors. Ruschenberger said that he would like to see the *huacas* of Lambayeque, and Fray Tomás offered to guide him around the area (Figure I.1). In the days that followed, the two men visited several of the adobe structures, but they found neither treasure nor Inca bones in the mysterious ruins. The men parted as friends, the friar returning to his duties as a small-town clergyman, the naval surgeon boarding his warship to continue his mission for country and science.

Lost Legends and Modern Myths

This unlikely encounter between an antiquarian and a natural historian occurred almost 200 years ago, but it illustrates the changing mindsets of the people who rediscovered the Incas, and the story of the Spanish conquest of Peru, during the nineteenth century. By the end of Spain's nearly 300 years

² Nolan (1895). Ruschenberger's travels on the South American coast coincided with those of Charles Darwin, who was sailing with the HMS *Beagle* at that time.



Figure I.1. Eroded *huaca* pyramids at Túcume, a coastal site located thirteen miles (21 km) north of Lambayeque.

of colonial rule in the Andes, the story of the last days of the Incas was known primarily through a small number of published accounts that had stayed in print over the years. Antiquarians like Fray Tomás knew this literature, but some also searched for unknown manuscripts and collected legends, hoping to discover “new” details about the well-known conquest story. For example, the Jesuit monk Juan de Velasco composed a new chronicle of the ancient kings of Ecuador in 1789, describing a local dynasty that had never been mentioned in any published work.³

As antiquarians labored to recover lost myths and legends, natural historians pursued the scientific documentation of the Andean world that fell to Francisco Pizarro and his fellow Spaniards. While Velasco was busy writing his manuscript, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón was serving as the bishop of Trujillo, a city on the north coast of Peru, where his broad interests in natural history led him to excavate and illustrate pre-Inca tombs

³ Velasco, *Historia del reino de Quito en la América meridional* [1789], Real Academia de la Historia.

from the Chimú civilization.⁴ As Spanish religious men documented Andean antiquities and natural history, foreign researchers, such as the Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt, were beginning to visit South America and to describe the continent from the perspective of modern European science.

By the time Dr. Ruschenberger met Fray Tomás in Lambayeque in 1833, Western geopolitics and scientific values were already changing how antiquarians and natural historians interpreted the Andean past. For Latin American antiquarians, the disintegration of the Spanish Empire stimulated the urge to discover new national histories. The Inca Empire became the ancestral realm of modern Peruvians, a civilization that Spanish colonialism had overturned and then dominated until the moment of national independence. The eclipse of Spanish dominance coincided with a flurry of work in European archives and libraries, and by the 1840s, a vast body of colonial chronicles and administrative documents was appearing in print.

As we will soon see, Peruvians were not the only ones interested in telling the story of the Spanish conquest of the Incas. The story held a fascination for many American and English readers, including Ruschenberger, who was already familiar with many of the published sources on Peruvian history when he sailed the South American coast. When he visited Lima for the first time, Ruschenberger made repeated visits to the city's cathedral, where according to colonial-era sources, Francisco Pizarro's remains had been placed centuries earlier. The surgeon convinced the sacristan to open the cathedral's crypt and accompany him downward into the darkness, candle in hand, to search for Pizarro's bones amid the jumbled remains of the illustrious dead of Spanish Peru.⁵ Although Pizarro fascinated him, Ruschenberger considered the *conquistador* to be a brutal, ignorant, and wicked man, a view of the Spaniard that had long dominated the literature of Protestant Europe.

As Spain's changing imperial fortunes were reshaping the significance of the antiquarian narratives, scientists were introducing modern approaches that placed humanity in a new context of space and time. Astronomy and geology had advanced rapidly, and naturalists and explorers around the world worked to classify plants, animals, and people. When it came to the scientific organization of our own diverse species, Europeans invented a new science of race, building on their belief in the superiority of their own nations,

⁴ Martínez Compañón, *Trujillo del Perú* [1781–1789], Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid, Manuscript 343.

⁵ Ruschenberger (1835:56ff.).

which they considered to be enlightened, modern, and civilized. In 1735, the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus proposed four races or subspecies of humans in the first edition of his *Systema Naturae*: the pale *Homo Europaeus albus* (“Whites”), the reddish *Homo Americanus rubescens* (“Indians”), the brown-skinned *Homo Asiaticus fuscus* (“Asians”), and the black *Homo Africanus niger* (“Blacks”).⁶ Decades later, the German naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach expanded this taxonomy to five races, adding a race of “Malay” peoples living in Southeast Asia and Polynesia. He proposed that the comparative study of skulls would help to articulate the differences between the races, if only an adequate global sample could be collected for study.⁷

The emerging “skull science” of the early 1800s was far from a neutral description of human variation. European writers claimed that their race had either been created separately from the others or had maintained its divine qualities after the Flood, as Noah’s other descendants degenerated into lesser forms. To establish these claims as scientific fact, they turned to the human skull, reducing its diversity of sizes and shapes to fit racial taxonomies, a correspondence that supposedly demonstrated differences in intelligence. The collection and study of human skulls took off as Western nations built imperial colonies around the globe, an expansion process validated by scientific claims of natural differences in the characteristics and intelligence of human races. The debate over race was particularly important in the United States at this time, as the young country considered its policies regarding the displacement of a large Native American population and the continued enslavement of millions of African Americans.

By the time William Ruschenberger asked Fray Tomás to guide him to the *huacas* near Lambayeque, Western scientists had already spent a century framing their claims of racial self-importance as scientific fact. Ruschenberger was an enthusiastic contributor to that work, and he was hoping to collect “Inca” skulls that he could ship to Dr. Samuel Morton, a friend from the Philadelphia

⁶ Linnaeus tied these skin colors to the four humors of medieval medicine, which he treated as evidence of intellectual qualities. White, “phlegmatic” Europeans were “inventive” and “governed by laws”; red, “sanguine” Indians were hot-headed and “regulated by customs”; pale Asians had an abundance of yellow bile, making them proud and melancholic and “governed by opinions”; while black bile characterized Africans, whom Linnaeus saw as sneaky, lazy, and “governed by caprice” (Jablonski 2012:128).

⁷ See Bieder (1986); Fabian (2010).

medical community.⁸ Morton, a rising figure in the world of scientific race-making, had begun to collect skulls three years earlier, when he found himself unable to buy or borrow crania of each race to illustrate a public lecture.⁹ To alleviate this problem, Morton invested considerable time and money in building a world-wide network of more than 100 donors, who quickly helped him to assemble a collection of roughly 900 non-European skulls. Morton's contacts in Latin America included American expatriates and military physicians like Ruschenberger, collectors who moved across Spain's former colonies, excavating and purchasing more than 200 ancient Andean crania.

Ruschenberger did not find any ancient skulls in the ruined *huacas* of Lambayeque, but he had considerable success elsewhere on the Peruvian coast. In recently plundered burial grounds in the Atacama Desert, he excavated and dissected cloth-wrapped mummies that the salty sands had hidden for centuries.¹⁰ Near Lima, he acquired twenty-three "adult skulls of the pure Inca race" from the ruins of the creation shrine of Pachacamac.¹¹ In the Santa Valley, the surgeon picked up the bleached skull of a child off the ground in a disturbed desert cemetery and added it to his collection. In his travels along the Pacific coast, Ruschenberger acquired dozens of ancient crania, which he spirited aboard the USS *Falmouth* until he could ship them northward to Morton in Philadelphia.¹² As he wrote Morton just weeks before visiting Lambayeque, the chief obstacle in obtaining Inca heads came not from the Peruvians, but from the superstitions of his fellow American sailors, who believed that having dead bodies aboard a ship would bring bad luck.¹³

Using his huge sample of ancient Peruvian skulls, Morton advanced hypotheses about diversity within the "Indian" race, which he tried to evaluate based on cranial differences between the "demi-civilized" Incas and

⁸ Ruschenberger's 1835 memoir repeatedly describes contemporary Peruvian "Indians" as an "ugly race," and he believed them to be dishonest and intellectually simple.

⁹ Bieder (1986:59).

¹⁰ Ruschenberger (1835:242–243, 307).

¹¹ Morton (1839:132).

¹² Morton corresponded with Ruschenberger while he was on the voyage. Just before visiting Lambayeque, the naval surgeon wrote to Morton from Callao (Lima's port), sending him a box containing shells, minerals, the bodies of several native birds and a sloth, and numerous human skulls that he had excavated in Arica several weeks earlier (American Philosophical Society Library, Samuel George Morton Papers Mss.B.M843, March 3, 1833).

¹³ Ruschenberger (American Philosophical Society Library, Samuel George Morton Papers Mss.B.M843, March 3, 1833).

other “barbarous” natives of the Americas.¹⁴ In his influential book *Crania Americana* (1839), Morton argued that the skulls of Andean peoples held larger “moral and intellectual organs” than those of the indigenous groups that resisted the Spanish conquest; but he also believed that the Incas were able to be defeated and colonized because of their “inferior aggregate development of brain.”¹⁵ To Morton, the Incas were the most civilized example of what he considered to be a lower race, but they were conquered by Pizarro and his *conquistadores*, a “handful of brigands” who represented the worst of the Caucasian race.¹⁶ Despite his belief that Caucasians had the greatest intellectual capacity of any human group, Morton looked down on the Spaniards who conquered the Inca world, declaring that he took some consolation “in knowing that *all* the leaders in the atrocities which were perpetuated in the conquest [of the Incas], died violent deaths.”¹⁷

Inca Revelations

By opening ancient Andean tombs and revealing the imperishable dead who lay within, Morton’s skull hunters helped to usher in a new era of rediscovery in which long-lost bodies, manuscripts, and sites promised to reshape long-held interpretations of the Spanish conquest of the Incas. As we will see, much was lost in the decades following Francisco Pizarro’s invasion of the Andes in 1532. Many Inca cities and shrines were abandoned, as were countless scattered villages where the declining indigenous population once lived. Over time, memories of the conquest faded and eyewitnesses to the clash of civilizations passed away, their bodies and possessions left to deteriorate in the ground. Few of the men and women who saw the last days of Inca splendor ever produced a written account of those times, or of the nightmare that followed. Most of those early manuscripts remained unpublished and eventually disappeared into inaccessible archives and private libraries,

¹⁴ See Bieder (1986). Morton (1839:118) mistook Andean practices of deliberate cranial modification for the existence of two races: an “Inca” race, and a lower, more “degraded” race of commoners who served them.

¹⁵ Morton (1839:282).

¹⁶ Morton cited the published chronicles of Cieza de León (1553), Acosta (1590), Herrera y Tordesillas (1615), and, of course, the chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), the most widely published work in the previous 250 years.

¹⁷ Morton (1839:124).

where few could consult their content. Although Spanish printers eventually published several accounts of the conquest of Peru, most of them were written by men who had not been present, and who had a very different sense of what Pizarro's invasion signified.¹⁸

By the early 1600s, the last eyewitnesses of the Inca world were dead, and the monuments of the empire were in ruins, many of them hidden in Andean landscapes where Spanish priests still did battle with demonic forces. Even though there was general agreement that the Inca dynasty was lost, the Spaniards continued to contemplate the meaning of the conquest of Peru. The conquest narrative changed during the first century of European colonization; and Spanish writers incorporated it into a diverse array of emerging written genres. They told the story as a medieval romance, laid it out in verse as a heroic poem, and staged it as a tragedy. They placed into the broader context of Inca, Spanish, and universal histories. The fall of the Incas illustrated philosophical and moral arguments surrounding religious power, sovereignty, and race. The story contained material that authors shaped in different ways to illustrate opposing sides of important debates. The Incas were portrayed as depraved and justly conquered tyrants, as well as peace-loving sovereigns whose good government was usurped by the bloodthirsty Spaniards. The main characters and events were made to carry values and meanings that were important to the changing world in which the story continued to be retold.¹⁹

Like Spanish plundering and the excavations of early natural historians, scientific grave robbing in the early 1800s brought out long-hidden bodies that could be treated as physical evidence that the Spanish conquest of Peru proved the superiority of the Caucasian race over the Indian.²⁰ The disturbance of Peruvian *huacas* also exposed artifacts that lay buried with the dead, which were taken as evidence of daily life and technological advancement. While skull-hunting natural scientists remained primarily interested in ancient human remains, antiquarians in the new Andean nations began to collect, display, and study their ancient relics, helping to extend the Peruvian sense of history deep into the past.²¹

¹⁸ This includes the published works of Francisco López de Gómara (1552), Pedro de Cieza de León (1553), Agustín de Zárate (1555), Diego Fernández (1571), Garcilaso de la Vega (1610), and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1615).

¹⁹ See Cañizares-Esguerra (2001) and Thurner (2011) on eighteenth-century histories.

²⁰ Heaney (2016a, 2016b).

²¹ Gänger (2014).

As Peruvian antiquarians worked to situate the Incas within their own emerging narratives of national origins, the rediscovery of lost chronicles and archival documents led to the production of new accounts of the Spanish conquest. The most important to appear in English was *History of the Conquest of Peru*, by the American writer William Prescott, published in 1847. To set up the clash of civilizations, Prescott produced a thorough overview of Inca society and biographical information about Pizarro and other leading Spaniards. His story followed the Pizarro expedition well past the famous 1532 victory at Cajamarca, charting the struggles that Spanish officials faced in governing the Andes. In addition to the published colonial-era sources, Prescott also unearthed arcane and rare ones, long forgotten. He sought out long-lost documents the way Samuel Morton had pursued forgotten Inca skulls a decade earlier. In his quest for unknown material, Prescott corresponded with the London bibliographer Obadiah Rich and consulted with Charles Folsom, a well-known librarian at the Boston Athenaeum. He got to know the French publisher Henri Terneaux-Compans, who had begun to print a series of previously unpublished Andean chronicles. Unable to travel to distant collections, Prescott established relationships with experts in the European archives, who provided him with copies of important manuscripts from collections that they knew intimately. Prescott described this growing body of documentation as an embarrassment of riches, one that made interpretation more difficult, since multiple sources often contradicted one another.²² Prescott shared the antiquarian's hunger to discover obscure sources, but his critical approach and commitment to determining the most factual reconstruction of the past were more akin to the work of modern historians.

In the decades following the publication of Prescott's conquest history, naturalists and explorers continued to traverse Andean landscapes for science. Like William Ruschenberger, they collected native plants and animals, and they described ancient ruins and the lives of native Andeans. The published accounts of these expeditions were popular, especially the serialized narrative by Ephraim George Squier describing his travels in Bolivia and Peru, which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in 1868. Squier was an amateur archaeologist who had traveled to South America as a commercial attaché, an appointment that Prescott had helped him to obtain. He had with him a photographer,

²² Prescott (1847:x).

whose images *Harper's* reproduced in vivid engravings, allowing hundreds of thousands of ordinary Americans to see the Inca world, including glimpses of its ruined monuments and noteworthy artifacts. The success of Squier's expedition inspired others to follow in his footsteps across the Inca world, seeking lost cities, spectacular landscapes, and other uncharted wonders.

As antiquarians and natural historians collected skulls and ancient pots, published lost manuscripts, and captured photographs of Inca ruins, what they found did little to alter their impression of Francisco Pizarro, whose body had eluded William Ruschenberger when he visited the crypt of the Lima cathedral in 1833. English-language accounts continued to interpret the Spanish conquest of Peru through the lens of the Black Legend, a nightmare vision of the European invasion of the Americas that emphasized the devastating cruelty inflicted by men like Pizarro. For example, even though Prescott voiced his belief in the superiority of the "white man" over other races, he depicted Francisco Pizarro as a leader whose character left much to be desired.²³ The Pizarro in Prescott's history was crude, rapacious, inflexible, and treacherous, qualities that proved to be disastrous for the civilized natives of the Inca world. Pizarro and his men encountered a tranquil and prosperous realm—one that was well-governed and "prepared for the reception of a higher and a Christian civilization"—but through their brutality, lust, and greed, they turned that Andean utopia into a desert.²⁴ Although Prescott felt comfortable chronicling Spanish depravity "as a warning to mankind," he declined to issue a verdict on Pizarro's moral failings, a task that he said was God's alone.

Discovering Pizarro

In the decades following Prescott's restrained academic judgment, a new wave of scientific and social thought sought to wrest the ultimate reckoning of character and criminality from the hands of the Almighty. Following in Samuel Morton's footsteps, researchers from across the medical and social sciences amplified the work of scientific race-making. To collect data, they jury-rigged an odd assortment of devices—encephalometers, mandibular goniometers, stereographic craniometers—which they used to measure the

²³ Prescott (1847:254). Prescott repeatedly used "white man" as a contrast to the lesser races and civilizations of the Americas.

²⁴ Prescott (1847:197).

skulls of the living and the dead.²⁵ Over time, their zeal for quantifying the physical features of race extended to the whole body. In the name of science, nineteenth-century researchers visited indigenous populations living on reservations and subjected European convicts to their metric scrutiny. They measured cadavers and bodies excavated from archaeological sites, which yielded evidence of human evolution and prehistoric technological developments. The now discredited work of phrenologists and eugenicists inspired new theories of social evolution that dominated scientific thought in the last years of the nineteenth century.²⁶

On the morning of June 24, 1891, Francisco Pizarro's grave was opened so that his mummified body could stand judgment in the court of the new science. In celebration of the 350th anniversary of Pizarro's death, a group of leading Peruvians—Catholic officials, politicians, intellectuals, and medical men—gathered in the crypt of Lima's cathedral to exhume and study what they believed to be his mortal remains. Led into the crypt by the dean of the cathedral, the men removed an ordinary black-painted coffin from a wall niche. The members of the commission identified the coffin as Pizarro's, based on the "unquestioned tradition extending over many years and by the constant care exercised during all this time by the Ecclesiastical Chapter." A priest gave a blessing, and Pizarro's body crossed over from the domain of religion to that of science.

Two of Peru's most prominent doctors took custody of Pizarro and began a full autopsy of what remained of his body after centuries of deterioration. When the medical examination was complete, the doctors carried out an anthropometric study "with the aid of instruments of precision and in conformity with scientific rules." In total, they took more than 100 measurements of Pizarro's trunk, limbs, and skull. Based on their calculations, the men of science concluded that their subject was an older man of above-average height, who "appears to have belonged to a superior (white) race."²⁷ The dimensions of the skull confirmed the favorable

²⁵ Serletis and Pait (2016); see Gould (1993).

²⁶ For example, Morgan (1877). These global frameworks inspired Marxian thought, but they also informed government policies in the United States: assimilationist management of Native American reservations, the segregation of the Jim Crow era, and the race-based exclusion of immigrants.

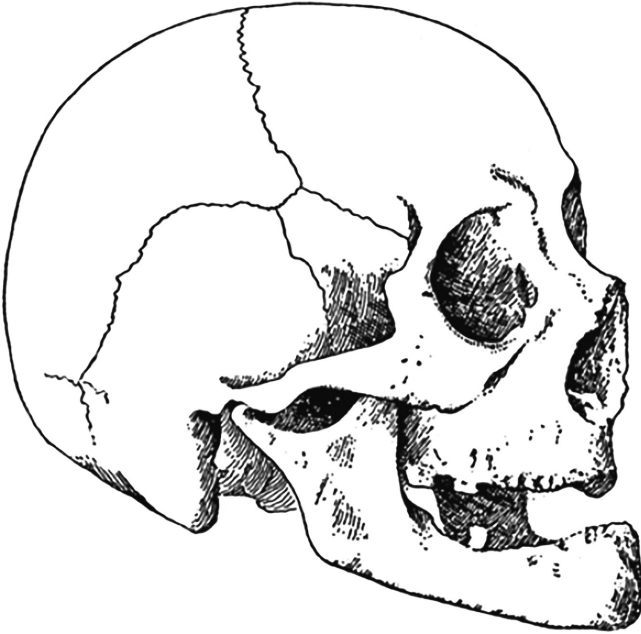
²⁷ The account of the exhumation and study of the body comes from the commission's translated report, reproduced by the American anthropologist W. J. McGee (1894); cf. Maples et al. (1989).

assessments of Pizarro's character published in the Peruvian historical literature: his skull showed the "cerebral capacity of a superior man"; the lack of wounds on his back proved that he went to his death "attacking boldly and in front, like a lion"; his prognathic chin indicated "a persevering man, tenacious in his ideas"; and the high instep of his foot was evidence of a tireless warrior.

Following the scientific analysis, Pizarro's remains underwent their final transformation, a political apotheosis. The surgeons cleaned his body with chemicals, and they stitched up old wounds and the new incisions they had made for the autopsy. The conservation work reversed some of the effects of centuries of decay. They stuffed the body with carbolized cotton and reinforced it with wire to maintain its future integrity. They delicately painted the skin with a fine varnish. When all was complete, the conqueror of Peru was transferred to a glass casket set atop an ornate marble pedestal, which was placed prominently in the Lima cathedral. Pizarro would remain on display there for nearly a century, viewed by hundreds of thousands of worshipers and tourists.

The conversion of a body thought to be the "immortal captain" Pizarro into a national icon was a deliberate collaboration of religion, science, and politics. The men of the Lima commission treated the body as physical evidence not only of Pizarro's character, but of the history in which he played a complicated role. His body was the epic personification of the Spanish conquest, material proof of a "series of events which would seem to belong rather to the domain of fable than to that of history." The body could teach Peruvians their past, but it also exhorted them to build a country that would fulfill a race-based mission of civilization in South America: "the gradual and certain change, in which we are yet assisting, in the religion, languages, races, institutions, and customs of the powerful empire of the Incas."

Shortly after the rehabilitation of Pizarro's body, the chief surgeon of the Peruvian army sent a copy of the Lima commission's report to W. J. McGee, a senior ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, an organization tasked by the United States government with studying the bodies, customs, languages, and artifacts of Native Americans. McGee was devoted to craniometric research, and when he received the Peruvian report, he saw the positive identification of Pizarro in the Lima crypt as an unusual opportunity to compare the biographical record of a famous man against biometric data from the prevailing methods of



Cranium of Francisco Pizarro.

Figure I.2. Illustration of “Francisco Pizarro’s” skull in W. J. McGee’s 1894 report in *American Anthropologist*. The Peruvian commission that analyzed the body saw it as an epic of the Spanish conquest, but McGee viewed the skull as that of a common criminal.

anthropometry.²⁸ Working with the report and illustrations from Lima, the American anthropologist scrutinized the skull and reached starkly different conclusions from those of the Peruvian commission. At the risk of offending his hero-worshipping colleagues in South America, McGee concluded that Pizarro’s skull was “that of a typical criminal of to-day” (Figure I.2).

McGee noted that his finding would not surprise modern historians, whose enlightened sensibilities led them to “follow the bloody career of the conqueror with pain and revulsion.” Pizarro was a great leader who had deserved to be admired in his day, but he fell short of the standards of modern civilization. McGee argued that “in this age of human progress, minds and manners are changing with unprecedented rapidity, and the quality of

²⁸ Hodge (1912).

greatness is not what it was even in the middle of our millennium; the hero of history in earlier centuries is of rugged mold, and the heroism of the olden time is the crime of our softened lexicon. So Pizarro may well be judged as the representative of a class necessary and good in its age but not adjusted to the higher humanities of the present day.”²⁹ This was a common sentiment among authors of the many biographies of Francisco Pizarro that were in circulation in English during the late 1800s. As one 1890 book for young readers reasoned, modern people should be thankful “that such ruthless, defiant, selfish characters as the adventurer are not in this day needed to sustain our civilization and promote our progress . . . the world’s heroes today must not only be brave, ambitious, progressive, but they must be withal *gentle-men*.”³⁰

This self-identification of Western people as enlightened, civilized, and modern was expressed even more boldly in another celebration that was being prepared at the time Lima’s leading men went looking for Francisco Pizarro’s body in 1891. As Peruvian leaders burnished the legacy of their national hero, the world was preparing to mark the 400th anniversary of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, the first centennial celebration since the disintegration of the Spanish Empire. In the United States, the most important commemoration of the event was the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. To the organizers of the exposition, the young city symbolized American progress, and the spectacle assembled there was intended to provide material evidence of everything contributing to human progress, prosperity, and peace.³¹ Science, technology, and cultural expression from the United States and other nations marked the path of human civilization to its enlightened stage.

To provide a contrast to these modern attainments, the exposition’s organizers sent expeditions out to collect archaeological artifacts, human remains, and ethnographic performances from indigenous societies around the world, displaying them to depict the twilight of “uncivilized” races. Native Americans were relegated to the American past, their biology portrayed as inferior in the Anthropology Building, which displayed tools and data from recent anthropometric research alongside descriptions of the

²⁹ McGee (1894). The prognathic jaw that McGee used to identify criminality was taken by the Peruvian scientists as a sign of Pizarro’s tenacious and persevering character.

³⁰ Pratt (1890:17).

³¹ White and Igleheart (1893:19).

attributes of different human races.³² The Andean past was well-represented in Chicago: 125 mummies from the Peruvian cemetery of Ancón had traveled north for the ethnology exhibit, and the government of Peru donated \$30,000 (worth about \$800,000 today) to ensure that its display was well-stocked with antiquities, including recently excavated pottery, metal artifacts, and fine cloth. Much of this “Inca” material came from cemeteries and *huacas* in Peru’s coastal desert, where antiquarians and natural historians had been prospecting for decades.

Machu Picchu and the Mysterious Inca

During the Columbian Exposition, nearly thirty million visitors had the opportunity to see Andean bodies and artifacts on display. One of those visitors was Hiram Bingham III, the teenage son of American missionaries in Hawaii. Bingham met his parents in Chicago in the summer of 1893, a year before beginning his undergraduate studies at Yale.³³ The exposition made an impression on the young man, who went on to take degrees in Latin American history, before setting off on a South American expedition, in 1908. The continent’s new railroads and steamships made travel easier, and Bingham was able to journey from Buenos Aires to Lima. In Cuzco, he visited Inca monuments and viewed ancient artifacts held in the private collections of local antiquarians. On his way out of the region, Bingham trekked to the remote Inca site of Choquequirao, where he looted cliff tombs to collect skulls and assorted grave goods to take back to Yale’s Peabody Museum. This taste of jungle exploration inspired Bingham to return to search for Vilcabamba, the legendary last refuge of the Incas.³⁴

With support from Yale, Bingham organized a second expedition, which had the scientific goal of exploring of the Peruvian Andes along the seventy-third meridian. Bingham made his way back to Cuzco and out into the unknown lowlands to the northwest of the ancient Inca capital. Pursuing

³² Starr (1893) described the somatology laboratory at the World’s Fair, directed by the famous anthropologist Franz Boas.

³³ Bingham took a macabre detour on his way to college. He visited his grandmother’s grave in Massachusetts and disinterred her bones, which he carried with him to Yale (Heaney 2010:16).

³⁴ See Bingham (1911). Heaney (2010) is a key source on Bingham’s Peruvian travels and discoveries.



Figure I.3. Photograph of Machu Picchu from Hiram Bingham's Yale expedition, published in *National Geographic Magazine* in April, 1913.

his personal ambition of discovering the lost stronghold of Manco, the last Inca to rule in Cuzco, Bingham journeyed into the humid jungles of the Urubamba River canyon. He asked local farmers if they knew of any ruins, and then paid them to guide him there. On July 24, 1911—exactly two decades after the Lima commission had entered the cathedral crypt to claim Pizarro's body for modern science—the farmers led the American up treacherous cliffside trails to the spectacular site of Machu Picchu, a place that Bingham was soon promoting as the key to unlocking all mysteries surrounding the Inca civilization (Figure I.3).

At first, Bingham limited the discovery of the site to a couple of dry paragraphs toward the end of his expedition report.³⁵ His tone quickly changed to breathless hype in 1913, when his article in *National Geographic Magazine* brought Machu Picchu to the world's attention. Bingham now suggested that the site "might prove to be the largest and most important ruin discovered in South America since the days of the Spanish conquest."³⁶ The *New York Times* heralded the discovery of the lost city as "the greatest archaeological discovery of the age," repeating Bingham's conviction that

³⁵ Bingham (1912:239).

³⁶ Bingham (1913).

the Inca dynasty had its origins there, and that the site was their final refuge, so secluded that the Spaniards never discovered it.³⁷ Like Pizarro's lacquered corpse in Lima, Machu Picchu came to stand for something greater than its physical reality. The site was treated as no less than the alpha and omega of the Inca race, and it cast a long shadow over Inca archaeology in the century following its rediscovery.

Anthropological Incas

Bingham soon left the study of the Incas behind, parlaying his fame into a political career. In the decades that followed, he authored several popular books about his exploits at Machu Picchu, coasting on his reputation as an explorer. Meanwhile, his protégé, Philip Ainsworth Means, emerged as a prominent Andean scholar. Means labored to organize and categorize the growing record of the rediscovered Inca past. He identified the Spanish chroniclers he thought to be reliable and built a master sequence for the archaeological record of the Incas and their ancestors. These efforts ultimately had only fleeting success. After Means's death in 1944, the archaeologist Samuel Lothrop wrote in an obituary that Means's work, once considered authoritative, was now under critical assault by a researcher from "a younger and perhaps better-informed generation."³⁸

That young critic was the archaeologist John Howland Rowe, the first of three great mid-century Inca scholars who turned their backs on Means and Bingham to develop a new paradigm that situated Inca studies firmly in the domain of American anthropology. From his first articles in the 1940s, Rowe treated the Incas as a short-lived historical dynasty whose material remains could be used to link their empire to local sequences and the vestiges of earlier Andean civilizations. The ethnohistorian John Murra complemented Rowe's approach, emphasizing the continuity of timeless Andean values held by ordinary households. Murra advocated the combined use of archaeology, Spanish chronicles, and modern ethnography to understand Andean societies. He shared this integrated approach with the Dutch anthropologist Tom Zuidema, whose theoretical stance and critical approach to colonial

³⁷ *New York Times*, June 15, 1913.

³⁸ Lothrop (1945:110).

texts were often at odds with Rowe's treatment of documents and artifacts. Although they did not agree entirely on the use of colonial sources or the right balance of the historical and the conceptual in Inca studies, Rowe, Murra, and Zuidema became the godfathers of an anthropological approach to Inca studies in the United States.³⁹ Zuidema was particularly vocal about claiming the Incas for anthropology. When the American historian Burr Brundage published a book on the Incas in 1963, Zuidema wrote a highly critical review in which he argued that purely historical studies of the Incas had reached an interpretive dead-end. Historians could work productively on the colonial-era Andes, but archaeology and anthropology would take the lead in the study of the native societies that had thrived before Pizarro invaded Peru.⁴⁰

In effect, academic trench warfare created a divide that relocated the story of the Spanish conquest of Peru to a sort of intellectual "no man's land" between history and anthropology. The 1970 publication of John Hemming's monumental history *The Conquest of the Incas* helped to fix that boundary in place. A Canadian-born explorer, Hemming approached the Spanish conquest of Peru as an outsider, but his book was received by historians as the first worthy successor to Prescott's monumental 1847 book. Hemming drove his narrative quickly to the remarkable Spanish capture of the Inca prince Atahualpa at Cajamarca on November 16, 1532, leaving out the kind of detailed description of Inca society that took up hundreds of pages in Prescott's history. Hemming did this so that he could give greater attention to Inca resistance in the forty years that followed Cajamarca, dispel the idea that the Incas fell to the Spaniards without a fight, and "remove the Incas from the realm of prehistory and legend, and to show them as men struggling against a terrible invasion."⁴¹ This deliberate shift—using the chronicles to assemble a narrative in which the indigenous voice can be heard—was an approach that professional historians were only just beginning to embrace.⁴²

Hemming's new reading built on a painstaking review of thousands of archival manuscripts and published documents, and he incorporated the

³⁹ The importance of Peruvian historians like María Rostworowski, and archaeologists like Luis Lumbreras should not be overlooked (Tantaleán 2014), and Inca specialists outside of North America have made important scholarly contributions.

⁴⁰ Zuidema (1966:231).

⁴¹ Hemming (1970:17–18).

⁴² Gibson (1972:69).

growing secondary literature from multiple fields, including the work of Bingham, Means, Rowe, and Zuidema. Piecing this huge body of information together, Hemming brought the accounts of indigenous writers to the foreground, departing vividly from the long-standing “great man” historical tradition that emphasized Pizarro’s victories, if not his character. Hemming’s passion for exploring “unknown” corners of the globe framed his narrative. He introduced the Inca world as “the last advanced civilization completely isolated from the rest of mankind,” and he ended his account of the last days of the Inca dynasty with a chapter on the ongoing explorations of the jungles near Cuzco, including those of Hiram Bingham. But if Bingham had promoted Machu Picchu as a symbol of all things Inca, Hemming placed the site into the broader context of the discovery and domestication of unknown lands, the last days of an era of conquest and exploration that had begun centuries earlier.

Pizarro’s Second Coming

Soon after the publication of Hemming’s influential history, the body of Francisco Pizarro made an unexpected reappearance. In 1977, four workers who were cleaning the crypt beneath the altar in the Lima cathedral made an accidental discovery. Working around a large column at the center of the crypt, they discovered a bricked-over niche. As they removed the bricks, they found two wooden boxes. The larger one was still adorned with the tattered remains of a brown velvet cover and marked with the cross of Santiago, the symbol of the famous Spanish knightly order. Inside lay the jumbled bones of several people and the rusty remains of a sword. The smaller box was painted light green on the outside and covered with red plaster on the interior. Inside were more human bones and a small box made of lead, which bore a hastily executed inscription in Spanish: “Here is the head of the lord marquis don Francisco Pizarro, who discovered and won those kingdoms of Peru and placed them under the Royal Crown of Castile.”⁴³ Inside the lead box was a human skull.

When the cathedral workers brought their discovery to the attention of church officials, they quickly reached out to a historian and several

⁴³ Maples et al. (1989); and Maples and Browning (2001:215ff.) provide the details on the rediscovery of Pizarro described here.

medical doctors, who inspected the bones and concluded that the skeleton of Francisco Pizarro was among them. This meant that the body displayed as Pizarro for more than eighty years was someone else, a conclusion that many Peruvian scholars found difficult to accept. To resolve the lingering controversy, a biological anthropologist and a forensic specialist from the United States were invited to conduct their own analysis. In 1984, they studied the newly discovered remains, as well as the body still publicly displayed as Pizarro in the cathedral.

The methods the researchers used were very different from the “modern” anthropometric work carried out in 1891. They did not take large numbers of skull measurements to determine the race and character of the deceased. Instead, they scrutinized the bones for marks of trauma, and identified more than two dozen stab and cut marks, evidence that the individual had died from “extreme homicidal violence.” There were no such marks on the mummified body that had long been treated as the physical symbol of Peru’s conquest, and the investigators concluded that it probably belonged to an unknown Spanish functionary or priest. When the American researchers returned to Peru in 1985 as special guests for the celebration of Lima’s 450th anniversary, they were struck by the consequences of their work. The bones discovered in 1977 were now on display in the elaborate sarcophagus in the cathedral, while the mummy that had rested there for generations was now in the crypt, laid out on a crude table fashioned from a sheet of plywood and two sawhorses. The researchers noted that this change of fortune raised an important thought for all to contemplate: “fame is fleeting, not only for the living, but also for the dead.”⁴⁴

This observation is a fitting way to address the changes occurring in the last decades of the twentieth century, as the world prepared to mark 500 years since the first voyage of Columbus. The years leading up to that new centennial contrasted powerfully with the celebrations of a century earlier. Whereas the run-up to 1892 had celebrated the ideology of progress and a racist pseudoscience that justified the spread of Western empires and industrial capitalism, the last decades of the twentieth century were no less remarkable for the decolonization of colonial empires, global recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples, and advances in a broad array of civil rights movements. The flawed men who a century earlier had been treated

⁴⁴ Maples et al. (1989:1035).

as a necessary evil for the progress of Western civilization and the white race were inevitably cast in a darker light as the interpretive focus shifted to the devastation inflicted on native populations.

Hemming's 1970 book was prescient of this interpretive turn, and in 1992, when Hemming published an article on Francisco Pizarro in *National Geographic Magazine*, he focused far more attention on the Inca realm than on the invading Spaniards. Hemming spoke not of progress, but of Peru's contemporary struggles in the world that global capitalism was shaping after the end of the Cold War: "There will be little celebration of the fifth centenary of Columbus or of the conquistadores who followed him. Peruvians are too busy surviving and trying to build a great nation."⁴⁵ Visiting the Lima cathedral, Hemming observed that few visitors stopped to look at the scientifically validated bones of Pizarro, a sign of his fading relevance. Even among Peruvian historians who grudgingly acknowledged Pizarro's determination and military instincts, there was a sense that many were ready to forget him.

The Modern Myth of Cajamarca

As Francisco Pizarro's historical legacy faded among professional historians in Peru and elsewhere, an American ornithologist restored his larger-than-life status, elevating a legendary moment from the conquest of Peru to a turning point in human history. In 1997, Jared Diamond published *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, a book that charted the human past from the Pleistocene world of hunter-gatherers to the present. Diamond wrote the book to explain how the inequalities experienced by humans today came to be. Why were Western societies so affluent and powerful, while people living in other parts of the world had so much less? After years of thought, Diamond concluded that these differences grew out of social and ecological patterns that had accumulated in the long arc of human development. To demonstrate this, Diamond divided world history into two developmental periods. The first began with the onset of the warmer, wetter conditions of the Holocene epoch, about 11,700 years ago. From this common "starting line," human populations in different regions set off on different developmental trajectories. Over thousands of years, western Europeans gradually borrowed

⁴⁵ Hemming (1992:121).

new technologies and social practices—horses, writing, centralized governments, steel weapons, guns, and resistance to Old World diseases—from more-innovative neighbors, eventually building a critical advantage in their encounters with non-Western peoples around the globe. Diamond's second historical era traced a sequence of contacts in which these European advantages made the modern destruction of indigenous societies almost certain.

To illustrate the moment that the West's advantages became insurmountable, Diamond turned to Francisco Pizarro's ambush of the Inca warlord Atahualpa at the highland Andean town of Cajamarca on November 16, 1532, an event that he describes as "the most dramatic and decisive moment" in the face-off between the Old World and the New.⁴⁶ A century after Peruvian elites promoted Pizarro's body as the personification of the Spanish conquest, Diamond portrayed the encounter at Cajamarca as the instant when Europeans conclusively defeated the most powerful and civilized indigenous society, making the spread of Western dominance seem inevitable. Diamond devoted an entire chapter of the book to an account and analysis of the battle. For the book's cover art, he selected a dramatic painting of Atahualpa's capture that the English artist John Everett Millais produced in 1846, the year before William Prescott published his classic Inca history (Figure I.4).

In many ways, the portrayal of Cajamarca in *Guns, Germs, and Steel* shares many of the values that nineteenth-century writers wove into their own versions of the story, albeit without the emphasis on an innate racial superiority.⁴⁷ Like many authors before him, Diamond asked how Pizarro's contingent of fewer than 200 Spaniards prevailed against an Inca army that numbered in the tens of thousands. The mismatch itself served to demonstrate European social and technological superiority, as Pizarro's small force defeated and captured Atahualpa, whom Diamond described as "absolute ruler of the largest, richest, most populous, and administratively and technologically most advanced Native American state."⁴⁸ Diamond argued that Pizarro's victory was due to civilized European weaponry: "steel swords and other weapons, steel armor, guns, and horses." Inca foot soldiers had

⁴⁶ Diamond (1997:354).

⁴⁷ Morton (1839) also remarked on the superiority of Spanish weapons, although he considered Cajamarca to be a far less decisive Spanish victory.

⁴⁸ Diamond (1997:354).



Figure I.4. John Everett Millais, *Pizarro Seizing the Inca of Peru* (1846). The sixteen-year-old painter was inspired by an 1814 English account of the Battle of Cajamarca in a universal history by John Luffman. Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

little chance for victory using their clubs and slingshots, barbarian technologies made of inferior materials: stone, wood, and bronze.⁴⁹ Presented thus, Cajamarca became a powerful metaphor, conveying values and ideas that drove Diamond's argument about the march of Western progress. Atahualpa's capture represented European conquests across the Americas,

⁴⁹ Diamond (1997:74). Diamond also observes that Old World domesticated plants and epidemic diseases served as powerful auxiliaries in European conquests at Cajamarca and elsewhere. Consciously or not, he reproduces the technological hierarchy articulated by the nineteenth-century social evolutionist Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), who used the Stone and Bronze Age designations of early European archaeologists to classify non-literate societies as "savages" and "barbarians." Like Diamond, Morgan pursued the goal of tracing the universal human experience deep into prehistoric times using European measures of technological progress. Morgan restricted the term "civilization" to societies with writing, a distinction that Diamond identifies as a clear Spanish advantage over the Incas.

reducing centuries of hemisphere-wide conflicts to a single world-changing event.⁵⁰ This image has proven to be powerfully accessible for millions of readers, as well as academic writers, who have cited *Guns, Germs, and Steel* in more than 10,000 articles and books.

But there are some loose threads in Diamond's representation of Cajamarca, and tugging at them reveals some important flaws in this version of the event and in the modern-world paradigm that drives *Guns, Germs, and Steel*. Diamond describes the conquest of the Inca Empire as made quick and easy by Atahualpa's capture, since he was an "absolute monarch . . . revered by the Incas as a sun-god and exercised absolute authority over his subjects."⁵¹ As we will see, the Spaniards of Pizarro's company knew that Atahualpa was *not* these things, and Diamond himself mentions that Pizarro took advantage of the disorder and factionalism of a still-simmering Inca civil war to build alliances and avoid direct engagements with a unified Andean military force. Shortly after describing Cajamarca as a decisive Spanish victory, Diamond refers to a "determined" Inca military resistance that coalesced in the years that followed.⁵² He says that horses and steel gave the Spaniards an absolute military advantage over Native Americans, but he acknowledges that indigenous people quickly acquired and learned to use these to kill Europeans. By 1536, the Incas had solved the challenge of fighting the Spanish cavalry, and were killing hundreds of horsemen in ambushes along narrow Andean passes.⁵³

Diamond argues that Pizarro held another distinct advantage over Atahualpa. Although the Spaniard could not read or write, he belonged to a "literate tradition" that could get written information to Europe in a "mere" nine months.⁵⁴ In contrast, Diamond claims that Atahualpa walked into the Spanish trap at Cajamarca because he remained in the dark about Spanish intentions and military capabilities, even though Spanish eyewitnesses mention the presence of Inca spies and emissaries in their camp, and describe how Atahualpa continued to issue orders through his chain of command even during his captivity.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Diamond (1997:354).

⁵¹ Diamond (1997:68).

⁵² Diamond (1997:75).

⁵³ Diamond (1997:76).

⁵⁴ Diamond (1997:78–79).

⁵⁵ Diamond (1997:79).

Despite these inaccuracies, Diamond's portrayal of Cajamarca as a watershed moment in world history has promoted the misconception that a single confrontation brought the entire Andean world completely under Spanish rule.⁵⁶ The metaphorical representation of Cajamarca reduced a decades-long struggle for control of the Andes to a play in which Francisco Pizarro embodied Spain and Atahualpa represented the Inca Empire—an encounter in which the fate of the world hung in the balance. Since the publication of *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, this outsize significance has captured the imagination of popular writers, and the Battle of Cajamarca has been cited for its “amazing” outcome. One recent book marvels that “less than 200 Conquistadors overthrew some tens of thousands of armed Incas in something like one hour, seizing the Inca emperor and his entire empire.”⁵⁷ Another has enshrined the Spanish ambush among history's most significant battles, describing it as a pivotal engagement, whereby Pizarro “conquered more than half of South America.”⁵⁸

Miraculous Cajamarca

Diamond's portrayal of the Battle of Cajamarca shares important assumptions that nineteenth-century Western authors made about the spreading dominance of their societies. As we have already seen, these were written into the story of the conquest of the Incas at a time when the United States and Great Britain (and other empires) were incorporating new territories around the world, and using scientific racism to proclaim biological superiority over the people they were displacing or colonizing. But the conquest stories of Morton and Prescott did not consider Cajamarca a decisive moment, so it is worth considering whether *Guns, Germs, and Steel* captures how the Spanish writers of the colonial era described the battle.

As it turns out, Spanish Golden Age literature did not treat the Battle of Cajamarca as the historical triumph of Western modernity. Many writers

⁵⁶ Restall (2003) has debunked the myths of the Spanish conquest of the Americas, many of which are contained in Diamond's treatment of Cajamarca.

⁵⁷ Raudzens (2003:32).

⁵⁸ Lanning (2005:21) presents the Battle of Cajamarca at the beginning of his 100 great battles, just after the battles of Yorktown (1781), Hastings (1066), Stalingrad (1942–1943), Leipzig (1813), and Antietam (1862).

acknowledged it to be an important victory in the conquest of Peru, but not all knew enough about the battle to date it correctly to 1532.⁵⁹ One reason Cajamarca did not serve as the symbol of inevitable European conquest was because indigenous populations in many parts of the Americas continued to resist Spanish conquest and colonization successfully for more than a century after the capture of Atahualpa. In the places where the Spaniards were unable to capitalize on the infrastructure, governing hierarchies, and internal factionalism of the native empires, they enjoyed far less success in expanding their own territory.

By the late 1500s, attempts to conquer frontier areas in the Andes had ground down to stalemates, and few believed that guns, germs, and steel made for easy victories. Like many Spanish writers, the Jesuit natural historian José de Acosta believed that it was God's judgment—not Spanish superiority—that opened the Inca world and allowed the Spaniards to conquer it. Acosta, who wrote in 1590, felt that Spain's zeal had faded since then, and its successes were few and far between. Throughout the Americas, from Florida to Brazil to the Amazonian lowlands, there had been no great victories for fifty years. Acosta noted that the native peoples of Chile had lost their fear of guns and horses, "knowing that the Spaniard, too, falls to the slingstone and the arrow." Although the Europeans were hard to kill in battle, they remained vastly outnumbered in many places, and native groups organized themselves in new ways and developed effective strategies to resist them. The Jesuit Acosta warned that "those who underestimate the Indians . . . fool themselves greatly."⁶⁰ Some territories claimed by Spain in the late 1400s remained unconquered until genocidal wars decimated their independent populations in the 1800s.

Spaniards were already witnessing the slow fade of their world empire in the first half of the 1600s, a time when the advances of the Scientific Revolution were beginning to inform Enlightenment thinkers across Europe.⁶¹ But Spanish writers who played up the significance of the victory at Cajamarca continued to express it in terms of miracles: Pizarro's unlikely victory demonstrated God's support for Spain's mission to propagate the

⁵⁹ In 1598, Jerónimo de Oré stated that the encounter at Cajamarca took place in 1533, and that Pizarro captured "the Inca, King of Peru, Atahualpa," pacified and conquered his realms, and passed them over to the Spanish crown, "although those same Spaniards overturned and upset all the land with banditry and civil war" (f. 27v).

⁶⁰ Acosta (1590: 531–532, bk. 7, chap. 28).

⁶¹ Barrera-Osorio (2006) and Cañizares-Esguerra (2006) describe Spanish empire-building and the Scientific Revolution.

Catholic faith. For example, Prudencio de Sandoval's biography of Charles V, from 1615, states that Pizarro's victory at Cajamarca was "one of the greatest and most important things that any Captain ever did in the world," not just because it made the *conquistadores* rich, but because it cast Satan out of a vast territory and led to the conversion of millions.⁶²

If we are tempted to dismiss this kind of exaggeration as an isolated relic of the medieval Catholic mindset, it is worth noting that scientists and philosophers writing in Protestant countries displayed equal ease in mixing religion with more "enlightened" modes of thought. The English philosopher Francis Bacon helped to promote the scientific method, but he also believed in miracles and divine revelation, and he structured his great scientific treatise *Instauratio Magna* (1620) in six parts, modeling it after the six days of biblical creation. Hugo Grotius, a Dutch legal theorist who advanced new concepts of international law, also produced *On the Truth of the Christian Religion*, in 1627, in which he described the preservation of state governments as "proof of the Divine Providence over human affairs."⁶³ Later in the 1600s, Isaac Newton made groundbreaking contributions in physics and mathematics, but he also spent years tinkering with biblical prophecies, calculating several possible dates for Christ's return, which he thought would occur at some point between the late 1800s and the twenty-fourth century.⁶⁴ Even Linnaeus, the botanist who helped to develop binomial taxonomy—and the foundations of race-based skull science—also wrote "Nemesis Divina" (1740), an essay in which he sought spiritual "signatures" in the world, including "portents, dreams, hauntings, ghosts, spell-binding, and clairvoyance."⁶⁵ The scientists and philosophers who promoted a world governed by natural laws still acknowledged a place for metaphysical forces that did not play by their modern rules.

The Inca Apocalypse

This book, a retelling of the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire, takes its inspiration from the observation that Western versions of the story have

⁶² Sandoval (1634:689). Sandoval excerpted this claim from a 1578 Catholic world history (Illescas 1578:337). Cf. Herrera y Tordesillas (1615, década V, bk. 2, chap. 11).

⁶³ Grotius (bk. 1, pt. 12).

⁶⁴ Snobelen (2003).

⁶⁵ Schuchard (2012:xv).

changed over time, and that they have used the narrative to express different values and attitudes. Spanish writers cited the defeat of the Incas as evidence that God had selected their nation to bring Catholicism to the Americas. By describing miraculous military victories, they could show other Christians that Spain was divinely ordained to colonize the New World. To that end, the Incas also served as a philosophical test for Spanish imperial rule over Native Americans. Since most Europeans acknowledged the Incas to be the most civilized “Indians,” Spain could claim dominion over all Native Americans if it could justify overturning the Inca imperial order and its natural lords.

Following the fall of the Spanish Empire, English-language accounts of the conquest of Peru abandoned the supernatural rhetoric of the original sources, and used instead the language of science to describe the Spanish victories as evidence of Caucasian racial superiority. As they replaced the religious contrast that Spanish writers made—between Christians and pagans—American scientists like Ruschenberger, Morton, and McGee also distanced themselves from the *conquistadores* of that earlier time. To them, the Incas were civilized, but their race was tragically limited, which had allowed it to be thrown down by a small band of uncivilized men from a superior race. By denouncing Pizarro and his men as brigands and criminals, Western men of science sought to distinguish themselves as rational and modern. Researchers today reject the scientific racism that grew throughout the nineteenth century, but Diamond’s emphasis on European social and technological advantages in *Guns, Germs, and Steel* reflects an uncomfortable legacy from those scientific claims of modernity.

Mindful of how beliefs in divine mandates or racial superiority shaped the narratives of the Spanish conquest and colonization of Peru, this book approaches the same story as the collision of two worlds that had their own beliefs and social logics. The entangling of those worlds was a process whose results were not predictable in 1532, and whose progression over the decades was shaped by the participants, often thwarting the strategies and claims of both religious and political elites. Rather than treat the invading Spaniards as the vanguard of modern civilization—and the Incas as the last bastion of barbarian antiquity—this book will explore a much more interesting story about the changing world of the sixteenth century, one that shows both societies to be immersed in their own distinct beliefs about the ultimate fate of humanity.

I turn to the theme of apocalypse as a central concept that bridges us from “ancient” modes of thought to our current anxieties about where

humanity is headed. I use the term broadly, sometimes invoking it to describe cataclysmic events, and at other times staying closer to its original Greek meaning: an uncovering or revelation, or even an enlightenment. This approach makes it possible to represent ways of thinking in which religion and science remain entwined, where both the fulfillment of prophecy and the discovery of once-lost texts, bodies, and sites could constitute revelations that shaped the understanding of the world. To develop this apocalyptic story, I include the supernatural elements that flow through European and Andean narratives, treating both sides as belonging to a different world than the one we occupy today, but one that is familiar to us in some surprising and unsettling ways. An apocalyptic history of the Spanish conquest of Peru helps to reveal how different people interpreted the world-changing events in which they participated, and how those responses in turn reshaped attitudes about the world it brought into being.

An apocalyptic account of the fall of the Inca Empire helps to dispel some of the myths of modern civilization that persist today. The rationalism of Enlightenment thought did not expel religious belief from Western minds. It merely reinforced the idea that scientific reasoning could be found seated within the skulls of certain men, and that others were not destined to be the masters of the modern world. Even if religion was banished to metaphorical and metaphysical places—hearts and souls—it continues to guide social actions in significant ways, both positive and negative. Belief remains particularly powerful in the United States, where there have been repeated historical waves of spiritual fervor since colonial times, “awakenings” in which charismatic religious leaders galvanized new support among people who felt alienated or left behind by the changes of their day.⁶⁶ Even today, almost all Americans believe in some form of higher power, and an overwhelming majority thinks that angels exist and that miracles still occur. Three-quarters of Americans talk to God, and almost one-third say that God communicates with them. Most of the US population accepts demonic possession as real, and almost half believe that Jesus Christ will return to the earth by the year 2050.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ See Morris (2019).

⁶⁷ In a 2018 Pew survey, 90% of adults expressed belief in God or some other higher power or spiritual force (Pew Research Center, April 25, 2018, “When Americans Say They Believe in God, What Do They Mean?”). Around 29% of those surveyed said God talked to them. In 2008, the Pew Forum on Religion found that nearly 80% of Americans believe in miracles (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, February 2008 “U.S.

To understand the apocalyptic mindsets of the Andean and Iberian societies, we will cover a great deal of ground in the next few chapters, painting a large-scale portrait of the two worlds where the Inca and Spanish dynasties came to build world empires amid widespread concerns about the world's end. As we will see in chapters 1 and 2, religion shaped the political expression of mythical and historical pasts, and rulers in the Andes and the Iberian Peninsula claimed that their growing empires were engaged in critical acts of civilization affecting the great arc of universal creation.

The collision of these two worlds came as the convergence of Inca and Spanish imperial growth, through generations-long processes that transformed Spanish and Inca identities and presented challenges to the sovereign claims of rulers who pursued world-changing ideologies. In the more detailed historical narratives in chapters 3 and 4, we will see how imperial conquests were catastrophic to millions of previously independent people, many of whom saw their communities devastated, their freedoms curtailed, and their core beliefs and values assailed. A ruler's progress toward building a utopian empire was also a world-ending experience for countless ordinary people who saw their bodies and possessions swept away in civilization's rising tide. Resistance to imperial encroachment provoked responses that the universe-binding superpowers struggled to justify as humane. The bloody encounter in 1532 between Pizarro and Atahualpa at Cajamarca, described in chapter 5, was part of a broader pattern of devastation—epidemic disease, widespread famine, crippling warfare, and mass enslavement—that began years earlier and continued in the decades that followed.

In their own distinct ways, the Incas and Spaniards who were present at Cajamarca believed in the eventual destruction of their worlds. They also expected the dawning of a new era to follow the catastrophes and suffering, and we will see how the disruptive changes that ripped the Inca world apart also created new spaces for those who survived to make sense of the emerging modern world that they were a part of. Chapters 6 through 9 trace the decades of turmoil that followed Cajamarca and eventually gave birth to colonial Peru. These were drawn-out conquests that took many forms. The Spaniards introduced a prolonged chaos to the Andes, and the royal

Religious Landscape Survey”). In that poll, 68% of respondents answered “completely agree” or “mostly agree” to the statement “Angels and demons are active in the world.” The 2018 Pew survey found that 41% of Americans believe that Christ will “definitely” (23%) or “probably” (18%) return to earth by 2050.

subjugation of faithless subjects and bad Christians required new forms of sovereignty and belief, which shaped how Europeans and Native Americans understood their roles in world history. We will see that while most Incas embraced Christianity and a new identity as noble Spanish vassals, the Inca legacy remained central to ongoing debates over Spain's right to remake the Andes into a colonized domain of converted Indian subjects. Chapter 10 details the philosophical and administrative transformations that truly imposed Spanish colonial government in the Inca world during the 1570s, an effort celebrated in 1572, in the public beheading of Tupa Amaru, a man forced to play the role of the last Inca king. Even after that execution, Spanish officials struggled to rule Inca territory and extend its frontiers. Chapters 11 and 12 describe attempts to conquer Andean landscapes and their sacred landmarks as indigenous people gradually converted the Inca legacy from an imperial title to a symbol of resistance to Spanish rule and Christian conversion.

Describing the transformation of the Inca world as an extended series of different kinds of conquests—military, political, religious, ecological—makes it possible to consider how generations of Europeans and Andeans made new meanings of the Spanish conquest and of the modern era that it was bringing into being. Framed this way, our story cuts across several periods that are celebrated in the West as the advent of modernity: the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, and the earliest stirrings of the Enlightenment. Although there were significant developments in philosophy, technology, and government, this reading of the conquest of Peru highlights the continued significance of religion in shaping the hopes and fears of modern Europeans and their growing new world of colonized subjects, some of which have survived up to the present.

I

Assembling Inca History

[Inca Yupanque] let them know that . . . after the days of his grandson Huayna Capac, there would be pachacuti, which means “change of the world.” Those lords asked him if the change of the world would be from floods, fire, or pestilence. He told them it would not be for any of those reasons, but, rather, because white, bearded, and very tall men would come. They would go to war with these men and in the end these men would subjugate them. There would be no more Inca lords like them.

—Juan de Betanzos, c. 1550¹

We have followed modern scientists into Lima’s cathedral crypt—to recover Francisco Pizarro’s body and mummify it as a physical representation of the Peruvian past. It now seems fitting to enter the Inca world at another moment of ancestral history-making. We begin in Cuzco, the majestic Inca capital city, which lies in a warm valley in the highlands of southern Peru. It is around AD 1500, a Christian date whose fuzziness reflects a key difference between the flow of Spanish time and the flow of Inca time, a theme that runs through the chapters of this book. When it came to governing their mighty empire, the Incas developed the technology and an administrative hierarchy to collect and maintain detailed census and tribute accounts, but they did not consider it necessary to extend this precise record keeping to their dynastic history or to build a common chronology that clearly linked their royal ancestors with Andean myths of universal creation. It was enough that the line of Inca emperors could claim a dozen generations of history, a legacy that reached a few centuries backward into a past that became increasingly shrouded in legend. This might seem like a short time to us, but it was more history than any other Andean dynasty possessed at that time,

¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, 1:29]).

and the royal Inca narrative was still growing as new generations of rulers passed on their titles and joined their ancestors in death.²

Around AD 1500, the Inca emperor Huayna Capac was in the early years of his reign, and he entered Cuzco at the head of a massive army, prepared to stage a funeral that would add to his ancestral history. The young Inca was returning victorious from his first military campaign—a years-long invasion of the rugged cloud forests inhabited by the fierce Chachapoyas—but he and his soldiers marched into the capital weeping, with their faces painted black and their garments arranged in an aspect of mourning. For three years, Huayna Capac had grieved the death of his mother, Mama Ocllo, an empress who for a decade was the most powerful person in the Americas (Figure 1.1).³ When he had first learned of his mother's passing, the Inca was so devastated that he shut himself in his palace for a month before finally emerging to preside over six months of public mourning. After that, Huayna Capac went off to battle, not to prove himself as a military commander worthy of his legendary father and grandfather, but for the purpose of acquiring the things he would need to stage an elaborate public funeral for his mother: coca leaf, ceremonial foods, plunder, and captives who would become servants of Mama Ocllo's mummy. As Huayna Capac's army carried these things into Cuzco, the city was already preparing for an event that would live on in Inca memories and elevate Mama Ocllo's body to a material symbol of imperial history.⁴

The following day, thousands of people flocked to the Haucaypata, Cuzco's central plaza, flowing into the vast open space from the four imperial roads that led into the city from the provinces. The crowd included men and women from the city's Inca nobility, accompanied by their servants and retainers; a host of religious officials; and perhaps even some ordinary farmers and herders from nearby villages. Huayna Capac himself oversaw the proceedings from a platform near the center of the plaza, where he appeared alongside sacred objects representing the most powerful forces in the Inca pantheon: the Sun, the Moon, and the creator Viracocha. When everyone was in place, Huayna Capac called for silence, and then ordered the ceremony to begin.

² By comparison, the dynastic history of the coastal Chimú Empire probably reaches no deeper than the 1300s (Rowe 1948:39–40), although the king list has approximately the same number of rulers.

³ Throughout the book, I refer to Inca monarchs as the *Inca* and the *Coya*, titles that roughly correspond to *emperor* and *empress*.

⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, 1:44]) describes this ceremony.



Figure 1.1. Mama Ocllo, tenth Coya of the Inca Empire. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (c. 1615): *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 138[138]/drawing 48.

Women were the principal performers, probably selected from the priestesses who lived in the *Hatun Cancha*, a cloister located on the plaza, where the empire's most talented and well-born young women learned sacred practices. Three groups of women came out dancing into the plaza and slowly made their way around the space, performing scenes that celebrated Mama Ocllo's life and represented the deceased empress as a symbol of female

power, generosity, and virtue. The first group displayed golden weaving tools to commemorate how Mama Ocllo transformed ordinary wool into fine cloth, a key gift that Inca rulers used to reward their faithful subjects. A second group brought out golden pitchers and cups, and then poured and distributed *chicha* maize beer. This served as a reminder that Mama Ocllo and other Inca women chewed raw maize, their saliva catalyzing the fermentation process that transformed the most important Inca crop into the potent brew that fueled state festivities. The final group bore golden vessels and utensils to recall the Inca empress's role in feeding her husband, a metaphor for the food that Inca officials provided to the tributary laborers who built the imperial roads, irrigation works, and buildings across the Andes.⁵

Mama Ocllo's funeral celebrated the female aspect of Inca imperial power, which complemented the male military and political hierarchies.⁶ The gathering also literally established Mama Ocllo's place in Inca history. When the Inca nobility arrived in the Haucaypata plaza for the celebration, they brought the mummies and images of other deceased Inca kings and queens. The royal dead formed a procession of powerful bodies dressed in fine cloth and borne in elaborate litters that were shaded by retainers carrying colorful feather parasols. The royal dead were arranged in chronological order in the plaza before sharing food and drink with their descendants, who toasted them with maize beer that they poured into large golden vessels. Assembled here, at the center of the empire, the dead sovereigns served as the material representation of Inca dynastic history. By this time, Mama Ocllo's preserved mummy was probably among them, seated with her long-dead husband, Tupa Inca Yupanqui.

After the ceremony, Mama Ocllo's descendants created a golden statue of the empress and placed the remains of her womb in its hollow interior. They consecrated her house, where her mummy was to reside, as well as springs and fountains and a ceremonial field of maize that they associated with her. Preserved as a mummy and as a statue—with physical reminders of her marking Cuzco's landscape—Mama Ocllo attained the status of a royal ancestor, extending her power and influence into the afterlife. Her body and image continued to participate in imperial conquests and noble

⁵ See Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 44]); cf. Cieza de León (1880 [c. 1553, chap. 11]).

⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 31]) also describes the first royal funeral (*purucaya*), instituted by the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui; the ceremony featured men and women who performed interpretive dances celebrating his sovereignty and military conquests.

Inca gatherings for the next sixty years, when Spanish officials finally hunted down and confiscated all the surviving Inca mummies.⁷

Ancestral Origins

The performances surrounding Mama Ocllo's funeral blended royal biography with values the Inca nobility considered essential for building and maintaining an empire. The colorful procession of royal mummies and golden statues celebrated the dynasty, but it also distracted from some of the gaps in the links between the imperial lineages and their mythical origins. When Cuzco's royal households assembled their mummies and statues into a dynastic line, the descendants of the earliest Incas—a group called Hurin (Lower) Cuzco—had no bodies to contribute.⁸ Their ancestors had moldered into bare bones, so they brought something more durable to remind their imperial relatives of a legendary time when the Incas were nothing more than petty rulers in the Cuzco Valley. The descendants of Manco Capac, the founding Inca, brought a four-foot-tall stone that they considered to be their ancestor, while the lineage of the second Inca, Sinchi Roca, carried a fish-shaped stone that they said was his brother.⁹ These powerful talismans reflected a progression of the human life force after death, from a desiccated and concentrated mummy to a durable but less-human stone.

⁷ See MacCormack (1991:134) on Mama Ocllo's statue. For the shrines and mummy, see Bauer (1998; 2004:178–179). The discussion of the mummies and estates of royal Incas should be approached cautiously. Betanzos says that the ninth Inca first created ancestral statues when his father died, establishing the noble Inca houses and the order of dynastic history (1999 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 17]). Mama Ocllo's mummy was confiscated around 1560 and displayed publicly in Cuzco and Lima for decades until it was finally buried (Bauer and Rodríguez 2007).

⁸ The Hurin Cuzco Incas marked their descent from Manco Capac, the first Inca; whereas the Hanan Cuzco Incas were descendants of the sixth Inca and had clearer kin ties to one another. See Molina (2011 [c. 1575]) for how the two groups complemented one another; and Bauer and Smit (2015); Covey (2006a); Morris and Covey (2003).

⁹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572) describes the statues and mummies of Inca kings. The earliest Spanish eyewitnesses mention the veneration of royal Inca women, at least some of whom received *purucaya* ceremonies and had “sister” statues made after their deaths. By the late 1500s, most sources were emphasizing the royalty of Inca men as peerless rulers. Sarmiento de Gamboa presents the material evidence of Inca talismans and mummies as consistent with the historical development of the dynasty (cf. Cieza de León 1880 [c. 1553, chap. 11]).

Many of the Hurin Cuzco Incas were ordinary farmers who worked the fields in the villages surrounding Cuzco. After so many generations, their relationships to one another were more imagined than concrete, and only a few families had marriage ties to the households of the imperial rulers, a group called Hanan (Upper) Cuzco. Despite their humble status, the Hurin Cuzco Incas granted antiquity to the dynastic performances of the wealthy and powerful Hanan Cuzco Incas. In the place of mummies, they brought the stone images of their ancestors to Cuzco's plaza, and they recounted larger-than-life stories about them. For example, the descendants of the fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, told strange stories that reminded the Spaniards of the tales about Hercules that still circulated in their native land. Mayta Capac was conceived miraculously and born after a three-month pregnancy, already a strong child who had all his teeth. As a two-year-old, he was so strong that he injured his playmates, and when ten of them attacked the boy in retaliation, he killed several of them and sent the others fleeing.¹⁰

More heroic than the Hurin Cuzco Incas were the ancestors who migrated to Cuzco and helped the first Inca, Manco Capac, to settle there. There was Ayar Cache, whose slingshots were so powerful that they caused landslides. His sister-wife, Mama Guaco, conquered a town in the coca-growing lowlands near Cuzco, terrorizing the locals by ritually mutilating a dead enemy. His brother, Ayar Oche, sprouted wings and flew to the top of a sacred mountain, where he remained to talk with to the sun on behalf of the Incas. These truly ancient ancestors were rooted in the landscape as rock outcrops, and they could not be dislodged for something as mundane as a royal funeral. The living had to come to them, bringing their prayers and offerings. As the Incas constructed their royal histories in Cuzco, they celebrated their legends and myths by making pilgrimages to important places on the landscape, a practice that we will see was prominent among their Iberian contemporaries.¹¹

¹⁰ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:81–83 [1572, chap. 17]). The Spanish chronicler treated these stories as “fables,” but he said the Incas believed them and would kill any who doubted them.

¹¹ Medieval pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury established routes for the faithful to visit the remains of Catholic saints. Jerusalem was an important but less accessible destination for western European pilgrims (Noonan 2007). As a local alternative to travel to the Holy Land, vernacular performances of the Passion Play were popular in central Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



Figure 1.2. Depiction of the Inca ancestral migration, from the Getty Manuscript by Martín de Murúa, c. 1616. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, fol. 19.

Like many other imperial dynasties, the Incas claimed to be outsiders whose ancestors had journeyed to their eventual capitals, guided by supernatural patrons who helped them to prevail over local populations (Figure 1.2).¹² They said their ancestors had emerged from a cave in a place called

¹² For example, Rome's founder, Romulus, came from Alba Longa. The Mexica of Mesoamerica were called Aztecs because they claimed legendary origins at Aztlán in the barbarian lands north of the Valley of Mexico.

Pacarictambo, located to the south of Cuzco.¹³ Four brother-sister pairs came forth from the cave, carrying royal Inca emblems and intent on finding fertile lands to cultivate. The most powerful brother, Ayar Cache, was too strong and unpredictable to live in the human world, so his siblings tricked him back inside the origin cave and then sealed him underground. He remained there as an unpredictable earth-shaking force as the other Incas journeyed toward the Cuzco Valley. When the Incas reached the powerful mountain Huanacauri—where they could look down on the Cuzco basin—a second brother, Ayar Oche, flew to its summit to speak with the Sun, the Inca patron and supernatural ancestor. He was changed into stone there and remained on the mountain to watch his kin build their mighty capital. The remaining Incas eventually made their way to the future site of Cuzco. In one version of the story, a brother named Ayar Auca also grew wings and flew to a pile of stones at the future site of the Inca capital, where he transformed himself into a stone monolith that served as an Inca patron of the city of Cuzco.¹⁴ Only one brother, Manco Capac, reached Cuzco in human form; he and his four powerful sisters built a palace-temple there called Coricancha (the Golden Enclosure).

When Inca noblemen told different versions of this story to the Spaniards in the late 1500s, the migration narrative could seemingly be confirmed by visiting locations within and beyond Cuzco. Inca roads led to Pacarictambo, where one could see the Puma Orqo, a rock outcrop said to be the location of the ancestral origin cave (Figure 1.3). An Inca site called Maucallacta overlooked the place of emergence, a palatial complex built of fine masonry and arranged like an amphitheater. Archaeological excavations at Maucallacta have exposed the remains of several breweries, indicating that it was the site of grand festivities, probably involving members of Cuzco's Inca nobility.¹⁵

¹³ See Urbano (1980) for different Inca creation and ancestral origin myths, as well as Urton (1990, 1999). The names of the Incas, their exact itinerary, and the timing of their migration vary among sources. Bauer's regional surveys (1992, 2004) place these accounts in a broader archaeological context.

¹⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s]) is the source for the transformation of the first two brothers, and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]) describes the third. The migration story establishes the first king, Manco Capac, as connected to a supernatural hierarchy that included a local *huaca*, a mountain where the Sun could be contacted, and an earthquake entity whose destructive power was beyond human influence.

¹⁵ Bauer (1992) describes his archaeological survey and excavations at Maucallacta. More recent excavations have not been well-published, but the clay supports for fermentation vessels are easily identified at the site.

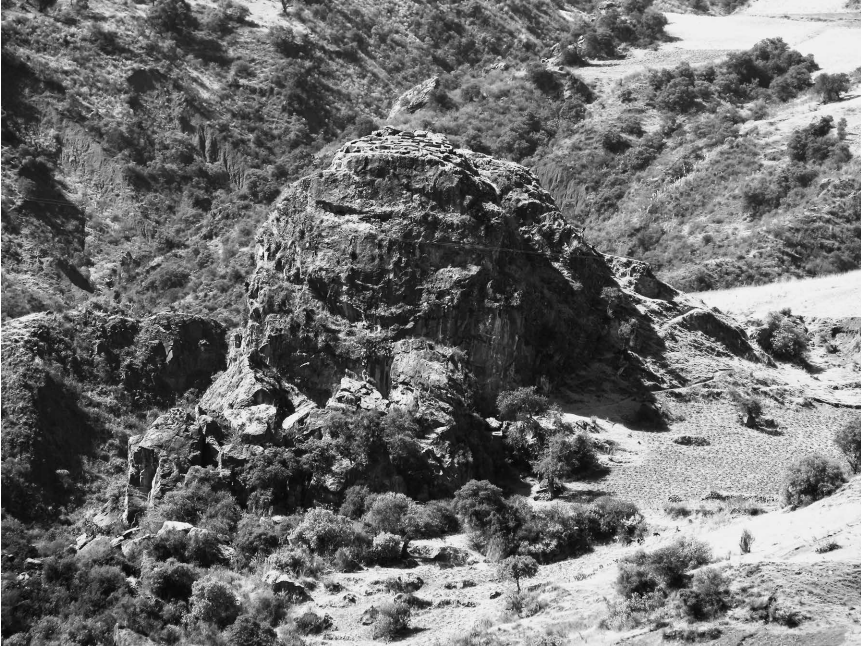


Figure 1.3. The Incas celebrated the emergence of their first ancestors at the Puma Orqo outcrop, located thirteen miles (21 km) south of Cuzco.

Huanacauri, the spot of Ayar Oche's transfiguration, was another place where monumental architecture marked a key episode in the ancestral migration. On the southern rim of the Cuzco basin, the mountain was part of Cuzco's shrine system and remained a ritual destination even after the Spaniards looted the temple complex that had been built near the summit. The area surrounding the mountain was dotted with minor shrines, and important ceremonies took place at the temple, including a fast that Inca youths carried out during a month of ordeals that transformed them into warriors. During his coronation ceremony, Huayna Capac traveled in a litter to Huanacauri to make sacrifices, and then returned to Cuzco "by the route along which Manco Capac had come."¹⁶

Finally, the terminal point of the migration—the Coricancha temple—marked the arrival of Manco Capac and his four sisters. Caritampucanacha, a small plaza inside the Coricancha, was a shrine that received offerings as the

¹⁶ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:172 [1572, chap. 56]).

first place Manco Capac had settled. Nearby lay a ceremonial field within the city center, said to be the spot where the first Inca had sunk a golden staff into the fertile earth and determined that it was the place where his maize-farming people would settle permanently.¹⁷

Andean Creation

The landmarks of the ancestral migration to Cuzco substantiated a few centuries of dynastic history, but they did not explain how those legendary first Incas got to be in the cave of origin in the first place. Even though the Incas possessed a deeper history than any of their political rivals, they still had to fit the story of their origin into the context of broader Andean myths that described the cyclical destruction and remaking of the universe, a process called *pachakutiy*. Before Inca emperors conquered people living beyond the Cuzco region, they were probably aware of regional pilgrimages to sites where universal creation was widely believed to have occurred. On the Pacific coast near Lima, the Incas went to great effort to establish a presence at the creation shrine of Pachacamac. But as a highland group, they claimed that their ancestors were created in the Lake Titicaca basin, a three-week journey to the southeast of Cuzco.

Andean people understood this world to be the latest of a series of creations that had been brought into being, only to be devastated by natural disasters.¹⁸ Legend has it that Viracocha, the highland creator, emerged from the waters of Lake Titicaca at some unknown time in the past. On an island in the lake, he made the earth and the celestial bodies and sent the sun on its course. From there, Viracocha passed over to the site of Tiwanaku, a few hours' walk from the lake shore, where he fashioned pairs of men and women from stone. These he sent them forth across the Andes, ordering them to come out from springs, lakes, caves, and mountains to populate the world.¹⁹ The Incas believed that their first ancestors were one of the groups sent forth by Viracocha. After completing his creation, Viracocha departed from the Andes, leaving the present universe inhabited by humans.

¹⁷ Bauer (1998).

¹⁸ See Urbano (1980) for other Andean creation and origin accounts.

¹⁹ The version used here is from Betanzos, which differs in some respects from other early versions (cf. Cieza de León 1880 [c. 1553, chap. 5]).

Inca emperors cultivated a pilgrimage circuit from Cuzco that allowed them to visit the key places in the highland creation myth. Inca travelers would depart from the capital on the road to the Collasuyu province, stopping at the *tambo* (way station) at Urcos, where there was a temple to Viracocha, who also paused to rest there. The Inca road climbed through the Vilcanota Valley for several days, passing the famous temple of Viracocha at Cacha, where the creator had rained fire on the local Canas people for failing to show him reverence. After a week, the travelers reached the La Raya pass, a sacred place where Inca priests celebrated important solstice ceremonies. The road crossed into the Titicaca basin at an elevation of more than 14,000 feet (4,300 meters), and then descended to the town of Ayaviri, where it divided into two routes that enclosed Lake Titicaca. The southerly road passed the thousand-year-old ruins of Pukara before catching sight of Lake Titicaca, outside the town of Puno. As the largest lake in South America, and one of the highest in the world, Titicaca presents a vista that stands apart from the broken highlands lying to the north: a world of open blue skies and vast expanses of water interrupted by the snow-capped peaks of the Bolivian Cordillera Real.²⁰ From Puno, the royal road followed the lakeshore, crossing through the lands of the Lupaca people, before leaving the imperial highway, after the town of Pomata. After a day on the pilgrimage road, travelers passed a checkpoint at the town of Yunguyo, where they changed into their finest clothing and jewelry before entering the Copacabana Peninsula. Copacabana was a special precinct set apart from the provinces, governed by Inca nobles, and occupied by retainer households who had been resettled from more than forty provincial groups. Pilgrims embarked from Copacabana to the Island of the Sun, proceeding by boat and foot to see the sacred rock where Viracocha had first emerged from the lake.²¹

²⁰ The first Spaniards entered the basin on the Inca highway shortly after reaching Cuzco in 1533; they were seeking the fabled island of Titicaca and any riches that could be found there. In 1536, the horseman Diego de Agüero sought royal favors for his deeds in the conquest, which had included completing a mission, ordered by Francisco Pizarro, to describe the basin (called the Callao) and the island of Titicaca (AGI Patronato 93 N.6.R.3 [1536]; see also AGI Patronato 119 R.1 [1573]). Agüero claimed to have entered the land, described as “undiscovered by Christians,” through great effort, and to have taken 40,000 pesos in gold during his journey to one of the most sacred places in the Andean world.

²¹ See Bauer and Stanish (2001) and Stanish and Bauer (2004) on this pilgrimage, and Stanish’s (2003) overview of Titicaca basin archaeology. The household of Viracocha Inca held important responsibilities in the Copacabana precinct (Espinoza Soriano 1972) and

Fabricated Legends

In the years before the Spanish conquest, Inca emperors invested considerable resources to promote pilgrimage routes that celebrated universal creation and the ancestral Inca migration to Cuzco. The Spaniards understood that the temples and shrines along those routes were ancient places, and one chronicler said that the buildings at Pacarictambo and Huanacauri marked the oldest of all Inca shrines.²² Recent archaeological research at these locations tells a very different story from the one that Inca noblemen offered the Spaniards in the mid-1500s. Excavations at Maucallacta indicate that the Incas had built their festive complex in an unoccupied spot, about a century or so before the Spaniards arrived. The artifacts recovered from work at the temple complex on the summit of Huanacauri show a similar imperial date.²³ In other words, the landmarks that preserved the Inca migration myth had not been preserved since time immemorial, but were built up as royal construction projects after the Incas already ruled an empire. Inca nobles provided very detailed accounts of the urban development of Cuzco under the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, and the construction of royal country palaces, so it is telling that they represented these ancestral markers as ancient, even though they were no older than other imperial monuments.

The same is true for several Inca sites marking the Titicaca basin creation myth. Recent excavations show that just before the Spaniards invaded, the Incas had completed several large-scale construction projects intended to celebrate the creation of the present universe.²⁴ Digging beneath these

played an important role in transforming the place into a shrine that continues to be important to Bolivians today. The Inca Francisco Tito Yupanqui carved a statue of the Virgin of Copacabana, which came to be recognized in the seventeenth century for her miraculous patronage (see Salles-Reese 1997).

²² Cobo (1990:74 [1653]).

²³ See Bauer (1992) on Maucallacta, and Kosiba (2015) on Huanacauri. By comparison, the Coricancha and surrounding areas offer ample evidence of pre-imperial settlement going back centuries before the rise of the empire (Rowe 1944; Covey 2018).

²⁴ Radiocarbon dates from Inca sites associated with creation sites at the Titicaca basin indicate very late construction. Arkush (2011); Bauer et al. (2004:51); Bauer, Covey, and Terry 2004 (2004b:161); Seddon (2004:108); Yaeger and Vranich (2013:138); and Zovar (2012:162–163).

imperial representations of antiquity, researchers have found that many of the Inca monuments stood atop ruins of earlier Andean civilizations.²⁵ Foremost among these were Tiwanaku and Wari, two highland civilizations that thrived in the central Andes around 600–1000 CE.

The Incas held Tiwanaku's ruined capital to be the place where Viracocha formed the first men and women.²⁶ After their imperial conquests reached the ancient city, the Incas built new structures next to the Pumapunku pyramid, where they inaugurated sacrifices and hosted elaborate feasts.²⁷ These new buildings appeared within the chaotic landscape of a wrecked and mostly abandoned city, where massive broken blocks of fine masonry lay covered or strewn across a huge expanse of high grassland. Scattered amid these ruins lay sculpted stone heads and monumental human statues, all worked in stone. The Incas treated these remains as evidence of Viracocha's labors of creation, a place that marked the point from which he set out on a journey to Cuzco and beyond.

Other landmarks recalling Viracocha's mythical journey to Cuzco show evidence of associations with the Wari state, whose colonists settled some parts of the Cuzco region from 600–1000 CE. The magnificent Inca temple to Viracocha at Cacha has an early occupation that excavators associate with the period of Wari expansion. In the Urcos area, probably the part of the Cuzco region with the most intensive Wari colonization, the Incas maintained a shrine to Viracocha near an ancient cemetery where rich Wari burials have been excavated. Inca monuments along the route between Cuzco and Tiwanaku aggrandized shrines that local people believed to be ancient, and the imperial construction program promoted a version of the universal creation myth that was physically linked to the Inca imperial capital.²⁸

²⁵ The major Inca sites on the islands in Lake Titicaca had previously been occupied by Tiwanaku, and then were abandoned for several centuries. Seddon (2004) identified a Tiwanaku temple at Chucaripupata, near the sacred rock on the Island of the Sun, where Viracocha emerged from the lake. Bauer and colleagues (2004) found Tiwanaku offerings beneath the Inca temple on the Island of the Moon.

²⁶ I use Betanzos's (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 1–2]) early version of this journey, one of several colonial narratives surrounding highland Andean creation. See Urbano (1980).

²⁷ See Yaeger and López Bejarano (2004); cf. Knudson, Gardella, and Yaeger (2012). Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 45]) says that Huayna Capac's son Paullu was born there as the emperor passed through the region.

²⁸ See Sillar and Dean (2002); Sillar, Dean, and Trujillo (2013) on the temple of Viracocha at Raqchi. Glowacki (2002); Skidmore (2014); and Zapata (1997) discuss the Wari occupation of the Urcos area.

The Archaeological Evidence

Only in recent years have archaeologists accumulated enough material evidence to put Inca origin stories to a material test. As noted earlier, excavation sequences and radiocarbon dates have exposed two important ways that the Incas misrepresented their deepest past. After the Spanish conquest, Inca noblemen claimed that some very recent monuments—buildings erected in the time of their parents and grandparents—were built in ancient times. They also described pre-Inca constructions as evidence of universal creation, explicitly denying the existence of any Andean civilizations before the rise of their own ancestral dynasty. Although the Spaniards rejected the Inca creation stories in favor of their own biblical accounts of universal origins, most believed the claim of Inca exceptionalism, which was reinforced by the first indigenous Andean writers, who described a generalized progression from ancestral emergence to Inca civilization (Figure 1.4).

For example, the seventeenth-century Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote that when the first people settled in the Andes, they were immortal and bore children in male–female pairs, giving rise to a fast-increasing generation he calls *paqarimuq runa* (Emerging People). These people spread across the landscape, but they knew nothing of human culture, lacking clothing, houses, and knowledge of agriculture and the worship of the *huacas*. The people of the second age (*huari runa*) began to dress in animal skins, and they learned how to make agricultural terraces and irrigation canals, and to build simple houses. The domestication of the natural landscape—and of the men and women who populated it—was fully realized in the third age, whose people were called *purun runa* (Wild People). In this era, people began to make cloth and to build sturdy houses in valley-bottom villages, where they constructed irrigation canals and terraces.

Guaman Poma de Ayala says that these were the first people to participate in civic life—a concept called *policía* in Spanish—vesting their leaders with political and military power and performing songs and dances at public feasts. He says that they “multiplied like ants,” leading to the breakout of widespread conflict in the fourth age, whose people, *awka runa* (Enemy People) “abandoned their villages and valley-bottom farmland out of fear of war and uprisings.” These people sought the safety of the high ground, constructing hilltop fortresses called *pukara* and inventing new weapons to contend with

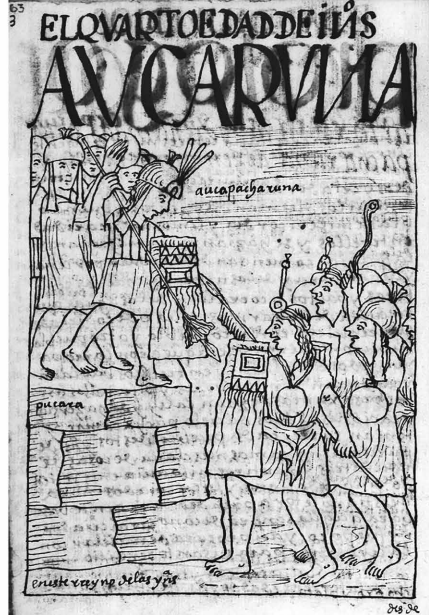


Figure 1.4. Andean developmental stages, according to the indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (c. 1615). In the first age (*upper left*), people emerged from ancestral places, and in the second (*upper right*) they found places on the landscape. In the third age (*lower left*), they became more civilized, but in the fourth (*lower right*) they began to fight, until the Inca conquest. All images are from *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno] compuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library.

raids from neighboring forces. They were the first to build simple houses for their revered dead, some of whom were powerful and respected rulers in their day. From a strictly Andean perspective, the fifth and final age was that of the Incas, who conquered the fortresses and brought an era of peace and order that allowed people to return to the good valley-bottom lands that their ancestors had domesticated.²⁹

Today, we can replace the seventeenth-century myths of ancestral emergence with archaeological and genetic evidence for migrations into the Andean region about 15,000 years ago. Nomadic hunter-gatherers settled into fishing villages on the Pacific coast, and they colonized Amazonia and entered the Andean highlands, bringing them into contact with plants and animals that they domesticated over thousands of years of intensive use. Over time, coastal societies grew in size and complexity, and they began to construct monumental architecture by 3500 BCE, as they started to commit to agriculture to supplement their fishing activities. Highland societies grew more slowly as farming and herding took hold there, but the first coastal and highland cities coalesced at roughly the same time, about 1,500 to 2,000 years ago. The coastal city of Moche was the largest of a network of urban centers that spread across what is today the north coast of Peru. As coastal valleys developed increasingly complex irrigation networks to transform the desert into productive farmland, the growing highland cities of Tiwanaku and Huari became the capitals of centralized states that sent colonies into neighboring regions to maintain trade networks and directly produce crops like maize, which could not be cultivated in many parts of the highlands. Archaeologists now know that there was no direct link between Tiwanaku and the Incas, but they continue to investigate the long-term impact of the Wari colonies that thrived for centuries in parts of the Cuzco region. Wari rulers ordered the construction of a massive state installation in the Cuzco region, at the site of Pikillacta. The sheer scale of the site plan—a 116-acre

²⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [c. 1615 f. 48–82]) offers a tremendously rich narrative, but it is important to acknowledge how he folds Andean ideas regarding social evolution into an account that begins with the Christian creation myth and ends with the Spanish conquest and administration of the Andes. This account is actually a story of Andean peoples after they diverged from Europeans following the Deluge, until they were reunited under Spanish Christian rule, but its key elements can be compared with other sources that express similar values of human progress from creation to Inca civilization, e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550s]; Huarochirí Manuscript 1991 [17th. c.]; Pachacuti Yamqui de Salcamaygua 1993 [17th c.]).

(47-hectare) enclosure, with walls that still reach a height of more than 30 feet (10 m) in places—indicates an ambitious plan to rule the region directly, but Pikillacta was still under construction when it was abruptly abandoned around 1,000 years ago.³⁰

The early highland states collapsed at that time, falling victim to intense climatic fluctuations that ushered in a new period of drier and more unpredictable conditions. As Wari irrigation canals and Tiwanaku raised fields became a riskier bet for maintaining food supplies, people across the highlands responded to uncertain times by turning their backs on city life and state government. Populations deserted the capital cities and administrative centers, and shifted their food production to target a diverse array of crops, which they supplemented by herding llamas and alpacas. As the power and wealth of urban elites declined, ordinary highlanders turned to their extended families to help provide labor, resources, and protection. Across the highlands, new villages crowded onto high ridges and hilltops that provided defense from raids, as well as access to nearby fields and pastures. Even the largest settlements show little in the way of public spaces, temples, or fancy craft goods that could distinguish people of different status.

To signal their membership in extended kin groups who shared land and work responsibilities, many highland groups built above-ground burial structures, often called *chullpas*, to hold the bodies of their respected dead. The ancestral bodies kept inside these tombs helped the living trace their relationships and responsibilities to one another. Although the trappings of high civilization—cities, monumental palaces and temples, fine artisan goods, intensive agriculture—disappeared from the Andean highlands for centuries after the fall of Wari and Tiwanaku, the local societies that took their place in those uncertain times saw their populations grow over time. This created serious social challenges in the long run, since localized communities had limited mechanisms for resolving disputes, and their agrarian practices required large territories to maintain sustainable pastures and agricultural soils. After a few centuries, populations in many highland areas reached sizes sufficient to

³⁰ See Glowacki (2002) and Skidmore (2014) on Wari colonies in the Huaru area, approximately 25 miles (40 km) to the southeast of Cuzco. McEwan (2005) excavated at Pikillacta, which was abandoned before it could be completed and fully occupied. Regional surveys indicate that the Cuzco basin and nearby areas were less affected by Wari colonization (Covey et al. 2013).

make violent conflict increasingly prevalent, and the last century or so before Inca imperial expansion saw the appearance of new forms of military leadership, evident in the construction of monumental ringed defensive walls in some areas.³¹

From 1000 to 1400 CE, many parts of the Andean highlands resembled Guaman Poma de Ayala's description of *awka pacha*—the violent age of warfare that preceded the peaceful unity of Inca civilization—but life on the Pacific coast looked nothing like this. As highland climates deteriorated about 1,000 years ago, coastal statecraft continued to develop and spread. Elaborate irrigation networks and rich fisheries supported dense populations in coastal valleys, as they had for millennia. Food surpluses allowed elites to build impressive palaces and tombs, and to support artisans who produced fine craft goods—cloth, featherwork, precious metals, shell—that distinguished high-status people in life and death.

The contrast in wealth and power between coastal rulers and the most prominent highlanders is hard to overstate. At the coastal center of Sicán, archaeologists discovered a shaft tomb, 33 feet deep (10 m), that held the bodies of four individuals. These royal dead were surrounded by more than a ton of grave goods, including a disassembled litter and other symbols of royalty: finely made cloth, semiprecious stones, shells, and thousands of pieces of gold and other metal alloys. By comparison, in the Jauja highlands, a region with some of the largest pre-Inca villages, archaeologists excavated burials from the same time, encountering forty-four individuals buried under floors at the pre-Inca hilltop centers. These graves yielded a total of just thirty-seven objects, half of which came from two “elite” burials.³² Similar contrasts can be seen in the scale of the monumental construction. On the coast, the largest palatial enclosure at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan covers roughly 75 acres (30 ha), dwarfing the most impressive contemporaneous highland

³¹ Archaeological research indicates that large-scale fortifications were not built everywhere, and large ridge-top sites tend to appear after 1250 CE. See, e.g., Arkush (2011); Bauer and Kellett (2010); D'Altroy and Hastorf (2001); see Covey (2008) for an overview.

³² Shimada (1996) describes the Sicán shaft tomb. Owen and Norconk (1987) describe the Jauja burials. Offerings in the pre-Inca Wanka II burials (1350 and after) included large pottery fragments (4), worked stones (4), ceramic vessels (3), worked bone (3), camelid bone fragments (2), silver adornments (2), and a single example each of deer antler, metal ore, and a ball of hematite.

structures. In the Cuzco region, the Area A complex at Chokepukio has a footprint that is no more than one-thirtieth of the Chimú palace.³³

Cuzco's Archaeological Past

Since the 1980s, archaeological surveys in the Inca imperial heartland have made it possible to place legends of Inca origins alongside the processes of highland decentralization and coastal state growth that were unfolding at the same time. Regional data settlement inventories show that hunter-gatherers were settling into permanent farming villages in the Cuzco region around 3,000 years ago. Over centuries, these villages developed their own local economies, cultural identities, and modest social hierarchies. Wari colonization affected some parts of the Cuzco region after 600 CE, but those intrusive settlements were abandoned about 1,000 years ago, as many parts of the region experienced the same shifts toward high-elevation horticulture and herding that were occurring elsewhere in the highlands. The Cuzco basin and a few nearby areas represent the rare exception to the widespread trend toward high-elevation settlement and political decentralization. Several large valley-bottom villages and towns near Cuzco remained occupied in the centuries following the Wari collapse. The largest cluster of these sites appears in the Cuzco basin.³⁴

After 1,000 CE, the earliest Inca communities thrived in the fertile valley-bottom lands of the Cuzco basin. In the uncertain times brought on by highland climate change, the ancestors of the Incas appear to have welcomed new populations to settle in the basin. They eventually coordinated the labor of multiple communities to transform previously unused wild lands by building new irrigation canals and terrace complexes. Over time, Cuzco grew from a cluster of small villages into an urbanizing center that became the region's largest settlement, and there is reason to think that social and political hierarchies were established there by around 1200 CE. As Inca leaders began to

³³ Moore (1996) gives this size for the Gran Chimú compound at Chan Chan, one of eleven so-called *ciudadelas* built over 500 years at the site (see Kolata 1990). Estimates of the Area A compound are based on published maps in McEwan, Gibaja, and Chatfield (2005), whose radiocarbon dates indicate that the complex required centuries to construct.

³⁴ Settlement pattern data can be found in Bauer (1992, 2004), Covey (2014), and Kosiba (2010). Davis (2011) and BÉlisle (2011) have excavated extensively at early local villages.

organize large-scale construction projects and coordinate larger and more diverse populations, they extended their alliances beyond the Cuzco basin, marrying women from some of the neighboring groups and engaging in increasingly ambitious campaigns to reduce others to their dominion. It took several generations—probably a century or more—for the Incas to gain control over most people living within a few days' walk of the capital. During that time, they probably began to interact with more distant groups, carrying out trade and participating in pilgrimages and other important rituals. By 1400, Inca elites marked their social networks and landscapes with new styles of pottery and fine stonework, transforming the mundane clay and rock of their highland valley into the hallmarks of their royal power.³⁵

The early generations of Inca rulers became big players in the highlands, capable of doing things that neighboring leaders could not: assembling the labor of thousands for creative and destructive purposes. Ruling Inca men and women could construct canals and terraces, creating lands to give away to subjects and allies and laying away surpluses to support festivities and protect their people from food shortages. They were increasingly able to design and build temples and palaces of fine masonry, transforming Cuzco into an urban center with no rival in the highlands. Alternatively, these rulers could call on their relatives, subjects, and allies to assemble in Cuzco, and then to sally forth into the surrounding region to intimidate rival towns and their leaders. These early Incas faced reversals, and their conquests were not always enduring, but by around 1400, they ruled the most powerful highland society, and were building an empire that would gather the wealth of their world—primarily in the form of human labor—to transform natural landscapes in ways that celebrated their dynastic history and its place in the universe.

Channels of Imperial History

The oral histories that describe the rise of the Inca Empire obscure many of the local processes that are preserved in the archaeological record, hiding them beneath two contradictory claims that archaeology has shown to be

³⁵ Bauer and Covey (2002; Covey 2006a, 2018) give Inca origins from a regional perspective. Excavations from the rival centers of Chokepukio (e.g., McEwan, Gibaja, and Chatfield 2005) and Yunkaray (Quave, Covey, and Durand Cáceres 2018) help to reconstruct strategies of nearby groups as Inca power grew.

untrue. One was that Inca civilization was the pinnacle of Andean social development, the only centrally governed and urban society to develop. By claiming to have emerged on a landscape of incessant warfare that made life miserable for all Andean peoples, the Incas justified building their empire, which brought peace and prosperity to the region. This representation of the Andean past was a fiction that Inca men maintained by downplaying or failing to mention the wealth and power of the coastal states and empires, which were the heirs to a lowland tradition of Andean civilization.³⁶ The second inaccurate claim was that Inca rulers expanded their empires defensively, protecting Cuzco from invasions and going out on campaigns to keep tyrannical rivals from using their sovereign titles. When Inca men recounted the meteoric rise of their empire, they portrayed the modest village societies living throughout the Andean highlands as expansionistic kingdoms and confederations that posed an existential threat to Inca rulers.³⁷ By inflating the power and ambition of their recently defeated highland rivals, they claimed the right to carry out their own military conquests.

The contradiction underlying these claims—that the Incas were the only Andean civilization, and that they were threatened with destruction by more powerful rivals—comes in part from the fact that the history of the Inca dynasty was assembled from the life stories of individual rulers, whose descendants preserved details that clashed with the narratives of other royal households.³⁸ Royal inheritance practices put the descendants of different rulers in competition with one another for resources and power. In principle, the ruling Inca and his empress, or Coya, were a brother-sister pair who left their parents' household to assume their royal titles. While their other siblings enjoyed the use of the fields, herds, servants, and other property belonging to their parents, the ruling couple invested provincial labor tribute

³⁶ For example, the early chronicle of Betanzos (1996 [1550s]) did not mention the Chimú Empire or the wealthy Chíncha kingdom, and ignored the coastal creation shrine of Pachacamac until the discussion of how Hernando Pizarro looted the temple during the Spanish conquest.

³⁷ Research in the Chanca and Colla homelands (Arkush 2011; Bauer, Kellett, and Araújo Silva 2010) demonstrates regional political decentralization and an emphasis on local defense (Bauer and Smit 2015). It was the Incas who represented an existential threat to the kin-governed landscapes where people thrived after surviving the collapse of Wari and Tiwanaku.

³⁸ Terence D'Altroy (2014) first identified the intergenerational conflict in different versions of Inca history, noting discrepancies among accounts from descendants of Viracocha Inca, Inca Yupanqui (Pachacuti), and Tupa Inca Yupanqui.

and military plunder to build their own estate, which would support their descendants (except for the next Inca and Coya).³⁹ Royal estate projects constructed palaces and transformed parts of the Cuzco countryside, creating country palaces, parkland, corrals, coca plantations, and huge areas of irrigated valley-bottom agricultural terraces.⁴⁰

Sustained by the estates built by their royal ancestors, noble Inca lineages kept those ancestors' memories and social ties alive. Without a mummy, an estate, and a descent group, a dead Inca would fade from history or be "written out" during periodic reorganizations of the dynastic line.⁴¹ Even after the Spanish conquest, royal households understood the need to tell these private histories so that they could preserve their ancestral properties and noble status. Although the descendants of different Incas and Coyas worked together to maintain their dynastic history and proclaim its role in the Andean world, their family histories offered contradictory accounts about how the Inca Empire came into being.

Several early Spanish chronicles state that the Incas were already extending their influence beyond the Cuzco region by the reign of the eighth ruler, Viracocha Inca, around 1400 CE.⁴² Descendants of Viracocha Inca insisted that their ancestor was the first Inca to descend to the Pacific coast to subjugate the mighty Chimú Empire.⁴³ Their narrative focused on a key moment when the rich lord of all the coast recognized Viracocha Inca as emperor and son of the Sun. Not only did Viracocha Inca extend Inca territory beyond the highlands; he also sagely crafted key elements of imperial order: he promoted common administrative languages; designated local ethnic costumes; and ordered the construction of fields, storehouses, and roads. To his offspring, Viracocha Inca "was a more valiant and powerful Inca than any of his

³⁹ Royal incest is known in other parts of the world, and Iberian monarchs at the same time preferentially married close relatives. The chronicler Betanzos describes how women could be adopted into the royal household to serve as the primary sister-wife (*phiwivarmi*) of the Inca.

⁴⁰ The most famous of these country estates was Pachacuti's palace at Machu Picchu (Burger and Salazar 2004), but all of the Hanan Cuzco Incas reportedly built rural estates of some form (Covey 2006a; Niles 2015).

⁴¹ Cieza de León (1880 [1553, chap. 11]).

⁴² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 5, 6]); Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 37]).

⁴³ The radiocarbon dates for the Inca occupation of the north coast are poorly defined, and an Inca conquest before 1400 CE cannot be immediately dismissed using the available evidence (e.g., Keatinge and Conrad 1983:274–276).

ancestors or his descendants.”⁴⁴ The rulers who followed had an easy time building an empire on the foundation he had left them.

Men from the lineage of Viracocha Inca’s son, Inca Yupanqui, disputed that account.⁴⁵ They said that Viracocha Inca was not a great conqueror, just one of the stronger highland leaders who had claimed a kingly title (*capac inca*) in the years before the Inca Empire grew. To set himself apart from hundreds of other petty “kings” in the surrounding highlands, the eighth Inca started calling himself Viracocha, the name of the Andean creator. This got the attention of Uscovilca, a much more powerful lord from the Chanca nation, who lived about ninety miles (150 km) to the west of Cuzco. Uscovilca supposedly governed more men and held a ruling title over the land, so when Viracocha Inca presumed to take a loftier name, the Chanca lord sent three armies against Cuzco, to see how powerful the Inca really was.⁴⁶

When the Chanca invaders reached the Vilcaonga Pass to the west of Cuzco, Uscovilca dispatched messengers to Cuzco, demanding that Viracocha Inca submit or prepare for war. The Inca signaled his intent to become a Chanca vassal, but the lords of Cuzco convinced him that the Incas would receive better treatment after their subjugation if they abandoned Cuzco and sought refuge at a hilltop fortress to the north of the city. As the Incas prepared for flight, the youngest of Viracocha Inca’s sons, Inca Yupanqui, convinced the young men of several royal households to stay and fight with him. With Cuzco all but abandoned, the Chanca force made its way toward the city. Inca Yupanqui sent messages to his father, and to other Inca allies, asking them to stand with him, but none would come to his aid. As his enemies approached, Inca Yupanqui prayed to the creator Viracocha, who replied, “My son, do not be distressed. The day that you go into battle with your enemies, I will send soldiers to you with whom you will defeat your enemies, and you will enjoy victory.” On the next morning, as the Chanca army entered Cuzco, twenty squadrons of unknown soldiers arrived from the south and west, hailing Inca Yupanqui as a king with no

⁴⁴ *Khipukamayukuna* (1892:17–18). This document is a narrative by Inca *khipu* knotted-cord specialists for the royal governor Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, but it has been excerpted and modified, and appears in a collection of papers dating to around 1608. See Urton (2016) for a recent overview of Inca *khipu* practices.

⁴⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 6–9]).

⁴⁶ As noted already, Inca claims of Chanca expansionism are completely unsupported by the archaeological evidence.

equal and promising to fight with him to victory.⁴⁷ They drove the Chancas from Cuzco, slaughtering them as they fled.

As if it were not enough to portray Viracocha Inca as a trash-talking coward, Inca Yupanqui's descendants continued to disrespect him when describing the aftermath of the battle. When Inca Yupanqui went to his father's refuge to honor him with the spoils of the victory, Viracocha Inca—jealous to see his least favorite son a military victor who received the divine patronage he had vainly claimed—ordered his soldiers to ambush and assassinate the young prince. Inca Yupanqui avoided the trap and returned to Cuzco, where he built a great city, established dominion over the surrounding region, and inaugurated new ceremonies and customs that defined Inca society.

Viracocha Inca only returned there when the Inca lords ordered him to abdicate, and as soon as Inca Yupanqui became lord, he publicly humiliated his father. With all the lords of Cuzco watching, the new Inca commanded his father to drink a full cup of *chicha* from a dirty vessel. The old man did as he was ordered, and then bowed down to his son and asked his forgiveness. Although Inca Yupanqui eventually showed honor to his father, he forced Viracocha Inca to retire to his country estate and live out his final years in seclusion. Inca Yupanqui's descendants recounted that when Viracocha Inca died, their ancestor set out on unprecedented campaigns of conquest, extending Inca power throughout the central highlands and altering the Andean world so completely that he claimed the name Pachacuti to celebrate the overturning of the Inca political universe.

While they were busy building “ancient” monuments that substantiated their myths of creation and ancestral migration, Inca rulers also designated important places and objects as enduring material proof of their claims about the past. At the Vilcaconga Pass, where the Chanca warlord Uscovilca had paused during his fateful invasion of Cuzco, the Incas established a shrine to commemorate Pachacuti's victory.⁴⁸ They consecrated Vilcaconga and made offerings there, and established three other shrines nearby to commemorate

⁴⁷ Other versions of this story say that the Creator animated fieldstones, which became soldiers to fight alongside Inca Yupanqui, and that the Incas paid Aymara-speaking mercenaries to strengthen their forces (Ondegardo 1917 [1571]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]).

⁴⁸ As we will see in the next chapter, Vilcaconga was memorialized as was the Galician shrine of Covadonga, the legendary place where the Spaniards would say the Reconquista began.

the Inca destruction of the Chancas.⁴⁹ In the city of Cuzco, imperial urban-renewal projects left room to curate other markers of the victory over the Chancas, including a house where the Sun—not the Creator, as we saw in one account—gave weapons to Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui to fight the invaders. There were also more than a dozen stones called *pururaucas* placed throughout the city and its precinct, said to be the remains of warriors who had fought to defend Cuzco.⁵⁰

Even with these monuments scattered around the Inca capital, the descendants of Pachacuti's successor, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, preserved a life history that elevated their own ancestor to the role of empire builder. The royal biography they recited for Tupa Inca Yupanqui focused on a list of provincial places that their ancestor and his brothers had conquered and reduced to Inca rule. Several of the new conquests that they claimed for Tupa Inca Yupanqui had appeared in the conquest stories of earlier Incas. On the coast, the descendants of Tupa Inca Yupanqui mentioned the pacification of the coastal Chimú Empire, an achievement claimed by Viracocha Inca's family. Closer to Cuzco, they said that Tupa Inca Yupanqui was the first to extend Inca territory past key river crossings and mountain passes that appear in the campaign stories of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui.

Universal Aspirations

These disagreements over the origins of the Inca Empire highlight the internal competition among royal households, but they also show us how the Incas conceptualized their empire in space and time. Despite many discrepancies, the different versions of Inca imperial origins share a sense of an Inca homeland, a modest region that included the Cuzco basin and a few surrounding valleys. Major rivers and mountain passes bounded this special place, and the Incas who conquered beyond those limits had to build roads and bridges, and to communicate with people who spoke other languages and dialects. From a social perspective, the Inca Empire came into being as

⁴⁹ Bauer and Barrionuevo (1998) identify Inca shrines in the Jaquijahuana Valley west of Cuzco, using the sixteenth-century writings of Cristóbal de Albornoz. The Jesuit Bernabé Cobo (1990 [1653]) also describes some of the shrines.

⁵⁰ Cobo (1990 [1653]); see Bauer (1998).

its rulers surpassed these ancient limits of place and identity, subjugating outlying groups who could never be Inca.

At first, most of the Inca conquests created subjects among the highland farming communities, but as the empire grew, the Inca ruling elites began to understand their civilization as a universal project that would bind together the diverse landscapes of the Andean world under their rule. The Incas were highland maize farmers from the warm valley-bottom lands, but they extended imperial power up into the high grasslands of the Lake Titicaca basin and down to the lowlands of the Pacific coast and Amazonian jungles. This meant gaining control over many valued products—gold, coca leaf, cotton, colorful feathers, shell—which signaled the capacity to reach far beyond the kin-based labor networks of highland farming and herding societies who were their first conquests.

The Incas described this world-making project as *tawantinsuyu*, “The Four Parts Bound Together,” a term that many scholars use as the Quechua name for the empire itself.⁵¹ Conceptually, the four parts of the realm pronounced the Inca claim to control the diverse landscapes and people found across the Andean region. *Chinchaysuyu*, a vast territory lying to the west and north of Cuzco, took its name from the coastal kingdom of Chinchu, a realm whose king ruled over a large population of specialized farmers, fishers, and merchants. *Condesuyu* consisted of small farming societies living in the valleys to the south of Cuzco, including the Condes, for whom the region was named. *Collasuyu*, which covered the high grasslands of the Titicaca basin and regions to the south, was named for the Collas, a Titicaca basin group whose leaders possessed large flocks of llamas and alpacas. Along the humid slopes descending to the Amazonian lowlands, the province of *Antisuyu* was a region where the empire attempted to establish relations with local tribes, including the group they called the Antis.⁵²

The Inca capital and its surrounding region stood apart from those four provinces, and the Incas treated it as the place where the political and religious work of assembling the world took place. Imperial gatherings in Cuzco communicated the Inca dominion over the diverse landscapes and peoples of the

⁵¹ The words that form *tawantinsuyu* are *tawa* (four) and *suyu* (divided parts), with a binding enclitic (*-ntin-*) that signifies an indivisible union.

⁵² The Incas also designated small regions as *suyus*, including the fishing region of *Colesuyu* along the Atacama Desert coastline, and *Urqusuyu*, the hilly herding zone in Lake Titicaca that was distinguished from lakeshore (*Umasuyu*) areas.

Andes, as different groups entered the plaza in elaborate processions and made their way to designated places surrounding the platform occupied by the Inca, his mummified ancestors, and the empire's most powerful sacred objects.

Centering Cuzco

Quechua speakers like the Incas called their most powerful supernatural forces *huacas*, and these beings also had portable avatars, often described as anthropomorphic stones and statues that lived in the Inca capital. As Inca rulers built Cuzco to be the center of their universe, they brought many of these portable *huacas* to live in Cuzco. The most important Inca *huacas* occupied the Coricancha, the palace-temple built by the first Inca and his four sisters. The temple housed a golden statue of the midday sun, Punchao, and had rooms for the moon, thunder, and other celestial bodies. Many of the most powerful mountains and shrines in other parts of the Andes sent small *huaca* avatars to reside in temples in Cuzco, held as hostages to ensure the obedience of provincial subjects.⁵³ Some of these movable sacred objects attended public ceremonies in the central plaza and elsewhere.⁵⁴ Other stone *huacas* occupied the countryside surrounding Cuzco, and Inca elites gave them offerings and prayers as part of a municipal shrine system that radiated out from the Coricancha temple.⁵⁵

Inca emperors possessed the supernatural ability to craft powerful statues and identify stone *huacas*. At a more mundane level, their political power allowed them to order stone to be quarried, shaped, transported, and placed into a city plan that built Cuzco into an impressive capital. Although his ancestors had for generations constructed their own monumental palaces and temples, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui initiated major programs of urban development in Cuzco, using them to reorder the existing urban landscape and to establish an architectural aesthetic that emphasized his identity as an

⁵³ Provincial sources (e.g., Huarochirí Manuscript 1991 [17th c., chaps. 19, 23]; Primeros Agustinos 1992:23 [16th c.]) saw the relationship differently: the Inca ruler offered rich gifts to local *huacas* in exchange for their powerful assistance in military campaigns.

⁵⁴ For discrepancies, see Betanzos (1996 [1550s]); Cobo (1990 [1653]); Molina (2011 [c. 1575]); Ondegardo (1917 [c. 1564]).

⁵⁵ Bauer (1998) establishes an archaeological perspective for the *ceque* system (cf. Zuidema 1964).

empire builder.⁵⁶ By the reign of his grandson, Huayna Capac, Cuzco had been rebuilt as a magnificent imperial capital, whose plan contained strategically preserved landmarks that served as cues for Inca dynastic histories and ancestral legends. A person walking through the city and the surrounding countryside would encounter material reminders of key moments in the Inca past, recalling private narratives kept by royal households and performed in public ceremonies.

Imperial Cuzco was a magnificent city whose center was the Haucaypata plaza, a place where the Inca past and the present converged, the living communed with their ancestral dead, and the Inca connected the human world to the supernatural forces that created and sustained the universe. Inca elites promoted the city as the geographic center of their world, a place whose splendor bound together the diverse regions of the Andes under a single imperial order. The four principal highways that converged on the Haucaypata plaza carried Inca soldiers, priests, and inspectors out to the provinces and brought military prisoners, exotic goods, sacred objects, and imperial officials into the center on prescribed occasions. Surrounding the central plaza were opulent palaces belonging to the imperial rulers, where the nobility gathered for feasts and ceremonies. Beyond the palaces lived tens of thousands of the city's residents, who included Inca nobles and their servants, provincial rulers who lived part-time in the capital, skilled artisans, and religious officials, including the *mamakuna*, the powerful priestesses from the Hatun Cancha cloister.⁵⁷

The people and things that journeyed to Cuzco came to be transformed by the Inca. Victorious Inca armies returned with captured warriors. They cast some of them into a pit-like prison that held serpents and jaguars taken from the Amazonian lowlands. Those who survived the ordeal of spending several days among the wild beasts were never the same—they lost the identity of their homelands and became servants called *yanakuna*, who now belonged to the household of the Inca who captured them.⁵⁸ Raw

⁵⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 16]) describes Cuzco's imperial rebuilding under Pachacuti, a culture hero he credits for inventing Inca customs, laws, and empire. Modern studies of Cuzco treat the city's imperial growth as belonging to the period of Pachacuti (e.g., Farrington 2013; Rowe 1944), but there is evidence for a large pre-imperial settlement beneath many parts of the modern city (Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2018).

⁵⁷ Farrington (2013) provides a detailed technical overview of the material remains of the Inca capital, which Bauer's (2004) book places in a clear geographic and chronological context.

⁵⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s]) and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [c. 1615]) both describe this structure.

materials taken from across the Andes—tropical hardwoods, gold, colorful feathers, marine shell, and soft vicuña wool—arrived in the city periodically as tribute, to be worked by the *mamakuna* and the Inca's artisans into fine cloth, drinking cups, and jewelry the rulers gave to their families and their loyal subjects. Provincial boys and girls were escorted to Cuzco to be blessed by the Inca before embarking on a final journey to be offered as gifts to the most powerful mountains and sacred forces. They were buried alive in caves and exposed on high peaks to help bring an end to the most uncertain times that the Incas faced during their century of imperial domination.

Palace Intrigues

If the Haucaypata plaza was where Inca rulers publicly proclaimed the unity of their empire, their palaces represent a far more fractious confluence, one that reproduced the power of that empire while also threatening to tear it apart. By the time of the great campaigns of imperial expansion, the Inca and Coya possessed great personal power and wealth, but much of the power of the palace came from marriage alliances the Inca forged with other noble lineages and provincial dynasties. These unions brought powerful women into the palace as secondary wives and consorts. The births of their children bound the royal household to factions in Cuzco and the provinces, creating enduring kin relationships. The women of the palace managed their own social connections, resources, and labor tributes, vastly increasing the power of the royal household, but also making it more volatile, especially at times when the Inca emperor was absent.⁵⁹ The palace produced hundreds of sons and daughters, who learned to administer—and compete for—the most important imperial positions.

Kinship forged connections to the palace, and the bonds of marriage created family relationships that lasted for generations. For an Inca, the adults of his father's household were brothers and sisters, and he addressed the cousins of his grandfather's house using the same kin terms as for siblings, while also recognizing uncles in his paternal and maternal lines.⁶⁰ Uncles, brothers, and

⁵⁹ See Covey (2006b, 2013). Recognizing these countervailing forces, some Incas gave up military command later in life to avoid the succession crises that might happen if they died on campaign (Betanzos 1996 [1550s]).

⁶⁰ See Zuidema (1977) for a discussion of kinship and Inca factionalism; also Lounsbury (1986); Covey (2006b); and Yaya (2012). Quechua kin terms are gender-based, so the

cousins from the lineages of one's father and grandfather provided experienced military and political leadership, as did the families of his marriage allies.

Palace intrigue grew from the uneasy coordination of numerous powerful women and their families, who literally reproduced the men and women who occupied top levels of the imperial hierarchy. This competitive atmosphere was heightened by the dynamics of male competition, especially the tensions between the Inca and the families of his predecessors, some of which we have already seen reflected in conflicting family histories. In some instances, new rulers overturned the prevailing dynastic history, fabricating new ancestral statues, reassigning estates and retainers to royal mummies, and even killing record keepers who preserved old narratives of the past.

Unfulfilled Unity

Archaeological research has revealed the Inca value of *tawantinsuyu* to be more an imperial dream than a reality, a world-making aspiration that was only partially realized before the Spaniards invaded. Even within the imperial heartland, there are differences in the intensity of the royal transformation of local landscapes, seen through settlement shifts and the distribution of Inca-style architecture and pottery.⁶¹ Decades of Inca provincial archaeology, conducted in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina, have shaped a material reconstruction of Inca provincial power that looks much more discontinuous and diverse than the Inca noblemen living in early colonial Cuzco once claimed. There are only a few imperial enclaves in the provinces where intensive Inca colonization significantly altered local settlement patterns and introduced Inca-style buildings to try and replicate elements of the Cuzco region. Two obvious examples are the Titicaca basin, where the Incas intervened to link the capital to the pilgrimage networks celebrating creation; and the Ecuadorian highlands, where slow advances along the northern frontier led Huayna Capac to relocate his court for several years.

Coya would have had her own distinct network of siblings and other near relatives based on matrilineal descent.

⁶¹ See Bauer (1992, 2004); Bauer, Aráoz Silva, and Hardy (2018); Covey (2006a, 2014); and Kosiba (2010) for settlement pattern changes; Covey (2018).

In the intervening spaces between Cuzco and these royal centers, a network of roads, messenger posts, way stations, and regional administrative centers served state interests, but local villages a few kilometers from the state highway often showed little evidence of Inca-style construction or craft goods. Even at the most impressive imperial installations, such as the provincial capital at Huánuco Pampa, fine masonry is restricted to a few state-affiliated buildings, and decorated Inca-style pottery makes up a minuscule percentage of the excavated artifacts. Judging Inca power in the Andean highlands based solely on the distribution of faithfully executed examples of state styles, the intensity of imperial control is variable, suggesting that there were many times and places where the Incas of Cuzco did not cast a shadow over the everyday life of ordinary people.⁶² Inca imperial administration relied on local leaders to coordinate the labor tribute coming from community and kin networks, and rulers sponsored religious festivals and gave rich gifts to draw loyal subjects to performances of state power at administrative centers.

The Inca footprint in the highest parts of the Andes was even more tenuous than it was among the valley farmers. Anyone who has looked out the window of an airplane flying from Lima to Cuzco can see that many parts of the high Andes are too dry, cold, and rocky even for keeping llamas and alpacas, and these landscapes provided countless opportunities for inspired families and communities to evade state supervision. The Lupaca people of the Titicaca basin admitted as much in an early encounter with Spanish officials: they said that whenever word arrived that Inca inspectors were coming, they hid parts of their herds in hard-to-reach areas until the imperial inspectors had left.⁶³ The only time that Inca rulers had direct presence in those high spaces was when they mobilized province-wide hunts, coordinating their farming subjects to encircle a region and drive wild game—and perhaps ungoverned people, too—into a central place where the nobility could shear the vicuñas and hunt the wild cats and other predators in an enclosed space. As we will see later, Huayna Capac carried out hunts like these to show his sovereignty over highland landscapes, a royal act that

⁶² Chapters in Alconini and Covey (2018) describe variations in the Inca presence on different local landscapes (also see Burger, Morris, and Matos Mendieta 2007; Malpass 1993; Malpass and Alconini 2010).

⁶³ This appears in the 1567 administrative visit (*visita*) of Garci Diez de San Miguel (1967 [1567]).

contrasted with his ancestors' use of military force to subdue local people and their leaders.

The record for the Inca imperial occupation of the Pacific coast is even fainter. Although fine Inca stonework appears strategically in some coastal centers—for example, at the pilgrimage complex of Pachacamac, the ocean-side shrine at Cerro Azul, and the administrative center of Paredones—there are more instances of the empire building with mud brick and poured earth, accommodating itself to the materials and aesthetics of long-established coastal kingdoms.⁶⁴ It has been difficult to identify major Inca construction projects in the territory of the Chimú Empire on the north coast, even though there was an imperial road that ran through the coastal valleys. Inca enclaves have been identified in some coastal kingdoms, but the clearest evidence of the empire usually comes not from the coast, but from piedmont areas lying above the canal outtakes of floodplain irrigation networks.⁶⁵ The archaeological record for the coast clearly demonstrates the presence of noble men and women with considerable wealth and power, and Inca rulers frequently established alliances with local rulers, using them to gain indirect control over their valleys and trade routes. This is significant, for as we will see, the north coast was the part of the Inca Empire that Pizarro and his conquistadores first entered and began to make alliances.

Looking eastward toward the Amazonian lowlands, the extent of Inca control is still unclear. Although the claims of *tawantinsuyu* included dominion over the Amazonian lowlands, Inca colonization seems to have had limited success in many parts of the eastern Andean slope. Archaeologists have located vestiges of roads extending into the lowlands, and in some parts, there are fortified sites from which Inca garrisons could monitor traffic and safely engage in exchanges with friendly lowland groups. The slow expansion into the Cochabamba region of Bolivia and the Ecuadorian Andes contrasts with most of the eastern frontier, where the archaeology remains poorly understood. Increasing rates of deforestation since the 1970s have exposed landscapes that were once virtually impossible for outsiders to reach. The archaeological picture of the Amazonian lowlands is just beginning to emerge, and it will undoubtedly be more complicated than the Incas once claimed.

⁶⁴ Marcus (2017) describes the Inca transformation of a local shrine at Cerro Azul.

⁶⁵ For examples of Inca archaeology in different parts of the coast, see Conrad (1977); Covey (2000); Eeckhout and López Hurtado (2018); Hayashida (1998); Morris and Covey (2006); Sandweiss and Narvéz (1995).

Universal Cycles

It is important to recognize that the Inca political aspiration to build an empire that would put the world in its proper order shared a spatial logic with that of highland farmers who lived throughout the Andes. When villages prepared for a new season of agricultural work, they divided up the lands surrounding their homes into sectors that they called *suñus*, the same word the Incas used to describe their provinces.⁶⁶ Like the first ancestors in their origin stories, men and women went into these empty lands to turn over the wild earth, creating a patchwork of small rainfall-fed plots that they worked with their relatives and friends, pooling seeds and environmental knowledge to raise a diverse array of potatoes, quinoa, and other upland crops.⁶⁷ They built houses together in which to raise their children, and corrals for their domesticated animals. Ordinary men and women built family networks and built personal alliances, sharing labor and food as a way of evening out the unpredictable harvests to be had from the fragile hillsides they farmed. Diversity and cooperation were the watchwords for upland populations as they confronted the constant uncertainties of life in the high Andes.

The labor practices and worldviews that sustained ordinary Andean highlanders were grounded in a fundamental Andean concept of space-time: *pacha*, a term that early Quechua dictionaries define at multiple conceptual scales.⁶⁸ In its smallest sense, *pacha* is “soil,” an agrarian cycle created by the everyday acts of ordinary farmers when they ordered their lands, transformed them into fields, and farmed them. Once constituted, these “civilized” plots did not last forever. Their lives could be extended through wise management and regular offerings of coca leaf, maize beer, and blood. But eventually, the “life” of a field would come to an end, as did the lives of people, animals, and plants. The tiny agrarian worlds scattered across the hillsides surrounding Andean farming villages could be turned over and renewed for a few seasons before the soil became tired and needed to be rested or allowed to return to its wild state.

In its ultimate sense, *pacha* means “universe.” Highlanders believed that the world around them, like their homes and fields, was created, and needed to be reverently maintained. They worshiped creators named Pachacamac and

⁶⁶ Murra (2017:23 [1969]) makes this observation from his ethnographic research.

⁶⁷ See Covey (2006a) for an overview of commoner agriculture in the Cuzco region.

⁶⁸ E.g., Santo Tomás (1560).

Viracocha Pachayachachic, who had brought the present universe into being and then withdrawn from human affairs. This world would not last indefinitely. Highlanders believed in earlier cycles of creation which had ended in cataclysm before the world was made anew. They identified the unpredictable tectonic forces of the Andes—earthquakes, landslides, tsunamis, and volcanoes—as possible sources of the inevitable apocalypse. In one highland myth, the first humans to live in the Andes had been cast into the Amazonian lowlands by a powerful mountain. Most of the people who replaced them were destroyed when Mamaqocha, the Ocean-Mother, reached out from the deep and dragged them into her waters. In another story, the sun died and night fell on the earth for five days, overturning the natural order of the world. The mountains shook, llamas started to drive people in herds, and mortars and pestles began to eat the people who had once used them to prepare food.⁶⁹ Andean highlanders believed that everything in their world, which in the deep past had more than once been assembled from nothing, would inevitably be wiped out and made again, washed clean by floodwaters or shaken to bits by powerful earthquakes.

Farming seasons and universal creation both represented cycles of turnover and renewal, a concept called *pachakutiy*.⁷⁰ If this word sounds familiar, it is because it was the moniker adopted by the heroic ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, who claimed to transform the Andean world at an imperial scale. It is no accident that some of the early empire builders presumed to call themselves by grand creation-related names: Viracocha and Pachacuti.⁷¹ As they claimed to organize the diverse Andean universe as a fourfold empire, Inca rulers also presumed to slow—or even stop—the cycles of time that governed their cosmos.

To maintain the universe, the Inca nobility in Cuzco focused on the worship of the Sun, who they claimed was their progenitor. The Incas distinguished themselves from other highland farmers through their devotion to maize, which they preferred to grow on irrigated terraces in valley-bottom locations. The warmth of the Sun kept frost and hail away from the

⁶⁹ Huarochirí Manuscript (1991 [17th c., chap. 4]). The PopolVuh, a colonial-era document from the Maya highlands of Guatemala, contains a similar apocalypse in which animals and household implements turn against humans.

⁷⁰ See MacCormack (1988) on the Andean concept of cataclysmic cycles and the significance of the European invasion.

⁷¹ See Covey (2011) on how Inca estate-building borrowed and altered familiar themes of ancestral emergence and creation.

fragile crop, and Inca rulers presided over a ritual calendar that tracked solar movements and tied them to cycles of maize production. Much of the care given to nurturing the Sun was done by religious women. In the Coricancha temple, priestesses lived with the Sun's golden image and made sure that it received food, drink, and fine cloth. Inca priestesses managed other sun temples at provincial centers throughout the central Andes, performing rituals intended to safeguard maize agriculture. The Incas took less responsibility for the religious actions that were important to the hillside farmers, herders, and fisherfolk. The ordinary people who farmed the uplands still made everyday offerings to Pachamama, the Earth-Mother, for the temporary use of their upland plots, and they fed and prayed to the powerful mountains that loomed over their villages and ancestral cemeteries.

In Cuzco, the Inca nobility kept an irrigated terrace as a ceremonial maize field, which they worked each year to inaugurate the annual maize cycle (Figure 1.5). After watching the sun's transit to determine the correct date, noble men and women performed a ritual plowing in an "ancient" field called Collcampata, said to be the first field that their ancestors had ever dedicated to the Sun.⁷² The highest-ranking Inca men and women took part in the symbolic labor, dressed in their best clothing and wearing their richest jewelry. The men opened the earth with their foot-plows so that the women could place maize seeds in the furrows. As they progressed, the Incas sang praise songs to the Sun and their royal ancestors. The centerpiece of the event was the *haylli*, a song that portrayed their work as a victory over the earth itself, which they disemboweled with their plows so that their maize harvests would be fruitful.⁷³ This ceremony celebrated an imperial claim of achieving ever-repeating victories over the land, a dynastic history that reflected the Inca value of empire as the perpetual turning-over of the world.

Inca construction projects marked landscapes across the Andes in ways that contrasted with the cyclical space-time that ordinary people observed in their lives and labors. Construction was a political and historical act, and state roads, fields, storehouses, and shrines proclaimed a different order that interacted with the supernatural forces of the world in a more dominant way.

⁷² This ceremony occurred after the June solstice, using hillside structures to view the sunset from the central plaza of Cuzco (Bauer and Dearborn 1995). Bauer (1996) describes the plowing ceremony described here.

⁷³ The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, bk. 5, chap. 2) provides this description, based on oral histories from his mother's Inca relatives, and his own experiences growing up in early colonial Cuzco.



Figure 1.5. Inca ceremonial plowing, according to the Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno]* compuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe], GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 250[252]/drawing 97.

The construction of royal palaces and estate lands near Cuzco made a particularly powerful statement. Incas and Coyas brought thousands of tributary workers to “wild” places, where they had hills flattened, swamps filled, and rivers straightened. In their place, they built undulating stone-faced terraces, fed by irrigation canals. These created landscapes did not cycle back to a wild state, but remained as the personal property of the royal couple, a historical

reminder that they were the founding ancestors of the Inca lineage that would enjoy them forever.⁷⁴

Despite Inca acts that celebrated the conquest of the earth and the nourishment of the Sun, their ability to manipulate the most powerful Andean *huacas* had its limits. The most potent mountains and creation shrines were fixed in place, confounding Inca efforts to gather the full strength of the supernatural realm in Cuzco. And some forces were beyond Inca control, most notably, the creators of the universe, who were also capable of world-ending acts of devastation. For example, the Yauyo people of the Lima highlands described a legendary encounter between the ruler Tupa Inca Yupanqui and the Andean *huacas*. The Inca was finding that his military strength was insufficient to hold his empire together, so he summoned the *huacas* to Cuzco, demanding that they help him suppress the provincial rebellions that were destroying his armies. Remaining silent as the Inca harangued the other supernatural beings, the coastal creator Pachacamac finally spoke: “I didn’t reply because I am a power who would shake you and the whole world around you. It wouldn’t be those enemies alone whom I would destroy, but you as well. And the entire world with you.”⁷⁵ Instead, Pachacamac sent a son to help the Inca with a new wave of successful campaigns.

There is reason to think that the Inca claims of perpetual victory over the cycles of agrarian life were complemented by an acknowledgment that their project of world empire-building could not prevent the turning over of the universe. In the late 1500s, some elderly Incas recalled that Mama Ocllo—the powerful Coya whose funeral served as the introduction to this chapter—oversaw a temple in Cuzco that played a role in the Inca celebration of universal time. The temple assistants preserved myths about the creation and destruction of the universe, which they said had already occurred four times. The first creation ended in a flood; the second ended when the sky fell to earth. The third and fourth creations ended in fire and wind, respectively. The present world was the fifth and final one, and they kept a painted account of its legends and history in the Coricancha temple in Cuzco.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Covey (2011).

⁷⁵ Huarochirí Manuscript (1991 [17th c., chap. 23]).

⁷⁶ Murúa (2001 [c. 1613, bk. 1, chap. 27]) offers this account in a short biographical chapter on Mama Ocllo. The identification of four elemental cataclysms—fire, water, air, earth—reflects a Western influence.

Prophetic Histories

The Incas knew that their quest for world dominance remained unfulfilled, and they understood that the military and religious power of their empire could not prevent the universe-ending cataclysm that people across the Andes expected would someday occur. The splendor of Inca ceremonies like Mama Ocllo's funeral helped to make the Inca claim of a unified and civilized future believable for those who assembled in the Haucaypata plaza. In Cuzco, there were constant messages of imperial power and prosperity, and the Inca nobility performed what they claimed were permanent conquests of the fundamental Andean elements: rock, water, and the earth itself. Inca history in Cuzco was a tangible thing, even if it contained contradictory claims when family accounts were placed next to one another. At a distance from the center, however, Inca space-time claims echoed more faintly and ambiguously. Ordinary Andean farmers, herders, and fishers continued to perform their own small cycles of creation on local landscapes, and the punctuated moments of imperial devastation and spectacle that they experienced personally did not necessarily convince them that the Incas were powerful enough to maintain the current cycle of universal creation indefinitely. Even as their sweat built tawantinsuyu and their blood expanded the Inca imperial reach, few believed that the dynasty could stave off the inevitable cataclysm that would bring their world to an end. Just as Inti, the noonday Sun whom the Incas claimed as their ancestor, would inevitably weaken and fall, so too would the men and women who claimed to be descendants.

The Incas' anticipation of their eventual doom might be seen in how quickly the Cuzco nobility came to see the Spanish conquest as the overturning of their universe. When they told Spanish writers their origin myths for the first time, also Inca witnesses put prophecies of the conquest into the mouths of their greatest emperors.⁷⁷ In one early chronicle, the culture hero Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui foretells the end of his dynasty. Having reached a decrepit old age, Pachacuti held a ceremony to crown his son, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, and infant grandson, Huayna Capac, as Incas. At that time, the

⁷⁷ The 1550s chronicle of Betanzos described the creator Viracocha moving in ways that foreshadowed the arrival of the Spaniards. Departing from Tiwanaku on the Inca road to Cuzco, he proceeded to Cajamarca, where Pizarro captured Atahualpa in 1532. Traveling with his assistants (called *viracochas*), Viracocha continued northward to Puerto Viejo, and from there he went out to sea. This was where Pizarro's ships had appeared just twenty years earlier, bringing the invaders that many Andeans called *viracochas*.

great empire-maker prophesied the downfall of his realm. He said that after the death of Huayna Capac, the world would be overturned in a *pachakutiy*, which would come not through the familiar forces of Andean cataclysm, but through military defeat at the hands of strange men. This was destined to come to pass, and he advised the Incas “to enjoy the good life as long as they could because few lords would survive after the days of his grandson Huayna Capac.”⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 29]).

2

The Invention of Catholic Spain

Jerusalem and Mount Zion will be rebuilt by a Christian; God tells who it will be through the mouth of the prophet in the fourteenth Psalm. The abbot Joachim said that this person would come from Spain.

—Christopher Columbus, 1503¹

The first Spaniards to write about Inca history-making performances compared them to Iberian practices for recalling the past and maintaining links between living people and their revered dead. Mama Ocllo's funeral celebration enshrined her body in a manner that early chroniclers likened to the canonization of Catholic saints.² Those writers compared Inca interpretive dances and praise songs to ballads that were popular in medieval Iberia, which still served as source material for the published histories of Castile and other kingdoms.³ The chroniclers of the Inca past mentioned European legends—of Hercules and Merlin—as a way to explain the fantastic details appearing in Inca myths. This is not to say that all literate Spaniards treated stories of the Inca past as reliable. Most Spaniards approached the overlapping and contradictory life histories they heard from Inca noblemen as being factual enough to incorporate into historical chronicles. At the same time, they distanced themselves from myths of universal creation, taking pains to let their readers know that they put no stock in native fables and superstitions. It was difficult to connect the 300 or so years

¹ From a letter Columbus wrote to Isabella and Ferdinand while in Jamaica on his fourth voyage (in Rusconi 1997:33).

² Betanzos (1996 [1550s I:31]); cf. Pedro de Cieza de León (1880 [c. 1553, chap. 30]).

³ Cieza de León (1880 [1553, chap. 11]); Cascardi (1997).

of Inca dynastic history to the migrations of Noah's descendants following the Flood, a problem that Iberian rulers also faced as they spooled back their ancestral histories to connect to biblical time and legends from classical antiquity.

As we will see, Spanish history was still a work in progress when Columbus reached the Americas in 1492, one that was vigorously composed and edited during the centuries that brought the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula to power. Like the Incas, Iberian monarchs were still learning to draw on myth, legend, and propaganda to assemble histories that would reflect the destiny of their royal line. They used saintly bodies, arcane texts, and miraculous places to create national histories that supported the spread of a Catholic world empire that would serve as the foundation for Christ's kingdom on earth. Such beliefs were fundamental to Catholic crusades of Iberian reconquest, as well as to the royal factionalism that eventually led to the consolidation of a nation called Spain.

The Iberian Apostle

The origin story of Spain's patron saint, Santiago, illustrates how Iberian Christians constructed narratives of the past that reflected their present values and their expectations for the future. The legend begins in the high days of the Roman Empire, in the Mediterranean kingdom of Judea, where a king summoned his own demise by allowing himself to be mistaken for a god. The king was Herod Agrippa. In 44 CE he attended a festival in honor of the Roman emperor Claudius, held at the coastal city of Caesarea in what is today Israel. On the second day of the festivities, a great crowd assembled in the city's theater at daybreak. Herod Agrippa entered the space, dressed in a beautifully made garment fashioned entirely of silver. As the first rays of the sun reflected off the metallic fabric, murmurs spread through the bedazzled crowd that the king was an immortal. The assembled throng began to pray to the king, begging his mercy for having only recognized him as an ordinary man up to that moment. When Herod Agrippa did nothing to contradict his popular deification, he saw an omen of death and was immediately struck by violent stomach pains. Servants carried the king back to his palace as people across the kingdom dressed themselves in mourning and made futile prayers for his recovery. The would-be god-king expired five days later.⁴

⁴ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* ([93/94 CE, bk. 19, chap. 8.2]).

Josephus recorded this story of royal pride and divine judgment almost fifty years after the events described, at a time when early Christian writers were composing the texts that would come to make up the New Testament. By then, the book of the Acts of the Apostles had already told a different version of Herod's demise, explaining the sudden death as God's punishment for blasphemy and violence against the emerging Christian community.⁵ To counter the atmosphere of prophetic fervor spread by the growing Christian sect in Judea, Herod Agrippa began to persecute church leaders, arresting the apostle Peter and beheading James, one of two brothers whom Jesus had called the "Sons of Thunder." James was the first of Christ's apostles to be martyred, and the only one whose death is mentioned in the New Testament. After Peter miraculously escaped from prison, Herod Agrippa journeyed to Caesarea, where his sacrilegious appearance in the theater brought an end to his attempt to eradicate the early Church: "Immediately, because Herod did not give praise to God, an angel of the Lord struck him down, and he was eaten by worms and died. But the word of God continued to spread and flourish."⁶

The death of St. James remained a footnote in church history for more than a thousand years, until medieval writers felt compelled to explain how the apostle's body came to be venerated almost 2,500 miles (4,000 km) away, at a shrine in northwestern Spain. New accounts of St. James, or Santiago, appeared in the twelfth century, claiming for the first time that the long and miraculous journey of Santiago's body followed the path of the apostle's missionary work in the outer edge of the Roman world. Just after Christ's death, James went to the remote Roman province of Hispania, where a vision of Jesus's mother, Mary, inspired him to establish his ministry in Iria Flavia, a port town located on the Atlantic coast of Galicia. Medieval writers said that the apostle built a church there and appointed a bishop, establishing the Spanish church as one of the oldest in Christendom. From there, he visited other parts of Spain before returning to Judea and his martyrdom at Herod Agrippa's hands.

After James was beheaded, an angel appeared and instructed his followers to retrieve the body and carry it in the night to the port of Joppa. They found a stone boat there, a vessel lacking a sail or a rudder that bore them for seven days across calm Mediterranean waters. Santiago's body passed through the

⁵ Acts 12:19–23.

⁶ Acts 12:23–24; 12:1–2 (New International Version).

famous Pillars of Hercules at Gibraltar and along the Atlantic coast, until it reached the harbor of Iria Flavia. The disciples moored their boat and entered the town to speak with its pagan queen, Lupa. When they laid the saint's body down, the stone it rested on immediately softened like wax and formed a sarcophagus around the holy remains. The Christians asked Lupa's permission to bury Santiago in her realm; the queen grudgingly agreed, on the condition that they accomplish an impossible task: harness the region's wild oxen to the cart that would convey the body to its final resting place.

The disciples went into the mountains, where the fierce cattle lived. These were descendants of the herds of the monster Geryon, which Hercules drove across the Mediterranean as one of his mythical twelve labors. When the Christians entered the broken terrain of the Cantabrian Mountains, a fire-breathing dragon attacked them, but they made the sign of the cross, which split the monster in half. The powerful symbol also tamed the fearsome oxen, which the disciples yoked and drove back to the astonished Lupa, who converted to Christianity on the spot. The oxen hauled Santiago's body to Lupa's summer villa, where there was a temple to the Roman god Janus. As the sarcophagus entered the temple, the statue of the pagan god crashed to the ground, breaking into a thousand pieces. The disciples took the fragments and mixed them into a mortar that they used to construct a mausoleum for Santiago.⁷ After the tomb was finished, the saint was placed there, where he faded from memory, resting until his sacred power would be revealed once again.⁸

For Iberian people of the High Middle Ages, such stories reflected important elements of their identity as Christians who were somehow linked to the ancient legacy of the Romans and Greeks. The Incas, who cultivated their own mythical attachment to the ruins of Tiwanaku, would have appreciated many of the central themes in this portrayal of ancient sacred power: men and women of significance leaving their marks on local sacred landscapes, humans masquerading publicly as living gods, and holy bodies emanating

⁷ These details come from Book III of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Codex Calixtinus), an early twelfth-century document, and the *Legenda Aurea*, a thirteenth-century hagiographic collection compiled by Jacobus da Voragine. See Pazos (2017) on the medieval accounts of the movement of St. James's body, and Van Liere (2012) on the Renaissance elaboration of the legend. Additional material comes from modern histories of Santiago de Compostela by Bates (1901) and Hartley (1912).

⁸ See Kulikowski (2004) for a historical overview of the decline of Roman rule in Iberia.

enough supernatural force to transform wild creatures and living rock. These details were essential parts of historical narratives that were believed to be true, not only in medieval times, but well into the early modern era. In fact, Spanish historians and religious writers continued to embellish the Santiago legend with miraculous details. For example, when, in 1574, the Castilian chronicler Ambrosio de Morales assembled his general history of Spain, he wrote that Santiago's followers were imprisoned by the king of Spain after the pagan queen Lupa had handed them over to him. Angels freed the Christians, and the king sent his soldiers after them, who all drowned when a bridge they were crossing collapsed. Seeing this miracle, the king of Spain and all his people converted to Christianity.⁹

Imagined Reconquest

Historians today reject the factuality of the Santiago legend. There is no evidence, documentary or material, placing Santiago in Spain in the first century; and archaeology and ancient history offer a very different story.¹⁰ The legend of Santiago's miraculous afterlife journey emerged not in Roman times, but in the uncertainty of the twelfth century. By that time, the growing influence of the shrine of Santiago de Compostela offered Christian rulers in Iberia a way to build power at the expense of Muslim lords, whose centuries-long dominance in the peninsula was weakening. The flow of pilgrims and crusaders along the routes to Compostela helped to tilt the balance of power and reinforce a Christian narrative of religious war, one that Columbus brought to the Americas in 1492. The conflict came to be known as the *Reconquista*, the "reconquest" of an imagined Christian Iberian realm that had been lost to infidel invaders. The twelfth-century legends surrounding Santiago's body reinforced other stories that falsely represented hundreds of years of Muslim rule as a short-lived invasion contested by true Christians,

⁹ Morales (1574:234). The title "King of Spain" was invented in 1516 by Charles V, one that was added decades later to a story taking place in Roman times.

¹⁰ Van Herwaarden (1980) argues that Santiago's association with Iberia developed in the ninth century, and some say it was later. Although Catholic authorities noted disagreements between early Christian texts and the Santiago legend, Pope Leo XIII issued a bull in 1884 declaring the saint's relics at Compostela to be authentic. Herbermann et al. (8:279–280).

whose victories offered miraculous evidence of divine aid and the righteous nature of the Catholic cause.

Today, historians view the Islamic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula as an imperial renaissance that followed several centuries of political fluctuations. Corruption, unrest, and foreign invasion marked the last years of Roman rule, in the fifth century, and the political organization of the succeeding Visigoths appears to have been decentralized and fluid.¹¹ After years of raiding the Iberian coast, Berber forces loyal to the Umayyad Caliphate invaded Gibraltar in 711, and a decisive battle the following year led to the extension of Umayyad control over the southern part of the peninsula. This new imperial era united regions that Carthaginian and Roman colonization had, almost a thousand years earlier, pulled into Mediterranean trade routes and political hierarchies. The Umayyads called the new domain Al-Andalus, and it grew over time from a remote province into an autonomous realm, the Emirate of Córdoba, which at its peak controlled most of the territories of present-day Portugal and Spain and parts of southern France. As did earlier imperial invaders, the Umayyads brought peace and order, along with new technologies, religious values, and trade opportunities. The secular Muslim government guaranteed Christians and Jews considerable religious freedom, establishing a coexistence (*convivencia*) that endured for centuries.¹²

To recast the realm of Al-Andalus as short-lived and illegitimate, Christian writers focused on the resistant lands of northern Iberia, where they said a miraculous victory in 718 had stopped the Muslim advance and set in motion more than 700 years of crusades to recover lands once held by Christian kings. The hero who set the *Reconquista* in motion was Pelayo (Pelagius), a Visigothic nobleman who refused to submit to Umayyad rule. Pelayo led a small Christian force into the rugged Cantabrian Mountains, pursued by an army of 200,000 enemies. As the imperial soldiers entered the narrow valley at Covadonga to confront the resistant Christians, Pelayo and his men took refuge in a hillside cave, where a tiny image of the Virgin Mary appeared to them and promised victory in the coming battle (Figure 2.1). Inspired by their supernatural visitor, the Christians emerged from the cave and swept

¹¹ Collins (2004); Hillgarth (2009). The fall of a unified Christian Visigothic kingdom was an important ideological theme during the political consolidation of the Catholic monarchs, one that supported intolerance and the expulsion or forced conversion of religious minorities (Grieve 2009).

¹² Lowney (2006).

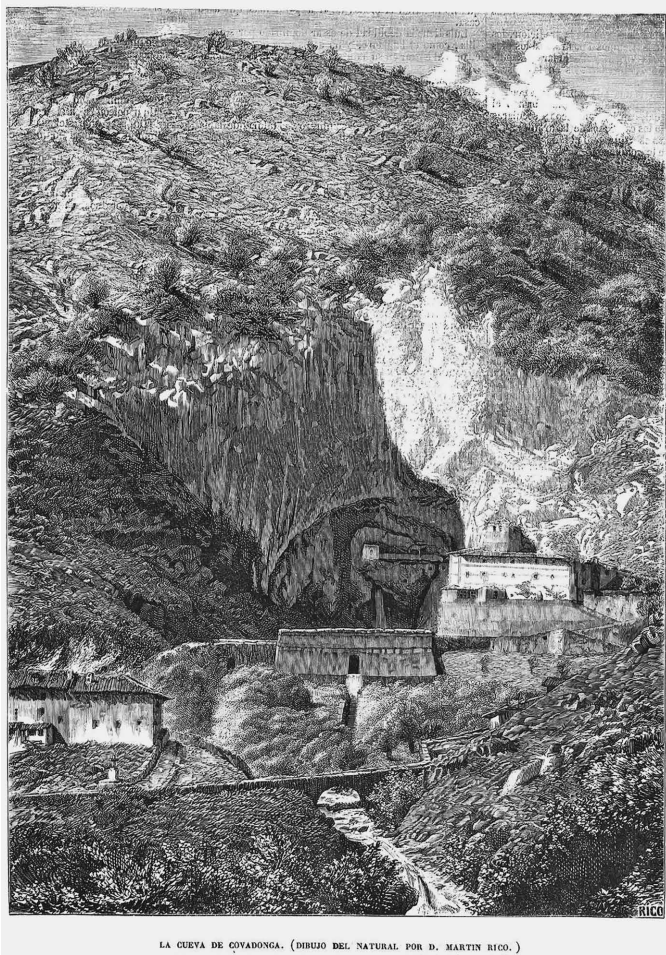


Figure 2.1. Depiction of the shrine of Covadonga, Spain by Martín Rico, 1857. After the Virgin appeared to Pelayo and his men in the cave, the Christians emerged to defeat the Muslim army. The chapel to the Virgin of Covadonga was built in a grotto where a spring gushes out of the rocky mountainside.

down into the valley to slaughter the numerically superior Muslim forces.¹³ Following the battle, the villagers of Asturias took up arms to fight with Pelayo. They elected him their king and established Asturias as the kingdom

¹³ Some versions claim that a divinely produced earthquake aided the small Christian force in their defeat of the vast enemy army.

from which the Christian reconquest of Iberia would proceed until its completion in 1492.

At least, that is the legend repeated by Christian authors writing more than a century after these supposed events. Despite a lack of reliable details about a battle at Covadonga, the story of Pelayo remains enshrined in Spanish lore. The basilica of the Virgin of Covadonga, a religious complex that grew up around the cave, serves as a material reminder of the battle. The chapel is built atop an ancient pagan shrine, and in the Middle Ages it became the final resting place for the bodies of several Asturian kings and queens.¹⁴ The congregation of powerful bodies at an ancient shrine transformed Covadonga into a landmark celebrating the emerging legend of Christian reconquest in Iberia. The *Reconquista* developed as a more concrete political aspiration in the later Middle Ages, but the origin story of the kingdom of Asturias also promoted the theme of religious struggle—and of the Apocalypse.

Although the Umayyads allowed Christians to practice in their Iberian realm, some came to interpret the sudden toppling of the Visigothic dynasty as a harbinger of the world's end. One of these was St. Beatus of Liébana, a monk who grew up just over twenty-five miles (40 km) from Covadonga, in the decades following Pelayo's legendary victory there. In 776, Beatus wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse—the controversial last book of the Christian New Testament, also known as Revelations—as a response to the question of maintaining orthodoxy in Asturias during a time when religious leaders fostered a wide range of Christian beliefs and practices.¹⁵ The new commentary synthesized previous writings on the end times; large parts of its narrative focused on dissent and persecution within the broader Christian community. To this, Beatus added a new chronology for the earth, calculating that the sixth millennium would end in AD 800 and bring with it Christ's return to earth. Although this prophecy did not come to pass, the commentary remained influential for centuries, especially during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when other writers made their own apocalyptic calculations and predicted that Christ's return would come 1,000 years after his birth or resurrection.

¹⁴ Grieve (2009:8) notes the continued significance of the site, where an exposition was held in 2001. See also Poole (2009). In more recent times, the remains of St. Melchor García Sampedro, a Dominican who was martyred in Vietnam in 1858, also came to rest in the chapel.

¹⁵ See Williams (1992).

It is worth pausing for a moment to note the chronological uncertainty reflected in medieval Iberian attempts to predict the date of Christ's return. The disintegration of Roman imperial order also saw the fragmentation of time itself, and European Christians replaced classical chronologies with biblical calculations based on either the world's creation (*Anno Mundi*, AM) or the date of Christ's birth (*Anno Domini*, AD).¹⁶ There was no single agreed-upon calculation for either approach, and until the 1300s, the "Spanish Era" dates used in many Iberian chronicles were thirty years ahead of the AD dates produced elsewhere.¹⁷ Among those who predicted Christ's return using one of the many formulations of AD dates, some adopted the year of Christ's birth as a starting point, whereas others counted from the estimated year of his resurrection, decades later. These latter sources anticipated the end of the current age at the completion of six millennia from the time of Creation, a time when Christ would return and bring a final millennium of peace to the earth. The circulation of multiple calculations meant that a numerically significant date like AD 1000 could contribute to several generations of apocalyptic uncertainty. Since not all Christians agreed on how the end of days would play out, many wondered if that final millennium had already begun.¹⁸

To return to Beatus and his efforts to promote orthodoxy and prepare for Christ's return: the continued dissemination of his commentary on the Apocalypse reflects how concerns about the world's end contributed to the mindset of western Christians. It is important to distinguish the outlook of religious figures prophesying Christ's imminent return from the

¹⁶ The *Anno Mundi* formulation used the seven days of the Genesis creation story as a structural guide for seven ages (*saecula*) of different lengths. The earliest ages represented divine covenants from the Jewish tradition, while the final ones reflected the fulfillment of Christian prophecy, but there was disagreement regarding the exact points at which different ages began and ended. The twelfth-century *Corpus pelagianum* (BNE, Mss/1358) compiles several medieval chronicons, each with its own scheme for dating the past and predicting the return of Christ. The *Ordo annorum mundi brevi collectus a Beato Iuliano Pomerio* predicted in Era 710 that Christ would return in Era 837 (AD 799), whereas the *Chronicon Albadense* (dated Era 921) looked to the date of Era 1133. When it was written in Era 1180, the *Annales complutenses* listed Era 1341 as the date of Christ's return.

¹⁷ Spanish writers also used dates from the reign of their kings, and they referred to historical eras of other societies for a relative chronology. Jewish and Muslim populations in Iberia used their own calendars (Roth 2003:190).

¹⁸ Iberian writers using Spanish Era dates would set the millennium from Christ's birth at AD 962, and his resurrection would be calculated around AD 995; whereas the prevailing *Anno Domini* chronology would use AD 1000 and 1033, respectively.

political ambitions of the pope and Catholic rulers. Those who held power in western Europe focused more on articulating how positive actions that extended their power would help to prepare Christendom for a new millennium. This was an attitude that Inca nobles would have understood, given their own aspiration to build a world-unifying empire with Cuzco as its universal center. Rather than wait expectantly, Catholic elites could rise above doctrinal and political conflicts with other Christians and bear the Christian standard into a holy war against the Muslim world. In this formulation, the beast of St. John's vision of the Apocalypse took the form of the Caliphate, an apostate superpower whose expansion across the known world threatened the authority of the pope and of Catholic princes. For political and religious leaders in northern Iberia, there was much to be gained by promoting Christian orthodoxy and monarchy within their communities; it helped them to draw support from other Christian rulers to extend their power into the lands of Al-Andalus. The "rediscovery" of Santiago's body at Compostela, and the shrine's rise as an international pilgrimage destination, provided a symbol to rally Christians in Iberia for crusades of reconquest.

The Way of Santiago

Medieval stories of the reappearance of Santiago's relics begin with a celestial omen, a burst of shooting stars that lit up the night sky in Asturias. It was early in the 800s, just years after the expected return of Christ that Beatus had prophesied a generation earlier. A hermit named Pelayo—not to be confused with the Visigothic prince of the same name—saw the mysterious lights and led the local bishop to an open field where they had fallen. At that spot, the bishop came upon the crumbling remains of an ancient tomb that he immediately recognized as Santiago's resting place.¹⁹ Although the saint's body had decayed beyond recognition, the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus* claims that the bishop found a letter preserved with it that left no doubts about his identity: "Here lies Santiago . . . whom Herod beheaded in Jerusalem." The medieval sources say that the bishop then constructed a modest chapel to house Santiago's relics, and a pilgrimage to the site grew up at Compostela; the Asturian king Alfonso II was its first pilgrim.²⁰

¹⁹ Rowe (2011:21).

²⁰ Foreign pilgrims started visiting the shrine more than a century later (Freeman 2011).

Santiago soon repaid Asturian devotion with a mighty display of supernatural aid. After Alfonso II died childless in 842, his heir, Ramiro I, allegedly refused to pay a humiliating annual tribute of 100 virgins that the Emir of Córdoba demanded. The Christian king soon found himself facing a vastly larger Moorish army, which had been sent to bring him in line. The forces met in battle at Clavijo, and the Christians were quickly overrun. But before they could be swept from the field, a miracle occurred: Santiago rode into battle on a fine white horse, carrying a white banner adorned only with a simple red cross. Plunging into the fray with sword raised high, the saint led the Asturian army to attack the Moors. They killed 5,000 enemy soldiers that day. Historians today dismiss accounts of the Battle of Clavijo as “figments of twelfth-century Christian imagination,” but the legend brought Santiago a new name: Moor-Killer (*Matamoros*; Figure 2.2). Santiago’s reputation spread, and his shrine at Compostela became an increasingly important destination as Christian kingdoms expanded their territory across the Iberian Peninsula and burnished their origin stories with tales of miraculous victories that Christian warriors had won with divine aid.²¹ Pilgrims who journeyed to Compostela from other parts of Europe returned with an enduring connection to a militant saint who increasingly represented the rising tide of orthodox Christian power against Muslim enemies.

The emergence of Santiago de Compostela as a shrine and international destination for pilgrims reflects the deep Christian interplay between the powerful remains of saintly bodies and the places of worship that grew up around them.²² Since Roman times, Christians had sought out places in the Holy Land that they associated with stories of the Messiah’s life. Over time, the burial places of the apostles and other saints became pilgrimage destinations, especially those in Constantinople and Rome, where saintly relics accumulated. Prophecies of the world’s end inspired an increase in pilgrimage, especially as the end of the first millennium of the Christian era approached. Pilgrimages connected their own local sacred landscapes—where patron saints could intercede for the individuals and communities who cared for them—with networks of celebrated locations where monumental churches held repositories of sacred remains that still possessed miraculous powers. Inca nobles and Andean pilgrims would have found this sort of sacred geography a sensible way to interact with and explain the world.

²¹ Remensnyder (2014:26).

²² See Freeman (2011) on the role of relics in medieval Europe.



Figure 2.2. Eighteenth-century painting of Santiago Matamoros by an indigenous artist of the Cuzco school. Centuries after the imagined victory, Andean painters sometimes painted the scene as the saintly massacre of the Incas. Image used with permission from the Museo de Arte de Lima. Photograph: Daniel Giannoni.

The safe passage of pilgrims to Compostela depended in part on Christian territorial control across northern Iberia, which grew as the tide of Muslim imperial growth receded. Within decades of the conquest of Al-Andalus, the Umayyad caliphate fell to the Abbasids, and the westernmost parts of the empire broke away. In Iberia, an Umayyad prince named Abd al-Rahman I challenged the Abbasid rule. He established his own emirate at Córdoba,

which proceeded to reunify Muslim lands in Iberia and to expand into parts of North Africa. In 929, Abd al-Rahman III declared himself caliph. But the political unity and religious leadership of Córdoba was not to last. After centuries of religious and ethnic coexistence throughout most of the peninsula, a civil war led to the final dissolution of the new caliphate, in 1031, leaving behind a scattering of emirates (*taifas*) that lacked its political power and religious authority.²³

The disintegration of the Caliphate of Córdoba occurred during a period of great change in the Christian world, as the western (Catholic) and eastern (Orthodox) churches moved toward a permanent split in 1054. During this time of temporal uncertainty and apocalyptic fervor, pilgrimage took on new significance for people living in western Europe. Among the reasons for this were the growth of the distinctive Catholic practice of granting indulgences and the acceptance of pilgrimage as a means of reducing the afterlife punishments for sinful living. Although most pilgrimages involved the performance of a sequence of contrite acts at a holy place, papal decrees soon offered spiritual rewards for military actions against Muslims, making Christians holy warriors in a religious engagement that reflected the growing coordination of power among western European nobles and the Catholic Church.

In the eleventh century and after, Santiago de Compostela became an appealing destination for Catholic pilgrims. It was the only place in the Catholic world outside Italy where a pilgrim could see the relics of one of Christ's apostles. Travelers from throughout Europe journeyed by ship and by foot along multiple routes that converged on the shrine; the final overland stages coalesced into a common route called the Way of Santiago. In 1063, less than a decade after the Great Schism had sundered the Christian world, Pope Alexander II issued a Bull offering relief from penance and remission of sins to Christian knights who journeyed to the Iberian Peninsula to help defeat the Muslim emirates there.²⁴ Christian knights making pilgrimages to Compostela could aid the Iberian Christian rulers as they extended their power against the *taifas*, and their military actions could simultaneously

²³ Large parts of southern Iberia were reunified as provinces of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties of Morocco, a period of foreign Berber rule in what remained of Al-Andalus.

²⁴ O'Callaghan (2003:24–25). This inducement came decades before Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade to retake Jerusalem in 1095.

advance the orthodox claims of the pope.²⁵ On the ground, the Iberian “crusade before the Crusades” hardly resembled the advent of Christian order. At Barbastro, the first wave of foreign knights massacred the local population, raping the women and enslaving the surviving children.²⁶

Despite such atrocities, popes continued to offer indulgences for Iberian crusades, and military service there came to be treated as a parallel to the efforts of crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean.²⁷ The Crusades overshadowed other pilgrimages to the Holy Land as Catholic knights sought to reclaim Christian lands and earn the remission of their sins. Increasing numbers of pilgrims also visited Rome to see the heads or bodies of dozens of Christian saints, and by 1300 the city had established periodic jubilee years in which pilgrims would be offered absolution.²⁸ As Church authorities established feast days and holy years, they built a structure for the passing of Catholic time that was intended to be more celebratory and reassuring than the apocalyptic calculations that still circulated across western Europe.

Crusading and religious pilgrimage increased in northern Iberia during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially during the papacy of Calixtus II (1119–1124), who had served as a cardinal in Spain, and whose family had marriage ties to the ruling house of León. Calixtus inaugurated the Compostelan Holy Year, a jubilee celebrated every year the feast of Santiago (July 25) fell on a Sunday. Pilgrims were granted a plenary indulgence, the remission of all temporal punishment for sin. The increase in pilgrims to Compostela coincided with the compilation of the legends of Santiago’s burial and rediscovery, centuries after these events were said to have taken place. The production of official accounts of the shrine’s origins reflects the parallel efforts of Christian dynasties of northern Iberia to establish their antiquity and religious credentials. Several kings, queens, and royal consorts of León chose to be buried at Compostela during this time, including Alfonso IX (d. 1230), whose son Fernando III unified several of the Christian

²⁵ A letter from Pope Gregory VII, written in 1073, claimed Spain as a domain of St. Peter—that is, of the Roman church—and demanded that princes going there conquer the pagans give St. Peter his due. See Marín-Guzmán (1992).

²⁶ O’Callaghan (2003:26).

²⁷ O’Callaghan (2003:38–39) describes this development and mentions numerous Iberian crusades in the twelfth century and afterwards.

²⁸ In 1470 Pope Paul II ordered that jubilees be held every twenty-five years, which was the practice during the conquest of Peru.

kingdoms and initiated the first major territorial expansion against the *taifas* of southern Iberia.

As Christian rulers in Iberia linked their growing power to ancient shrines and monuments in Asturias, they depended on military support to control the Way of Santiago as the traffic of foreign pilgrims increased. In 1175, Pope Alexander III recognized the Order of Santiago, established to provide knights to protect pilgrims traveling to Compostela.²⁹ Over time, the order's wealth and power grew as it assisted Christian rulers in their campaigns into the south, until 1493, when Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragón assumed control of the order. The Order of Santiago and other new Iberian military orders fought to extend Catholic lands and to hold the newly won frontiers that were being contested by the resurgent Berber armies of the Almohad dynasty, which had attempted to re-establish Al-Andalus in the late twelfth century.³⁰ As did other Catholic holy warriors, such as the Templars and the Knights Hospitaller, the new Iberian knightly orders performed some of the ascetic practices of monks, even as they accumulated vast properties and wealth. The proliferation of new militant orders reflects the crusading fervor of the twelfth century, a knightly zeal that was soon followed by the creation of new mendicant religious orders that would play a powerful role in the colonization of the Americas a few centuries later. The Dominicans (1216), Mercedarians (1218), Franciscans (1223), Augustinians (1244), and Carmelites (1247) organized in the first half of the thirteenth century, and their ministries found fertile ground in Iberia as the balance of power shifted and new social and political institutions spread into the conquered lands of Al-Andalus, a region now called Andalusia.

²⁹ Spain's other important knightly orders were also founded around this time. The Order of Calatrava was formed by making Cistercian monks into knights who could guard Calatrava, a fortress recently taken by the Castilian crown. The Order of Alcántara, active in the kingdom of León, was formed in 1166 and received papal recognition in 1177.

³⁰ In 1212, a combined force from the Christian kingdoms (Castile, Aragón, Navarre, and Portugal) and religious orders (Santiago, Calatrava, and Templars) defeated the Almohad forces at Las Navas de Tolosa in a decisive victory that ended decades of back-and-forth frontier warfare and set up Christian expansion into southern Iberia.

Apocalyptic Visions

The gains of Iberian Catholics were offset by the loss of the Crusader states in the Holy Land. The Christian realms established there after the initial successes of the First Crusade could not be sustained, and they fell one by one between 1150 and 1291. The loss of the first Kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 was an especially powerful blow that resonated across the Catholic world, from the pope to ordinary believers. The fall of Jerusalem was a historical event of world-changing significance to Joachim of Fiore, an Italian religious visionary and prophet who served as a papal adviser while he formulated his own apocalyptic vision for the last age of the world. Inspired by the threefold character of the Christian God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—Joachim wrote that human history was passing through three corresponding periods. The Old Testament era of the Father had already passed, and the world was nearing the end of the New Testament era of the Son (Christ). Pointing to current events, Joachim prophesied the coming of the third and final era, that of the Spirit. He calculated that each of the first two ages consisted of forty-two generations, and that the second era would reach that count in a matter of decades. At that time, Christians would nearly be destroyed by their ultimate spiritual nemesis, an Antichrist who would bring great suffering to the world before Christians finally prevailed and ushered in a utopian era of monastic contemplation (Figure 2.3).³¹

Joachim believed that two figures would lead Catholics through religious strife and into the world's final days. One was an "angelic pope," who would provide theological leadership rather than the hard power the papacy had come to wield. He would help to promote the more spiritual and austere Christianity of the third age.³² Joachim's prophecy of a benevolent papal role contrasted with claims already circulating in medieval Europe that the pope *was* the Antichrist, inflicting tribulations upon true believers. As Christians debated the apocalyptic role of the papacy, Joachim predicted that the real champion against the tyranny of the Antichrist would be the Last Emperor, a Christian king whose temporal power would be combined with the pope's spiritual leadership, making it possible to defeat the Antichrist and his evil hordes. The emperor would retake Jerusalem, convert Muslims and Jews, reunite the Orthodox and Catholic churches, and inaugurate the final era of

³¹ See Reeves (1977); Lerner (1985); and McGinn (1978).

³² McGinn (1978:158ff).



Figure 2.3. Image of the Antichrist from the 1493 Nuremberg Chronicle (folio 262v).

history.³³ Although Joachim of Fiore's prophecies about the new millennium did not unfold as predicted, his prediction of a unified and global Christianity remained popular for centuries, and it influenced the missionary work of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. As we will see, these beliefs were still influential in the sixteenth century, when the Jesuits brought them to Peru to

³³ Reeves (1961:330), see Alexander (1978) for the broader prediction of a messianic "Last Roman Emperor."

drive demonic forces out of the Andes.³⁴ Throughout the political upheavals of the late Middle Ages, debate continued over which Christian ruler might be the Last Emperor. With the failure of the crusades in the Holy Land, many turned to the expanding Christian kingdoms in the west, looking for a leader who could turn over the world one last time.

The Romance of Reconquest

As Catholics awaited a monarch who could defeat the Antichrist and build Christ's kingdom on earth, it is not surprising that the gathering momentum of "reconquest" in Iberia provided inspiration or that the crusading exploits of Christian knights circulated widely. Most of the people living in Christian Iberia were not literate, and they used ballads and folk songs—the same ways of retelling the past that Spanish chroniclers would later associate with Inca history—to perform chivalric legends, which evolved in the telling and retelling. Over time, these legends absorbed the values of the *Reconquista*, which claimed that divine aid would be given to Christian warriors fighting for their faith. Some of these stories were eventually recast as history as Iberian rulers attempted to define their place in Christian time; others grew ever more fantastic, even after the introduction of the printing press.

There is no better example of this than the legend of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, an eleventh-century nobleman known as El Cid. In the early stories of the knight's deeds, he was portrayed as a savvy tactician and powerful warrior, but not necessarily as a man aided by supernatural powers. Shortly after his death, in 1099, a Latin history praised Díaz de Vivar's countless victories and conquests, which he won with his strong right arm and his deadly sword.³⁵ In this early account, the undefeated hero died in Valencia, a frontier city El Cid and his men conquered and held for years. After his death, a Muslim siege forced the Christians to abandon Valencia and to flee with their leader's body. For centuries, oral performances of the saga of El Cid were made across Christian Iberia, introducing new details into the story over time. These were eventually distilled into a Castilian epic poem, *El cantar de mio Cid*, probably written in the early thirteenth century.³⁶ In this telling, El Cid appeared as

³⁴ Burr (1993); Pastore (2016); Reeves (1961).

³⁵ *Historia Roderici* [c. 1125], chap. 74, in Barton and Fletcher (2000:146).

³⁶ Fletcher (1989) provides an accessible overview to the history and legend of El Cid.



Figure 2.4. Woodcut of the final victory of El Cid's corpse against the Moorish invaders. From the 1533 edition of *Cronica del muy efforado cavallero el Cid ruy diaz campeador*, published just months before the first accounts of the conquest of Peru were printed in Spain.

a Christian warrior who frequently invoked God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. His epic victories reflected the divine support for his righteous fight. With God's help, El Cid killed countless Moors with his lance and sword, defeating their mighty armies.³⁷

Spanish writers continued to elaborate on this legend even after the introduction of the printing press, adding new supernatural details to the story in editions that were circulating at the time of the Spanish invasion of the Inca world. In 1533, just months before the first accounts of the conquest of Peru were published in Seville, the printer Juan Cromberger produced an edition of the *Crónica del muy efforado cavallero el Cid Ruy Diaz campeador*, a version of the story that was reprinted several times in the years that followed. Five centuries after the historical Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar died, his legend was steeped in the symbolic legacies and supernatural interventions of the *Reconquista* myth. The sixteenth-century version concluded with a triumphal revision of the Christian abandonment of Valencia in which Santiago and the dead body of El Cid triumphed over a vast invading Moorish army (Figure 2.4).³⁸

³⁷ E.g., Raffel (2009:123 [Canto II, 95]).

³⁸ *Crónica del Cid* ([1533], chaps. 53–62).

The sixteenth-century book invented a new threat to the Christian realms of Iberia: the Moroccan king Bucar and thirty-six other kings sailed against Valencia in a great fleet, intent on avenging a previous defeat at the hands of El Cid and his knights. As the Christian hero lay awake in his bed, thinking about what he could do to protect his city, St. Peter appeared to him, announcing that he would die within thirty days. Although the end of El Cid's time on earth was foretold, there was nevertheless hope for the Christians in Valencia. St. Peter promised that Santiago would come to their aid, and that even after his death, El Cid would triumph in battle. Armed with this prophecy, the doomed hero prepared his followers to fight on after his passing, and he gave them detailed instructions for the treatment of his body. He died, as predicted, and three days later, King Bucar made landfall on the Valencia beach with the mightiest army that any king had ever brought across the sea. The Moorish host made for Valencia, confident in its superior strength.

As the invaders approached, El Cid's followers embalmed his corpse and arranged it in a sitting position so that it could lead them on one final charge. On the twelfth day after his death, they mounted their dead leader on his horse Bavieca, placing rods along his back to keep him upright, with his famous sword Tizona fixed in his stiff fingers. Led by their mummified hero, the small force of Christian knights rode out from Valencia, attacking with a fury that drove the confused Moors back. At that moment, the divinely promised aid arrived: "[I]t appeared to the Moors that there came in pursuit more than 50,000 horsemen, and among them a knight on a white horse. And he carried in his right hand a red banner with a white cross, and a sword that appeared to be on fire. And he made such a slaughter among the Moors that it was a marvelous thing." Fleeing the advance of Santiago and his miraculous knights, the Moorish army ran into the sea, where twenty-two pagan kings and 20,000 soldiers drowned. El Cid's companions, victorious, went to the Moorish camp, and carried off a rich plunder of precious gold, silver, jewels, fine cloth, and pack animals. These riches transformed even the humblest soldiers, and "the poorest Christian to be found there went away rich for the rest of his life."³⁹ The Christians took El Cid's body and their miraculous treasure to Castile, where the king and other nobles gave the dead

³⁹ The first accounts of the conquest of Peru appeared in print in Seville just months later, describing a similar story of a miraculous Christian victory leading to rich spoils for the soldiers who fought against a much larger Inca army.

hero an elaborate funeral and placed the mummy in a seated position in the church of St. Peter.⁴⁰

Christian Expansion

Over time, the legend of El Cid acquired a message that clashed with the facts of Iberian history. As the actual power of the Muslim *taifas* waned, stories of the El Cid described larger and larger armies, and said that his victories came from divine aid rather than the power of his sword. This popular representation of the *Reconquista* took on larger-than-life details at a time when Iberian rulers, particularly those of Castile, were becoming convinced that they needed a convincing legacy that could trace their sovereignty from biblical time to the present, linking it to important historical events occurring elsewhere. As Castilian kings extended control over the former lands of Al-Andalus, their connections with other Christian rulers and the historic legacies of those parts of the known world became essential.

When King Fernando III of Castile died in 1252, he was laid to rest in the Cathedral of Seville, a mosque he had sanctified and rebuilt after conquering the city four years earlier. To purify the sacred space, Fernando placed in it an image of the Virgin that he had carried with him to many battles against cities in southern Iberia. The unifier of the crowns of Castile and León, Fernando conquered most of the Iberian provinces of the Almohads, leaving only the Muslim states of Murcia and Granada as tributaries. He was buried in the robes of the Franciscan order and placed in a gold and crystal casket.⁴¹ His son, Alfonso X, inherited the expanded realm and immediately moved to raise taxes and consolidate Christian rule in the Muslim-majority cities that his father had brought to submission. These measures provoked revolts by Muslim subjects and Christian nobles alike.

Alfonso's attempts to impose orthodoxy and order, and to extract taxes and tribute, complemented his unsuccessful attempts to build an empire.

⁴⁰ The 1533 chronicle claims that the body demonstrated miraculous powers. Years later, when a Jewish man dared to touch the beard of El Cid, the corpse moved, grasping the hilt of its sword. The offender fell to the ground in fear, converting to Christianity on the spot. This anti-Semitic episode was added to the chronicle after the expulsion of Spain's Jewish population in 1492.

⁴¹ When the casket was reopened centuries later, Fernando's uncorrupted body came to be associated with several miracles, leading to his canonization in 1671.

He began by attempting to claim titles through his connections to other European royal houses. In 1257, Alfonso laid out huge sums to bribe electors in order to become the German “King of the Romans,” a title he was unable to assume, but did not renounce for nearly twenty years.⁴² Three years later, the king sent warships across the Strait of Gibraltar to occupy the Moroccan city of Salē, an offensive that he promoted as an African crusade. The Castilian force entered the city as its residents were celebrating Eid al-Fitr, the end of Ramadan, and the Christians plundered the city, taking 3,000 people captive to hold for ransom.⁴³ The invaders were driven out within a few weeks, and Alfonso’s ambition to establish a Castilian beachhead in North Africa came to nothing. Within a few years, internal revolts and foreign invasions forced the king to refocus his attention on preserving the realm that he had inherited. Alfonso died in 1284 while at war with his son Sancho, and more than two centuries would pass before his descendants achieved what he had attempted: combining the power of a unified Spain with that of imperial territories and scattered European fiefs acquired through inheritance and war.

Although his efforts to spread Castilian power beyond Iberia foundered, Alfonso X had somewhat more success in projecting it backward in time. When he assumed the crown, Alfonso had faced a historical problem: there remained an unaccounted for gap between the recent chronicles of Iberian rulers and the ancient classical and biblical descriptions of a land called Hispania.⁴⁴ To connect his royal history to ancient myths and legends, the king organized a historical workshop to examine Latin and Arabic texts, translate them into Castilian, and assemble a master narrative. Beginning around 1270, the workshop members started preparing two manuscripts: a history of Spain (*Estoria de Espanna*) and a world history (*General estoria*), which represented the Spanish past as a sacred narrative of how the divinely appointed rulers of Castile and León built a world empire and presided over the end of time.⁴⁵ These histories focused on the deeds of noble men, attempting to trace a line from Roman emperors, through Visigothic and

⁴² Alfonso’s mother, Beatrice of Swabia, was related to the Byzantine emperors and royal houses in Germany and Italy. Although he received four of the seven votes he needed to become *Rex Romanorum*, his rival Richard of Cornwall managed to travel to Germany first and take the title.

⁴³ O’Callaghan (2011:11–33).

⁴⁴ Kagan (2009) traces Spanish attempts to bridge that historical gulf, which became intertwined with the histories of conquered peoples like the Incas.

⁴⁵ Kagan (2009:23).

Asturian kings, to the monarchs of Castile and León. Building such a narrative meant sorting through numerous contradictory and fabulous accounts that had not been written for the same purposes or with the same closeness to the events they described. The bridge between Roman-era documents and the emerging genre of royal life histories was a jumble of church stories, Arabic chronicles, and chivalric *romances*.⁴⁶ Alfonso's two great histories remained incomplete at the time of his death, leaving unresolved questions about the deep past that Castilian rulers continued to wrestle with centuries later.⁴⁷

Alfonso X ruled the largest Iberian kingdom of his day, but other monarchs aspired to build their own empires using the crusading ideal, and to establish their deeper historical legacies.⁴⁸ To the east, Alfonso's father-in-law, Jaume I of Aragón, took advantage of Almohad weakness, conquering the Balearic Islands between 1229 and 1235. In 1269, the Mongol "Khan of Tartary" contacted Jaume to propose an unusual alliance: he invited the king to join him on a crusade against the Egyptian Mamluks in the eastern Mediterranean. The expedition never took place, but it reflected the prevailing optimism that the Christian conversion of distant kings could produce new geopolitical alliances.⁴⁹ Two years later, Jaume declined to support a more conventional crusade against the emirate of Tunis, choosing instead to make a trade alliance with the Muslim ruler there that included regular "gifts" to the Aragonese king. This arrangement did not survive the death of the rulers who forged it, and his son, Pere III of Aragón, attacked Tunisia in 1280, calling for a crusade against his father's former ally. The pope declined to offer indulgences for those who participated in the campaign, which he saw

⁴⁶ See González-Casanovas (1997) and Kagan (2009) on the use of medieval epics to construct a history of the *Reconquista*.

⁴⁷ Alfonso X also sponsored the production of astronomical tables that calculated a new age for the earth, predicting that the end of the world might occur between AD 1750 and 1801 (Smoller 1998:211). European astrologers used these tables for centuries.

⁴⁸ As Christian kingdoms reached out beyond Iberia, the vernacular history-making projects of Portugal and Aragón complemented the Castilian chronicles that continued to be produced after the reign of Alfonso X (e.g., González-Casanovas 1997).

⁴⁹ For about twenty-five years, diplomatic messages had traveled between various popes and Mongol rulers, who were annexing territory in the Near East. These letters continued into the following century, as Christian missionaries began to work in Mongol territory and some members of the royal court converted.

as a pretext to extend Aragonese power in the papal state of Sicily.⁵⁰ Instead, Pope Martin IV declared a crusade *against* Aragón in 1284, attempting to turn militant Christianity against a ruler who did not respect the temporal power of the papacy. Pere III fought back an invasion of Catalonia, and over the generations that followed, his successors extended Aragonese power eastward across the Mediterranean, making far-flung conquests and building marriage alliances in Corsica, Sardinia, Naples, and Athens.

As Aragonese kings became entangled in Italy and elsewhere, rulers of the third Christian Iberian kingdom, Portugal, consolidated control over their small realm and turned their attention southward into Africa, carrying out voyages of exploration and colonization in the century that followed.⁵¹ One of the goals of this southward expansion was to voyage beyond Muslim lands to reach the legendary kingdom of a ruler named Prester John, who could be enlisted as an ally to conquer northward through Africa and retake Jerusalem.⁵² By the 1450s—when the Ottoman Empire toppled the remains of the Byzantine empire and began a new wave of Islamic empire-building in the eastern Mediterranean—Portuguese colonists and traders were already vying with Castilians and other Europeans for control over trade routes along the Atlantic coast of Africa. The Portuguese recalibrated their crusading ideology to protect a growing empire and its access to precious commodities, including gold and indigenous slaves.⁵³

Factions and Effigies

Portuguese and Castilian navigation into the Atlantic world intensified during the long reign of Juan II of Castile (r. 1405–1454), a time when the royal families of Castile, Aragón, Portugal, and Navarre became ever more entangled through marriage, creating a complex web of royal factions that

⁵⁰ Purcell (1975:67) mentions this in a broader discussion of papal crusade policies in the thirteenth century, as the failure to occupy the Holy Land led to an emphasis on broader conquests of Muslim-ruled territories.

⁵¹ See Diffie and Winnius (1977:24–46) on Portuguese-sponsored navigation prior to the conquest of Ceuta in 1415.

⁵² Russell (2001:120–127).

⁵³ The Bull *Divino amore communiti* (1452) granted the Portuguese the power to reduce “Saracens” and “pagans” to perpetual servitude; whereas *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) recognized Portuguese rights to conquer and control trade in West Africa. See Elbl (2009).

competed for the Iberian crowns.⁵⁴ Juan II married his first cousin, María of Aragón, a union that only produced one child, Enrique IV, who survived infancy. After María died in 1445, Juan wed Isabella of Portugal, who bore him two children—Isabella and Alfonso—shortly before his death. When Enrique IV's half-siblings were still toddlers, he ascended to the Castilian throne and married his first cousin, Joana of Portugal, in 1455. Enrique's weak leadership led many Castilian nobles to rally behind his half-brother, Alfonso, who was Prince of Asturias and otherwise the presumptive heir to the throne. To buttress his position against his rivals, Enrique commissioned a new chronicle of his reign, and he ordered palace artisans to produce a physical representation of his royal ancestry. The beleaguered king installed a series of large wooden statues, covered in precious metal, in the Alcázar of Segovia, where his father had expanded the old palace of Alfonso X. Those royal figures traced the entire line of Castilian kings, starting with the Christian hero Pelayo, which were accompanied by statues of El Cid and the first count of Castile.⁵⁵

As Enrique surrounded himself with images of his royal ancestors, his opponents produced their own royal replica, an effigy of the hapless king that they used for a ceremonial uncrowning. An unfriendly chronicler, Diego de Valera, described the remarkable scene that unfolded in the city of Ávila on July 5, 1465. Enrique's enemies erected a platform in an open space near the city walls. They placed a throne in the center, on which they seated a statue of Enrique wearing a crown and holding a scepter in its hand. The statue was read a litany of unresolved complaints that had been submitted to the real king and a list of all the grievances that had been brought against him. These were declared to be just cause to depose the king. As the complaints were read, prominent religious officials and noblemen mounted the scaffold to strip the effigy of its royal insignias: the crown, scepter, royal sword, and other markers of royalty. The statue was then kicked from the platform and

⁵⁴ As Christian kingdoms expanded, military conquest was often followed by the division of royal territories among a king's sons, whose marriage alliances helped to build power and produce claimants to other thrones. Royal women served active political roles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Earenfight (2005).

⁵⁵ Valera (*Memorial*, chap. 100) describes the room where the statues were mounted. Enrique's chronicler, Enríquez del Castillo, later complained that Alfonso's supporters had deliberately destroyed Enrique's original notebooks when they occupied Segovia (Kagan 2009:37–38).

cursed as it fell to the earth, as the assembled crown moaned and cried.⁵⁶ The mood shifted from despair to joy as the eleven-year-old prince Alfonso ascended the platform and was proclaimed the legitimate king. The chronicler who described the event treated the debasement of Enrique's statue as a real transfer of power, as did the members of Alfonso's faction. The newly declared boy-king began to distribute titles and lands to his supporters as tensions exploded into a full-blown civil war.⁵⁷

Alfonso did not live to see the end of the conflict with his half-brother. He died in 1468, and the rebel faction promoted his sister, Isabella, as their queen. Isabella soon negotiated an end to the civil war, signing a treaty in which she became the presumptive heir to the Castilian throne. Enrique attempted to reinforce Castilian-Portuguese relations by trying to arrange a marriage between Isabella and her second cousin, King Afonso V of Portugal. But the princess carried out her own secret negotiations and agreed instead to a match with an Aragonese cousin, Ferdinand II. The two were married in 1469.⁵⁸ The unauthorized union upset the delicate political balance, and soon after Enrique IV's death, in 1474, Afonso V invaded Castile, where he married his thirteen-year-old niece, Juana, to substantiate his own claim to the crown. The ensuing War of the Castilian Succession (1475–1479) was fought on land and at sea, and included raids on remote slave ports and gold fields on the African coast, in what is today Guinea and Ghana. Initially, Juana and Afonso had international support for his Castilian claim. Louis XI of France, because of his own rivalry with the kingdom of Aragón, entered the fray on the side of Afonso and Juana, and Pope Sixtus IV granted the close relatives the dispensation that allowed them to wed. However, their political and religious allies vacillated as Isabella's supporters held their own militarily, and Castilian nobles came over to her side. The French made peace with Isabella and Ferdinand in 1478, and a year later the pope withdrew the dispensation for Juana and Afonso's marriage, bringing the two sides into peace talks brokered by the princess Beatriz of Portugal, who was Afonso's daughter and Isabella's aunt.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Valera (*Memorial*, chap. 28) differs from other sources (see MacKay 1985; Zapalac 1986).

⁵⁷ O'Callaghan (2014:155ff.).

⁵⁸ For a recent biography of Isabella, see Rubin (2004)

⁵⁹ Edwards (2000:1–37).

A Printed Past

The printing press reached Castile just before Isabella I took power, and the factionalized atmosphere of the time stimulated a royal appreciation for the political uses of history—in new chronicles, as well as through the retelling of older narratives and legends.⁶⁰ Isabella and Ferdinand tasked royal chroniclers with recording real-time events to spread favorable accounts of their own reigns, but they also resurrected Alfonso X's unfulfilled project to link the recent royal chronicles to more ancient sources.⁶¹ In 1482, less than a decade after the appearance of the first printed text in Spain, Diego de Valera published the *Crónica de España*, the first account of Spain's past to appear in Spanish.⁶² The book was revolutionary for its accessibility—its use of vernacular language and the capacity for widespread distribution—and for its openly political purpose. Valera, a staunch supporter of Isabella, introduced his account with a letter to the queen in which he says that he wishes to instruct her about her royal past. Learning from the example of Christian rulers who came before her, Isabella would appreciate that God had granted her a royal scepter that symbolized her sovereignty over vast provinces and diverse peoples. That personal letter obscured the fact that Valera's history was designed to have unprecedented circulation, seemingly allowing literate Castilians to sit in on a royal lesson in history and geography.⁶³ The book was reprinted at least nineteen times in the decades that followed, and influenced the worldview of the first generations of Spaniards who set out to explore and conquer the Americas.⁶⁴

Because of the book's significance, it is worth considering what Valera says about Catholic Spain's place in the broader world. The first part of the chronicle is a geographical description of the world, one that is strangely archaic. Ignoring the discoveries of the previous century of Iberian maritime exploration in the Atlantic, Valera follows the seventh-century work of Isidore

⁶⁰ Around 1472, Johannes Parix printed Spain's first book, *Sinodal de Aguila Fuente*, in Segovia. See Odriozola (1974).

⁶¹ Kagan (2009) discusses the development of the post of royal chronicler, and the propagandistic value of the official histories that were produced.

⁶² Kagan (2009:45).

⁶³ Valera (1482, introduction to pt. I). This conversational tone continues in editions of the history that were produced long after Isabella's death, which reproduced medieval geographical descriptions long known to be inaccurate.

⁶⁴ Van Liere (2012:128) has counted ten editions of the history after 1500.

of Seville, who described three “known” regions of the ancient world: Asia, Africa, and Europe. These lands were much smaller than the continents that carry the same names today, and were thought to correspond to the places that the three sons of Noah settled after the Deluge.⁶⁵ Citing the Roman natural historian Pliny the Elder, Valera expressed the belief that Europeans had superior breeding, civics, and personal qualities: “Europe raises people of greater force and more audacious hearts, and of more beautiful forms and aspects than those of Asia or Africa.”⁶⁶

Outside this biblical core lay a vast unknown that Valera called “the Indies,” or the lands of India. This diverse region was a collection of large islands that covered the greater part of the world.⁶⁷ It was filled with sought-after spices, metals, and precious stones, but also populated by dangerous beasts, including griffons, dragons, and venomous serpents. Set apart from the political intrigues and religious conflicts of Europe’s “known world,” the Indies were a bizarre reflection of what was familiar to medieval Europeans and their neighbors. Whereas Noah’s three sons peopled the known world, parts of the Indies were linked to the three Magi, the legendary kings who journeyed to offer gifts to the infant Christ. Valera stated that the kings Melchior, Balthasar, and Gaspar were consecrated as archbishops and led celibate lives, and after their deaths, the Christian king Prester John succeeded them.⁶⁸ Beyond these almost-Christian lands were the realms of mythical peoples—Amazons, giants, and others—some living in cities, others as savage troglodytes (Figure 2.5). The entire arc of human social evolution could be found in the Indies, as well as an array of not-quite-humans, such as the dog-headed Cynocephali.⁶⁹ The medieval bestiary that Europeans used to depict people living beyond their known world at first seems quaint in its ignorance, until we reflect on the growing slave trade already underway in

⁶⁵ Asia’s provinces began in modern day Greece (Thessaly) and Albania, stretching as far as Persia and the Caucasus Mountains; and Africa included several Mediterranean islands (Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Cyprus) and parts of North Africa, including Mauretania, Numidia, and Libya.

⁶⁶ Valera (1482, pt. I, chap. 2).

⁶⁷ Valera (1482, pt. I, chap. 2).

⁶⁸ Valera (1482, pt. I, chap. 2) claimed that the body of St. Thomas lay in these lands, and received offerings of myrrh from the local people.

⁶⁹ Other European sources from this time, such as the 1493 *Nuremburg Chronicle*, show this outer world as a place where the inhabitants are distinguished by features that violate “normal” human ones: some had no heads, other hopped around on a single large foot, and yet others walked on their hands.

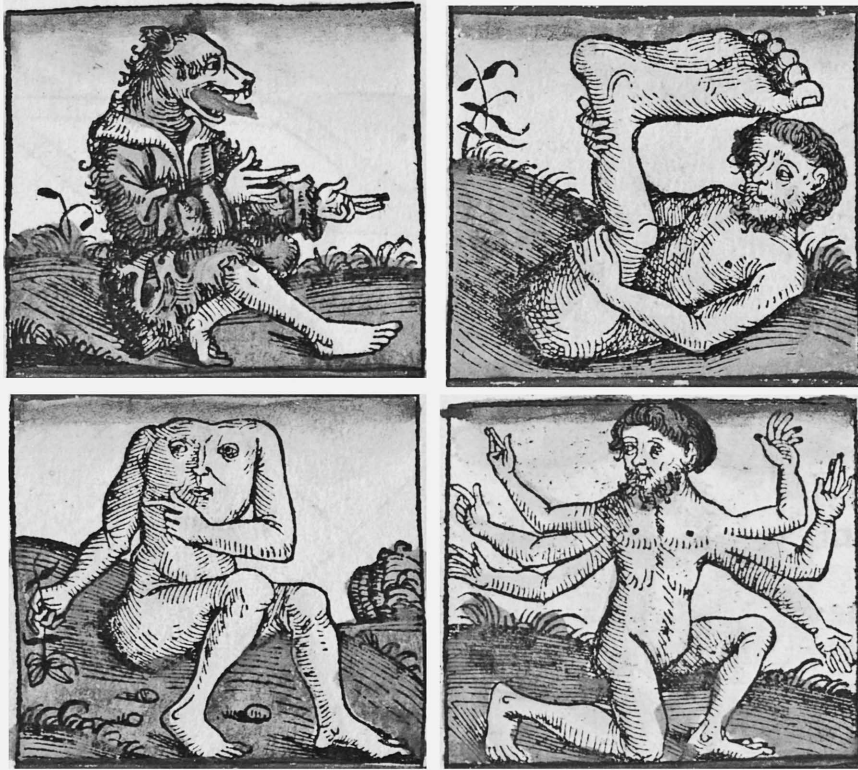


Figure 2.5. Examples of the exotic “almost humans” thought to live outside the known world. From the 1493 Nuremberg Chronicle, folios 12–12v.

sub-Saharan Africa, a subhuman treatment that soon spread into the islands of the Caribbean and across the Americas.

Following his description of world geography, Valera presented a Spanish history that he divided into three epochs: pre-Christian, Visigothic, and Reconquest. His story of Spanish origins began with biblical and classical myths. Following the Deluge, Noah’s grandson Tubal inherited the lands of Spain, and his people journeyed to the region, settling first in the mountains and gradually occupying the plains as their numbers multiplied.⁷⁰ After some unknown stretch of time, the Greek demigod Hercules brought twelve strong ships to Spain, filled with noble people. Hercules ordered the construction of two pillars at Gades, landmarks that since ancient times have

⁷⁰ Valera (1482, pt. II, chap. 1).

been associated with two natural promontories flanking the European and African sides of the Strait of Gibraltar.⁷¹ Hercules ventured inland to Seville and Mérida, where he conquered the famous giant king Geryon, whose cattle he herded back to the eastern Mediterranean.⁷² In Valera's history, Hercules established the limits of the known world, and the material markers of his passage included natural rock outcrops, as well as ancient ruins, such as the fine Roman architecture that is still standing today in Mérida. Valera used Hercules's visit to the site of Rome with Geryon's cattle to synchronize Spanish history with the chronology of classical antiquity.

When Hercules departed with Geryon's cattle, his nephew Hispan remained in Iberia as its ruler, and he became a great builder. Valera credited him with the construction of several ancient monuments that we know to be Roman, including the aqueduct and fortress at Segovia and the Tower of Hercules, the Galician lighthouse near the legendary landing place of Santiago's body.⁷³ Hispan's wise daughter convinced three noble suitors—the princes of Scotland, Greece, and Africa—to build paved roads, aqueducts, and city walls for her father's capital at Gades as they competed for her hand. Pyrrhus, the Greek prince, completed his task first and married the princess, becoming the second king of the lands of Spain. According to Valera, these events took place before the legendary Trojan War, an event he used to demonstrate to Isabella the unrivaled antiquity of her crown. Valera calculated that Hercules had become king of Spain 2,648 years before the time he was writing, making Isabella the heir to the most ancient crown in the Christian world.⁷⁴

This grand claim of continuous royal title buttressed the efforts of Castilian rulers to represent themselves as a stable element across the arc of history, although Valera also told stories about cataclysms that devastated earlier occupations, which could be seen in ruins in the fifteenth century. A decades-long drought had produced a famine that killed countless people and led the population to abandon the land. After dust storms and devastating floods

⁷¹ The focus on the Gibraltar area reflects the geographic vision of the classical world, but it also speaks to the changing political landscape of Valera's day. Gibraltar fell to Castilian troops in 1462, after nearly 750 years of Muslim control.

⁷² Valera (1482, pt. I, chap. 2).

⁷³ Valera (1482, pt. II, chap. 3). These monuments are Roman, but Valera treated them as material evidence for an ancient dynasty of Spanish monarchs with divine Greek ancestry.

⁷⁴ Valera (1482, pt. II, chap. 4).

swept across the region, people returned to a now-empty Iberia and gradually resettled it. They were eventually followed by Roman and Carthaginian invaders who tried to subjugate the local people. It is worth mentioning that Valera's narrative of the Roman occupation of Spain contradicted the classical sources that were known at that time. Roman Spain was actually a well-integrated collection of imperial provinces and the birthplace of emperors, but Valera describes an Iberian world that remained in a perpetual state of resistance to outside rule.

After recounting the Roman wars in Spain, Valera skipped ahead several centuries to the year AD 343, when Atanarico, the king of the Visigoths, began reigning as Spain's first Christian king. This account was consistent with traditions that claimed the Visigothic invaders were the divinely ordained successors to the Romans in Iberia, and Valera devoted the third part of his history—thirty-six chapters in all—to their dynasty.⁷⁵ At the end of the narrative he described the tragic reign of the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo, a figure some early sources portrayed as a usurper. Valera blamed Rodrigo for the destruction of Christian Spain, which was the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy, as well as a divine punishment for the king's impetuosity, greed, and immorality.

According to legend, Hercules left behind a palace that he had built, which he closed up, prohibiting future rulers from entering.⁷⁶ Soon after Rodrigo was crowned, he commanded that the palace be unsealed, hoping to find ancient treasures inside. Instead, he found nothing but a single chest, locked with three locks, which he ordered to be opened. There was no treasure in the chest, just a long canvas cloth, on which was painted a multitude of horsemen, dressed in Arab clothing. They carried swords, crossbows, and standards bearing exotic designs. Along the top of the cloth was painted a Latin prophecy: "When these locks are broken and the chest is open, and what is in it is seen, figures such as those painted on this cloth will enter into the lands of Spain and conquer them, and they will be lords over them."

Soon after reading that inscription, Rodrigo learned that Moorish invaders were approaching, and he went out in full splendor to meet his doom, at a

⁷⁵ Hillgarth (1985:28–29) notes that the Gothic roots of the Castilian crown were newly emphasized in the 1400s. The anonymous *Estoria de los godos* circulated in manuscript form after the early 1400s, as did the *Crónica sarracina*, a long version of the reign of don Rodrigo, the last Visigoth king.

⁷⁶ As Hillgarth (2009:122) observes, another fifteenth-century author, Gutierre Díez de Games, identified the palace as one built by Hercules.

place called Guadalete. The king dressed in a garment of hammered gold and wore a gold crown encrusted with precious stones and pearls. He rode out to battle seated on a throne that was set atop an ivory platform and placed on a horse-drawn cart. As the battle turned against him, Rodrigo took his arms and horse and plunged into the fray, where he was lost. The Christian army was defeated and scattered. After the battle, the king's horse was found in a swampy area near the battlefield, along with his crown, golden mantle, and jewel-encrusted shoes. His body was never recovered. With the last Visigothic king overthrown, the Moors swept forward from their victory to conquer the remains of the Christian realm.⁷⁷

Moving from the loss of the Christian Visigothic kingdom to its recovery by Isabella's royal ancestors, the last part of Valera's history emphasized the continuity of Christian sovereignty and the unceasing Christian efforts to reconquer lands that were lost at the time of Rodrigo's defeat. Valera traced the Christian survivors who escaped death at Guadalete as they fled to Asturias, where Pelayo was already organizing a resistance. The new description of the legendary Battle of Covadonga preserved the claims of divine aid that had been part of the story for centuries, but it also presented a lesson in Christian fidelity for Spanish readers. When the Moorish commander learned of the damage that Pelayo's Christian fighters were inflicting in the north, he sent a massive army to Asturias to overwhelm the resistance. The archbishop of Seville accompanied the Muslim invaders, hoping to persuade Pelayo to lay down arms and submit to Moorish rule. The bishop offered rich gifts and honors, observing that the army Pelayo faced had already defeated Rodrigo and all the armies of Spain. The Christian hero, who had taken refuge in a fortified cave with a thousand hand-picked Christian warriors, rejected the proposal. He told the archbishop that he would seek God's mercy on a path of faith and suffering: "Our Lord wounds and punishes his sinful children for a period of time, but he does not desert them or forget them forever." As the negotiations stalled, a fierce battle broke out, and the Moorish artillery launched their stones and darts and arrows at the Christians. As these missiles whistled through the air, they miraculously reversed course and turned back on the infidels, killing 30,000 enemy soldiers and wounding countless others. Thanking God and the Virgin for their deliverance, Pelayo and his

⁷⁷ Valera (1482, pt. 3, chap. 37). Many Christians fought as Moorish allies under a nobleman named Count Julián, who joined the Moors as a way to avenge Rodrigo's rape of his daughter.

men sallied from the cave to slaughter their enemies and send them fleeing from the field of battle.

Valera treated the miraculous victory at Covadonga as evidence of the return of divine aid to Christian rulers who would not compromise with or serve unbelievers. He used Covadonga to mark the beginning of a new era of determined conquests to recover Spanish lands that were lost through the behavior of rulers who were morally decadent, or lax about the religious orthodoxy of their kingdoms. When Valera published his history, in 1482, Isabella's regime was positioning itself to act out the long-awaited completion of this reconquest. Valera's book offered literate Iberians a worldview that presented intolerance as righteousness, in which political faith could not be disentangled from religious belief and territorial expansion was seen as the material expression of the fulfillment of God's will. It is no coincidence that Valera's history was published at the commencement of the final campaign to defeat Granada, the last Muslim emirate remaining in Iberia. When Granada fell, in 1492, Isabella and Ferdinand could claim to have completed the recovery of a Christian Spain, and their orthodox expansionism showed them worthy to pursue a project of even greater scale: fighting Muslim rulers in North Africa and the Mediterranean, and spreading Catholic empire into the newly discovered lands of the Americas.

Conquering the Future

Christopher Columbus understood his first voyage to the Indies as one of the moments that signaled the start of this era of Catholic expansion, and he believed that Spain would fulfill biblical prophecies, achieve the medieval dream of retaking Jerusalem, and help to bring about Christ's return. Even though he was an Italian from Genoa, Columbus echoed the Iberian value of reconquest when he recalled the start of his own world-changing explorations. It is telling that the future Admiral of the Ocean Sea began the narrative of his first voyage to the Americas, not on the water, but at gates of the last defeated Muslim city in Spain.⁷⁸ Columbus was present for the final surrender of Granada to Isabella's armies on January 2, 1492. He saw the royal

⁷⁸ Columbus dedicated his journal to Isabella and Ferdinand, the rulers "of the lands of Spain and of the islands of the sea"—that is, of the island domains that medieval geographers expected to find in the Indies.

standards of the Catholic rulers raised over the Alhambra's white towers and watched as Granada's last emir, Boabdil (Muhammad XII), came out through the city gates to kiss the hands of Isabella and Ferdinand and surrender his realm.⁷⁹

Columbus understood the fall of Granada to mark the end of the centuries-long holy wars to drive the Moors from Europe, a widespread opinion that exaggerated the significance of that event. Far from being a dangerous rival of Castile, the emirate of Granada had been a Castilian tributary for nearly 250 years, since the great campaigns of Fernando III. By the early 1480s, Granada's military capacity was limited to frontier raids on Christian towns, and its ruling dynasty was disintegrating in a prolonged succession dispute. Christian soldiers captured Boabdil in 1485 as he fought for control against his father and uncle. Isabella and Ferdinand agreed to free him and to assist him in his power grab in Granada, in exchange for his vassalage and a raft of other political concessions: the release of Christian prisoners, annual payments of gold, and support for Castilian troops entering the emirate, supposedly to fight his father.⁸⁰ That same year, Isabella and Ferdinand persuaded Pope Innocent VIII to proclaim the Granada War a crusade, obscuring the fact that politics drove the final conflict, which unfolded in 1490, after Boabdil repudiated his agreement with the Catholic rulers.⁸¹ This last Iberian crusade was a one-sided holy war. Although Boabdil requested aid from the Ottoman Empire, the Mamluk rulers of Egypt, and the Wattasid sultan of Morocco, his pleas failed to draw the great Muslim powers into a broader confrontation with Catholic armies.⁸²

Columbus interpreted Granada's surrender as part of a world-turning moment that set his own apocalyptic project in motion. He conceived of his first voyage not as a dispassionate expedition to test a scientific hypothesis, but rather as a diplomatic quest intended to set the end of the world in motion. Upon reaching the Indies, Columbus intended to forge an alliance that had long eluded Catholic rulers: he would seek out the Great Khan, the successor to the Mongol rulers who centuries earlier had corresponded with popes and had invited Iberian kings to crusade with them. Columbus's

⁷⁹ Columbus (1893:15 [1492]).

⁸⁰ Rubin (2004:211).

⁸¹ O'Callaghan (2014:145).

⁸² O'Callaghan (2014) describes the last century of crusading in western Europe, as Portugal extended into Africa, and Castile moved toward the defeat of the last Muslim rulers in Iberia.

royal patrons sent him off with letters addressed to the Great Khan, and with instructions to meet with enemies of Islam and “all other idolatries and heresies.” To communicate with the Mongol lord, he brought along Luis de Torres, a Jewish convert (*converso*) who spoke Hebrew, Chaldean, and some Arabic.⁸³ Columbus believed that a Castilian-Mongol alliance would open a new front in the great war against Islam and allow Christians to retake Jerusalem and bring about Christ’s return. Portugal already held trading and missionary rights along the African coast, so Columbus would seek the Great Khan by making a voyage to the west, into the world of islands that he already believed lay within the Spanish domain.⁸⁴ He and his royal patrons expected to profit handsomely from the new voyages. After all, writers like Diego de Valera had led them to believe that the Indies were full of spices and minerals, and not-quite-human populations who could be pressed into slavery.

The Sephardic Apocalypse

At the same time that Columbus set out to initiate a millenarian campaign of empire-building and Christian conversion, Jewish people living in Castile and Aragón learned that the end of their world was already at hand. Writing to their Jewish subjects from Granada, on March 31, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella declared that Jewish belief and customs posed an existential threat to their aspirations of Catholic orthodoxy. The monarchs accused Iberian Jews of working actively to convert Christians to Judaism, instructing them in Jewish beliefs and rituals, sharing their kosher foods, and promoting the law of Moses as the ultimate authority. These absurd claims reflect the deeper history of anti-Semitism in Western Europe, which had intensified in Iberia in the previous century. Since the Catholic monarchs had come to power, new campaigns were actively targeting Jewish people, including those who converted to Christianity (*conversos*), as representing a threat to Catholicism.⁸⁵

⁸³ Delaney (2006:264–265).

⁸⁴ In the mid-1400s, successive popes recognized the Portuguese monopolies on trade and religious instruction along the Atlantic coast of Africa. When Columbus referred to the pair as the king and queen “of the islands of the sea,” he was referring to his own explorations in the island world of the Indies.

⁸⁵ In 1391, pogroms across Spanish lands resulted in the mass murder of thousands, and the coerced conversion and flight of an even greater number, of Iberian Jews.

Isabella and Ferdinand had already ordered the complete segregation of Christian and Jewish communities in 1480, and soon after took the step of banishing Jews from the frontier lands of Andalusia.

With Granada defeated, the Catholic monarchs now concluded that more extreme measures were warranted to protect the Catholic Church, and increase their own wealth and power. They declared that even casual everyday contact between the two communities exposed Christians to dangerous influences and led impressionable Christians to commit apostasies against the Catholic faith. Although the monarchs temporarily safeguarded many of the religious freedoms of Granada's Muslims, they ordered their Jewish subjects to convert to Christianity or leave the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón immediately.⁸⁶ The Jewish population was placed under royal protection until July 31, 1492, giving exiles just four months in which to liquidate their possessions and leave with what they could carry. Failure to depart by the deadline was a capital offense. The Crown would confiscate the goods of those who remained behind and did not convert. The edict prohibited the exiles from carrying gold, silver, money, and other items out of Spanish lands. The harsh restrictions led many Christians to take advantage of the exiles' desperation, demanding outrageous trades: a house for a donkey, a vineyard for a bit of cloth.⁸⁷

The concerns that Isabella and Ferdinand voiced in the edict of expulsion reflected the atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance that accompanied efforts to purify Catholic practices in their kingdoms. Forced conversion, legal segregation, and the legacy of anti-Semitic violence had prompted large numbers of Iberian Jews to accept the Christian faith even before the edict, but the monarchs suspected that not all the *conversos* were true believers.⁸⁸ Earlier inquisitorial proceedings had targeted Jewish communities, and the 1478 transfer of control of the Inquisition to Isabella and Ferdinand brought a new emphasis on *converso* backsliding, real and imagined. Inquisition officials proceeded against ordinary people for maintaining or returning to daily practices that officials deemed heretical. In several cases

⁸⁶ In 1497, Portugal attempted to force the conversion of its entire Jewish population. Iberian Muslims would not be left to their beliefs for long—restrictions on religious and cultural practices increased in the late 1500s, and Spain expelled all Muslims and converts (*moriscos*) in 1609.

⁸⁷ Bernaldez (1856 [c. 1513, chap. 110]).

⁸⁸ See Roth (2002) on the broader efforts of the Inquisition in the Iberian kingdoms, and the interplay between *conversos* and the Jewish and Christian communities.

in which the accused had fled or died, Inquisition officials fashioned effigies of them, and then tried and burned them. They dug up the ancestors of some of the convicted heretics so that their bones could be put into bonfires to punish their descendants.⁸⁹

Inquisition officials in Castile and Aragón also took action against the apocalyptic beliefs these turbulent times inspired among many Jews and *conversos*. Like the medieval Iberian Christians who had manipulated biblical chronologies to calculate the ages of the earth and estimate the number of years remaining until Christ's return, some Jewish intellectuals now used a similar arithmetic to predict the arrival of their Messiah and the restoration of their ancestral homeland.⁹⁰ The intensifying persecution of the Iberian Jewry after centuries of more tolerant treatment must have contributed to the belief that a new era was imminent. Among the *conversos*, the militant advance of orthodox Catholicism recast messianic beliefs into a conviction that the end of the world was near, a view that spread unpredictably among ordinary Christians in western Europe in the later centuries of the Middle Ages. In 1491, a *converso* named Fernando de Madrid was prosecuted for prophesying that the Antichrist would soon appear in Palos, the rough-and-tumble port town Columbus would sail from just months later.⁹¹

After centuries of relative security under Muslim rule, some 160,000 Sephardic Jews scrambled to leave Castile and Aragón. A historian of the time describes the forced exodus. A multitude of Jewish people made for the ports and frontiers, on foot, riding donkeys, and driving ox carts. Families traveled across roads and fields with their elderly relatives and young children. Babies were born as the exiles struggled onward, but many more died from sickness, exhaustion, and the frailty of old age. To keep up the spirits of their people, rabbis went from group to group, offering encouragement and leading them in music and song. Although there were those among the Christian population who felt pity for the circumstances of their exiled neighbors, all they offered them was baptism, an offer that few accepted.⁹² When Columbus and his three ships set sail from Palos on August 3, 1492, the deadline for

⁸⁹ These practices, which would have seemed like effective punishments to the Incas, appear in Roth (2002:222).

⁹⁰ Essays in Goldish and Popkin (2001) discuss multiple aspects of Jewish and *converso* messianism in early modern Europe.

⁹¹ Patai (1994:263).

⁹² Bernáldez (1856 [c. 1513, chap. 112]).

Jewish safe passage had just expired, and the humanitarian disaster of the expulsion was still unfolding.

An Apocalyptic New World

Disruptive scenarios for the end times—the arrival of the Messiah, the seduction of the Antichrist, the suffering that accompanied apocalyptic omens—contrasted with the global projects of Iberian rulers and the Catholic Church. For centuries, Iberian monarchs had focused less on the world's end than on their own attempts to structure time and space in ways that promised a better world, brought into being by the spread of Catholic empire. Isabella and Ferdinand promoted the purification of Iberian Catholicism as the necessary condition for imperial growth and missionary activity, which would fulfill prophecy and eventually bring Christ's return. As Inca rulers built their own empire half a world away, and performed acts to celebrate their own dynasty's place in a world-unifying order, Isabella and Ferdinand went to extreme lengths to establish their royal line as the fulfillment of Catholic doctrine, a dynasty ordained to give spiritual hope and guidance to ordinary believers. They invested in history-making to link their royal ancestry to the deeper timescale of classical mythology and biblical texts. They also used the Inquisition and other powers to influence how their subjects confronted their own fragile lifespans and embraced beliefs in a spiritual existence beyond death.

Having looked for signs of the Apocalypse for centuries, Catholics found it easy to believe that the momentous events of 1492—including the shocking news of Columbus's return from the Indies—were a sign that the reappearance of Christ was near. Ushering in the final age would not be easy. The global spread of a Catholic empire would cost lives and demand the sacrifices of priests and knights, and the years before the Messiah's return would be marked with cataclysms: wars, famines, diseases, and natural disasters. Catholics could weather the devastation knowing that a better world would dawn, and those who went to their deaths fighting or preaching for the Christian cause could take comfort that their souls were assured of eternal rewards, which far outweighed the temporary suffering of earthly existence.

3

Royal Progress

And so [Tupa Inca Yupanqui] went to die in his City of Cuzco, having been Lord for more than 22 years and governed over people for more than 30. His death occurred . . . almost at the same time that in Rome there rose to the Holy Apostolic Seat the Pope Alexander VI, from the Spanish nation and native of the city of Valencia—of the Cid.

—Miguel Cabello Balboa, 1586¹

The Andean and Iberian peoples had distinct beliefs about the end of the world, and we have seen how rulers in both regions played with those core values as they carried out territorial conquests and engaged in factional competition. The ruling dynasties in the Spanish and Inca empires were learning to produce histories that carried important political claims, which often used sacred places and bodies to structure narratives about the past. Having situated empire-building in its broader apocalyptic context, we turn now to the story of how Inca and Spanish rulers built the empires that intersected in the history of the conquest of Peru.

Turning back to the Andes, this chapter traces the arc of Inca sovereign power over several generations, revealing how imperial growth came to threaten the dynastic order the ruling couple attempted to reproduce across space and time. To illustrate the development of Inca sovereignty and the pressures of imperial growth, we will consider how Inca developed across three generations of empire builders: Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac.² By the time of Huayna Capac's reign, the

¹ Cabello de Balboa (1951:354 [III:20]).

² I use Betanzos (1996 [1550s]) as the primary source, noting that it contradicts in some details with other early chronicles.

sheer size of the empire made it harder for the Inca to conquer new enemies, govern existing subjects, and confront provincial conspiracies and rebellions. In Cuzco, palace intrigue and factionalism among the nobles flared up whenever royal power changed hands, leading to conflicts that threatened to disrupt the Inca networks that constituted the highest levels of the imperial government. As we will see, the last of these sovereign crises erupted into an all-out civil war, opening the door for a new faction—Francisco Pizarro and his Spaniards—to insert itself into the Andean imperial world.

Sovereignty Proclaimed

Inca rulers declared themselves to be without mortal equal. The power of the Inca ruler grew out of two distinct royal roles: military command and sacred performance. At home in Cuzco, an Inca presided over the religious and moral life of the imperial nobility, placing himself at the center of public ceremonies that marked his relationships with imperial subjects, royal ancestors, and the most powerful forces of their world. To promote the Inca capital as the center of the world, and the Inca title as one without equal, Inca rulers exerted military force, leading vast forces from the capital to confront all who challenged the imperial title and the sovereign power it conferred. The life history of the world-changing ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, reflects the royal attempt to balance these two sovereign aspects as the empire began to expand rapidly around 1400.

Descendants of Pachacuti recalled that their ancestor had maintained powerful supernatural connections in Cuzco, and had interrupted the transformation of the capital to lead a few grand campaigns that established his empire as the most powerful highland realm. This Inca fought to show his highland rivals that he was the greatest highland lord, a king who had no equal. His campaigns carried out warfare as an extended ritual of dominance and devastation, one that complemented the monumental construction projects that he ordered during peacetime as he transformed Cuzco into an imperial center.

Before his first campaign, Pachacuti assembled his lords and ordered them to raise him a force of 100,000 warriors. As they assembled and trained the soldiers, they were also to intensify their agricultural labors, planting new fields to produce surplus food to feed the soldiers on campaign. As the lords pressed their subordinates to work harder for Pachacuti, the Inca attended to his ritual duties in Cuzco, making sacrifices to the Sun and other supernatural

forces. To prepare for battle, he produced a gold statue and endowed it with his own supernatural essence so that it would carry forth his power into the coming battles. He called the statue *Caccha* (Enemy's Terror) and ordered that it be carried into battle, on the shoulders of an Inca noble, wearing a diadem and shaded by a parasol, as Inca kings were.³

Pachacuti understood that infrastructure was the key to taking and holding new highland territories, and he ordered his subjects to build and fill storehouses at Cuzco and along a network of roads and bridges that extended the reach of his armies. Knowing that the Incas could attack them at any time was enough to convince many local groups to surrender without a fight. For example, when Inca engineers built a suspension bridge across the mighty Apurímac River—a traditional boundary of the Cuzco region—which was impassible in many sections, especially during the rainy season, the leaders of a half-dozen groups that lived along the opposite bank of the river came out to meet the arriving Incas and offer their service to Pachacuti.⁴

When Inca rulers began mounting periodic large-scale campaigns beyond the Cuzco region, they already held important advantages over their highland rivals. Despite claims that the early Inca expansion was a defensive response to existential threats from powerful neighboring kings, recent archaeological research shows that the people of Cuzco were the only highland society with experience mobilizing large and well-supplied armies to wage offensive campaigns. As we have already seen, local societies living in the Andean highlands at the time of the Inca expansion were politically and economically decentralized. Many of the local groups occupied scattered high-elevation villages that offered them a degree of natural defense and visibility. In the more densely populated areas—such as the Colla region of the Titicaca basin—local leaders were busy mobilizing spare resources to ring their hilltop refuges with defensive walls to protect them from neighbors who might raid their precious livestock and food stores. It was only in the face of outside aggression that these groups might overcome local suspicions and hostility to face Inca forces together.

Inca rulers knew how to work local politics and rivalries to their advantage, and they used diplomacy to divide and conquer. Before unleashing his troops, Pachacuti dispatched special messengers to the leaders of opposing groups, inviting them to marry women from the royal household and become his

³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 18]).

⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 18]).

honored vassals. He sent rich gifts of cloth, gold, and herd animals to sweeten the deals and convince prominent local men that they stood to gain more as Inca subjects than what they might lose in battle.⁵ Leaders who voluntarily submitted became wealthy in-laws of the Inca ruler, and in return, they joined forces with their powerful new kinsman to settle old scores against their own enemies and rivals, whom the Inca killed or carried off to Cuzco as prisoners. With every new ally, the Inca force gained troops and local tactical knowledge, and the plunder it took from each defeated foe helped to sustain the momentum of the conquering army. Inca troops conquered outward from Cuzco for months before the rulers chose to return to the capital.

The Inca armies marked their victories on the battlefield, but the return to Cuzco was a pageant that enshrined the campaigns in Inca memory. For example, after Pachacuti's early victory against the resistant Soras, Inca noblewomen who were traveling with the army prepared red-dyed fringes—a symbol of the royal diadem—and sewed them to the insignias and clothing of the Sora prisoners.⁶ The women also wove fringed red tunics, and the Inca forced the captives to change out of their traditional clothing into the prisoner's costume, and to sprinkle themselves with maize beer and ground maize. After the transformation of resistant lords and captains into Inca prisoners, Pachacuti and his lords changed into their finest clothing and celebrated the victory with the Inca women, who performed a new song describing the triumph. From there, the Incas returned to Cuzco with the prisoners, traveling the new Inca road. Along the way, the Inca women tormented the Soras with their song about the campaign, and the ballad kept the memory of the campaign alive long after the return home.

When they were a day's march outside Cuzco, the Inca armies made a sacrificial burning of what remained of the supplies—llamas, alpacas, fine cloth, maize, and other things—that had been taken out on campaign. This destructive act cast the campaign as a sort of royal offering, a ceremony that allowed Pachacuti to enter Cuzco once more as a religious leader. The Inca entered the city the next day, riding in his litter and surrounded by the plunder taken from conquered provinces and by his prisoners, who cried out in a loud voice, declaring themselves to be guilty of crimes against the Inca. As the Incas sang their new victory songs, the prisoners declared that no army could defeat Pachacuti, whose subjects they now were. When he

⁵ Cieza de León (1883:48 [c. 1553, chap. 17]).

⁶ The following description comes from Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 19]).

reached the central plaza of Cuzco, the Inca greeted his most powerful *huaca* statues and ancestral mummies, which had been assembled there so that he could offer them prayers and sacrifices.⁷

The campaign's final spectacle involved yet another ordeal and transformation for the Sora prisoners. The Incas cast them into a building where they kept wild cats and serpents that Inca warriors had brought back from the jungles of the Amazonian slope. The ferocious beasts had not been fed, and the prisoners passed several harrowing days with them. Those who survived the ordeal would never be the same. They lost the property, social position, and identity they had previously held and became permanent servants, or *yanakuna*, in the service of the Inca's household. Pachacuti gave many of these survivors to his ancestors and the *huacas* that sustained him. He built a special building in Cuzco in which to display the insignias of his defeated foes, a sort of museum of Inca victory.

After the campaign, Pachacuti returned to his religious identity in Cuzco. He used his new subjects, servants, and plunder to transform the city and its surrounding region. His subjects labored for him repairing roads, building storehouses, and improving agricultural lands and planned settlements. They constructed temples and other monuments that transformed the city of Cuzco. As they worked, Pachacuti oversaw important ceremonies and issued instructions about the social and moral order of his realm. By fighting and working for the Inca, local leaders fulfilled their obligation to him, which the ruler matched with rewards that cemented the relationship. He gave them rich gifts produced by his artisans—precious gems, gold, and silver, as well as garments made of the finest cloth. Each lord was then married to an Inca woman from Cuzco, who became his principal wife. The couple's children would inherit their father's title and property, binding them to the Inca dynasty so that they would never rebel against Cuzco.⁸

Pachacuti's periodic campaigns to prove his unrivaled sovereignty—as someone who could mobilize troops and supplies from his vassals—demonstrated the ultimate reach of Inca power. They also expressed its limitations. To say that the Inca ruler held unmatched power is not to say that his military force was unlimited, and even Pachacuti stopped fighting for decades so that he could ennoble Cuzco and institute a new imperial order there. It was only after a generation of peace that Pachacuti identified

⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 19]).

⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 12]).

a rival he felt was worthy of a new campaign. He received word from the Titicaca basin that Zapana, the powerful “king” of the Collas, had dared to use a royal title “King with no Equal,” which was comparable to his own. Pachacuti rejoiced at the opportunity to prove on the battlefield that he was the greatest highland lord.⁹ The Inca made ritual preparations, gathered his subjects in Cuzco, and led them out on campaign against Zapana’s resistant hill forts.

Inca accounts of this sovereign showdown describe a bloody battle in which a total of 100,000 soldiers were killed on both sides, but Pachacuti prevailed, taking tens of thousands of prisoners and all the riches of that land.¹⁰ After the fighting was over, the Inca built a temple to the Sun at the battle site, thanking his supernatural patron for the victory. He also used human bodies to memorialize the great victory in Cuzco. Pachacuti took Zapana’s head back to the capital as a trophy. He ordered the bodies of his own dead to be brought home as well. He had them mummified, and after carrying out ceremonies to mark his victorious return, he sent his dead veterans back to their families, enriched with shares of the battlefield plunder.¹¹

Sovereignty Questioned

Pachacuti’s early campaigns show how the sovereign aspirations of the Inca could have translated into widespread acknowledgment of Inca superiority. Inca military tactics and diplomatic efforts convinced many local leaders to choose submitting to a peaceful subjugation over mounting a hopeless last stand against the Inca army. Inca rulers did not remain in the conquered lands to transform entire populations and their varied landscapes into imperial provinces. Instead, they tried to use kinship to consolidate their gains, by turning local leaders into in-laws and making their children relatives of the Cuzco nobility. For the local leaders, the obvious benefits of having a rich and powerful ally had to be balanced against the costs to one’s existing network of family relations and allies. The Inca needed soldiers for military campaigns and workers for construction projects. It is easy to imagine that it

⁹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 20]); Arkush (2013) on Colla archaeology.

¹⁰ Archaeological evidence shows that descriptions of Zapana’s military strength and treasures were exaggerated.

¹¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 20]).

might have been difficult for a new provincial nobleman to rally his family and friends to give their blood, sweat, toil, and tears to enhance the grandeur of his wife's demanding relatives in Cuzco. Promises made when an Inca army was camped a day's march away were sometimes forgotten when the threat of imperial violence passed and the Inca ruler was engaged in some other corner of the Andes.

The marriage alliances between Cuzco and local leaders changed the Inca capital, and established in the royal palace a powerful collection of elite women who retained social connections in their native lands. Pachacuti saw the growth of elite women's power in the palace as a potential threat to Inca order, especially if he were to die on campaign far from Cuzco. As he aged and his masculine vigor faded, the Inca relinquished his military role, delegating the command of his armies to his sons. The Inca men of the next generation went out to prove themselves as imperial warriors, while the elderly ruler saw to ritual affairs and maintained order in Cuzco. When Pachacuti was approaching the end of his life, he identified his children Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Mama Ocllo as the brother-sister pair who would succeed him, and he arranged for his funeral ceremonies and the disposition of his estates. One chronicle suggests that as his life force faded, the Inca's body was already becoming a sacred object. When he summoned his oldest sons home from a campaign in Quito to name his heirs, Pachacuti was in a decrepit old age, toothless and unable to stand or control his shaking arms. After he announced that his son and grandson would rule after him, the architect of Inca civilization remained in a room in the Coricancha temple with his infant grandson, Huayna Capac. His eldest son personally fed him, offering him his favorite foods, and he governed in the Inca's name until Pachacuti decided that he was ready to become a royal ancestor.¹²

Based on how Inca men told this story, it is possible that Pachacuti was already dead when he named his successors—a mummy who still interacted daily with his close relatives, but who depended on them to feed him and speak for him. When Tupa Inca Yupanqui returned from his first campaign two years later, he went into the room where his father stayed, to present the spoils from battle. Typically, a victorious Inca would walk over these trophies to celebrate the victory, but Pachacuti needed two sons to lift his body and to pass him over the plunder, which his living caretaker trampled for good

¹² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 27, 28]).

measure. After that ceremony, Pachacuti, who was already 120 years old, decided that it was time for him to die.¹³ His final acts involved designing magnificent funerary ceremonies, which included the first royal funeral ceremony and lavish memorial sacrifices that were performed across the empire.¹⁴

That end-of-life planning had the desired effect in Cuzco, and Tupa Inca Yupanqui came to power without any unforeseen drama. Nevertheless, Pachacuti's passing inspired rebellions in several highland provinces, as local leaders seized the opportunity to reimagine their relationship with the Inca nobility. Provincial resistance presented the new Inca with a sovereign crisis that was distinct from the one that had brought his father to power, and his response to it altered imperial military practices and administrative policies. Whereas Pachacuti claimed the supernatural authority to amass the people and resources he needed to direct a few grand campaigns—to demonstrate that no other ruler was worthy of his title—Tupa Inca Yupanqui spent his early years reconquering rebellious subjects, especially in the eastern and southern parts of the empire, where the rejection of Inca civilization posed the greatest threats.

Like his father, Tupa Inca Yupanqui rewarded loyal subjects and made generous offers of friendship to local leaders who submitted willingly. His expedition to punish faithless allies and their rebellious supporters lacked these incentives. It was a naked display of hard power, designed to crush the resistance and terrify others who might be considering a break from their imperial overlord.¹⁵ To suppress a serious uprising of the Colla people of the Titicaca basin, Tupa Inca Yupanqui led an army of 100,000 conscripts from the loyal Chinchaysuyu province, accompanied by a personal guard of 1,000 Inca warriors and 4,000 fighters from around the Cuzco region. The rebels fought fiercely against the royal army in the wide-open tundra spaces lying between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca. Overconfident, Tupa Inca Yupanqui pressed forward too quickly during the pitched battle. Colla warriors surrounded the royal bodyguard and destroyed it. As the Collas moved in to lay hands on the Inca, he picked up the axe of one of his fallen warriors and defended himself desperately until one of his captains was able to bring reinforcements to his rescue.

¹³ This would have occurred in the second half of the 1400s, although the dates from different chroniclers vary substantially.

¹⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 29–32]).

¹⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chaps. 34ff]).

The Inca army prevailed in open battle that day, scattering its enemies, who sought refuge in their mountaintop fortresses. Tupa Inca Yupanqui led his main army through the Titicaca basin, destroying the most important forts and pursuing the Collas and their allies. He sent relatives and military captains to lead smaller forces so that his troops could attack in more than one place simultaneously. This strategic shift accelerated the suppression of the rebellion, but the reliance on smaller squadrons—who were attacking the strongholds of people now fighting for their lives and freedom—involved troubling setbacks. One chronicler estimates that the Inca lost a third of his soldiers in the bloody fighting. The violence that was the foundation of the royal reconquest campaign became entwined with brutal acts to avenge Inca losses. Tupa Inca Yupanqui took his anger out on enemy bodies; he ordered the execution of all rebel lords, whose heads he removed and took with him as trophies. After rewarding his troops with women, valuables, and herd animals taken from the vanquished, the Inca sent some of the plunder back to Cuzco for sacrifices to the *huacas* that had made his victory possible.¹⁶ Rather than return to assume his religious role in Cuzco, however, the Inca decided to press farther south and extend his domain beyond the frontiers his father had established.

The Inca army and its new allies ventured through the Bolivian highlands and the Atacama Desert, a barren world of high salt flats and deep desert, punctuated by mighty snow-capped peaks.¹⁷ Although these southlands were poor in agricultural resources, they had camelid herds; rich silver and copper mines; and abundant sources of pigments, turquoise, and other minerals. Pachacuti's conquest goal, subjugating would-be rivals, was ill-suited to these sparsely settled and distant landscapes, but Tupa Inca Yupanqui was focused on a distinct royal need: gaining control over the exotic materials that would demonstrate his lofty status as Inca. As they transferred their attention from dominating people to acquiring things, the Incas found it convenient to portray resistant groups as savages. Even though it was their army that was bringing unprovoked violence to the region, the Incas described the local people as warlike and capable of inflicting serious casualties. They interpreted differences in diet, household architecture, and customs as evidence of the inferiority of the locals, who were not worthy of their civilizing efforts. For example, in the distant province of Llipi, the maize-eating Incas

¹⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 35]).

¹⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 36]).

thought the native population had “insufficient food” because they ate potatoes and toasted quinoa.¹⁸

Tupa Inca Yupanqui’s southern campaign ended because the small, dispersed populations presented insurmountable challenges that made the imperial advance impossible to sustain. It took too many resources to track down the scattered communities, which in any event were too small to provide what the army needed to keep moving: soldiers given by new allies, or supplies and plunder taken from defeated foes. After several years on campaign, Tupa Inca Yupanqui acknowledged the limits of Inca civilization in the south. He posted garrisons at strategic boundaries to maintain symbolic frontiers and marched his army more than 1,500 miles (2,400 km) north to Cuzco. On the way home, the Inca consolidated his earlier victories by naming new lords to replace those who had resisted him and granting noble marriage alliances to his loyal subjects.

To sustain an empire that was now more or less constantly at war in distant lands, Tupa Inca Yupanqui intensified his relationship with his pacified subjects. Inca rule developed from a periodic call for labor into an annual assignment of specific tribute tasks, which the Inca reciprocated in Cuzco by throwing elaborate festivals and giving gifts of cloth, jewelry, and other fine craft goods. Tupa Inca Yupanqui ordered the construction of new roads and way stations to bind the provinces to Cuzco. This infrastructure enabled the rapid movement of troops and information. The Inca also had administrative centers built along the highland road where Inca governors could inspect, command, and judge imperial subjects (Figure 3.2).¹⁹ He used the labor of his subjects to build new agricultural terrace complexes and specialized herding facilities that helped produce pack animals and soft wool for state uses. Labor colonists called *mitmaqkuna* traveled to distant assignments that included garrison duty and large-scale construction projects in Cuzco and elsewhere.

Uncivilized Frontiers

Although Inca political and economic power grew substantially in the central highlands, military campaigns on the forested eastern Andean slopes had limited success, except in the valleys closest to Cuzco, where royal

¹⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 36]).

¹⁹ E.g., Morris and Thompson (1985); Morris and Covey (2003).



Figure 3.1. Idealized portraits of the Hanan Cuzco emperors who built the Inca Empire. Dynastic portraiture was widely produced in the Andes during the 1700s and 1800s. From Ranking (1927).

families developed private plantations for cultivating coca leaf. Accounts of Tupa Inca Yupanqui's lowland campaigns expose a mounting Inca frustration with Amazonian tribes, whose village organization, agricultural practices, and military tactics were unlike those of highlanders. When attacked, groups like the Antis would scatter and seem to melt into the dense forest, abandoning the villages and the small farming plots they had laboriously carved out of the jungle. Their decentralization and mobility



Figure 3.2. A fine masonry platform (*ushnu*), built at the center of the vast central plaza of the highland provincial capital at Huánuco Pampa. Tupa Inca Yupanqui built administrative infrastructure like this to govern his subjects more intensively.

made it harder to engage with them, both in a diplomatic sense and in the kind of siege warfare that had won the highlands for the Incas. Lowlanders attacked at unpredictable times and with unfamiliar weapons, such as the bow and arrow.

The Incas considered the eastern lowlands to be an unhealthy region, where they breathed in sickness with the thick, humid air. They complained of the lack of basic resources, such as salt, and of the backwardness of the native population, whom they characterized as cannibals. Yet notwithstanding these disadvantages, the lowlands beckoned Inca rulers, offering valuable things they could only acquire in that part of the Andean world. Although coca leaf could be cultivated in the dry Pacific valleys near the coast, the cloud forests to the east were ideal, and produced several harvests each year. Gold dust could be taken from the swift rivers flowing from the mountains, and the special hardwoods, colorful feathers, and exotic animals of the lowlands could be used to enhance the spectacle of court life in the Inca capital. These things pulled Inca emperors repeatedly into their own heart of darkness, despite the mixed successes they had there.

At one point, Tupa Inca Yupanqui led an army to reconquer and punish a rebellious group of lowland provinces. Marching to inflict the Inca's wrath on a local force of archers, his brother Inca Achache resorted to terror tactics that shocked his fellow highlanders, who considered themselves to

be civilized. Inca Achache was walking alone in the jungle, when a jaguar charged at him through the dense undergrowth (Figure 3.3). He struck the beast with a single blow to the head from his battle-axe, killing it. He then carried its body to where the Inca soldiers were about to attack their enemies. In full view of the lowland forces, Inca Achache cut up the jaguar and



Figure 3.3. Felipe Guaman Poma's (c. 1615) depiction of the Inca captain Otorongo Achache, who "went native" while on a campaign in the Amazonian lowlands. *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno compuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 155[155]/drawing 56.

fed on its raw flesh. With his mouth full of bloody meat, he ran at his enemies, an axe in his hand, roaring out an oath that he would never leave those lands until he had tasted the flesh of those who ruled there. The frenzied attack overcame the Antis. Inca Achache captured and killed one of their captains, dismembered his body, and began to feed on it. Seeing the Inca captain cannibalizing one of their leaders, the remaining warriors fled.²⁰ For this savage act, the Inca prince came to be known as “Otorongo” (Jaguar) Achache. His brother later appointed him as the military governor of the Antisuyu province.²¹

The wild frontiers of Tupa Inca Yupanqui’s empire challenged Inca sovereignty and military might, inspiring different strategies from those who imposed provincial administration in the central highlands. As imperial armies have often done when frustrated by guerillas or other enemies who do not “fight fair,” the Incas resorted to increasingly brutal tactics, which they justified by casting their lowland enemies as savages. Rather than seek marriage partners and new subjects in the Amazonian world, Inca rulers sent their armies to defeat or drive off these enemies so that they could tame the landscape and colonize it with their own subjects. In the decades before the Spanish invasion, frontier wars consumed considerable resources and Inca lives, without bringing large new territories or subject populations under imperial rule. To lead his forces on the distant frontiers, an Inca had to spend years away from Cuzco, and to rely on stand-ins to fulfill his ceremonial duties as he demonstrated his military power at the front. Later in life, Tupa Inca Yupanqui gave up campaigning to focus on his religious roles. Like his father, he feared the power of the women in the palace and the factional strife that would erupt if he died on campaign. As his physical strength diminished, the Inca remained in Cuzco, sending his close male relatives to lead campaigns and represent his military power at the margins of his vast empire.

Inca military power grew and changed over the centuries of imperial expansion. As the large-scale violence shifted to distant frontiers, the pacified interior provinces experienced the intensification of Inca government, which imposed the same decimal organization used to keep troops in order

²⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 33]). Guaman Poma de Ayala offers some different details about Otorongo Achache, who transformed himself into a jaguar to win the campaign, and then fathered a fierce son by a lowland woman.

²¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. 1, chap. 34]).

on campaign.²² Political control varied across the Inca provinces, shaped by existing hierarchies and the circumstances of Inca conquest. Many highland provinces were organized into hierarchies consisting of mid-level officials called *kuraka*, who dictated imperial tribute demands to low-level overseers called *kamayuc*, who saw to it that their kin-based labor networks carried them out. Inca governors, inspectors, and record-keeping specialists—many of them close relatives of the ruling couple—managed the provincial hierarchies during annual gatherings at administrative centers. On the coast, many rulers remained in power as Inca clients, accepting the placement of Inca inspectors and female religious officials in their realms.

Female Power

Studies of Inca highland provinces emphasize male political and military hierarchies, largely because the Spanish chroniclers could only imagine real power flowing through the kinds of patriarchal institutions they knew from home. Reading between the lines, it is possible to see how the power of Inca women evolved as the empire expanded. In the earliest years of Inca growth, women performed the kin work necessary for empire-building. Inca women left Cuzco to become the wives of newly subordinated lords, while the elite women of other groups converged on the royal palace. These women gave birth to a new generation of imperial nobles, and the influence of well-connected mothers helped to bind the capital and the provinces. When the Incas extended their realm from the highlands to the rich valleys of the coastal desert, they encountered powerful rulers, many of them women. In many cases, cooperative leaders retained control over their lands, and the only Inca representatives in those realms were the *mamakuna*, the Inca religious women. These priestesses represented the Inca state in an official capacity at the creation shrine of Pachacamac, as well as in the wealthy coastal kingdom of the Chíncha Valley.²³

The “hard power” of the Inca state had a distinctly masculine quality, but sustaining it depended on the labor of girls and women living in cloisters

²² Early chronicles (e.g., Betanzos, Cieza de León) describe decimal administration as a military practice.

²³ The incorporation of the Chíncha Valley left the powerful local lord in place, but the Incas built a cloister there called Hatuncancha, which had fields, retainers, and women assigned to it (Castro and Ortega Morejón 1938 [1558]).

called *aqllawasi* (House of the Chosen). The *mamakuna* managed these complexes at several Inca centers, where they taught several hundred girls to weave, cook, and brew in the Inca style. When soldiers marched along the royal highways on their way to and from the frontiers, they relied on food and clothing produced by the *aqllawasi*. When Inca governors assembled tens of thousands of their subjects at imperial centers to carry out annual reviews and tribute levies, the *aqllawasi* prepared huge quantities of beer, food, and cloth for the festivities. Some scholars treat the “women’s work” done by the *aqllawasi* as evidence of masculine domination, and it is certain that Inca governors benefited from their control over the girls who were placed in the cloister. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that the *mamakuna* who directed the cloisters and represented the empire in other capacities did not participate actively in the logistical planning necessary to maintain the empire’s network of highland administrative centers.²⁴

Although they were counterparts of the male administrative hierarchy, the *mamakuna* expressed a unique female power: the capacity to generate things without active male partnership.²⁵ The *mamakuna* were the only institutionally trained officials in the Inca Empire. Those selected to receive instruction in Cuzco’s *aqllawasi*, the Hatun Cancha (Great Enclosure), learned to produce much more valuable things than what was distributed at provincial festivals in the Inca’s name (Figure 3.4).²⁶ The Hatun Cancha was an impressive complex, located on Cuzco’s central plaza. It was a female-dominated space at the heart of the empire, and it had close associations with royal Inca women, especially the Coya. Within the Hatun Cancha’s silver-clad walls, the *mamakuna* prepared Inca noblewomen for their state service and courtly life, cloistering and instructing them until they were ready for marriage or appointed to a religious assignment.²⁷ Inca girls lived alongside

²⁴ Silverblatt (1987) and Gose (2000) see Inca statecraft as built atop the exploitation of female labor.

²⁵ The word *mama* means “mother,” but it also refers to the earth (Pachamama), the sea (Mamaqocha), and to objects considered to generate crops (e.g., Saramama, the Maize-Mother) and sought-after ore in the mines (Albornoz 1988:165 [1585]).

²⁶ See Gasca (1998[1551–1553 #38]). Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609, bk. III, chap. 21]) identifies the silver-lined building as a moon temple and a repository of female power that held the mummies of the Coyas.

²⁷ Farrington (2013:186–198). Cobo (1990:55 [1653]) describes a sacred fountain that Mama Ocllo owned there, where people made sacrifices to the Coya, “the most venerated woman . . . among these Indians.” Spaniards discovered a shaft tomb in the Hatun Cancha made with fine masonry and dedicated to an Inca queen from the lowlands (Farrington 2013:186).

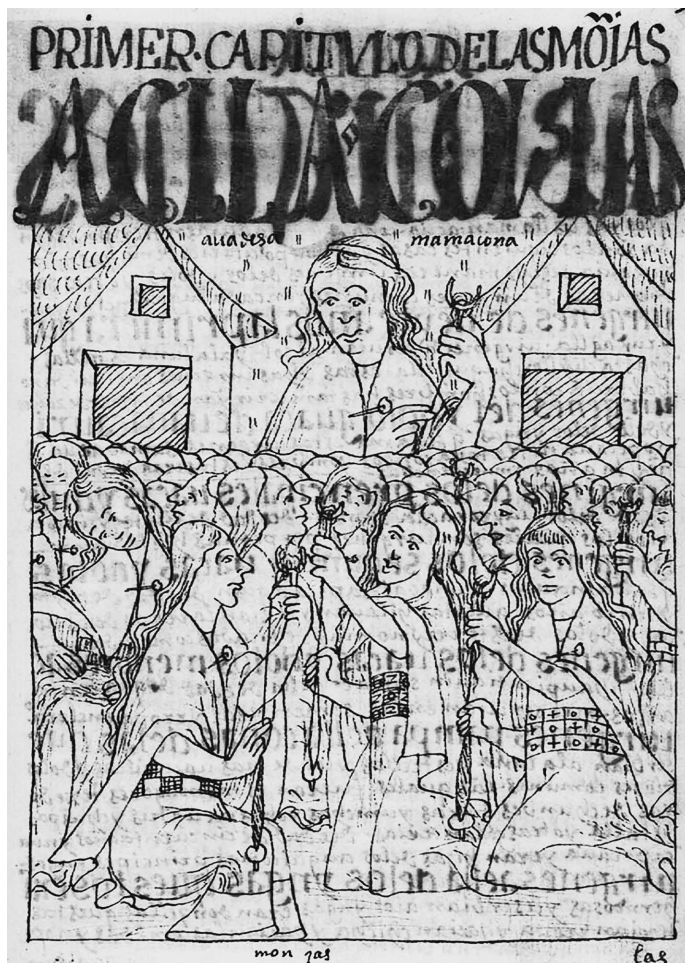


Figure 3.4. Inca religious women (*mamakuna*) training girls in the *aqllawasi* cloister (Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615). El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe], GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 298[300]/drawing 117.

accomplished young women selected from the provincial cloisters, and in the Hatun Cancha they mastered the production of textiles from the finest materials, working with special alpaca and vicuña wool and valuable dyes. Using ingredients raised in special fields, they prepared ceremonial food and drink for the most important festivals and offerings. They learned praise songs to be performed at court and in public rituals.

Although the service of the Hatun Cancha cloister supported the royal court, the *mamakuna* trained their novices for a much higher calling: serving Inca mummies and the most powerful supernatural forces. Although these beings were not alive in the same sense as the Inca and Coya, they required care and reverence. They needed fine garments offered to them to clothe them, as well as presentations of food and drink.²⁸ They desired companionship, and above all, they needed human attendants who could divine their wishes and speak for them. The Inca emperor claimed the power to speak with the mummies and *huacas* and offer them sacrifices, but there were also thousands of Inca priestesses serving in Sun temples and shrines across the empire, and large numbers of *mamakuna* serving the royal dead.²⁹ Inca *mamakuna* managed cloisters built near the creation shrines at Titicaca and Pachacamac, and as noted already, they were virtually the only representatives of the empire living in the lands of many coastal rulers.³⁰ Across the empire, the sacred labors of religious helped to sustain the Inca universe. This was a sort of supernatural “kin work” comparable to the marriage alliances that united Cuzco’s Inca nobility with the provinces. Women’s religious hierarchies were an upward projection of imperial power into the supernatural realm, which complemented the political structures that Inca men extended down into the local family networks of ordinary farmers and herders.

The religious power of Inca women grew as imperial expansion brought the sacred landscapes of new subjects into new ceremonial relationships with the state. The sacred knowledge of the *mamakuna* was vital for exporting the Inca sun cult and its political ideology, and for honoring powerful mountains and other *huacas* located far from Cuzco. As Inca men spent long periods away from the capital, directing their military power against rebellious provinces and unconquered frontiers, the religious power of Mama Ocllo and other Inca women grew as they performed essential roles to maintain cosmological order and reciprocate the labor that imperial subjects gave to the Inca. Male rulers increasingly depended on the religious power and noble

²⁸ Food was burned on special fires kindled from pieces of wood ritually carved by the *mamakuna*. Drink offerings were poured into large gold vessels when the living toasted the dead and the *huacas*.

²⁹ The conquering Spaniards could not appreciate this power, and referred to the *mamakuna* as temple assistants rather than priestesses.

³⁰ There were an estimated 1,000 religious women at pilgrimage shrines in the Titicaca basin (Sancho de la Hoz 1968:331–332 [1534, chap. 18]), and an unknown number at the Sun temple built at Pachacamac (Cieza de León 1881 [1553, chap. 72]).

leadership of the Coya and other prominent women as they led campaigns to destroy resistance and build a new imperial order. As we have already seen, Inca rulers also feared the power of their wives and sisters, especially during times when the Inca title passed from one generation to the next.

The Coya Raises an Inca

Those fears proved to be well-founded. Around the time of Columbus's first voyage, the emperor Tupa Inca Yupanqui returned to Cuzco from his years-long campaign in the southern provinces. He gave up his military command and spent his final years building a country estate on the cold plains of Chinchero, just to the northwest of Cuzco. The elderly Inca ordered the construction of a palace and town, surrounded by ornamental terraces and sculpted rock outcrops.³¹ Soon after the palace was complete, Tupa Inca Yupanqui fell ill there, with a sickness that some Incas blamed on poison or witchcraft at the hands of Chiqui Ocllo, a secondary wife who was said to be his favorite. As his condition deteriorated, the Inca prepared for his death and the afterlife, and he arranged to pass his sovereign title to his son. There are several conflicting versions of this event, which illustrate the real power that Inca women wielded, and how it could catalyze the force of noble factions in Cuzco.

In some accounts, the dying Inca assembled the lords of Cuzco and made careful arrangements for the well-being of his empire, formally reconfirming a son named Titu Cusi Huallpa. As the son of Tupa Inca Yupanqui and the Coya Mama Ocllo, Titu Cusi Huallpa was the clear dynastic choice, but the story of his orderly succession is not the only one that noble Incas remembered. Some recalled the selection of a different son. As illness overcame Tupa Inca Yupanqui and carried him into death, the Inca passed over his designated heir and named Chiqui Ocllo's son, Capac Huari, as his replacement.³² After the Inca expired in private at Chinchero, Chiqui Ocllo and other noblewomen at the palace kept his death secret as they tried to rally their families and supporters in Cuzco to crown Capac Huari.³³ Meanwhile, the

³¹ Alcina et al. (1976); Nair (2015).

³² Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586, bk. III, chap. 20]; Murúa (2001 [c. 1613, bk. I, chaps. 26, 28]). Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chaps. 54–55]) notes the discrepancies in Inca accounts.

³³ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 55])

Inca noblemen who understood Titu Cusi Huallpa to be the designated heir began to prepare for the ceremonies that would bring him to power.

Neither of the two potential heirs was old enough to rule on his own, and the succession crisis that unfolded pitted the power of the Coya against that of a royal woman who had built her own networks in the palace and beyond. Chiqui Ocllo was the Inca's favorite wife, and she had been able to influence the dying emperor and to rally members of the royal household in Chinchero and Cuzco to support her son. Despite these advantages, her rival, Mama Ocllo, proved to be much more powerful. As the Coya, Mama Ocllo claimed direct descent from the first Inca ancestors through her maternal and paternal lines, and she had extensive resources at her disposal. She owned llama herds, farmlands, and coca plantations in the valleys surrounding Cuzco, and was in charge of a major temple in the capital, which counted 5,000 men and women in its service.³⁴ Mama Ocllo had the support of the religious women of the *aqllawasi*, and in her years of political service she had proved her mastery of political strategy, combining trickery and violence to defeat other powerful women.³⁵

The Coya was rich, powerful, and well-connected, and when her son's coronation was threatened, she turned to her relatives and allies to oppose Capac Huari's succession. Mama Ocllo's brother, Guaman Achachi, took armed men to where his young nephew was hidden, and after making sure that the boy was safe, went to attack Capac Huari's supporters, killing many of them. Chiqui Ocllo had failed in the attempt to place her son on the throne, and she was executed along with a kinswoman who had helped to plot the alternative succession. Without the support of powerful women in the palace, Capac Huari was no threat to his half-brother; he was exiled to his father's Chinchero estate, where he was provided with laborers and herds to keep him comfortable there.³⁶

Through his mother's efforts, the boy Titu Cusi Huallpa became Inca, but he was too young to wield power on his own. When the nobles of Cuzco

³⁴ Murúa (2001 [c. 1613, bk. I, chap. 27]).

³⁵ When a coastal queen withheld tribute, Mama Ocllo sent her inspectors into the resistant city while the population was away to celebrate religious sacrifices. When they returned, the Coya had Inca soldiers capture the resistant queen and bring her to Cuzco (Cobo 1979:150–151 [1653]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572, chap. 51]).

³⁶ In contrast to the story of a violent clash (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572, chaps. 54–55]), others have described a more procedural contest that involved denouncing Chiqui Ocllo for Tupa Inca Yupanqui's murder.

came before him to offer their obedience, he seemed so young and inexperienced to them that they bestowed the name *Huayna Capac* (Youth King) on him.³⁷ To counter the unprecedented coronation of a mere child, *Huayna Capac*'s relatives celebrated the traditional coming-of-age rituals to mark his status as a young man, but they also placed the new Inca in the care of noblemen who would provide him with instruction and make decisions in his name.³⁸ These regents included his mother's brothers, *Guaman Achachi* and *Auqui Tupa Inca*, as well as noblemen from royal lineages who had supported *Huayna Capac*'s succession. Some chroniclers say that they governed in the Inca's name for as long as a decade. During that time, *Mama Ocllo* retained the title of *Coya*, making her the most powerful person in the Americas. She managed her own vast estates and key elements of the imperial religious hierarchy, and it is hard to imagine that her brothers failed to consult her in their administrative deliberations.

Even when *Huayna Capac* reached adulthood and began to play the role of a universe-binding emperor, he remained in *Cuzco* and in his mother's shadow. Instead of leading military campaigns, he sent his inspectors out to ensure that the Inca provinces across the Andes were well-governed. When the Inca finally left his capital to be seen by his subjects, he had special roads built to take his court from place to place, and he stayed in fine lodgings built specifically for his visit. In the place of the military campaigns that his father and grandfather led in their early years, *Huayna Capac*'s royal visits included public gatherings, where the emperor appeared in local costume, as well as elaborate hunts that celebrated the Inca domestication of the Andean landscape and all that lived on it (Figure 3.5).³⁹

The young Inca also worked to establish his royal estate, spending a year exploring rural *Cuzco* to find a wild landscape that he could civilize and claim as his private domain. He determined to transform the *Yucay Valley*, just under 12.5 miles (20 km) northwest of *Cuzco*, a place of "ravines and wild country," where supposedly no people lived.⁴⁰ Summoning 150,000

³⁷ This popular name means "Youth King," signifying an adolescent who had been armed as a knight but who lacked a *Coya* to complement his military and political power.

³⁸ *Murúa* (2001 [c. 1613, bk. I, chap. 29]); *Sarmiento de Gamboa* (2007 [1572, chaps. 55–57]).

³⁹ *Betanzos* (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chaps. 40–44]).

⁴⁰ *Betanzos* (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 42]). Archaeological surveys demonstrate extensive pre-imperial settlement throughout the valley (Covey et al. 2008). Another chronicler (*Sarmiento de Gamboa* 2007 [1572, chaps. 40–41]) claimed that *Pachacuti* had previously built lodgings and decorative ponds in *Yucay*.



Figure 3.5. The Yucay Valley, location of Huayna Capac's royal estate and country palace. As a young man, the emperor had provincial workers canalize the Urubamba River and level out the valley floor, building elaborate terraces and irrigation works.

provincial subjects, Huayna Capac went to Yucay with his noblemen, where he ordered them to reduce the valley for him. The workers reshaped the valley, channeling the meandering river so that it flowed swiftly along a stone-lined course. They flattened out the hills and filled in swampy lowlands, replacing them with magnificent terraces, creating a royal landscape that Huayna Capac distributed to his family and servants, as well as to his noble allies and the families of his ancestors.⁴¹ Once the construction work was complete, the Inca sent his provincial workers home and settled 2,000 servant households in the valley, families taken from dozens of subject groups.⁴² They worked his gardens and maize lands while the emperor was away on campaign, and continued to toil on behalf of his mummy and descendants, even after the arrival of the Spaniards.⁴³ After Mama Ocllo's

⁴¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 43]). Niles (1999) describes the architectural remains of this estate. See Villanueva Urteaga (1970) and Covey and Amado (2008) on the servant population.

⁴² Covey and Elson (2007).

⁴³ See Gade (1974) on the valley's fertility.

death, Huayna Capac took a sister-wife, forming a new male-female pair that could found its own royal lineage, following dynastic tradition.⁴⁴

Mama Ocllo's legacy extended beyond her death, and even as an adult, Huayna Capac maintained the special respect for women that he developed in his youth. As one chronicler recalled, Huayna Capac's subjects revered him—even when he was young—because he showed appropriate respect for women of every age and status. When considering the appeals of older women, he would respectfully declare, "Mother, what you require must be done." He treated women of his age as siblings, saying, "Sister, what you wish shall be done." And he was generous toward young women, indulging their petitions and saying, "Daughter, what you request shall be granted."⁴⁵

Female power lay behind the intrigue that unfolded at the time of Tupa Inca Yupanqui's death. But it also held together the empire during the uncertain early years of Huayna Capac's reign, and left lasting changes in the political role of Inca women. Huayna Capac's long social transformation—from vulnerable prince to an emperor who aspired to world dominance—reflects the unpredictable ways that imperial growth transformed Inca society as the noble families of Cuzco became the rulers of the Andean world. Despite the sovereign claim of the Inca to be a ruler with no equal, it could take years of support from the right factions to raise up an Inca whose personal network could fulfill the central functions of the imperial government. During succession crises, factional competition threatened to overturn the order created by the previous generation, and would-be Incas could see their claims founder with surprising speed when noble women and men dedicated their resources and connections to a rival.

Cuzco in the Heart of Darkness

It was only after his mother was transformed into a powerful mummy that Huayna Capac finally assumed his military powers and answered the challenge of the savage northern frontier. The Inca decided to return to the Ecuadorian highlands—the land of his birth—to conquer distant provinces

⁴⁴ Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586, bk. III, chap. 20]) and Murúa (2001 [c. 1613, bk. I, chap. 30]) say that Huayna Capac set out to prepare the funerary festivities for his parents just after his marriage.

⁴⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [bk. VIII, chap. 7]).

and extend his dominion against the tribes lying beyond his outermost fortresses. After making the appropriate sacrifices and consulting with the *huacas*, Huayna Capac ordered a grand road to be built from Cuzco to Quito, and relay posts for messengers and storage facilities were to be constructed along the way.⁴⁶ Using the new route, he intended to transplant the political heart of Cuzco—his royal household—in Quito so that he could continue to perform his administrative and ritual roles while on campaign. Placing the capital under the administration of close relatives, Huayna Capac gathered most of the women, children, and servants of his household and journeyed to Tomebamba (modern Cuenca, Ecuador), accompanied by a huge army.⁴⁷ The royal procession departed from Cuzco and journeyed northward for a thousand miles (1,600 km). Along the way, the imperial family lodged in refurbished way stations and made public appearances at the impressive administrative capitals that Tupa Inca Yupanqui built to govern his highland provinces. Huayna Capac paused in several places to make offerings in local temples, resolve disputes between provincial leaders, and subjugate resistant groups.

Hostility from local populations increased with the distance from Cuzco. Huayna Capac was forced to slow his progress toward Quito to fight in the Huánuco and Chachapoyas regions, where he had just campaigned a few years earlier. An attempted Inca invasion of the lowland territory of the Bracamoros ended in failure. At great cost, Inca soldiers built a road through snowy mountain passes and down into the lush eastern jungles. The army struggled to cross rivers swollen by a seemingly never-ending rainfall. Local populations organized themselves for a desperate confrontation with the imperial invaders. When Inca messengers reached their fortresses, the Bracamoros mocked Huayna Capac's demand for a peaceful submission and unleashed hordes of warriors against the Inca soldiers. In the face of fierce resistance, Huayna Capac retreated into the highlands without gaining anything. The lowland warriors continued to attack the Inca army, turning its

⁴⁶ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 63]).

⁴⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chaps. 47–48]) says that the Inca took 50,000 soldiers to Quito, leaving his mother's brother, Guaman Achache, in charge of Cuzco. Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 63]) says there were 200,000 soldiers and a large number of retainers and women. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chaps. 59–60]) claims that the Quito region had rebelled, along with several other frontier groups living as far north as the Pasto province of what is today southern Colombia. He identifies [chap. 61] two men—an uncle, Apu Hilaquita, and a brother, Auqui Topa Inca—as co-regents in Cuzco during Huayna Capac's absence.

orderly withdrawal into a rout.⁴⁸ On the other side of the Andes, Inca forays toward the Pacific coast were slightly more successful, and Huayna Capac was able to extend his imperial domain through the regions of Guayaquil and Puerto Viejo, until he reached tribal societies that the Incas claimed were cannibals so savage that they wore no clothing.

As his soldiers fought their way toward the Ecuadorian lowlands, Huayna Capac reached Tomebamba, in the land of the Cañaris, the province where his parents Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Mama Ocllo had campaigned at the time of his birth. This was where the Inca decided to establish his royal household for as long as he remained at the frontier. Upon his arrival in Tomebamba, Huayna Capac ordered the construction of impressive new buildings to improve on the monuments that his father had left behind. He added barracks and storehouses to support his power over the living, and had magnificent palaces built to house his family. To make the replication of Cuzco complete, Huayna Capac ordered work crews to drag heavy blocks of black andesite from Cuzco quarries across the Andes, to be placed in the foundations of the new structures.⁴⁹ By establishing his household in a place that reproduced ceremonial elements of Cuzco, Huayna Capac transferred the civilized center of the Inca Empire to the frontier. In the years that followed, his family invested in developing their estate in that place, and they began to call their royal lineage Tomebamba Ayllu.

The new construction campaign also focused on the supernatural. Huayna Capac erected a ceremonial platform in Tomebamba's central plaza, where he could preside over events that brought humans into contact with world-changing supernatural forces.⁵⁰ He built an impressive temple complex called the Mullu Cancha (Red Shell Enclosure), which served as a sun temple. As a counterpart to Cuzco's Coricancha temple complex, Mullu Cancha was built to impress: its walls were made of fine masonry, painted and inlaid with precious stones, and adorned with stamped plates of gold.⁵¹ In this temple,

⁴⁸ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 64]).

⁴⁹ Cieza de León (1864 [c. 1553, chap. 44]) mentions the movement of stone from Cuzco to Ecuador, which Ogburn (2004) has verified archaeologically.

⁵⁰ See Rowe (2011); Bray (2015). The description of Mullu Cancha comes from Cabello Balboa (1951:364–365 [1586, pt. III, chap. 21]), who claimed that after Mama Ocllo had died, her statue was produced in Tomebamba rather than in Cuzco.

⁵¹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 60]). Later accounts by Cabello Balboa [1586] and Murúa [c. 1613] offer more detail than the earliest chronicles, but their narratives differ from them in important ways, so I rely here on Cieza de León (1864 [1553, chap. 44]).

Huayna Capac placed his mother's golden statue, which had traveled with him from Cuzco. A group of Mama Ocllo's servants had carried her on their shoulders for a thousand miles, accompanied by a Cañari-speaking woman who pronounced the will of the deceased Coya.⁵² Huayna Capac renamed his mother Tomebamba Pacha Mama—the Tomebamba Earth Mother—and placed the local Cañaris in her service. In addition to the Mullu Cancha, the Inca built temples for the creator Viracocha and the thunder being Illapa, and he established a cloister to house 200 local maidens whom he placed in the service of the Sun.

Savage Conquests

As the royal household settled into courtly life at Tomebamba, Huayna Capac confronted immediate nearby challenges to his sovereignty. He departed for Quito, which had been the Inca military command center for Inca frontier armies since Pachacuti's reign. Although he built new lodgings and imperial compounds there, Huayna Capac's main purpose was to unite his army of provincial conscripts with the battle-hardened troops stationed permanently at the frontier. This move shows how Inca military power changed over a century of imperial campaigns. Like his predecessors, Huayna Capac could draft huge armies of subjects from his highland provinces for periodic waves of expansion and reconquest in the central Andean highlands. But he could also depend on more permanent military forces, including forts with multiethnic garrisons that monitored the farthest periphery and managed the contacts between outside groups and Inca subjects. In the Quito region, strings of hilltop forts overlooked the approach to Inca territory, and behind them noble Inca military captains commanded troops drawn from provincial groups that regularly gave soldiers as tribute. Most Inca subjects from the highland Chinchaysuyu province provided regular rotations of labor service to the empire—carrying out a wide range of tasks that included agriculture, guard duty, and the production of goods like cloth and pottery—but the fierce resistance of the Chachapoyas and the Cañaris led the Incas to resettle large numbers of their populations, designating some as permanent servants and soldiers.⁵³

⁵² See MacCormack (1991); Niles (1999); Rowe (2011).

⁵³ Murra (1986); Salomon (1986).

Although the Inca frontier troops were more experienced fighters than any of the occasional conscripts from the interior provinces, they struggled to subjugate the natives living beyond their line of forts. Colonial Incas described the populations living outside the northern frontier as cruel savages who cannibalized their enemies and took the blood, hearts, and heads of those killed in battle to offer as sacrifices. As the empire abandoned diplomatic efforts in favor of brutal displays, it was useful to accuse Inca enemies of the kinds of atrocities that the Incas attributed to their own leaders when their anger overcame them in battle. In fact, the archaeological picture of the northern Inca frontier indicates that local populations were often quite sophisticated, capable of maintaining regional military alliances and trade networks, and articulating their social hierarchies through the construction of different kinds of monuments.⁵⁴

Accounts of the Quito campaign suggest that Huayna Capac's arrival inspired independent frontier groups to coordinate among themselves. They understood that the Inca came to conquer groups that had already shown no interest in submitting to the empire, so the people of Otavalo, Cayambi, Cochasqui, Pifo, and other areas forged a regional confederation, agreeing to fight together to the death to resist Inca subjugation.⁵⁵ For these frontier groups, the return of the Inca signaled a final struggle to preserve their lives and cultural identities. Standing desperately against the end of their world, these groups repeatedly pushed back Inca armies in open battle, forcing the imperial troops to take shelter in their own forts. As he fought to repulse one ferocious assault by the Cayambes, Huayna Capac fell from his ornate litter and had to be rescued by his personal guard and noble captains. The Inca was humiliated, and his kinsmen spoke openly of deserting him and returning to Cuzco, but he stopped them by generously giving them gifts of food, fine cloth, and other adornments.⁵⁶

Shortly after Huayna Capac arrived in Quito, the nearby Caranques murdered the Inca officials in their lands. Rejecting Inca civilization, they allegedly returned to ancient cannibalistic ways, eagerly gorging themselves on the flesh of the slaughtered Incas. When Huayna Capac learned of this extreme act, he took his army out against the Caranques, sending messengers ahead to offer pardons to those who came to beg him for mercy. The Caranques not

⁵⁴ Bray (1992); Lippi and Gudiño (2010).

⁵⁵ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 66]).

⁵⁶ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007[1572, chap. 60]).

only refused to surrender, but they tortured the messengers nearly to death, provoking a merciless response from the Inca. Huayna Capac attacked with his army, and in the ensuing campaign thousands died on both sides. The Caranques fought for their lives, pursued by Inca troops eager to avenge the disrespect shown to their ruler. The imperial troops wore down the rebels, who fought them unconventionally, in guerilla attacks and ambushes on remote mountain passes and jungle slopes. Eventually, the Caranques realized that their situation was hopeless, and their leaders went to Huayna Capac to surrender. The Inca ordered the execution of 2,000 of the most important rebels, who were beheaded next to a lake that was probably a significant landmark in the local origin myths. So much blood flowed that day that the water in the lake turned red. It was given the name Yahuarcocha (Blood Lake) to memorialize the Inca punishment.⁵⁷ After dispatching the mightiest Caranque warriors, Huayna Capac took their young sons and inducted them into the Inca army as child warriors. They became fierce fighters for their new father, the Inca, some of the most terror-inspiring troops marching with the imperial army.⁵⁸

Other chroniclers describe the unconventional fighting that Huayna Capac's troops faced throughout the Quito region. When the Inca army entered the land of the Pastos, the local people fell back to their largest settlement, leaving a few men behind with the women, children, and the elderly, so that the Incas would think that they faced no other resistance. The imperial Inca forces moved quickly through the region, enjoying what they thought to be an unusually easy conquest. The soldiers became careless as they advanced, pillaging the local villages and eating and drinking freely from the plunder they took. One evening they were celebrating a great feast and neglected to post guards for the night. Pasto warriors, who had been waiting for such a lapse, took advantage of the Incas' negligence and attacked the camp, slaughtering the unprepared soldiers.⁵⁹ Near the coast, the locals destroyed a bridge over a raging river as Inca troops were crossing it. Many

⁵⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609, bk. IX, chap. 11]; cf. Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 66]).

⁵⁸ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 66]). Considering modern examples of children forced into organized violence by terrorist groups and guerilla armies, it is easy to imagine the ferocity of these young warriors once they were fully indoctrinated in Inca ideology and desensitized to torture and bloodshed.

⁵⁹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 60]).

soldiers fell into the water and drowned, and then the locals sprang a second trap, dropping heavy logs that crushed the remaining Inca warriors.⁶⁰

After these costly campaigns to bring the people of the Quito region in line, Huayna Capac attempted to press even farther to the north, possibly targeting the densely settled Popayán and Cauca Valleys, which drain northward into the Caribbean Sea. But this expedition to learn more about the people living beyond the frontier did not advance very far. The Incas claimed that their army had suffered from a lack of water on the march, but the unified resistance of the local chiefdoms had been an even greater obstacle. One day, the Inca soldiers woke at daybreak to find themselves surrounded by an “infinite” number of unfamiliar soldiers, and they retreated in fear back to where Huayna Capac was.⁶¹ The Inca urged his troops to attack, promising that each man could keep the spoils that he took. Although the imperial troops managed to scatter their enemies and take quantities of precious stones and valuable *Spondylus* shell, they were unable to defeat the local people in battle, and every attempt to convince them to accept Inca superiority came to nothing.

A rare exception to this widespread local resistance occurred as imperial troops were chasing defeated foes through the Ecuadorian lowlands. Huayna Capac received messengers from the ruler of the island of Puná, located about 60 miles (100 km) to the west of Tomebamba. The ruler declared his willingness to serve the Inca, and Huayna Capac went down into the lowlands to meet him before returning to Quito.⁶² As Pizarro’s Spaniards would learn a few years later, this was a strategic choice that helped the island lord defeat his own enemies, Inca subjects living at the coastal city of Túmbez.

Death Comes for the Inca

Throughout the decade Huayna Capac was commanding his armies on the northern frontier, the royal officials who had remained in Cuzco after the departure of the Inca and his household communicated regularly with the royal court in Tomebamba. It is safe to assume that many aspects of Inca municipal life in the capital continued unchanged. Noble young men and

⁶⁰ Benzoni (2017:89 [1565, bk. 3]).

⁶¹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 62]) provides the account of this campaign, including the quoted text below (cf. Cieza de León 1883 [c. 1553, chap. 67]). See Stothert (2013) on local resistance to Inca expansion on the Ecuadorian coast.

⁶² See Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 65]).

women passed through initiation rituals, forged marriage alliances, and had their own children. Annual ceremonies cleansed the city, celebrated the maize cultivation cycle, and honored the ancestral dead. Members of the nobility continued to build and enlarge their ancestors' city houses and country estates, and wealth flowed into the region from the provinces. The Cuzco Incas continued to build their social alliances, which probably included sending some of their men and women to Tomebamba and Quito to serve Huayna Capac and his household.

Presumably, the emperor's designated stand-in in Cuzco performed his role at ceremonial gatherings and in meetings with provincial officials, but the most important military, administrative, and ritual decisions were made in Quito. Huayna Capac received provincial lords there, and he regularly dispatched message runners to Cuzco to ensure that his commands were being obeyed in the capital. Every day, runners reached Quito, bearing information from Cuzco, the Titicaca basin, and more distant imperial provinces as far away as Chile.⁶³ When the news that the lowland Chiriguano threatened Inca subjects on the Bolivian frontier reached Huayna Capac in the north, he dispatched a captain and several powerful *huacas* to Cuzco, where the captain was to muster troops and lead an Inca counterattack. Many months later, news of the "cruel war" made its way to the emperor, along with prisoners who had been captured more than 2,000 miles (3,200 km) away.⁶⁴

Huayna Capac's long absence was not unprecedented. His father, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, was away from Cuzco for seven years in his campaign in the southlands of Collasuyu, and he reportedly left his brother and the Coya, Mama Ocllo, in charge of Cuzco.⁶⁵ By the 1520s, Inca nobles were comfortable with the idea that their peerless ruler could rule by proxy for long stretches, and many young adults in Cuzco could not remember a time when the Inca had been present in the capital. They probably expected that as Huayna Capac advanced in years, he would transfer his potent military power to his sons, and then return to Cuzco to develop his supernatural essence as he transformed from a living man to an ancestral mummy.

Tragically, that did not come to pass. Sometime between 1525 and 1530, a deadly epidemic struck Cuzco, killing thousands and claiming the lives of many Inca nobles, including the royal governor and several prominent

⁶³ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 64]).

⁶⁴ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 61]).

⁶⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 36]).

members of the royal family. While the capital was still reeling from this unprecedented loss of life, messengers brought catastrophic news from Quito. As they mourned their dead, the survivors were stunned to hear that their “young king” Huayna Capac was dying, brought down not by the poisoned arrows of a lowland warrior, but by the same strange disease that had ravaged their city.⁶⁶ As he monitored the progress of his military campaigns from Quito, the emperor fell ill to a strange affliction that covered his body in lesions, sapped his vitality, and left him in a state of delirium.⁶⁷ Colonial chroniclers and modern scholars disagree over what the mysterious disease was, but today it is generally accepted that it was what epidemiologists call a “virgin soil epidemic,” in which an Old World disease spreads ahead of the arrival of conquistadores, decimating indigenous populations who had no previous exposure to the pathogens causing it.⁶⁸

The swift progression of the disease troubled the Inca lords in Quito, since Huayna Capac had not formally named any of his sons as his heir. In one of his more lucid moments during the illness, they asked the Inca to designate a successor. He named Ninancuyochi, a one-month-old son who had just been born in Tomebamba. Although they knew these were the ravings of a disease-addled mind, the nobles sent for the child.⁶⁹ The next day, the nobles went to Huayna Capac and asked him the same question; this time, the emperor named Atahuallpa, an older son who was with him in Quito learning to command the frontier army. It is probable that some factional maneuvers were taking place at Huayna Capac’s deathbed, because the lords returned a third time on the following day. Once again, they asked the dying Inca to give them his choice of an heir, and this time he told them it should be Huascar, a son who had remained behind in Cuzco.⁷⁰ Whether the Inca had

⁶⁶ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 68]) says that 200,000 Incas died from a highly contagious plague, and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 62]) describes how it struck the Cuzco region before reaching Quito.

⁶⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 48]).

⁶⁸ Crosby (1976); for the Andes, see Cook (1998).

⁶⁹ Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 48]. A baby was not typically treated as a social being until it survived its first few years and the parents organized a hair-cutting ceremony, at which the child received a name and was formally introduced to its relatives (Covey 2012).

⁷⁰ Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 48]. Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 68]) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 62]) describe the different sons being named. Before Huayna Capac became ill, “he learned that there was a great pestilence in Cuzco and that his governors Apu Hilaquita, his uncle; Auqui Topa Inca, his brother; and his sister Mama Coca were dead [as well as] many of his other relatives.”

seemed more lucid the third time, or had finally managed to name a candidate whom the assembled lords found acceptable, the nobles took actions to prepare for Huascar's succession. They placed a sister of Huascar's in seclusion for the ritual preparations to marry him and become the Coya, and two of the girl's uncles sent word to Huascar to start building support in Cuzco to become Inca.

A few days later, Huayna Capac succumbed to his illness, and shortly afterward news came to Quito that the Coya and the infant Ninancuyochi had died from the same sickness. The Incas of Quito went into mourning and prepared their lord to become a mummified ancestor. They carefully opened his body to remove his organs, taking great care not to damage his skin and bones. They dried and cured his body in the sun, and when it was ready, they dressed it in fine garments and placed it on a litter decorated with gold and colorful feathers.⁷¹ His body now prepared as a royal mummy, Huayna Capac departed for Cuzco, accompanied by an entourage of several thousand servants. Members of the royal household accompanied their ancestor on this sad journey, as well as all of the northern lords Huayna Capac had captured or defeated, who walked in front of the mummy's litter.⁷² As the procession slowly made its way through the provinces where the living Inca had so recently passed in full splendor, throngs of ordinary people gathered along the road, weeping and groaning at the sight of their fallen lord.⁷³

Civil War

As Huayna Capac's body approached the grieving city, Cuzco's noble Incas determined that Huascar would become Inca. When the funeral procession arrived, the anointed heir received his father in mourning. The arrival of Huayna Capac's mummy and other Inca dead added to the lamentations of the plague-stricken city, but the scarred survivors of the unknown epidemic gathered in the Haucaypata plaza to perform Huayna Capac's funeral commemoration. After celebrating a life cut tragically short, they took fingernails

⁷¹ Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 48]. The chronicler says that these prisoners were dressed in the costume of captives, and were cast in the house of wild beasts when they arrived in Cuzco. The survivors became servants on Huayna Capac's Yucay Valley estate (see Covey and Amado 2008; Covey and Elson 2007).

⁷² Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 1].

⁷³ Cieza de León 1883 [c. 1553, chap. 68].

and hair cut from Huayna Capac's body when he was alive, and placed those potent materials inside statues of the dead ruler, which they revered as *huacas*.⁷⁴ Having been formally recognized as a royal ancestor, Huayna Capac's mummy journeyed to his Yucay Valley estate, where several dozen special servants began the work of feeding and caring for it.⁷⁵

After enshrining the deceased Inca as a powerful ancestor, the Incas turned to his replacement. Huascar went into seclusion to perform a ceremonial fast, and then emerged wearing the royal insignia to host an impressive coronation ceremony.⁷⁶ A golden cable was brought into the central plaza for the performance of a public dance, viewed by the mummies and statues of dead Incas and Coyas. As the people of Cuzco feasted, maize beer flowed freely, inspiring performances of praise songs and interpretive dances. At the end of the celebration, the Incas sent news of Huascar's succession throughout the empire. Resplendent with the sacred power of his office, Huascar sought to re-center his empire, drawing all power to himself in Cuzco. As messengers went out to the farthest reaches of the civilized world to announce the dawning of a new Inca reign, Huascar sent noble relatives to Quito to bring back the remaining members of his father's Tomebamba household, including his wives and consorts.⁷⁷

Huascar's half-brother Atahualpa was absent from the festivities in Cuzco. When his father's body departed from Quito to begin its afterlife at the rich country estate in Yucay, Atahualpa remained behind with the frontier troops and many of his father's most experienced captains. Although he had not distinguished himself as a capable military commander, Atahualpa had accompanied his father on the campaign since he was a boy, and the older troops had a fondness for him.⁷⁸ In fact, Atahualpa cited his shortcomings as an excuse not to journey to Cuzco. When his father's body and its retinue left Quito, he called after them:

⁷⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 1]).

⁷⁵ Eyewitness accounts of these servants appear in documents published by Covey and Amado (2008).

⁷⁶ The early chronicler Cieza de León describes the accession of Huascar as occurring after his father's funeral in Cuzco, but Sarmiento de Gamboa's Inca witnesses claimed (2007 [1572, chap. 63]) that Huascar took office as soon as the news of his father's death reached the city.

⁷⁷ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 70]); compare with Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]).

⁷⁸ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 69]).

Lords! You already know how I am a son of Huayna Capac and how my father brought me with him to see how I did in war; and because we lost the campaign in the Pastos, my father insulted me. Thus, I dare not appear among people, and much less among my relatives in Cuzco, who believed that my father would leave me in good standing. As a result, I have resolved to stay here and die where my father died and not live among those who will rejoice at seeing me alone, poor, and disfavored.⁷⁹

The funeral procession moved ahead, leaving Atahualpa and his captains in Quito. By declaring himself unworthy to face the Inca who had taken ceremonial power in Cuzco, Atahualpa managed to take control of the powerful frontier armies that his father had left behind.

When Huascar attempted to use his sovereign power to summon his family, soldiers, and subjects to Cuzco, the military commanders in Quito considered their options. The frontier captains met secretly to discuss whether they might ignore the emperor's summons and remain in Quito, a land they thought offered them at least as many opportunities as Cuzco.⁸⁰ Some of the commanders argued that it was their duty to return to Cuzco as loyal subjects of Huascar, but they were swayed by six high-ranking men, who argued that Atahualpa was Huayna Capac's most able successor. Determined to support Atahualpa and build an Inca kingdom in Quito, the commanders declared him their lord and offered him what remained of his father's estates in the region. They delivered the women, children, and servants from Huayna Capac's Tomebamba palace to Atahualpa to take as his own and use as he saw fit in pursuing his royal ambitions.⁸¹

With his dead father traveling throughout the Inca heartland to rest on his Yucay Valley estate, Atahualpa faced the challenge of establishing his authority beyond his military base of power in Quito. Disease had ravaged the province, and the departure of many members of Huayna Capac's household must have left Tomebamba and Quito feeling empty. Soon after the funeral procession had left for Cuzco, Atahualpa moved to establish his own supernatural status, using the traces of his father that remained with him. He began by organizing an alternative funeral for Huayna Capac, an opportunity for him to produce a life history that would portray his father as

⁷⁹ Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572, chap. 63].

⁸⁰ Cieza de León 1883 [c. 1553, chap. 70].

⁸¹ Cieza de León 1883 [c. 1553, chap. 70]. Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 4]) claims that military support for Atahualpa solidified only after Huascar sent an army from Cuzco to attack Quito.

he wished. He commanded the nobles who had been in Quito with him to organize the ceremony. He gave them hair and nail clippings that his father had left in Quito, ordering that they be incorporated into two golden statues. One statue was to travel with Atahualpa everywhere he went, and the other would remain in Huayna Capac's house in Quito, the place where he died. After Atahualpa placed the statue in the house, he appointed servants to care for it and make sacrifices to it, as if Huayna Capac were still living.⁸² With Huayna Capac's vital essence rekindled in Quito, Atahualpa was able to maintain his close connection to his father as he prepared to succeed him as Inca.

Leaving Quito, Atahualpa traveled to Tomebamba to try to win the support of Cañaris, the local group that provided large numbers of Inca frontier soldiers. The prince told them that his intent was not to show disrespect to his brother, but only to make Quito into another Cuzco, where peace would reign and all would enjoy a good life. Atahualpa said that he had warm feelings and high regard for the Cañaris, and declared that he would build his own palace and monuments there in Tomebamba, where he would live as Inca, enjoying the company of his royal women, just as his father and grandfather had once done.⁸³ The Cañaris, who had become close allies of the royal household only after years of fierce resistance to conquest, understood that they were being drawn into a growing breach between Quito and Cuzco. Huascar had already sent messages to the northern frontier, calling on the Cañaris and Inca colonists who lived there to join an army that was coming from Cuzco to destroy Atahualpa. Unbeknownst to the military leaders in Quito, an Inca civil war had already begun.

Brother against Brother

As Atahualpa moved to establish his sacred authority on the northern frontier, Huascar was immersed in his own attempt to create an image of himself as the Inca in Cuzco. Summoning thousands of laborers, Huascar ordered the construction of new palaces in Cuzco. He sent workers to build a country palace at Calca, in the nearby Sacred Valley, and a lakeside villa a day's walk to the southeast of Cuzco, at the place where he was born.⁸⁴ As he embarked on

⁸² Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 2].

⁸³ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 71]).

⁸⁴ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]).

this estate-building program, Huascar confronted the logistical challenges of carrying out new land-improvement projects in the Inca heartland. For generations, his ancestors had used the labor of their local and provincial subjects to improve valley-bottom farmland, build corrals in the high pasture lands, and carve out new coca plantations in the nearby jungles of the Amazonian slope.⁸⁵ Earlier royal projects had channeled stretches of the rivers in and near the Cuzco Valley, draining low-lying land and constructing agricultural terraces that had been distributed to new farming communities. As these earlier rulers improved rural Cuzco's best lands, new projects became more costly and logistically difficult to carry out. Most recently, Huayna Capac's Yucay Valley estate had required the labor of 150,000 provincial subjects, who labored for years to move the course of the Urubamba River, level hills, and fill in swampy areas.⁸⁶

Facing the test of establishing his own royal palace and estate amid those of his ancestors, Huascar recognized that without key resources—maize and coca leaf, soft wool, and the unique products of skilled retainers and artisans—he could not function as Inca. He would remain overshadowed by the wealthy and powerful descendants of earlier rulers, especially the estate-holding families of Hanan Cuzco. Soon after his coronation, Huascar called the lords of Cuzco to the central plaza, where he announced that from that day forward, he would be confiscating all maize and coca lands that belonged to the Sun and to the households of deceased Incas and Coyas. This included Huayna Capac's rich estate in the Yucay Valley. Huascar said that he was justified in taking these for himself, since the *huacas* and mummified royal dead did not need to eat as living people did. Naturally, Cuzco's noble families were outraged to hear this, and regretted supporting Huascar's rise to power.⁸⁷

What Huascar ordered was not just a sweeping reallocation of desirable resources. He also sought to overturn dynastic time itself, rearranging the royal mummies and landmarks that helped to preserve Inca history. Tensions between Huascar and his close relatives escalated, and the Inca renounced his connections to the families of Hanan Cuzco, who descended from the most

⁸⁵ Covey (2006) describes the process of estate-building, referencing earlier sources (e.g., Niles 2004; Rowe 1997).

⁸⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt., chap. 43]). The chronicler's Inca witnesses claimed that the Inca assembled a force as large as his largest armies for a significant campaign of creative transformation.

⁸⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 1]).

recent emperors. He declared that he would henceforth belong to Hurin Cuzco, the broad group of Incas who could trace a shared mythical ancestry back to the earliest ancestors, but who mostly lacked the family relations, political connections, and wealth that bound the Hanan Cuzco families together.⁸⁸

Colonial accounts of Huascar's short reign reflect the lingering animosity toward a ruler who rejected the established social practices that governed the Inca elite and preserved memories of their noble past.⁸⁹ Although descriptions of Huascar as thin-skinned and paranoid seem reasonably accurate, many of his surviving relatives depicted him using the same caricature they drew on to talk about other tyrants who threatened the dynasty. A good Inca dispensed maize beer generously as a public reward to his subjects for their faithful labors, conquering them a second time with drunkenness. By contrast, Huascar drank himself into a stupor almost daily, and then proceeded to behave foolishly.⁹⁰ Earlier emperors built power by making strategic alliances with women from noble families, but Huascar showed little regard for the moral strictures that guided this kind of power-building. If he saw a woman he found attractive—even if she was married to a high-ranking lord—he would immediately order that she be brought to him for his sexual pleasure.⁹¹ Unlike his predecessors, who upon rising to power had provided generously for their ancestors, Huascar not only sought to dispossess the dynastic mummies, but also openly disrespected his own mother, who was not the Coya. When he caught sight of her grieving as Huayna Capac's body arrived in Cuzco, Huascar publicly accused her of committing adultery and treason with his half-brother Atahualpa. Drunk, violent, and

⁸⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chaps. 2, 3]). Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]) repeats this disavowal—Huascar “publicly said that he disowned them and would separate himself from the kin and lineage of the Hanan Cuzcos”—although in the context of his growing rift with Atahualpa.

⁸⁹ Colonial sources disagree on the exact date of Huayna Capac's death, but Inca witnesses testified that Huascar reigned for at least four or five years before the civil war with Atahualpa (cf. Rowe 1978).

⁹⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 1]). Covey (2006b) has discussed the ways that Inca narratives used drunkenness, ugliness, and sexual impropriety to communicate unfitness to be Inca.

⁹¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 1]). This chronicler claims that Huascar ordered that provincial girls remain unmarried, symbolically reversing the civilizing acts of his great-grandfather, Pachacuti, who established Inca marriage rules.

disrespectful toward women, Huascar was the dark mirror of Huayna Capac and his imperial ancestors, a reflection of the unmaking of Inca civilization.

Huascar's irreverent paranoia grew out of his growing mistrust of Cuzco's noble Incas and the fact that Atahuallpa stood in the way of his attempts to assert his sovereignty. Of Huascar's dozens of half-brothers, Atahuallpa was the most dangerous. He was older, and he remained in their father's former center of power, at the head of an experienced army whose commanders included members of Hanan Cuzco families. As the murmurs of discontent grew among the Inca nobility in Cuzco, it would have been easy for Huascar to interpret Atahuallpa's refusal to come to Cuzco as threatening, even not knowing that his brother had already constructed statues of his father and was preparing to crown himself Inca in Quito.

Huascar desired to see the bulk of the Quito army returned to him in Cuzco, and he was provoked to violent fury when Atahuallpa instead sent a delegation of Cañari and Quito natives to the city. They brought a tributary gift: twenty elaborate male ceremonial costumes, woven with golden thread. Atahuallpa's messenger entered Cuzco's central plaza, where the Inca sat, drunk on maize beer, as he so often was. The messenger bowed his head, placed a burden on his back to humble himself, and proceeded to extol Huascar: "Oh, Sun, oh Day, give light . . . Oh, unique king, lover of the poor and son of the Sun." When the dazzling garments were offered to him, Huascar exploded in a drunken rage, throwing the clothing in the faces of the assembled nobles and accusing them of treason. His mother attempted to intervene, only to be driven away in tears by the Inca's verbal abuse. After she left, Huascar ordered that his brother's messenger be decapitated and that his skin be flayed, so that it could be stretched and preserved and then fashioned into a war drum. Asserting his military power as Inca, Huascar declared that he intended to amuse himself with the drum as he raised a massive army to send against Atahuallpa and the captains of Quito.⁹²

If Atahuallpa would not come to Cuzco to surrender his military command to his brother, then the only way for Huascar to prove himself to be a ruler with no equal was to defeat the armies of Quito with a force of his own. To face this sovereign threat, Huascar sent messengers to all the Inca

⁹² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 2]) says Huascar shredded the garments and called nobles from his faction to trample them, a symbolic act of military victory over his brother. This chronicler interviewed members of Pachacuti's household, who had no love for Huascar (cf. Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572, chap. 63]). Other sources treat him somewhat more favorably (e.g., Cieza de León 1883 [c. 1553, chap. 70]).

provinces, ordering the production of weaponry, surplus food, and other supplies that would allow him to make war on the traitor.⁹³ As he called his subjects to arms, Huascar used the crisis to force the Inca nobles to choose sides once and for all. Assembling Atahualpa's close relatives before him, Huascar told them that he had news of a growing rebellion in Quito that would make Atahualpa the Inca. They could only show that they were not part of the plot by agreeing to go to the north to kill Atahualpa. "Bring me his head, because I wish to drink from the skull," Huascar told them. "If you do not bring it to me, none of you should return, for if you do I will tear you all to pieces."⁹⁴

Three hundred Inca nobles agreed to lead the expedition, commanded by Cusi Yupanqui, a descendant of Pachacuti whom Huayna Capac had entrusted with the care of the powerful Inca war statue called *Caccha*. Huascar then assembled his own noble allies at his country palace in Calca, where they drank and danced to the beat of the war drum made from the skin of Atahualpa's messenger. At the end of those festivities, Huascar named a captain to outfit a force of 6,000 Cuzco soldiers and travel to Quito with the other noble Incas, gathering an additional 4,000 fighters from the highland provinces on the way. This small force was to move as quickly as possible so that it could surprise and capture Atahualpa in Quito and bring his severed head back to Cuzco.⁹⁵ Although Huascar claimed the military power wielded by his Inca ancestors, he showed no interest in leaving the capital to lead an army in defense of his sovereign status.

The New Order in Quito

As the symbolic performances by Atahualpa and Huascar escalated the conflict between the rival centers of Inca power, actual hostilities erupted near Tomebamba, where Atahualpa was attempting to raise local support for his claim to be Inca in Quito. When Huascar's messengers brought news that the army was approaching from Cuzco, the Cañaris passed the information to Atahualpa. But they chose to fight with the Cuzco army, which was led by

⁹³ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 70]).

⁹⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 3]). Cf. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]), who identifies these kin as relatives of Atahualpa's mother, who came from the household of Pachacuti.

⁹⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 3]).

many nobles from the house of their former lord Huayna Capac.⁹⁶ Atahualpa was furious to learn of this betrayal. He took a glass of *chicha*, poured it on the ground, and swore a fearsome oath: that his own blood should be spilled in the same way if he did not punish the Cañaris in a way that would be long remembered. With both sides promising vengeful atrocities, battle was joined in the Ecuadorian highlands. The frontier veterans fighting for Atahualpa emerged triumphant.⁹⁷ The victory, which established the superiority of the Quito troops and led to the capture of the Inca war statue *Caccha*, also brought Atahualpa closer to a legitimate claim to be Inca.

After the battle, he welcomed his surviving relatives from the Cuzco army to join his household. These noble men and women included Cusirimay Ocllo, a princess from Pachacuti's lineage whom Huayna Capac had adopted and designated to be Atahualpa's sister-wife when both were grown.⁹⁸ Although the girl was only ten years old, she could one day make a legitimate Coya. All that Atahualpa needed now was the appropriate place to celebrate his marriage and coronation. Leaving the battlefield, he proceeded northward to the province of the Cayambes, where he assembled his nobles and ordered them to build him a palace at a place called Caranqui. After he measured out the outlines of the complex, the nobles began to lay the foundations. Atahualpa left that place to avenge himself against the Cañaris, but he left behind the powerful statue of his father that traveled with him. Huayna Capac would oversee the construction of his son's palace, and when it was finished, he would crown Atahualpa as Inca.⁹⁹

As Atahualpa continued to accumulate and create the trappings of a real Inca emperor, he also chose to express his power to terrorize those within his reach. He had the bodies of his fallen enemies piled near the summit of

⁹⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 4]). Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 71]) claims that the Cañaris actually captured Atahualpa, intending to deliver him to the approaching army. He escaped and returned to Quito. Betanzos (pt. II, chap. 9) disputes that Atahualpa was ever a prisoner.

⁹⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 4]). Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]) says that Huascar's commanders first went to Tomebamba to make offerings to the statue of Huayna Capac and to seize Inca women and royal insignias. After their capture, they were tortured and killed, and drums were made from their skin. Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 72]) describes Atahualpa's victory with slightly different details.

⁹⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 47; pt. II, chap. 4]). It is important to point out that this girl, known later as doña Angelina Yupanqui, would grow up to be Betanzos's wife, after she helped to bind her family to Francisco Pizarro by bearing him two children during the 1530s.

⁹⁹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 5]).

the snow-clad volcano Ampato, and sent his forces throughout the homeland of the Cañaris, ordering that his soldiers round up all men, women, and children discovered there, to send to him as prisoners.¹⁰⁰ The Cañaris were gathered and brought to Atahuallpa at Caranqui, and he proceeded to host a feast that was unlike any ever celebrated in the plaza of Cuzco. He had three of the Cañari leaders brought forward and ordered them to be executed by having their hearts cut out. When this was done, Atahuallpa ordered the three hearts cut into tiny pieces and commanded all the assembled Cañaris to eat them, raw, in front of him. After this punishment, Atahuallpa brought a group of lowland cannibals to the center of the assembly and gave them the bodies of the rebel commanders, which they roasted with maize and chiles and ate in front of the surviving Cañaris.¹⁰¹

Having treated his prisoners to this traumatic spectacle, Atahuallpa resettled many of the Cañaris to a province that he had just reconquered, and he ordered his commanders to be merciless in dealing with his enemies and subjects. He told them that fear and brutality were the secret weapons that would propel him to victory over his enemies.¹⁰² As this savage interlude concluded, Atahuallpa received news of another rebellion and departed for a brutal reconquest, ordering the speedy completion of his palace. When he returned from the campaign, he planned to perform the ritual fasts needed to crown himself with the royal *borla* insignia, making himself Inca.¹⁰³

The rebellions that Atahuallpa faced to his north were part of a broader resistance to Inca rule that flared up during the hostilities between Cuzco and Quito. Atahuallpa pardoned some groups that had rebelled for the first time, but only after enacting displays of violence toward their leaders. After subduing the Pastos, Atahuallpa forgave the rebels, but he had his lowland Quillaycingas cannibals publicly feast on the bodies of the rebel leaders who had been killed by Inca warriors during a dawn sneak attack on the Pasto camp.¹⁰⁴ Even though he proved capable of taking and holding

¹⁰⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 4]).

¹⁰¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 5]). Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 73]) agrees that Atahuallpa killed some Cañari leaders, but he also says that a large number of men and children who were sent to plead for mercy were executed, “only sparing a few children and the women dedicated to the service of the [Sun] temple.”

¹⁰² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 5]).

¹⁰³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 5]).

¹⁰⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 6]).

territories won by his father, Atahuallpa enjoyed only limited success in his attempts to use his armies to expand his domain. A minor expedition to Toquiri was victorious, but forays deeper into the eastern Andean slope proved disastrous as food supplies ran low and soldiers starved to death on the march.

On returning to Caranqui, Atahuallpa found his palace nearly completed, and he oversaw the construction of its roof.¹⁰⁵ With the monument finished, he was ready to put himself forward as Inca, a transformation that he accomplished through a ceremony of his own design. After a period of ritual fasting, Atahuallpa appeared before an assembly of lords from Cuzco and Quito who looked on. Huayna Capac's brother, Cusi Yupanqui, spoke on behalf of her statue, stating its desire that Atahuallpa be crowned as Inca. Cusi Yupanqui took the *borla* fringe that had been prepared out of the statue's hands and put it on Atahuallpa's head. After this coronation, the girl Cusirimay Ocllo was brought to Atahuallpa, and Cusi Yupanqui and his relatives begged their new Inca to take her as his principal wife. Atahuallpa agreed to the marriage, and they carried out the appropriate sacrifices and festivities.¹⁰⁶ At his wedding, Atahuallpa took an intimidating new name, Caccha Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui Inca. This was a combination of the cataclysmic nickname of his legendary great-grandfather and the name of the terror-inspiring war idol Atahuallpa had captured in the first clash with Huascar's troops.

Having taken all the possible ceremonial steps to invest himself as the legitimate Inca in Quito, Atahuallpa turned to the south to destroy Huascar and the highland groups who supported him. He had failed to conquer substantial new lands beyond his father's frontiers, and now he turned the violent power of his armies against Inca subjects. The self-made Inca fabricated a statue of himself, animated with his nail clippings and hair, and he sent it southward in a litter to where two of his captains,

¹⁰⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 6]). House construction, especially roof-raising, is an important symbolic act among Andean highlanders, a collaboration of a newly married couple's kin and allies.

¹⁰⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 6]). Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 72]) omits the frontier rebellions, stating that Atahuallpa declared, after his first victory over Huascar's army, that "his adherents were called together, and hailed him as Inca. He said that he would assume the [*borla*] fringe at Tumbamba, though, if this ceremony was not performed at Cuzco, it was considered absurd and invalid." He says that there were other accounts of when and where Atahuallpa crowned himself Inca (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 73]).

Chalcochima and Quizquiz, were already leading the Quito army against the Chinchaysuyu provinces loyal to Huascar. Ordering his captains to fight onward to Cuzco, Atahualpa himself proceeded to Tomebamba and prepared to follow them with another army.¹⁰⁷ It would soon be clear which flawed Inca would prevail.

¹⁰⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 6]) provides the details for this paragraph.

4

Building a Catholic Empire

Over there [in Spain] they judge me like a governor sent to Sicily or some city or villa already placed in order, where the laws can be observed in their entirety without fear of losing all. And I take this as a great insult. I ought to be judged as a captain who went from Spain to conquer as far as the Indies, to conquer numerous warlike peoples—of customs and beliefs that are very contrary to us—who live in the uplands and mountains, without a single settled village . . . by the divine will I have placed another world beneath the sovereignty of the king and queen, our lords, and where Spain was once poor, it is now richer. I should be judged as a Captain who for so long—up to the present day—bears arms and costs, not setting them aside for an hour. Judged by knights of conquest and experience, and not by men of letters, unless they be from among the ancient Greeks and Romans.

—Christopher Columbus, c. 1500¹

Having traced the unstable growth of the Inca Empire to the eve of the Spanish conquest, we return to the Iberian world to follow Spanish imperial expansion into the Americas, where the millenarian promise of 1492 gave way to unimaginable catastrophes. We left Spain in 1492, in the aftermath of the conquest of Granada. As Isabella I and Ferdinand II celebrated a lopsided victory as the symbolic end to the Christian reconquest of Spain, they made grand gestures to demonstrate that their kingdoms were the face of a new Christian empire. At that time, Aragón's territories and alliances reached eastward across the ancient waters of the Mediterranean through Rome, where a former subject of Ferdinand's reigned as pope. Castile's island domains spread westward through the newly discovered Indies. United, the Catholic power of these kingdoms promised to encompass the world, pressing ever toward Jerusalem and the return of Christ.

¹ Translated from Gorríz de Morales (1895:163).

The Iberian crusading myth had proved to be an effective foundation for making conquests to build a Catholic empire, but as we will see, Spain lacked a workable model for occupying and ruling lands and peoples beyond Europe. As Spanish monarchs led their powerful armies into war across the European continent, they struggled to reproduce their sovereignty in the New World. The Spaniards they sent to colonize the Americas proved to be a greater challenge to law and order than the indigenous peoples they sought to subordinate and convert. Seeking easy riches—and fleeing Spanish authority—the conquistador's path eventually led to same Andean heart of darkness where the Inca expansion had ground to a standstill, a world that forged the cruel and desperate strategies that brought Francisco Pizarro face to face with Atahualpa in 1532.

The Medieval Conquest Model

On his first two voyages to the Caribbean, Columbus passed through the Canary Islands, a remote chain lying to the west coast of Africa, which served as a conceptual model and literal point of departure for first contact and colonization in the Americas. When Columbus resupplied his three ships there before heading into the unknown Atlantic Ocean in 1492, the Spaniards had already spent generations attempting to pacify and colonize the archipelago (Figure 4.1). Most of the islands had been conquered by then, and campaigns against La Palma (1492–1493) and Tenerife (1494–1496) would soon defeat the last resistant islands.² These final expeditions, launched under a royal contract with Isabella and Ferdinand, brought to a close a century of slave-raiding, missionary work, and plantation-based colonization, which had established strategies for island expansion that Columbus and others transplanted to the Caribbean in the years that followed.³

The first European ships visited the Canary Islands in the 1300s, trading with the native islanders and kidnapping them from the shore to sell as slaves when the opportunity arose. The sailors soon understood that the islands were not peopled by enemies of Catholicism—as Iberian Christians viewed

² See Espinosa (1907 [1594]) on this final conquest, and the role of native Canarians in the defeat of the Guanches of Tenerife. Cf. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1912:59 [1530, decade 1, bk. 1]); Bontier and LeVerrier (1872:4 [early 1400s]).

³ Anthony Stevens-Arroyo (1993) compares the colonization of the Canaries and the Caribbean islands.



Figure 4.1. Woodcut representing one of Columbus's caravels, from a 1494 history written in honor of Ferdinand II of Aragón. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Muslims—but rather by a distinct population that had never heard Christian doctrine before.⁴ In 1402, a French baron named Jean de Béthencourt and

⁴ Iberian slave-raiding spread along the west African coast and into the Canary Islands with papal support. In the 1450s, Portugal received papal approval for a monopoly over both missionary work and the slave trade in west Africa. The enslavement of nonbelievers was based on the argument that slavery incentivized Christian conversion. See Adiele (2017); cf. Reséndez (2016).

his partner, Gadifer de la Salle led a group of knights and priests to the small islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, where they established a small outpost and began missionary work. As his partner explored the islands and colluded with Castilian slavers to carry off the native population, Béthencourt took the news of his modest success to the court of Enrique III, offering his conquest to the Castilian crown in return for titles and commercial considerations. As we will see, this medieval conquest model bears striking resemblance to Francisco Pizarro's efforts to discover and conquer a rich land called Peru.

Like the first published accounts of the Pizarro expedition, the surviving description of the Béthencourt expedition portrays the invaders as brave Christian knights, using an exaggerated rhetoric to make the contact experience sound like a medieval ballad. The local Canarian chiefs became kings, and the chroniclers called the miserable French trade outpost a castle. The religious tone and exaggerated details of the conquest narratives fail to obscure the fact that the expedition leaders were unable to address basic logistical details, maintain order among their men, and determine a shared endgame. Such inadequacies appear consistently in the narratives of Spanish exploration in the Americas, most of which ended in disaster for the conquistadores. Where Béthencourt was successful, it was because he identified Canarian leaders who could help to supply his men and minimize hostilities until European reinforcements could arrive. Local allies provided troops that fought with the French against their Canarian rivals on Lanzarote and the rulers of other islands. Intent on proclaiming and profiting from their Christian victories, Europeans were often unaware of the broader strategies of their indigenous partners.

In the decades following the Béthencourt expedition, Catholic missionaries established themselves in the smaller islands of the Canaries, but there was no political administration by the kingdoms that presumed to rule the archipelago. England and Portugal challenged Castile's sovereign claims, but none of these kingdoms introduced central governing institutions, and lawlessness persisted as European expeditions ground down indigenous resistance.⁵ Even areas under Castilian domination were managed as private fiefs by Iberian nobles, who sold or transferred island domains for decades, until Isabella and Ferdinand claimed royal patrimony over the last unconquered islands.⁶ It took generations for Iberian colonists to settle conquered

⁵ E.g., RGS PTR, L. 21, doc. 14 [1430].

⁶ Alonso de Espinosa (1907 [1594, bk. 3, chap. 2]).

areas permanently and attempt to build fortunes, using their access to vacant land and cheap labor to produce sugarcane, wine, and dye that could be sold in Europe.⁷

In the years before Spanish law and order were introduced to the Canaries, the unregulated activities of the traders and slave raiders clashed with the interests of the Catholic priests, who were exasperated to see their new converts taken to be sold as slaves in Europe. Indigenous leaders on the large islands, such as Gran Canaria and Tenerife, were able to organize the defense of their islands against European raids, but the leaders of smaller groups often found it useful to align themselves with Catholic priests as a way to defeat local rivals and consolidate their own status. Choosing to support the missionaries with food and aid, and to receive baptism, gave them a greater degree of security—if the priests were able to provide protection from their fellow Christians.

Priests saw slave-raiding as a threat to their well-being and their mission, and in 1434, Pope Eugene IV issued a bull excommunicating anyone who took and enslaved indigenous Christians from the Canaries.⁸ This prohibition failed to bring an end to the slave trade, and the following year the pope issued an encyclical that repeated the ban. He took this step after the bishop of Lanzarote informed him that slavers were still kidnapping native Christians. The final consolidation of Spanish control over the Canary Islands occurred from 1478 to 1496, during the time that Isabella and Ferdinand were fighting with Portugal over Castilian succession, and preparing for the final conquest of Granada.⁹ In 1486, the pope granted the Catholic monarchs patrimony over the church in the unconquered parts of Granada and the Canaries, allowing them to build monasteries in those lands.¹⁰ Documents from before and after that time indicate that native Canarians were still being taken and sold as slaves, despite royal efforts to free and repatriate them.¹¹

The disastrous trajectory that unfolded in the Canary Islands in the 1400s shaped the goals of the Spaniards who decades later left their homeland for Hispaniola, Panama, and Peru. Merchants and soldiers on the early

⁷ Abréu y Galindo (*Description* 1764 [1632, chaps. 5, 17]) describes Canary island exports in the early 1600s. Staple goods (wheat, barley, cattle, and goats) supplied the larger islands of Tenerife and Gran Canaria, which exported wine and orchil dye.

⁸ Raiswell (1997:260).

⁹ Fernández-Armesto (1982).

¹⁰ AGS PTR, Leg. 68, doc. 1 [1486].

¹¹ E.g., AGS RGS Leg. 147709, 521 [1477]; AGS RGS Leg. 149002 338, 1 [1490].

expeditions sought quick gains and were content to treat their incursions as conquests that on paper enlarged the domains of Iberian kingdoms. They were satisfied that it was morally permissible to enslave nonbelievers, and they did not hesitate to do so to make their expeditions profitable. Over time, decades of violent disruption made it easier for priests, royal officials, and colonists to move in and establish long-term strategies for conversion, administration, and profit. Whereas the priests sought sustainable native populations that could feed them as they promoted Christian conversion, Spanish colonists saw economic opportunities on the fractured landscape, where productive land was up for grabs and vulnerable native labor could be coerced or acquired cheaply. Royal officials straddled those competing interests in awkward ways, collecting tribute and taxes from subjects, while also directly managing some economic production. By the time Isabella and Ferdinand's forces conquered the last of the Canary Islands, the declining indigenous population was becoming an easily exploited source of labor.¹²

A Spanish Pope Divides the Globe

When Columbus sailed through the Canary Islands in 1492, Castilian rulers had been claiming sovereignty there for ninety years, but they had yet to introduce new laws and institutions for administering the native populations, whose communities did not use the kind of municipal government found in the Iberian kingdoms. Columbus helped to extend this sovereign shortcoming from a small island chain to a global scale after an unlikely event that occurred at the same time he sailed. On August 11, 1492, as Columbus was in the Canary Islands preparing his ships to venture westward into the unknown, a papal conclave in the Vatican elected don Rodrigo Borja—a nobleman from Valencia, the home of El Cid—to take the Holy Apostolic Seat as Pope Alexander VI. Borja, a man better known today by the Italian spelling of his infamous surname—Borgia—rose to power through nepotism and, it was rumored, corrupt dealings. Soon after his election, the new pope marshaled his wealth and power in an attempt to establish his

¹² See Fernández-Armesto (1982). Abréu y Galindo (*Description* 1764:242 [1632, chap. 8]) said that the Count of Gomera used African slaves on his sugar plantation, which the chronicler considered inconceivable “in a country that abounds with poor labouring white people, who, with all their industry, can hardly earn enough to buy food sufficient to keep soul and body together.”

illegitimate children as a Spanish dynasty in Italy.¹³ As a subject of Aragón, his son Giovanni Borgia received the title of Duke of Gandía from Ferdinand II and was appointed captain of the papal army. Giovanni's eighteen-year-old brother Cesare Borgia became a cardinal, although he sought more-worldly power and eventually embarked on a campaign of conquest and political consolidation that inspired Machiavelli's *The Prince*. The younger Borgia siblings, Lucrezia and Gioffre, married into powerful noble families, whose members included relatives of Ferdinand II in Aragón and Naples.¹⁴

When Alexander VI received word of the unanticipated successes of Columbus's first voyage, he acted to maintain the generally supportive relationship that he had already established with Isabella and Ferdinand, aligning their new project of Catholic empire-building with an aspirational geography for world evangelization. Despite Castile's well-established failure to protect native Christians in the Canary Islands, the pope quickly issued a series of bulls that divided the world between Spain and Portugal and granted absolute authority in the newly discovered lands of the Indies to Isabella as the ruler of Castile.¹⁵ In 1493, in the famous bull *Inter caetera*, Alexander VI acknowledged the unique role that Isabella and Ferdinand were to play in supporting the church and addressed them both as "Most Catholic King" (*Rex Catholicissimus*). The bull granted Isabella and her husband unconditional sovereignty as they spread Christian rule in the lands to which Columbus voyaged. This project of Catholic empire-building lacked the apocalyptic tone that Columbus himself infused in his writings as he presented his discoveries as portents of the world's final days.

Blocked from southern expansion by Portugal's long-standing trade and missionary monopolies on the African coast, Isabella's kingdom of Castile now faced westward into a vast unknown that contained almost all of the Americas and the Pacific Ocean.¹⁶ The landmass encompassed by the new papal grant was hundreds of times greater than the area of Isabella's Iberian realm, and contained an almost impossibly diverse array of islands

¹³ Rodrigo Borja was named cardinal at age twenty-five by his uncle, Pope Callixtus III. Ferdinand II supported his rise, and allowed him to hold multiple bishoprics simultaneously.

¹⁴ Hibbert (2008).

¹⁵ The literature on Isabella and Ferdinand is extensive. Downey (2014) offers a recent biography of the queen and discusses her relationship with Alexander VI.

¹⁶ Alexander VI's demarcation line was renegotiated in 1494 in the Treaty of Tordesillas; its eastern meridian was fixed in 1529 in the Treaty of Zaragoza, which Spain violated in colonizing the Philippines in the decades that followed.

and continents peopled by indigenous groups that numbered in the tens of millions, if not more.¹⁷ The Inca Empire alone ruled more subjects than Isabella and Ferdinand did, and the prospect of conquering the Andes would have seemed outrageous to anyone who had any idea of how hard it would be simply to reach Inca lands. Even decades later, traveling to the west coast of South America required hacking across the jungle-covered mountain spine of the Panamanian isthmus, or risking shipwreck in the icy waters of the Strait of Magellan. Penetrating the vast continental heart of the Americas was a greater challenge than the transatlantic voyage, and most of the interior lands had never been colonized by the time Spain gave up her American colonies. The papal bequest created a new western frontier for an emerging Spanish empire that was so extensive that it was easier to envision it from a prophetic mindset than to sketch out concrete military and administrative strategies. As he began to realize that his voyages had brought him nowhere near the Great Khan's court, Christopher Columbus zealously embraced the apocalyptic belief that he was God's instrument, and that his American discoveries had set in motion the inevitable fulfillment of all biblical prophecy, which would bring about Christ's return around 1650.

While Isabella looked toward the setting sun to discover and conquer the lands of her new empire, her husband deepened the long-standing Aragonese entanglements in the Mediterranean world lying to the east, including those with the papacy. As king of Aragón, Ferdinand was lord over Sardinia and Sicily, and in the Kingdom of Naples his sister Juana was queen, married to their cousin Ferrante. When Ferrante died, in 1494, the French king Charles VIII invaded Italy, claiming a right to the throne of Naples, and drawing France and Aragón into a prolonged series of conflicts for control over Naples, which saw Spanish troops fighting in Italy until the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Ferdinand engaged in diplomacy and war in Italy, and held the title King of Naples from 1504 until his death in 1516. Ironically, as his wife's kingdom of Castile reached out into the unknown to conquer and convert pagan lands on the way westward toward the Holy Land, Ferdinand acquired the defunct title "King of Jerusalem" along with the crown of Naples, inspiring a never-realized dream of driving out the Egyptian Mamluks and recovering the Holy Land by the more conventional route of the medieval crusader. Jerusalem would soon fall into the hands of a

¹⁷ Estimates of precontact populations in the Americas vary widely and are as high as 112 million (Denevan 1976).

rising Muslim empire, the Ottomans, whose territorial growth inspired new bulls of crusade by Pope Alexander VI and his successors.

Jubilee for a New Era

As the Catholic monarchs contemplated their own scenarios for recovering Jerusalem and building Christ's kingdom on earth, the Borgia pope, Alexander VI, led the Catholic world in the celebration of the milestone date of 1500. The pope treated the half-millennium, not as a sign of the world's approaching end, but as the start of a new era. He used the coming jubilee year to choreograph a ceremony that broke down the barrier between the present and the past so that Catholics could follow Christ's footsteps into the future. In the final days of 1499, Rome was cleared of litter and its homeless population was driven from the city, a purification effort that resembled Inca preparations in Cuzco on the eve of important religious festivals. The pope ordered a new, straight walkway to be built to connect his fortress residence of Castel Sant'Angelo directly to the Vatican, which he used for the first time in an opening ceremony designed to eclipse earlier celebrations.

As evening approached on Christmas Eve, 1499, the pope and his cardinals went in a procession to St. Peter's Basilica by way of the newly constructed walkway, taking candles in hand as they gathered in front of the Golden Gate, a bricked-over doorway in St. Peter's believed to be the one through which Christ himself had passed when he entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.¹⁸ The pope had announced his intention to demolish the wall covering the Golden Gate, and stoneworkers had weakened the existing masonry and constructed an ornate marble frame around the ancient door. With the most powerful men of the Catholic church gathered in front of the Golden Gate, the pope arose from his seat, took a mason's hammer in hand, and struck the wall repeatedly, breaking through the sacred portal. The masons finished the work of opening and clearing the doorway as the assembled group sang hymns. When all was ready, the pope rose again and led the cardinals and members

¹⁸ As Hibbert (2011) notes, this architectural feature was believed to have been taken by the Romans in the sack of Jerusalem, and then added to the architecture of St. Peter's at some later date. Thurston (1900) discusses the Golden Gate and the innovations that were added to the opening ceremony in 1499.

of the papal court into St. Peter's.¹⁹ Having created the pilgrim's route and opened a powerful ancient way into the sacred center of Catholicism, the pope led his flock into the jubilee year, and into a new era that promised both hope and challenge.

Alexander VI might have been inspired to enhance the ritual significance of the jubilee as a response to rumors of disturbing omens and violent events that many interpreted as evidence of the moral shortcomings of the Spanish pope, his Borgia relatives, and his many allies. The Tiber River had recently flooded, and in June of 1497, a rumor spread that demonic forces had raised a clamor in St. Peter's Basilica, causing eerie torches to float through the sanctified space at nighttime. Around that time, unknown assailants ambushed Alexander VI's son Giovanni, and then stabbed him to death and threw his body in the Tiber. A few months later, lightning struck the papal fortress at Castel Sant'Angelo, igniting the gunpowder stored there and producing an explosion that hurled fragments of marble angels from the building facade into the stormy sky.²⁰

Alexander VI's time-bending passage—following Christ's crucifixion route forward into a new era—reflects the historical position of his Spanish homeland at that moment. As Isabella and Ferdinand contemplated a future of empire-building and the fulfillment of world-ending prophecies, they continued to seek historical evidence that their dynasty was ordained to play a special role. At the time of the new jubilee, the revelation of this long looked-for evidence was announced, by one of the men who had probably followed the pope through the Golden Gate on Christmas Eve, 1499. Giovanni Nanni, a Dominican who served as Alexander VI's Master of the Sacred Palace, shared the pope's sense of Iberian destiny. Known also as Anniius of Viterbo, the priest had just published a collection of what he said were lost or unknown manuscripts discovered in tombs and other hiding places when Granada fell to Isabella and Ferdinand.²¹ These "ancient" texts—which seemed to recover key moments of Iberian history long held hostage by Muslims—were in reality forgeries made by Anniius, who dedicated his 1498 publication to the Catholic monarchs. In another book, the

¹⁹ Johannes Burchardus (1884), the Master of Ceremonies of the Vatican, gives an eyewitness account of the event, which he helped to choreograph.

²⁰ Freiherr von Pastor (1898:522–523).

²¹ Anniius dabbled in apocalyptic literature in the 1480s, predicting the Christian conquest of the Saracens and Ottomans and the return of Christ. He eventually became attached to the court of Pope Alexander VI.

fabricated *Berosi sacerdotis Chaldaici*, Annius invented new facts about the origins of the Spanish people, finally bridging the stubborn gap between biblical–classical time and the historic era. This made-up account identified a dynasty of twenty-four rulers who descended from Noah’s grandson Tubal, a line that had endured up to the time of the Trojan War, fleshing out Diego de Valera’s sketchy narrative of that early age. The fabrication of a heroic Spanish past reflected the prevailing sense among Catholics that 1492 was the beginning of a new era in which Iberian Christians would figure prominently.²²

Many Catholics did not accept the flattering portrait of Spain as the shield-bearer for a universal Christian empire. In fact, the publication of Annius’s book coincided with the execution of the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola, a popular preacher who had criticized Pope Alexander VI and predicted the establishment of Florence as the New Jerusalem of the end times. Savonarola, who claimed to have journeyed to Paradise to seek the Virgin Mary’s support for Florence, declared that the Spanish pope was the Antichrist, and Savonarola’s followers spread the rumor that Alexander VI had bought the papacy in a pact with the Devil.²³

Catastrophic Colonies in the Indies

By the time Europe’s Catholics were celebrating the jubilee year of 1500, Isabella and Ferdinand had already begun to recognize the sovereign challenge of bridging the catastrophic void separating Columbus’s prophetic vision for the Indies from the royal goals of empire-building. Word had reached Spain of escalating violence among the Spaniards in Hispaniola, which had unfolded as Columbus—now Admiral of the Ocean Sea—continued his search for the Great Khan and a westward route to Jerusalem. In 1497, Francisco Roldán and his supporters broke with the admiral’s faction, led by Bartholomew Columbus, and took control of the western half of Hispaniola (modern Haiti), building their military forces through alliances

²² Isabella’s legacy did not fade after her death. In 1528, Baldassare Castiglione asked in *The Book of the Courtier* (1903 [bk. III, section 35]): “What king or prince has there been in our days, or even for many years past in Christendom, who deserves to be compared with Queen Isabella of Spain?” See Harris (2007), Olds (2015) on the continued forgery of texts and saintly relics in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Granada.

²³ Weinstein (2011) reviews Savonarola’s life and ministry, and Hillgarth (1996) recounts the spread of rumors about Alexander VI and his son Cesare Borgia.

with local caciques who were seeking relief from Spanish looting and slave-raiding.²⁴ Despite Bartholomew Columbus's brutal tactics, he held the title of *adelantado*—a position for advancing Iberian discoveries and conquests—and his construction and fortification of the town of Santo Domingo aligned with royal interests. Spain's fragile foothold in the Americas had already been battered by indigenous attacks and hurricanes, and now the Catholic monarchs faced a threat from their own subjects. In 1500, they dispatched Francisco de Bobadilla, a knight of Calatrava, and ordered him to assume the governorship of Hispaniola and to capture and prosecute the rebels.

Bobadilla went beyond those orders as soon as he reached Santo Domingo. Upon landing in the colonial capital, he was immediately confronted with evidence of the brutal and tyrannical rule by the Columbus faction. The decomposing bodies of resistant Spaniards hung from the gallows on which they had been publicly executed, rotting in the tropical heat. Residents of the town told of the harsh justice meted out under the Columbus brothers. Hands, ears, and noses were chopped off to punish minor crimes, and there were stories of gruesome public punishments. At least one man had his hand nailed to a timber post in front of the church and was forced to remain there for several days. A Spanish woman accused of slandering the Columbus family was paraded naked through the town before being beaten and having her tongue cut out. The failure of Columbus, an Italian mariner, to provide good government and due process to Spanish vassals was shocking, if not unanticipated (Figure 4.2).

Even more troubling was his rampant use of enslavement as a strategic and economic strategy. Columbus and his supporters made slaves of both Spaniards and natives who stood against them, and worse still, they withheld baptism from the indigenous population, making it easier to justify a growing traffic in human beings.²⁵ Outraged at the violation of royal sovereignty, Bobadilla seized the property of the Columbus brothers, and when Christopher Columbus reached Santo Domingo on his third voyage, Bobadilla arrested him and sent him back to Spain in irons. On the voyage, Columbus ruminated on his world-ending mission and began to write the *Book of Prophecies*, a compilation of biblical texts that represented the

²⁴ Sauer (1966) offers a classic narrative of the early days in Hispaniola, including this conflict.

²⁵ Bobadilla chronicled these abuses in a denunciation assembled in 1500 (Varela 2006:175ff.).



Figure 4.2. The arrest of Christopher Columbus and his brother in Hispaniola. From a 1594 German publication on the Americas, illustrated by Theodore de Bry. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

discovery of new islands in the Indies as the last Christian frontier where pagan societies could hear the gospel for the first time. Columbus dedicated the book the Isabella and Ferdinand, informing them that the final days of the world were now set in motion: all prophecies would be fulfilled, and Christ would return in 150 years.²⁶

Bobadilla's efforts to impose royal law and make Hispaniola profitable were soon reversed. With the support of Isabella and Ferdinand, Columbus managed to win both freedom and permission to make yet another voyage. The Catholic monarchs recalled Bobadilla to Spain in 1502, but soon after his convoy departed from Hispaniola, it sailed into a hurricane in which twenty ships were lost. Bobadilla went down with his flagship, and with him died other enemies of Columbus, including Francisco Roldán and the

²⁶ See West and Kling 1991.

indigenous cacique Guarionex. The admiral interpreted this turn of events as evidence of divine will, although other Spaniards reportedly muttered that Columbus had used dark magic to conjure up the storm and avenge himself.²⁷

The disastrous first years of Spanish colonization in the Caribbean reflect the tragic lag between the famous moments of European exploration and conquest and the imposition of some form of imperial government, as rapacious and ill-conceived as that often proved to be. The expeditions mounted by Columbus and the conquistadores who followed him were informed by the medieval practices that bound a captain and a Christian monarch. New conquests were expected to generate short-term profits—through trade, plunder, and the enslavement of local populations—which were needed to cover expenses and reward the participants for the personal costs and risks they undertook. The ruler typically granted the right to conquer and to plunder, as well as tributary income from new subject populations. The conquerors raced to snatch up whatever riches they could lay hands on, which put them in competition with one another and with the officials sent out to govern the new territories and ensure the long-term flow of tributes and resources to the Crown. Factionalized conflict was more common than not in the early expeditions, and the orgy of violent disruption that unfolded presented the Spanish monarchs with the unprecedented challenge of establishing new imperial governing practices in their growing American colonies. Spanish rulers struggled to contain the violence of Spanish men in the Americas, and this sovereign crisis eventually spilled over into the Inca world, at a time when the Inca succession crisis erupted into a full-blown civil war.

Colonists and Conquistadores

The first decade of Spanish expansion into the Caribbean resembled the early expeditions in the Canary Islands, but with an accelerated tempo. After Columbus reached the Greater Antilles on his first voyage, he left several dozen of his men on the island of Hispaniola in the care of the “king” of the island.²⁸ Mindful of the profits to be had from slave trading, Columbus

²⁷ Las Casas (1875, volume 3 [1552–1562 Book 2, Chapter 3]) believed that the storm was a divine punishment.

²⁸ See Wilson (1990).

took native Taíno people back to Spain with him and presented them to Isabella and Ferdinand, along with small amounts of gold and specimens of native birds and plants.²⁹ The Catholic monarchs granted Columbus generous favors and ordered a second expedition, this time with seventeen ships and more than 1,200 sailors and colonists.³⁰ The fleet carried supplies for establishing Iberian life on Hispaniola, including domesticated plants and animals that could generate a European food supply and eventually produce commodities such as sugar, wine, and olive oil.

When the colonists reached the Spanish enclave on Hispaniola, they found the site burned and abandoned, and all thirty-nine of the men Columbus had left behind were dead. A local chief told the colonists that some of the Spaniards had seized gold and women from the local communities, damaging relations that had been largely positive up to that point. When a group of Spaniards attempted an expedition into the mountainous interior to seek the gold fields, a powerful chief called Caonabó attacked them and destroyed their settlement. Columbus responded to the setback by relocating to a new fortified site, La Isabela, which he laid out as a model for a series of trade outposts that were to be established along the still-undiscovered route to India and China.³¹ Further exploration failed to discover this Asian route. Instead of filling his ships with silks and spices for the return voyage, Columbus rounded up hundreds of Arawak people and crammed them below decks for the deadly passage to Europe, where the survivors were sold as slaves. Unable to find gold, spices, or other quick sources of profit, hundreds of dissatisfied colonists returned with Columbus as well.

Although Europeans marveled at the “discovery” of the Americas, Columbus had failed to achieve his geopolitical objectives, and as we have seen, he was a disaster as a colonial governor and a standard-bearer for Catholicism. Amid the food shortages and sickness there was intense disagreement among the colonists over how to treat the Taíno population, which had risen up in open resistance to the new wave of colonists. In the interior,

²⁹ Columbus noted the small amount of gold he had encountered, but offered to acquire whatever quantity of galley slaves the Catholic monarchs might like from the newly discovered islands (1893:13 [1493]).

³⁰ This number included soldiers, artisans, noblemen, common laborers, and a dozen priests (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:18–19).

³¹ La Isabela was struck by hurricanes, food shortages, and disease and was abandoned in 1496, when Santo Domingo was founded. See Deagan and Cruxent (2002) for a review of the archaeological evidence of the settlement.

the Spaniards' continued forays to seek gold stoked resentment among the chiefs who ruled in the mountains, and Spanish deserters ran amok in native towns across the island, whose mountainous landscape was larger than the emirate of Granada.³²

When a flood of disgruntled colonists and indigenous slaves reached Spain with Columbus, Isabella and Ferdinand realized that they needed to think more deliberately about how to rule over the New World. The monarchs turned first to the orders of Christian knights that had been so instrumental in holding and extending the southern frontiers during the Reconquista. Francisco de Bobadilla was a knight of Calatrava whom the Catholic monarchs soon replaced with Nicolás de Ovando, a noble member of the Order of Alcántara.³³ Ovando's mission was to establish order on the island. This meant pacifying the colonists already living under the government of the Columbus family, resolving the uncertainties that Bobadilla's short tenure had introduced, and providing opportunities for new settlers. Ovando attempted to do this by forcing the indigenous population to labor for the colonists in exchange for instruction in Catholicism.

Ovando sailed from Cádiz in 1502 with the largest fleet yet: an armada of thirty ships, and a complement of well over 1,000 sailors and 2,500 colonists.³⁴ As with Columbus's second voyage, the fleet carried a cross-section of Spanish society to be transplanted in the New World: noblemen, royal officials, artisans, servants, and slaves. More than seventy families were traveling at the expense of the Crown, along with sixteen members of the Franciscan order and thirteen lay priests and their servants. Spanish merchants sent food and supplies on the ships, along with representatives to manage their interests in the colony. Smiths accompanied the expedition, to smelt precious metals and to forge tools and weapons. The Crown paid the passages of sixty-two foot soldiers and cavalry, but the fighting men were vastly outnumbered by people sent to transform the Caribbean islands into a province of Castile. This group included two of the most famous men who would one day be associated with the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Inca world: Francisco Pizarro and Bartolomé de las Casas.

³² Deagan and Crucent (2002:47ff.) describe the failure of the colony at La Isabela.

³³ Mira Caballos (2000) offers a recent biography of Ovando, as well as an account of his fleet in 1502 (2014).

³⁴ Mira Caballos (2014).

Ovando's goal of establishing a stable Spanish colony was partially realized as Santo Domingo grew into a large town under a municipal government that recognized royal authority. Officials, artisans, and priests were among the townspeople in Santo Domingo, but many colonists established rural plantations, using grants of indigenous labor (*encomiendas*) to produce commodities for trade. The growing order in the colonial town was matched by heightened resistance in the hinterland, where indigenous leaders and rebellious Spaniards were attempting to retain their independence. The Spaniards were drawn out of town by the promise of gold-rich rivers, pearl fisheries, and indigenous populations that could be seized and sold as slaves. Native bodies quickly became the principal source of wealth for Europeans. There were few rules to protect indigenous people who were kidnapped as slaves or forced to serve in perpetuity on *encomiendas*.³⁵ Some indigenous groups resisted enslavement by fighting, fleeing, or pursuing diplomatic relations with the Spaniards, but European disease and the unrelenting demand for native labor contributed to steep population declines on Hispaniola. In the short run, this sent Spanish slavers out on raids of nearby islands and the continental mainland, but by 1520 the demand for unfree labor had led to the introduction of slaves taken from Portuguese lands in Africa.

The consolidation of royal authority in Santo Domingo reveals the tension between the conquistadores and the colonists. Both groups sought to extract profits from the New World, but the conquistadores were more intent on immediate returns—the direct acquisition of precious metals, pearls, spices, and slaves—whereas the colonists were more likely to settle in place and play the long game, using their access to cheap or free land and labor to build estates over time. The Ovando expedition reflected the royal desire to reproduce Spanish society abroad, but the continued support for new slave raids and exploratory voyages undermined such efforts, as colonists deserted established settlements to become conquistadores, seeking quick fortunes in newly discovered places.

In Castile, the catalog of New World deaths grew numbingly large for the first generations that followed Columbus. Men liquidated their assets and left their families and towns behind, flowing westward into the American

³⁵ Papal decrees from the 1490s affirmed Spain's unchecked sovereignty in the region, but Charles V did not establish a legal code for the Americas until the 1512 Laws of Burgos. It was not until 1537, in the papal bull *Sublimus Dei*, that the Catholic Church prohibited the enslavement of "Indians."

unknown. The survivors returned in dribs and drabs, a few bearing treasure and incredible accounts of the new world, others simply lucky to be alive. Most who set out never returned. They died badly, wasting away from Old World diseases on the Atlantic passage, drowning in shipwrecks in unknown waters, or starving to death in tropical forests. Smashed by mace heads, pierced by arrows and lances, weakened by hunger, they perished in attempts to fight their way into—or out of—resistant native communities. The accounts of the few who returned were as much a litany of the fallen and disappeared as a chronicle of glorious conquest. Historians tend to focus on the return of *any* survivors, sometimes forgetting how many ships and men had set out.³⁶

We should not forget that Europe held its own dangers. Regular epidemics swept across Spain in the early 1500s, and famine was widespread, killing millions across the continent. Along with these harbingers of the world's end, the near-constant warfare that accompanied the religious fragmentation of Catholic Europe's networks of royal alliances might have made the risks of America seem less overwhelming.³⁷ There was at least the *possibility* of new wealth beyond the western horizon, more than a man could hope to win fighting in the continental wars of that time. Desperate times and tales of riches drove waves of Iberian men to an uncertain network of colonial outposts, many of which were already ravaged landscapes long stripped of any treasures. These places were occupied by desperate compatriots who planned new forays deeper into the unknown, pursuing the gambler's hope that a big score would allow them to return home. Vicious and poorly organized expeditions unfolded in competition with one another, as different leaders tried to work out loose arrangements with royal officials, who approved the "discovery and pacification" of new lands. The Crown expected that governors would eventually settle new towns among the native populations, who would serve them in exchange for Christian missionary instruction. But the fleeting occupations of many colonial towns suggest a

³⁶ The circumnavigation of Magellan's flotilla is an excellent example of this. Only 18 men of the original 260 returned to Spain in 1522, and all but one of the expedition's ships were lost along the way.

³⁷ The newly conquered parts of southern Spain were typical of this pattern. Kohn (2008:373–374) states that approximately 100,000 people died in Andalusia in 1507 and that plague drove much of the population from Seville in 1510. The city experienced another devastating epidemic in 1524. Famine swept Spain in 1505, and again in 1540 and 1599–1600.

smash-and-grab cynicism to the colonizing enterprise, one that was exacerbated by the inadequate skills that most Spaniards had for establishing their way of life in unfamiliar lands.³⁸

Many of the men who accompanied Ovando left Hispaniola within a few years to explore and settle other Caribbean islands, the Venezuelan coast, and Mesoamerica.³⁹ Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco Pizarro were among them, and their New World careers reflect the social and moral tensions inherent to the dynamics of conquest and colonization. Las Casas held an *encomienda* in Hispaniola for more than a decade before his experiences led him to take holy orders and preach against practices he believed would drive the native population to extinction. He gave up his *encomienda* and began to advocate for native rights, first by trying to establish more humane colonial practices, and then by serving as a vocal critic at court.⁴⁰ Pizarro showed a restlessness of a different sort, a hunger for a greater fortune that took him into lands that no Spaniard had yet seen. Pizarro left Hispaniola in 1509 to accompany the explorer Alonso de Ojeda to the north coast of Colombia, where they unsuccessfully attempted to establish a new Spanish colony. After indigenous attacks forced Ojeda's men to abandon their settlement, Pizarro eventually moved on to the new colony of Castilla del Oro ("Golden Castile," present-day Panama), where he served as second-in-command for Vasco Núñez de Balboa's 1513 expedition to the Pacific. He then received permission from the governor, Pedrarias Dávila, to participate in two expeditions exploring unknown territory, which brought back large numbers of indigenous slaves and quantities of gold.⁴¹ Even as Spanish towns were established in Castilla del Oro and their residents received *encomiendas*, Pizarro continued to slash his way through unexplored jungles, fighting on foot to take slaves and treasure from unconquered populations. He became

³⁸ Martín Fernández de Enciso's 1519 *Suma de geographia* gives an early description of Panama and nearby areas.

³⁹ The colony in Hispaniola continued to struggle to control the island and maintain its Spanish population. When news of Pizarro's haul of treasure from Cajamarca reached Hispaniola in 1533, royal officials still faced organized resistance by the cacique Enriquillo, and the news from Peru sent another wave of colonists scrambling to explore and conquer. By the 1570s, fewer Spaniards lived on Hispaniola than had arrived with Ovando, and Francis Drake was able to capture Santo Domingo in 1586 with a naval force smaller than the armada sent out in 1502.

⁴⁰ Clayton (2010); Lockhart (1972:141–144).

⁴¹ Oviedo (in Varón Gabai 1997:11). This expedition was known for its cruelty to native populations, a cruelty Pizarro already "knew by heart" from extensive prior experience.

a town official in Panama and enjoyed the income of a good *encomienda*, but he sought new adventures and riches, first in Nicaragua and then along the Pacific coast of South America.⁴²

Plus Ultra

The Catholic monarchs only survived to see the first years of the new era they had worked to build. Isabella died in Medina del Campo in 1504 after an extended illness. The procession of her body to its final resting place—in the Franciscan monastery that now occupied the Alhambra in Granada—marked the important points of her life’s journey. Accompanied by priests and nobles, the queen’s plain coffin made its way through unceasing rains that recalled legendary Iberian floods and seemed to some to be the fulfillment of ancient prophecy. Treated as a relic, Isabella’s unembalmed body lay in repose in Granada, and when Ferdinand died in 1516, his body was placed alongside it.

The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand had set in motion the unification of a kingdom called Spain, but the flowering of the Spanish Empire truly began after the passing of the Catholic monarchs. The first king of Spain was Carlos I—referred to here by his Holy Roman title, Emperor Charles V—a fifteen-year-old grandson of Isabella and Ferdinand who was born and raised in the Netherlands. Like Huayna Capac a few years earlier, Charles came to power through his mother, Juana the Mad, who inherited the titles Queen of Castile and Queen of Aragón, but who was said to be mentally unstable and was placed in involuntary confinement in the Royal Convent of Santa Clara in Tordesillas in 1509. One often-repeated example of Joan’s insanity occurred when her husband, Philip of Habsburg, died suddenly, in 1506.⁴³ The queen would not be parted from her husband’s body, traveling with it from Burgos to Granada and supposedly opening the coffin to embrace the corpse. An Inca would not have found such behavior at all distressing, and it is worth observing that St. Francis Borgia—a founder of the Jesuits and great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI—was inspired to take religious vows

⁴² Varón Gabai (1997:10–12) notes that Pizarro had an *encomienda* of 250 natives on the island of Taboga.

⁴³ Aram (2005) reconsiders the myths surrounding Juana’s mental state and political strategies.

after performing a similar itinerary in 1539, when he had accompanied the body of Isabella of Portugal, the wife of Charles V, to her burial in Granada.⁴⁴ Whether Juana was mad or not, efforts were made to exclude her from the active political role that her mother, sister, and daughter-in-law played. Unlike Mama Ocllo, who ruled as Coya while her brothers raised Huayna Capac, Juana remained queen until her death in 1555—the time Charles V began to hand over his many titles to his son, Philip II.⁴⁵ Unlike Huayna Capac, who came into his own sovereign power as he reached adulthood, Charles V ruled in Spain with his mother as a co-regent, albeit one whom he attempted to marginalize as he appropriated her sovereignty.

Charles ruled for ten years as co-regent before marrying his first cousin, Isabella of Portugal, in 1526. He was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519; Isabella took the title “empress,” while Juana remained the queen of Spain. While trying to establish his sovereignty in a unified Spain, Charles V also attempted to balance the two faces of empire that he had inherited from his grandparents. To the east, Ferdinand’s Italian claims led to new conflicts there, as well as to war with France. Charles defeated the French army at Pavia in 1525, when Spanish soldiers captured King Francis I and forced him to agree to a punishing treaty (Figure 4.3). Two years later, unpaid troops fighting for Charles in the Papal States sacked Rome and imprisoned Pope Clement VII. By this time, the knightly fighting of the Iberian reconquest had given way to armies whose infantry squadrons, called *tercios*, dominated European battlefields.

An increasing proportion of the revenue needed to arm Spanish infantry and hire mercenaries for the Italian wars was beginning to flow from the Americas, where the medieval conquest model drove the ongoing exploration and colonization of Isabella’s Castilian empire. When Charles V faced the French at the Battle of Pavia in 1525, Spanish expeditions to the Americas had already colonized much of the Caribbean, as well as Panama and parts of Venezuela. Hernán Cortés had just returned to Spain with Aztec treasure and yet another account of how ordinary Spaniards had captured a powerful emperor. The windfall of plundered treasure was accompanied by more consistent revenues as Spanish officials began to govern and tax transatlantic

⁴⁴ Ribadeneira (1592:15–18) describes the conversion story, which became more elaborate over time.

⁴⁵ Charles V abdicated his titles to Naples and Sicily in 1554, when Philip married Mary I and became the king of England and Ireland *jure uxoris*. Philip became the king of Jerusalem at that time as well.



Figure 4.3. Depiction of the capture of King Francis I by Spanish soldiers at the 1525 Battle of Pavia. From a tapestry made in Brussels between 1528 and 1531, now in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.

commerce, and to establish royal institutions in the colonies. Ferdinand had undertaken some of this empire-building after Isabella's death, organizing the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo (1511) and announcing the Laws of Burgos the following year to regulate the interactions between the Spaniards and the indigenous populations. Charles created the Council of the Indies in 1524 to oversee legal matters in his growing American empire, but he would not make a concerted effort to develop more intensive royal control until after the invasion of the Inca empire.

Charles placed his empire-building in the Americas in a legendary context. As we have already seen, classical writers considered the Strait of Gibraltar to be the edge of the ancient world, a landmark where the demigod Hercules—the mythical founder of the Spanish crown—raised pillars to mark the westernmost point of his journeys. The Romans allegedly inscribed the Latin phrase *non plus ultra* (not farther beyond) on those pillars to establish the limits of their empire. When he took the crowns of Castile and Aragón alongside his mother in 1516, Charles adopted the motto *plus ultra* (farther beyond) and added the Pillars of Hercules to his crest, evidence that he shared the widespread attitude that Spain would be the Christian nation to transform the world.⁴⁶ Charles's aspiration to achieve global

⁴⁶ See Rosenthal (1971). In a letter to Charles's son, Philip II, which accompanied Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's 1572 history of the Incas, the royal cosmographer

sovereignty reflected a sense that his power was both modern and righteous, in contrast to the ancient civilizations that had stopped at Gibraltar, and the religious and political enemies that the emperor faced to the east of Spain. It is not surprising that the emperor came to be seen by many as the prophesied Last Emperor who would defeat the Antichrist and bring about the world's last peaceful millennium.⁴⁷

Luther's Antichrist

By the time ordinary Spanish soldiers seized powerful kings at Pavia and Tenochtitlán, the new goal of global Catholicism already faced a more fundamental threat from a priest living in Saxony, a German principality subject to the Holy Roman Empire. When Martin Luther published his *Ninety-Five Theses* in 1517, he challenged many Catholic practices, including the granting of indulgences, which had sustained centuries of crusading, as well as pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and the Roman Jubilee. Luther's refusal to denounce his position after the 1521 Diet of Worms led to his excommunication, and Charles V, who presided over that gathering, declared him an outlaw. Although Luther's writings were banned, they circulated widely in German-speaking lands, inspiring a peasant uprising that threatened to topple many of the noble houses that Charles V presided over as Holy Roman Emperor.

Luther's critique of Catholicism extended beyond the present state of church practices. In 1521, the year the Aztec capital fell to pestilence, fire, and the sword, Luther published a treatise on the Apocalypse, a radical Protestant statement on the end times. In it, he identified the pope as the Antichrist. The artist Lucas Cranach the Elder produced woodcuts contrasting Christ's passion with the luxury, corruption, and tyranny surrounding the pope.⁴⁸ Luther believed that the pope represented Christ's antithesis and would play

described the divine guidance that led Castile to discover the Indies, which the ancients had failed to reach.

⁴⁷ Voß (2016) explores the messianic identification of Charles V, noting that Jewish populations fit the Holy Roman Emperor into their own prophetic visions of the world's end. See Parker (2002a) for a discussion of messianism and the Spanish crown.

⁴⁸ Whitford (2008) addresses this identification in detail, offering several illustrations of Lutheran propaganda.



Figure 4.4. French depiction of Pope Alexander VI as the Antichrist (c. 1500). During the early years of the Protestant Reformation, many representations of the pope as the Antichrist were produced.

a part in the tribulations that signaled the Messiah's imminent return. This was an association that Savonarola and others had made decades earlier when preaching against Pope Alexander VI in the 1490s (Figure 4.4).⁴⁹ Luther's argument spread widely, and other Protestant writers identified Luther as

⁴⁹ Joachim of Fiore first identified the pope as the Antichrist in the twelfth century, as papal power was growing in western Europe (Weinstein 2011).

an angel who warned of the coming of God's judgment, and as the embodiment of the prophet Elijah.⁵⁰

As apocalyptic writings and images circulated across western Europe, many saw the growing religious conflict as one of many tribulations that foretold the world's end. For Charles V, the Reformation world-view must have contrasted jarringly with Spain's positive project of Christian empire-building in the New World, spreading a growing sense of a cataclysmic end in central Europe, where Christians were turning on the Catholic Church, peasants were taking up arms against their lords, and the steady advance of Ottoman conquests threatened the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The Reformation inspired millenarian expectations among clergy and ordinary people, an "apocalyptic mood" that dominated parts of central Europe for a century and a half.⁵¹

Although we will leave those enduring European anxieties behind to focus on the last days of the Inca Empire, it is important to recognize how the Reformation apocalypticism differed from the representations of miracles and devastation that Spaniards reported during the conquest of Peru. While Protestants framed European bloodshed, food shortages, and devastating epidemics as signs of the world's imminent end, Spaniards cited miraculous successes in the Americas—including Francisco Pizarro's capture of Atahualpa at Cajamarca in 1532—as evidence of divine favor for their project of Catholic empire-building. When things did not go as well as hoped, they explained indigenous victories and Spanish civil wars as God's punishment for human shortcomings. The conquest of Aztec and Inca sovereigns opened the way for the Spanish crown to draw significant revenues from the Americas, and after the abdication of Charles V, his son Philip II relied on those funds to promote Spain's role in the counter-Reformation, supporting a Catholic orthodoxy that could defeat Protestants, Muslims, and other nonbelievers. As we will see later in this story, Philip also took more intensive steps to consolidate his power over the Andes and other regions, at a time when Protestants no longer recognized the temporal authority granted to Isabella and Ferdinand by Pope Alexander VI. The question of Inca sovereignty would become the most significant test case for debating what power Spain could legitimately exercise outside Iberia.

⁵⁰ Cunningham and Grell (2000:23–24) place Luther in the broader context of European thinking about the Apocalypse during the Reformation.

⁵¹ Cunningham and Grell (2000:11).

Chasing the Legend of Peru

As Charles V sent his imperial armies into battle and confronted religious resistance in central Europe, his conquistadores continued to make disruptive forays into the unknown lands of the Americas. In 1522, an explorer named Pascual de Andagoya returned from exploring the southeastern coast of Panama, bringing the rumor of a rich land ruled by a native leader (cacique) called Peruquete, which lay just beyond where he had been. Andagoya was unable to mount a follow-up expedition, and Panama's royal governor, Pedrarias Dávila, granted Francisco Pizarro and his partners Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque permission to continue the explorations. To do so, they established a company, pooling their resources to build two ships and fill them with the men and supplies needed to sustain their exploration. It was no easy matter for Pizarro and Almagro to launch this modest "Eastern Armada." The only ships available on the Pacific coast were those built since 1513, and few pilots had any real experience navigating the unexplored ocean. Supplies were also hard to come by, because a decade of relentless Spanish plundering had decimated native populations and stripped the land of surplus food. Spanish lives were the only thing that was abundant in Panama. Ships periodically disgorged hundreds of new arrivals in the colony, and many of them were eager to risk everything on risky new ventures. With few ships available, the partners opted to load as much human cargo as they could. They recruited newcomers and persuaded their friends and allies to join them, bringing along an unknown number of enslaved indigenous and African men and women.⁵² Leaving Almagro behind to assemble reinforcements, Pizarro sailed on November 24, 1524, hopeful of finding food and other supplies on the way that would permit him to venture inland to the rich lands he sought.

⁵² Although published accounts of these expeditions focus on Spanish men, testimony sent to court describes the loss of "our Indian men and women and blacks whom we took for our service." It is apparent that many were allowed to starve to death when supplies ran short, although some probably escaped into nearby indigenous communities. Their deaths were treated as part of the unrecovered costs the Spaniards wished to represent as service to the Crown (e.g., AGI Patronato 150 N3 R.2 f. 4r. [1528]; Patronato 150 N.2 R.2 f. 2v. [1526]).

Failure and Fortune on the South Sea

Months later, in the winter of 1525, a ragged band of Spaniards and their slaves desperately clung to life in the mangrove swamps of coastal Colombia, a place they called “Hunger” (*hambre*). They were the surviving members of Pizarro’s expedition. Sailing in unfamiliar waters along an unknown coastline, it had taken seventy days for the ship to reach a place to put in. By that time, their food supplies were exhausted, and nearly a third of the Spaniards had perished, but no food was to be found. Pizarro took most of his men ashore, where they planned to forage for shellfish and bitter palm for the ten or twelve days they hoped it would take a skeleton crew to sail back to the nearest Spanish settlement to resupply. It took the ship almost seven weeks to return with maize and pigs, a harrowing voyage that left the sailors on board so desperately hungry that they boiled and ate the leather covers of their navigation equipment. By the time food reached the men wasting away on the beach, twenty more Spaniards had starved to death.⁵³ So began Pizarro’s first attempt to conquer the fabled land of Peru—short on men, supplies, and knowledge of what lay ahead.

Hunger was the first port of call for the conquistadores, but defeat at the hands of the native population also claimed Spanish lives. Pizarro took more Spaniards on his first voyage than he would have with him a few years later at Cajamarca, but swarms of warriors from local villages easily outmatched their swords and armor. The invaders found few settlements directly along the coastal route, and in the first place where Pizarro’s weakened men tried to steal supplies—a fortified village that initially seemed to be abandoned—a large body of native warriors swept in and attacked them, killing five of the Spaniards and wounding another seventeen, including Pizarro, who was hurt in seven places. Bringing reinforcements down from Panama, Pizarro’s partner Diego de Almagro reached the same village with seventy men soon after this defeat. The local population mounted a second fierce attack, killing several of Almagro’s men. Almagro lost his right eye to a native arrow, but the Spaniards claimed victory because they managed to burn the town and escape after native warriors withdrew temporarily from combat. Not finding Pizarro on the coast, Almagro returned to the province of Chochama, a pacified part of eastern Panama, where he reunited with his partner. Together,

⁵³ Pizarro’s secretary Francisco de Xérez’s description (1989 [1534]) of this disastrous first voyage is the basis for most of this section.

Pizarro and Almagro lost 130 men on their first venture toward the Inca world, and they found no signs of the gold they sought. Pizarro was dejected by this failure, and angry that the governor, Pedrarias Dávila, had taken away his captaincy of the expedition. The rationale for doing so was not the Spanish body count from the disastrous voyage. Rather, the governor said that Panama simply did not have enough food to spare any for another expedition. He ordered Pizarro to remain there until they could suppress local rebellions and coerce the native people to grow them more maize.⁵⁴

Despite the competition in Panama for permission to explore the Pacific coast, Pizarro and Almagro eventually received approval for a second voyage, and they found that there were still men desperate or foolish enough to sign on with leaders who had just lost two-thirds of their company.⁵⁵ The new recruits raised their number to 160 men. They added three canoes to their two boats, to allow them to explore inland waterways to look for villages where they might find supplies. Pizarro and Almagro spent more than two-and-a-half disastrous years exploring the coast of what is today Colombia, a time that saw all but fifty of their men perish in the mangrove swamps and dense jungle. Almagro blamed the company's desperate state on the lack of supplies and constant attacks from the native villagers. He also noted the deadly impact of Old World diseases on the Spaniards traveling with him, which he said newly arrived Castilians brought with them.⁵⁶ It is hard to imagine the horror of being trapped on a small boat for months on end, facing adverse winds in unfamiliar waters and dwindling food supplies, and breathing in the stench of festering wounds, sickness, and death.

A fear of death followed the men on the occasions when they left the ships. A famous survivor, the Greek artilleryman Pedro de Candía, later recalled how desperate hunger had repeatedly forced the invaders to venture inland to steal food from the villages: "We had to take the canoes upriver and climb 100 feet off the ground to the native storage platforms to take the maize."⁵⁷ At the San Juan River, Pizarro acknowledged that the expedition

⁵⁴ Translated from a 1531 account by Diego de Almagro (1855:267).

⁵⁵ A 1525 royal document to the governor of Panama (AGI Panama 233 L.2 f. 57r-v.) named Pizarro among almost a dozen other "early settlers" who could be entrusted with voyages and overland expeditions.

⁵⁶ Almagro (1855:268 [1531]).

⁵⁷ Candía's account (1855:261-264) comes from a proceeding in 1528 to collect information regarding the survivors of the expedition as they sought royal favors for their efforts. The men were granted honors at the same time that Pizarro received permission for his final expedition to Peru. Candía was named to several posts in Tumbez, an

lacked sufficient military strength to continue, and he sent Almagro back to Panama once more to recruit more men. Remaining in place with the few companions he had left, Pizarro dispatched his pilot, Bartolomé Ruiz, down the coast with the smaller of the two boats, hoping to make some discovery that would turn his luck around.⁵⁸ Ten weeks later, the ship returned with the first good news the men had heard in years.

The ship had sailed a great distance down the coast—possibly as far as the Inca city of Tumbes—reaching a gentler stretch of coast that was better populated than the rugged jungles where the expedition had experienced defeat for so long.⁵⁹ The sailors reported that the native population was more civilized than other “Indians” they had yet seen, with well-organized settlements, where local rulers and officials governed. On an island near the settlements—possibly the island of Puná—the sailors saw a tent-like temple made out of rich cloths, which contained a sacred image. Clearly, this was a land worth conquering, and when they went ashore to take water, the Spaniards abducted several of the natives, whom they planned to use later as interpreters. Such kidnappings were a well-known strategy of Iberian sailors, who had plucked unsuspecting natives from foreign shores since the early days of colonization in the Canary Islands.

Pizarro must have listened with interest to the prospects for colonizing this land and ruling its native population, but the sailors brought him back something of more immediate value: treasure. On its return northward, Pizarro’s ship encountered and captured a native trading vessel on the open sea, a thirty-ton ship made of cane with cotton sails. The Spaniards seized the crew’s gold and silver jewelry, as well as valuables the native merchants intended to trade for the colorful *Spondylus* shells found along the coast.

Inca town that had yet to be conquered: he was granted *hidalgo* status (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 34 [1529]), named as a *regidor* (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 51 [1529]) and artillery captain (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 12R–13V [1529]), and granted permission to travel to Tumbes with his wife, bringing two black slaves (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 14 [1529]) and household possessions that would be free of duty taxes (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 14V [1529]).

⁵⁸ Xérez (1989:65 [1534]). Almagro (1855:268–269 [1531]) said that ten men went with the ship’s crew, which was under orders to explore 200 leagues or more along the coast over a three-month period.

⁵⁹ Although Xérez (1989:65 [1534]) mentioned a town called Cancebi as the far point of the voyage, earlier sources state that Ruiz and his crew reached three-and-a-half degrees south of the equator (Relación Sámano–Xérez 1968:10 [1527]), approximately the location of the province of Tumbes (Almagro 1855:169 [1531]).

The goldwork included crowns, belts, bracelets, armbands, tweezers, and bells. Numerous silver mirrors, cups, and other vessels were part of the cargo. There were also beads of many different colors and materials, including rock crystal and emeralds. The Spaniards took large amounts of woolen and cotton cloth, some of it made into exotic garments. The textiles were dyed brilliant colors, and many pieces had fine embroidery depicting unfamiliar plants and animals.⁶⁰

This exotic plunder stirred the spirits of the men who had remained behind with Pizarro. They received the news with great joy, forgetting the many tribulations they had already suffered.⁶¹ With accounts of a newly discovered land—and profits to be shared by the company—the Spaniards who remained with Pizarro clamored to return to Panama at the earliest opportunity, saying that they could not hold out any longer on that desolate coast.⁶² Their chance soon came, when Almagro finally returned with a ship loaded with supplies, artillery, and horses; but he also brought new men who wanted their own chance to discover treasure. The expedition leaders convinced their men not to turn back but to continue forward to the “good land” that had been discovered.

Unfortunately, Pizarro’s success was short-lived. Navigation to the south once again proved difficult; supplies ran low; and the Spaniards were forced to land, going on foot in search of much-needed food. As they reached the well-populated towns near Tacamez (modern Atacames in Ecuador), the ninety surviving Spaniards came to realize that the conquest of this land would be impossible. A force of 10,000 warriors confronted them outside a town that had thousands of houses, and it was only with the aid of their artillery that they were able to fight their way into the town. They spent eight days there, gorging themselves on local food stores while defending against constant attacks.⁶³ The Spaniards agreed that their best course of action was to seize as much food as they could carry and then retreat to a safe place, from which they could send news of their discovery back to Panama and request that the governor send out more men and grant the expedition permission to continue the conquest.

⁶⁰ The 1527 Sámano-Xérez account (1968:11–12) offers this description of the coast and the vessel taken by Ruiz while reconnoitering the Ecuadorian coast. The description draws on Lüdtke (1996:490) and Ramírez (1995:139).

⁶¹ Xérez (1989:66 [1534]).

⁶² Almagro (1855:270 [1531]).

⁶³ Candía (1855:262 [1528]).

The expedition turned back toward Panama, sailing up the coast from Atacames for roughly 200 miles (320 km) before stopping at a swampy place they called Isla del Gallo. For the third time, Diego de Almagro took the company's ships and sailed back to Panama, where he was received coldly by the new governor, Pedro de los Ríos. Some of the men Almagro had left behind had managed to smuggle aboard complaints about the expedition, which reached the governor along with the tidings of new lands to be conquered. Few of the surviving members of the company were keen to repeat their experience in the estuaries of the San Juan River, and they begged to be released from their obligations to Pizarro and Almagro.⁶⁴ Although Almagro argued for support to continue the conquest and colonization of the newly discovered coast, the governor sent two ships back to Isla del Gallo under orders to bring back those who wished to return to Panama.⁶⁵ By the time the ships arrived, those on the island had suffered for five or six months, wasting away as their looted maize supplies gave out and they were reduced to a diet of snakes, crabs, and whatever they could fish from the sea.⁶⁶ Many more men had died by that time.

The earliest accounts of the rescue from Isla del Gallo differ, revealing the tensions and rivalries already building between Pizarro and Almagro. Almagro claimed to have been the spark that kept the expedition moving forward: it was he, not Pizarro, who had convinced the men not to return to Panama after the news of the new discovery, and he had argued forcefully that the governor of Panama should allow Pizarro to once more continue

⁶⁴ Pizarro's secretary, Xérez, skips over these details in his 1534 account. By 1552, when the Pizarro family was out of favor, the chronicler Francisco López de Gómara offered an embellished account of the dissent: even though Almagro had refused to carry letters from the men he left behind, "one Saravía . . . sent letters to certain of his friends, or as some say, one letter signed by many . . . wrapped in a large ball of cotton, under the pretext that they should make him a garment, as he was going around unclothed. The letter contained all the evils, deaths, and labors that had happened on the expedition; grievances and pressures and complaints about the captains, who blocked their return. It was ultimately a petition that the governor should grant them license and order that they not be coerced to remain there, and at the bottom of the letter he wrote: "Pues señor gobernadora / Mirelo bien por entero / Que allá va el recogedor / Y acá queda el carnicero (And so, lord governor, Look well at the big picture: that the collector goes there, and the butcher remains here)" (1852:223 [1552]).

⁶⁵ Almagro (1855:271 [1531]). Almagro claimed that the governor had initially commanded the return of all the party, which Xérez (1989:67 [1534]) contradicts.

⁶⁶ Candía (1855:262 [1528]); cf. López de Gómara (1884:223 [1552]).

southward, in a single ship, to reconfirm the discoveries made by his pilot.⁶⁷ Pizarro and his allies told a different story. Rather than return on the ships sent by the governor, he “resolved to die before turning back without discovering the land of which he had news.” Thirteen of the men who were with Pizarro vowed to seek death or glory with him rather than return to Panama with those whose complaints had hardened the governor against the expedition.⁶⁸ After their comrades had been rescued, these men fashioned a clumsy boat and set out on the ocean to find a safer place to await reinforcements. They sailed about seventy-five miles (120 km) to the north, to Isla la Gorgona, a narrow strip of jungle-clad rock lying about sixteen miles (26 km) off the Colombian coast. The island offered safety from the coastal natives, who had been attacking the Spaniards on the Isla del Gallo. Its rocky terrain would provide a conspicuous landmark for returning ships. Pizarro and his die-hard supporters passed several months on the island in desperate straits, wasting away until Bartolomé Ruiz returned with a ship and supplies. Intent on completing an expedition that would make them rich, Pizarro and his small company turned south once again.

Pizarro’s ship fought adverse winds as it made its way down the Pacific coast to the hinterlands of Huayna Capac’s Inca realm. Pedro de Candía recalled that they encountered a world that would have fit into the romances of medieval knights: there were “many cities built of stone, enclosed with crenellated walls and with many towers; and flat lands; and many people; and a great deal of gold and silver, which the people wear around, and precious stones; and livestock.”⁶⁹ The ship returned to Tumbez—a town that the Spaniards named Valencia, after the hometown of El Cid—and Candía and three other men went ashore for two days, bartering with the local population and bringing back descriptions of the city and a drawing of its restricted palace and *aqllawasi* compounds.⁷⁰ Clearly, this was a rich and civilized land, a place utterly unlike the dense jungles where the Spaniards had encountered nothing more than defeat, disease, and death. After resupplying in Tumbez,

⁶⁷ Almagro (1855:271 [1533]). Almagro presumably sent this account to Spain with a request for permission to conquer the lands that lay beyond the Chíncha Valley. It was tabled by the queen in 1532 until such time as Pizarro should have made good progress in settling the province of Tumbez (AGI Lima L.1 F.101V [1532]).

⁶⁸ Candía (1855:253 [1528]); cf. Xérez (1989:67 [1534]).

⁶⁹ Candía (1855:253–264 [1528]), my translation.

⁷⁰ García de Jaren, in AGI Patronato 150 N.3 R. 2 f. 6 v. image 63/98 [1528]; Domingo de Solaluz in AGI Patronato 150 N.3 R. 2 f. 6 v. image 80/98 [1528].

the ship continued southward along the coast for an additional 100 leagues or more, observing the fertile flood plains of the coastal valleys of what is today Peru. The Spaniards made landfall more than once to observe the well-dressed natives and explore cities that they likened to those of Castile.⁷¹ As the term of Pizarro's expedition that had been approved by the governor drew to its expiration, the ship turned around and returned to Panama with gold, silver, fine cloth, and several llamas.⁷²

Settling Accounts

On his return to Panama at the end of 1526, Pizarro and his partners unsuccessfully sought permission from Pedro de los Ríos to mount yet another expedition.⁷³ When it was denied, they combined their resources so that Pizarro could return to Spain to make their case at court. Pizarro and Almagro collected notarized testimony describing their expedition, as well as accounts of their previous services to the crown. They also gathered letters of recommendation from leading citizens in Panama showing that the prominent Spaniards in the colony supported a new voyage. Despite the modest success of their latest venture, the two captains made the grand claim that they had "discovered" 250 leagues along the coast and needed another opportunity to explore inland.⁷⁴ Even as Pizarro and Almagro prepared the witness testimony the two would present at court, Pizarro was collecting his own documentation to shore up his personal interests, detailing his service, leadership, and the expenses incurred in the interest of the Crown since he had arrived in Panama with Alonso de Ojeda.⁷⁵

Pizarro arrived in Spain at a fortunate time. By coincidence, Hernán Cortés was returning to Spain for the first time since toppling the Aztec Empire in Mexico, an unprecedented success after nearly thirty years of

⁷¹ For example, Domingo de Solaluz in AGI Patronato 150 N.3 R. 2 f. 6 v. image 80/98 [1528].

⁷² Xérez (1989:67–68 [1534]).

⁷³ Pizarro and Almagro took on a third partner, Ferdinand de Luque, and documents from the time (AGI Indiferente 415 L.1 f. 111v–112r [May 17, 1527]) indicate that they had an agreement with Pedrarias Dávila, the former governor of Panama. When it became clear that Charles V was interested in supporting Pizarro, the loyal companions from Isla La Gorgona sent testimonies of their own service to the Crown (AGI Patronato 150 N.3 R.2 [August 3, 1528]).

⁷⁴ AGI Patronato 150 N.2 R.2 [1526].

⁷⁵ AGI Panama 61 N.5 [1528].

Spanish exploration in the Americas. Intent on defending his position in Mexico against rival Spaniards, Cortés landed at the port of Palos with treasure, jewels, and Mesoamerican cloth and featherwork and a coterie of Aztec court entertainers whom he thought to offer as a gift to the pope.⁷⁶ The two conquistadores, said to be distant cousins, met when both were on the way to Toledo to present their cases to Charles V. Granting Cortés a noble title and other honors, Charles V now believed that another rich kingdom might easily be added to his empire.⁷⁷ The emperor noted that Pizarro's report to the Council of the Indies indicated that the natives of Peru were "people of reason and the capacity to come to an understanding of our Holy Catholic Faith."⁷⁸ This description of the Inca coast convinced Charles V that Pizarro and his partners should be given assistance to go back to Peru, and the emperor sent an order to the governor of Panama to that effect.⁷⁹ Pizarro remained at court for another year, negotiating a contract with the Crown.

The royal contract, called the "Capitulación de Toledo," was signed on July 26, 1529. It laid out an ambitious plan to follow up on the earlier expeditions.⁸⁰ By this time, the ambition of the previous voyages had grown beyond mere discovery: Pizarro and his partners had ventured out "to conquer, discover, and pacify and settle the coast of the South Sea." The document acknowledged the costs and dangers of those voyages, and described the final southward push by Pizarro and his famous thirteen companions, during which they "discovered the lands and provinces of Peru and the city of Tumbes." Acknowledging that the partners had spent some 30,000 pesos already, the contract laid out terms under which they could profit from their discoveries.

Pizarro received license to conquer and settle a 200-league stretch of the Peruvian coast, from a native town that had been renamed Santiago to the Chíncha Valley. The titles of governor and captain-general of all of Peru went to Pizarro, as well as a huge salary that would be drawn from the rents and other royal revenues that would soon flow from the new colony. Along with

⁷⁶ His stately arrival is recorded long after the fact by the chroniclers Díaz del Castillo (chap. 195) and Herrera y Tordesillas (1615, decade 4, bk. 3, chap. 8).

⁷⁷ Cortés presented an account of his expenses for a recent expedition early in 1529 (AGI Patronato 16 N.2 R.7 [February 9, 1529]), and he was awarded a marquisate and other titles and honors on July 6 of that year (AGI Patronato 16 N.2 R.13-16)—less than three weeks before Pizarro would receive his titles and a royal contract to conquer Peru.

⁷⁸ AGI Indiferente 737 N.1 [April 21, 1529].

⁷⁹ AGI Panama 234 L.3 f. 135r-v. [June 5, 1528].

⁸⁰ A copy can be found at AGI Indiferente 415 L.1 f. 119r.-124r.



Figure 4.5. 1529 Coat of Arms granted to Francisco Pizarro for the conquest of Peru. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias MP-Escudos 7.

the explicit expectation that he would establish a successful Spanish colony, Pizarro received other titles that recalled the honors granted to medieval conquerors. He was named a knight of the Order of Santiago, as well as *adelantado* and *alguacil mayor*.⁸¹ Pizarro was ordered to construct, in consultation with royal officials, as many as four fortresses to protect and pacify this new territory, for which costs he would be reimbursed within five years of their completion. Later in 1529, Pizarro received the title of marquis, as well as a coat of arms depicting the first contact with the Inca city of Tumbes (Figure 4.5). As royal honors were heaped on Pizarro, his partners also received significant, albeit more modest, recognition of their roles in the earlier expeditions. Diego de Almagro was to be placed in charge of the fortress of

⁸¹ *Adelantado* was a title of medieval origins given to a commander who was advancing territorial expansion for a king. The position of *alguacil mayor* was that of chief constable in a town.

Tumbez, and the priest Ferdinand de Luque was to become the new city's bishop.

In essence, the royal contract attempted to transform a committed conquistador into a colonist by offering Pizarro titles and promises of rich incomes if he could successfully establish a Spanish kingdom that would generate revenue for the Crown. Pizarro's expedition to settle the Pacific coast of Peru was one of many ventures to receive royal permission at that time. On July 26, 1529, the same day that Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro received the titles associated with their royal concession to settle the coast of Peru, the nobleman Simón de Alcazaba was also granted permission to lead the conquest and settlement of the remainder of the Pacific coast, from the Chíncha Valley to the Strait of Magellan.⁸² As Pizarro made his way toward the Inca world, the Crown continued to grant approval for new explorations of the western coast of South America. In 1531, the German Fugger banking house received permission to begin conquests northward from the Strait of Magellan, though a competing claim by Pedro de Mendoza was tabled at that time.⁸³ Diego de Ordás left Seville with a fleet to discover new Peruvian lands in 1532, and Pedro de Alvarado, the brutal conqueror of Guatemala, was also allowed to conduct new conquests that year.⁸⁴

The royal strategy would make sense in today's business world as a franchising venture—the conquistadores put up most of the capital for new conquests, and the Spanish monarchs stood to receive 20 percent of the profits. News from the New World traveled back to Spain slowly, and since so many expeditions ended badly—at the bottom of the ocean, or lost in the wild interior of the new continent—it made sense to grant approvals freely, and then sort out the details when it was clear what had been discovered and

⁸² For Simón de Alcazaba, see AGI Patronato 45 R. 11 [1529]; AGI Indiferente 415 L. 1 f. 127r-135v [May 21, 1534]. The expedition reached the Strait of Magellan, where it encountered a cross and a lost ship from Magellan's 1519 voyage, but it was unable to cross to the Pacific, and after a series of misadventures, Alcazaba was killed by his own men (AGI Patronato 45 R. 19 [1535]).

⁸³ Mendoza had gone in search of lost ships from Magellan's fleet, sailing up the Río de la Plata, where he proposed to return. After word of Pizarro's success in Peru, Mendoza received a royal contract in 1534, for a colonizing expedition on which he was allowed to take 200 slaves and to choose from among former sailors in Cabot's fleet, who had been to the area (e.g., AGI Indiferente L. 1 f. 148v-152v [May 21, 1534]). The Fugger permission is found in AGI Patronato 28 R. 52 [1531]. Diego de Ordás is mentioned in AGI Patronato 28 R. 53 [1532].

⁸⁴ Alvarado's concession can be found in AGI Patronato 21 N. 3. R. 1 [1532].

who was wrangling for a piece of it. For daring men seeking a quick fortune, it might make sense to conquer first and ask permission later, dangling the rich plunder of a new Spanish province as an inducement for royal acceptance after the fact.

The Crown offered some cash and military aid to help Pizarro launch his colonizing voyage. He received 300,000 *maravedis* to purchase artillery and ammunition, was told to pass through Jamaica on his way to Panama, where he could take fifty horses from the royal herds there. Aside from these resources, most of the incentives in the 1529 contract would kick in only after successful colonization, and the Crown laid out specific guidelines to generate the revenues that would pay for them. Royal officials and priests were to travel with 250 Spaniards to settle the colony. At least 150 of the colonists would come from Spain and other approved places; the rest could be recruited from among men already in the Indies. The document specified the percentage the Crown would receive from mines and plundered treasure, as well as the taxes and duties the colonists would pay. These were to be phased in gradually to encourage Spaniards to settle permanently in Peru, where they were to be granted lands and *encomiendas*. The labor of millions of native Peruvians was apparently insufficient to satisfy the colonizing Spaniards; the Crown permitted the leading settlers to take “black” slaves with them without paying duty on them.⁸⁵ Licenses to import black slaves were granted even before the colonizing contract was finalized, and Pizarro received permission to take “fifty black slaves, among whom at least one third must be females,” although he was cautioned that he would forfeit them if he did not take them with him all the way to Peru.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ There are several documents from this time permitting Spaniards to take black slaves with them to Peru, usually no more than two (e.g., AGI Lima 565 L.1 F.62V-63R [1529]). It is important to note that “black” was a term that applied to people taken from Africa, as well as people of color from Iberia and other Spanish colonies. The trade in enslaved men and women of African heritage was intensifying in the Caribbean and elsewhere. At the time Pizarro recruited men and purchased slaves for his expedition to Peru, long-term married residents of Puerto Rico received permission to bring three slaves to the island, free of any obligation other than customs duties. This order, signed by Queen Juana, is found in AGI Santo Domingo 2280 L.1 F.65R-66R [1530].

⁸⁶ This number should be put in the context of the *maximum* number of Spaniards to be sent to the colony: 250. The contract designed a colony built on native American *encomienda* labor, but with at least one-sixth of its nonnative population made up of enslaved men and women from Africa.

The 1529 contract built upon an incredibly optimistic representation of Peru. Pizarro and his partners clearly played up the significance of their earlier voyage, treating the Pacific coast as a place 250 Spanish colonists could occupy and hold. For someone who had lost more men than that on his first two expeditions, Pizarro must have known better than to expect that he could settle and govern the colony in the manner stipulated in his contract. As for the Crown, the idea that a violent, semi-literate explorer could govern a kingdom more remote than Hispaniola, Mexico, or Panama—places that still required constant floods of new Spaniards to maintain fragile colonies—seems unrealistic. It was precisely because Charles V believed the Inca world to be civilized that he expected unprecedented success in establishing a colonial kingdom in Peru. The emperor wrote to his Council of the Indies, stating that the discovery of native people of reason meant that “there will be no need to conquer them and subject them militarily, but rather to treat them with love and good works. It seems that it will suffice to take 250 men.”⁸⁷

Based on a mutual understanding that the civilized Peruvians would come to Christ willingly, Pizarro and the royal officials developed a vision of Peru, as though the written description alone were sufficient to assure the future reality. In the years after Pizarro had departed on his colonizing expedition, Charles V and others at court continued to issue orders regarding the government of Peru, as if the province designed on paper in Spain would materialize half a world away. For example, in 1530, the emperor sent a provision granting Rodrigo de Chaves a regimental appointment in the city of Tumbez in the province of Peru.⁸⁸ Other missives named colonial officeholders, appointed royal officials to look after the Crown’s interests, and arranged for the evangelization of the indigenous population by a group of Dominicans.⁸⁹ Royal permission was even granted to Pizarro’s partner to begin importing cattle into the province of Tumbez.⁹⁰ Attempts were made to restrict the unlicensed trafficking of indigenous retainers or slaves to Peru

⁸⁷ AGI Indiferente 737 N.1 [April 21, 1529].

⁸⁸ AGI Patronato 276 N.4 R. 126 [1530]

⁸⁹ Among the large number of administrative documents that refer to the government of Peru before Pizarro’s third expedition reached that land in 1532 are AGI Lima 177 N.1 [1531], AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 81V-82R [1530], and AGN Lima L.1 F.87 [1531].

⁹⁰ AGI Panama 234 L.5 F.34R [1532]. The document was signed in Medina del Campo (Spain) on June 22, 1532. Pizarro had only reached Tumbez a month earlier, and had found it in ruins.

from other regions, but there is ample documentation that the race-based enslavement of Africans was intended to augment the *encomiendas* that would be distributed to the colonists.⁹¹

The imagined administration of Peru continued for several years before Pizarro ever entered the Andean highlands, and it was only in March of 1533 that the emperor wrote to Peru, ordering a detailed report on the establishment of the colony. The letter was addressed, with understandable vagueness, “to our governor, officials of the province of Peru, and the two oldest town officials of the town where you have made—or will make—your settlement.” The emperor asked for information regarding the progress being made in establishing a well-ordered community for converting the native people to Christianity. He ordered that interpreters collect a geographic description of all the parts of the region and the distances between settlements. The report was to detail the Spanish and Indian populations of every town and to identify which Spaniards had participated in the conquest and settlement, and which were still living. An account of agricultural potential of the land and of the presence of mines was to be included, as were recommendations regarding the distribution of native Peruvians in the service of the conquistadores, and of the Spaniards who would continue to arrive as settlers.⁹² As we will see in the next chapter, Pizarro was nowhere near Tumbez at that time, and he was acting nothing like the colonial governor he had agreed to become.

⁹¹ Months before Pizarro led his forces into the Andean highlands, a royal order was sent to Panama to prohibit Spaniards from taking natives from that region to sell in Peru, which was reportedly already taking place (AGI Panama 234 L.5 F.25V-26R [1532]).

⁹² AGI Patronato 185 R.5 [1533].

5

Two Roads to Cajamarca

We seized that lord [Atahualpa] through a miracle from God . . . our forces were not sufficient to capture him, nor to do what we did, except that God miraculously wished to give us the victory against him and his army.

—Gaspar de Marquina, 1533¹

When Francisco Pizarro left Spain to colonize Peru, he carried a royal contract that looked to the future in economic and political terms, with none of the millenarian anticipation that Protestants were now preaching across the German principalities of Charles V's Holy Roman Empire. The document spoke of future profits, not prophecy, and most of the Spaniards who joined up with Pizarro in Spain and Panama were motivated by the prospect of building their own estates rather than the new Jerusalem. As we will see, in Peru, Pizarro led his men away from the promises of the colonist's path and turned his back on his coastal domain to risk everything in the Andean highlands. The colonists became conquistadores. When they were not annihilated in their first engagement with the warlord Atahualpa, they began to represent their very survival as evidence of divine support for their venture, which had clearly failed to uphold the terms of Pizarro's royal contract. Spanish victories at the highland Inca cities of Cajamarca (1532) and Cuzco (1536) became modern versions of the legendary medieval battles of Covadonga and Clavijo, providing miraculous evidence that Catholic Spain was the ordained nation to strike fear into infidel hearts and earn the admiration of all humanity.²

¹ In Oesterreicher (1999:495 [1533]).

² Xérez (1989 [1534, prologue]).

This positive vision of a Catholic empire contrasted with the nightmare that Inca nobles and other Andean peoples experienced following Huayna Capac's death, as a civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa ripped the empire apart. As we will soon see, Atahualpa's frontier veterans destroyed the conscript armies from Cuzco that Huascar had sent to face them. The defeat of the Inca capital left the fate of Cuzco's old Inca nobility in doubt. The Incas easily interpreted the successive waves of disease and war that battered their world as a turning point for the imperial dynasty, and some believed that the foreign invaders who had appeared on the coast might be apocalyptic agents bringing an end to the present universal cycle. As these *viracochas* moved into the Inca realm, months of tentative interactions made it clear that they were men who intended to establish a new order in the Andes, although it was uncertain what role the Incas of Cuzco and Quito might play in it. The dramatic encounter at Cajamarca, on November 16, 1532, was the culmination of months of doubt for both Spaniard and Inca, a flowing together of two worlds that promised a radically different future for all who survived the collision. To understand the fear and expectation that filled both parties as they went to the fateful encounter, it is helpful to follow Francisco Pizarro and Atahualpa on their two roads to Cajamarca.

Broken Promises

Even before Pizarro sailed from Spain, it was clear that he would not fulfill the terms of his royal contract. His expedition to colonize Peru was supposed to take 150 men from Spain who had official approval to make the journey, and all the supplies necessary to set up the colony. Now a knight of Santiago and the governor of a newly discovered realm, Pizarro traveled from Toledo to his hometown of Trujillo, hoping to recruit friends and relatives to join him in the kingdom that would be called New Castile (Nueva Castilla). Despite promising rich *encomiendas*, Pizarro was able to convince only seventeen men to leave Trujillo with him, including his three half-brothers, Hernando, Juan, and Gonzalo. Another nineteen men from the surrounding region of Extremadura joined the company, but Pizarro was well short of the 150 men he was contractually obliged to take with him from Spain. The governor and his colonists made their way to Seville, where Pizarro spent three months fitting out ships for the voyage, negotiating with royal officials, and trying to recruit more men. In the end, he was only able to cobble together a

group of 120 men, including royal officials and a handful of Dominican friars, who would minister to the colonists and work to convert the native population. Warned that royal officials were coming to inspect his ships—and that he would not be permitted to sail without the agreed-upon complement—Pizarro left immediately for the Canary Islands. His brother Hernando remained behind with the other two ships. He was given permission to sail only after lying to the royal inspectors about how many men were aboard the vessel that was already at sea.³

This early violation of Pizarro's royal contract set the tone for the expedition that followed. Pizarro had been told to pass through the Caribbean on his way to Panama, to recruit a hundred additional men and acquire horses. Instead, the ships sailed for Santa Marta on the coast of Colombia. When the governor there warned them that they were going to "a bad land with nothing to eat but serpents and lizards and dogs," several of Pizarro's men deserted.⁴ Pizarro continued on to the Panamanian port of Nombre de Dios, shorter of men than before his unsanctioned departure from Spain.

In Panama, Pizarro informed his partners Diego de Almagro and Fernando de Luque of the details of the contract he had hammered out at court, in which he had secured only modest titles and incomes for them. The relationship between Pizarro and Almagro was already strained, and this news worsened things to the point that many in Panama feared open conflict. Tensions were amplified as Pizarro's brothers and the new recruits clashed with the men of Almagro's faction, who had protected their mutual interests against other would-be conquistadores in Panama. The growing rift must have cast a shadow over the recruitment of almost a hundred more men from among Panama's desperate and disgruntled Spaniards. In taking on these men, Pizarro had almost certainly violated his written instructions, which stated clearly that he was to take no more than twenty men from Panama, other than those who had sailed with him previously.⁵ Although he had been ordered to settle a Peruvian colony within a year's time, Pizarro remained in Panama for six months after that deadline passed.⁶

³ Information on Pizarro's recruitment comes from Stirling (2005). Pedro Pizarro, a cousin of the governor, accompanied the expedition as a youth, and narrated the story of the departure (1921:142–143 [1571]).

⁴ Pizarro (1921:143 [1571]).

⁵ AGI Indiferente 415 L.1 F. 119R–124R [July 26, 1529].

⁶ Cf. Mena (1930:218 [1534]).

At the end of 1530, he finally set sail for Peru, carrying an expired contract to lead what was already a compromised expedition. The new company consisted of only 180 Spaniards—a force barely larger than the one Pizarro had taken on his first disastrous voyage. This figure would be much greater if it included the unknown number of sailors, Andean interpreters, and enslaved men and women that the conquistadores brought with them from Spain and Panama.⁷ The ships also carried thirty-seven horses, several attack dogs, and a quantity of artillery, all of which would play strategic roles in the early colonization and conquest.⁸

Tawantinsuyu Unbound

Part of the reason that Charles V had approved a scheme for colonizing Peru with only 250 men was that he understood the Inca world to be a peaceful, civilized place, where native lords would welcome his colonists and facilitate the work of his priests. Yet by the time Francisco Pizarro departed from Panama, Huayna Capac's sons had unraveled the sovereign order that bound the Inca Empire together, and the armies of Atahualpa and Huascar were on the march. Having attempted to appropriate his father's sacred powers in Quito, Atahualpa now sought to use his armies to show that he was truly an Inca lord with no equal. Unlike his great-grandfather Pachacuti, who extended his imperial reach by directing the violent force of his subjects outward from Cuzco, Atahualpa sent his captains on the imperial highway toward the center of the empire, commanding them to destroy Huascar's supporters and punish all who stood in their way. Atahualpa's statue accompanied those troops through the highlands of the Chinchaysuyu province; the warlord himself followed behind at the head of a second army.

In Cuzco, Huascar continued to issue orders to his subjects, making grandiose pronouncements of imminent victory as he demanded repeated levies of troops from his tribute-paying subjects. When word came that the forces of Quito were advancing southward on the royal highway, some of Huascar's noble advisers debated whether they should abandon Cuzco, as Viracocha

⁷ See Xérez (1989:69 [1534]) on 180 men. Pizarro was permitted to take fifty black slaves with him without paying duties; and at least four other men (Alonso Riquelme, Domingo de Soraluze, García de Salcedo, and Pedro de Candía) were allowed to bring two slaves each (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F.2V., 10R., 14, 15V., 58V. [1529]).

⁸ See Xérez (1989:69 [1534]) on the horses.

Inca had done during the legendary Chanca invasion. Huascar and his lords determined that another army should be sent out to stop Atahualpa's captains. After making the appropriate sacrifices, the Inca ordered a new levy of troops from all the highland provinces still serving him. These soldiers marched from Cuzco under the command of Huascar's brother, Huanca Auqui, accompanied by other noble Incas and highland lords.⁹ Huanca Auqui led his vanguard forward quickly toward Tomebamba, clashing with Atahualpa's captains Chalcochima and Quisquis in the Chinchaysuyu highlands. The engagements that followed were disastrous for the forces from Cuzco. Atahualpa's frontier veterans easily defeated Huanca Auqui's advance forces, and they scattered the new conscripts who arrived to reinforce Huascar's commander. Chalcochima and Quisquis became so accustomed to victory that they began to send only small advance guards to press their enemies southward toward Cuzco. Thinking that Huascar's army would not turn from their retreat to fight them effectively, the captains from Quito led their main army slowly through the Inca highland provinces, seeking out local leaders, to enlist their support or to punish their loyalty to Huascar.

When thousands of relief troops came up from Cuzco, Huanca Auqui was able to regroup and defeat the Quito vanguard. But his inexperienced soldiers pursued them into an ambush after Chalcochima and Quisquis orchestrated a strategic retreat with their main force. The result was another crippling loss for Huascar's army. Casualties mounted as Atahualpa's troops pressed closer to Cuzco. Huanca Auqui's retreating army emptied imperial storehouses and tore down bridges to slow the advance of their enemies. The bloody battles took their toll on both armies, and even the victorious Quito forces were diminished and exhausted and needed time to regroup and resupply before continuing. Huanca Auqui finally retreated across and then burned the bridge near the highland center of Vilcashuamán, located less than two weeks' march from Cuzco. As the Quito army left its baggage behind and moved off the road to seek a place to ford the river, Huanca Auqui sent a final appeal to Huascar for reinforcements.¹⁰

⁹ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 73]) estimates an army of 80,000, which he says fought Atahualpa's army near Tomebamba. Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chaps. 7, 8]) says the vanguard was 15,000, supported by three additional reinforcement armies of 30,000 each. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 63]) briefly describes the advance of the Quito army toward Cuzco, which he treats as a more equal set of engagements in which the Cuzco armies sometimes had the advantage.

¹⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 7]); cf. Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 39]), Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 64]).

Having spent weeks dispatching new troops from Cuzco—and in return receiving only news of their slaughter—Huascar despondently ordered all his men to assemble in Cuzco for a great drunken feast, which lasted for two days. He then commanded Cuzco's noblemen to raise an army of 50,000 fighters and march it against the forces of Quito, while he remained in the capital.¹¹ These soldiers joined the remnants of Huanca Auqui's army. The Inca captains plotted a desperate strategy to defeat the advancing rebel forces. While provincial lords who were loyal to Huascar raided the baggage train that traveled behind the Quito army, the remaining Cuzco soldiers marched to confront Chalcochima and Quisquis, hoping to destroy their army in open battle. The two forces met near nightfall on a remote road through the Chanca lowlands, and the Inca captains from Cuzco agreed to postpone the battle until the following day. The Quito commanders sent spies into Huascar's camp, and when they learned that the Cuzco army was poorly protected, they ordered a surprise attack just before daybreak. The Quito veterans had used this stratagem successfully in the unconventional warfare fought along the northern frontier, and they slaughtered Huascar's army, scattering its fleeing survivors.

The Cuzco commanders sent messengers back to the capital to warn Huascar. They found the Inca drunk or sleeping off the effects of another of his constant drinking bouts. When informed of the defeat, Huascar ordered all the men, women, and children who remained in the city to gather so that they could go out to face their enemies. Cuzco's noble residents were terrified to learn that the ancient city faced imminent destruction. Rather than take up his sovereign duty as military commander, Huascar had used his ceremonial role to distract the city's populace from the coming danger, plying them with lavish public festivals and drunken celebrations.¹² The Inca tried to calm their cries with assurances that he would rip his enemies to shreds, no matter how large an army came against him. In that moment, the Inca women of Cuzco truly appreciated the fatal inadequacies of their ruler, recognizing that "Huascar was but a young man who, since childhood, had more experience with drinking than in the things of war and that he had few

¹¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 8]). This figure should be approached comparatively: Huascar was able to raise the same size force that Pachacuti and Tupa Inca Yupanqui had for their once-in-a-generation campaigns of expansion (about 150,000 total), but he delegated the command and sent smaller armies out under the command of distant relatives, who were defeated.

¹² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 12]).

men. They knew the power of the enemy and above all that Huascar was not given to accepting advice or counsel and that he was governed only by his will.”¹³ The Inca’s blustering promises of victory only increased their sense of doom.

When his last troops had mustered in Cuzco and departed westward to the Jaquijaguana Valley, Huascar finally left Cuzco as a military commander, following behind his army with his last surviving Inca nobles. He put his soldiers in order and went ahead of them in his litter, accompanied by a guard of 5,000, hoping to lure the Quito forces into an undisciplined attack on him (Figure 5.1). At first, Huascar’s men were able to drive their enemies back, but Chalcochima and Quisquis sent 6,000 of their best and bravest men against them, veteran warriors who wore quilted cotton armor and helmets and carried shields. They would crush their enemies in hand-to-hand combat with axes, clubs, maces, and other blunt-force instruments.¹⁴ But first, these elite troops used their training and battle experience to draw Huascar into an ambush so the Quito army could take him captive. They wounded him seriously and destroyed his bodyguard, and Chalcochima allowed his men to plunder Huascar’s belongings and shred the royal garments he had worn into battle.¹⁵

The Quito captains took Huascar’s tunic and royal insignias and dispatched runners to carry them back to Atahuallpa. They then used the captured Inca’s litter to trick the approaching Cuzco army. Chalcochima mounted Huascar’s litter—desecrating the symbol of Inca supernatural authority—and ordered 5,000 of his men to assemble in a formation so that they would appear to be Huascar’s bodyguard. They marched back to where the Cuzco army was, and Quisquis’s soldiers pretended to pursue them. The Cuzco commanders fell for the deception, and when they learned that Huascar had been defeated and was being held prisoner, they turned and fled. The Quito troops pursued them all the way to Cuzco, where they captured almost all the surviving Inca lords.¹⁶ Huascar had lost the sacred center of the Inca universe.

¹³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 12]).

¹⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 14]). Such armor and weaponry would not have been carried by ordinary conscripts, who were farmers and herders unaccustomed to organized fighting.

¹⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 14]); compare with Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1574, chap. 65]).

¹⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 14–15]); compare with Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 40]).



Figure 5.1. Huascar Inca in his litter, from the Getty Manuscript by Martín de Murúa, c. 1616 (Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, fol. 84.).

Darkness in Cuzco

At first, Atahualpa's commanders from Quito offered generous terms to the Incas who had supported Huascar. Assembling the people of Cuzco, they proclaimed that all would be pardoned—even those who had fought against them—if they pledged obedience to Atahualpa within ten days.¹⁷ The

¹⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chap. 18]).

people of Cuzco were to offer their respects to the statue of Atahualpa that had traveled from Quito on the campaign, a figure called *tisci capac*, “King of the Universe’s Foundation.”¹⁸ Almost all the people living in the capital region came forward to pledge within the allotted time. Huascar’s household was not offered this chance at redemption. Its members were imprisoned until they could face Atahualpa’s judgment, which came swiftly.

A few weeks after the Quito army took control of Cuzco, Atahualpa’s brother-in-law, Cusi Yupanqui arrived there, carried in a litter by runners. He debriefed Chalcochima and Quisquis and dismissed them from the city, and then summoned the lords of Cuzco to announce his warlord’s justice.¹⁹ Telling the residents of Cuzco that Atahualpa loved them, Cusi Yupanqui ordered the Inca nobility to send people to all quarters of the empire to find all the wives and children of Huascar who had eluded capture. They were also to apprehend the Inca’s male relatives, military commanders, and the lords of Cuzco who supported him.²⁰ Many were tracked down, bound, and returned to the capital as prisoners; others took their own lives, knowing better than to expect mercy from Atahualpa. Because many of Huascar’s close relatives were members of Huayna Capac’s household, several of his younger half-sisters were interrogated and released, but women who were pregnant by Huascar or had carried his children remained in custody.

With Huascar’s household imprisoned, Cusi Yupanqui ordered stakes to be erected on both sides of the royal highway leading from Cuzco to Quito. Holding aside Huascar’s general Huanca Auqui and a few other captains—who were to be sent to Atahualpa as trophies—he had all the prisoners tortured and executed, ordering that their bodies be set on the stakes, left unburied so that wild birds and foxes would consume them.²¹ Without wives, children, and kin to help him rule and perpetuate his memory, Huascar was finished as Inca.

¹⁸ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 65]) adds that Atahualpa’s captains sent a messenger to Cuzco “to tell the crying inhabitants not to be afraid, since they understood that the war had been between brothers, caused by their particular passions.”

¹⁹ Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chap. 18]).

²⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chap. 18]); cf. Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 40]).

²¹ Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chap. 18]); cf. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1550s, chap. 67]), who says the purge extended to royal households allied with Huascar. Descendants of Tupa Inca Yupanqui were killed, and their ancestral mummy was burned. The Quito commanders killed many of the Chachapoyas and Cañaris living around Cuzco.

After destroying the house of the defeated emperor, Cusi Yupanqui made two startling announcements to Atahualpa's captains. First, he revealed that the victorious warlord did not intend to come to Cuzco to reign there as Inca. Instead, he would return to Quito to establish a new Cuzco there with the survivors of the old imperial nobility. The people of Cuzco and the surrounding countryside were ordered to abandon their ancestral homeland and relocate to Atahualpa's capital in the north. Having proclaimed the end of Cuzco, Cusi Yupanqui shared the equally unsettling news that had come to Atahualpa from the northern coast: messengers had brought news that the creator Viracocha had returned from the sea, bringing his helpers, *viracochas*, with him. The people of Cuzco were told that Atahualpa received this news with pleasure, and planned to meet the creator on the road to Quito to find out what part he would play in the new era that was surely about to begin.²²

The lords of the Cuzco region absorbed the shocking news that they were to abandon their sacred origin places, their fields, and their villages. They were granted just twenty days to prepare for the journey to the north. The world of the Inca nobility seemed to be at an end. In a day, their ruler's house had been wiped from history, the center of their universe had been moved, and word had come that the creator had returned, for purposes that even Atahualpa could not predict.²³ The surviving Incas of Cuzco raised up their voices to Viracocha: "Oh Creator, who gave life and favor to the Incas, where are you now? How did you permit such persecution to come upon them? Why did you raise them up if they were to have such an end?"²⁴

Cusi Yupanqui dispatched Huascar and the other noble captives to Atahualpa, and he ordered Chalcochima to take his army northward to punish the provincial groups who had not come out to fight with the Quito army. Having done so, he installed a statue of Atahualpa in Cuzco, where it could be served and worshiped. He placed Quisquis in charge of the evacuation of the city and ordered inspections of the surrounding provinces. Cusi Yupanqui then left Cuzco on the Chinchaysuyu road, traveling north to

²² Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chap. 18]); cf. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 68]).

²³ Xérez (1989:122 [1534]) says Atahualpa sent 4,000 households from Cuzco to repopulate Tomebamba.

²⁴ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 66]).

Cajamarca to meet his master Atahualpa, who, unknown to him, was already a prisoner of Francisco Pizarro.²⁵

Advent of the *Viracochas*

By the time Cuzco fell to Atahualpa's captains, reports of Pizarro's return had been spreading across the Andes for more than a year. Pizarro's colonizing expedition had sailed down the Pacific from Panama, keeping well to the west of the coastline, where favorable winds carried them southward quickly.²⁶ In less than two weeks, the ships reached the bay of San Mateo on the Ecuadorian coast, where an earlier expedition had turned back in the face of fierce native resistance. Pizarro was now in an area where Huayna Capac's soldiers had pillaged freely only a few years earlier. Just over 100 miles (160 km) to the east, Atahualpa was busy terrorizing the resistant highland groups of the Quito region. Pizarro and his men disembarked there and proceeded southward on foot, probably to spare their horses from additional time at sea.²⁷ The Spaniards found the region "risen up," and they soon abandoned the fantasy of peaceful colonization that Pizarro carried in his now-expired royal contract.²⁸

²⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1500s, pt. II, chaps. 19, 24]). Atahualpa was free when CusiYupanqui sent Huascar and the other prisoners to Cajamarca (chap. 19), but when he arrived in Cajamarca (chap. 24), CusiYupanqui "entered secretly because he knew that his lord was a prisoner." Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 48]) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 69]) agree with Betanzos that Huascar was killed in Andamarca, a distance of several days' travel from Cuzco, in the Huamachuco region.

²⁶ Early writers (e.g., Benzoni 2017:81 [1565, bk. 3]; Enríquez de Guzmán (1862:89 [1543, chap. 39]), confirm that the best season for the southward voyage was between December and April. A 1534 letter from Martín de Paredes (1959:99–101) recounts how his journey in January 1534 took only ten days, whereas several ships that had left three to four months earlier (in September or October 1533), had only arrived fifteen days ahead of him.

²⁷ Juan Ruíz de Arce (1933:353 [1543]), who followed Pizarro from Guatemala a year or so later, recalls stopping on the Ecuadorian coast in Coaque "to mend the horses, which had come off the sea exhausted."

²⁸ Xérez (1989:69 [1534]). Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:184 [1572, chap. 62]) says that after defeating local resistance in the interior, the Inca army "chased them to their settlements, which were on the seacoast near Coaques. There they seized great quantities of rich spoils and very rich emeralds, turquoises, and large stones of very fine *mullu* [Spondylus shell]."

Andean societies had experienced major changes in the five years since Pizarro had first explored these coastal areas. Attacks by the Spaniards and the Incas had encouraged the coastal groups to protect themselves against raids and more sustained invasions. Diseases brought by the Europeans spread to native populations across the region, especially in densely settled areas. Combined with the Inca and Spanish brutality, the unexpected waves of deadly sickness must have shaken native worldviews. The Spaniards use the defensive stance of the coastal populations as a pretext to make preemptive assaults. When they reached a large coastal town called Coaque, the Spaniards attacked by night and plundered the settlement so that the local people could not return to fight them, as other villages had. Clearly, this was not the kind of peaceful overture that Pizarro's royal contract called for. As the colonists transformed themselves into *conquistadores*, they registered the quick profits at Coaque that came as battle plunder: "15,000 gold pesos and 500 silver marks, and many emerald stones . . . and different kinds of cloth, and many supplies, sufficient to sustain the Spaniards for three or four years."²⁹ Flush with loot and supplies, Pizarro sent his three ships back to Panama and Nicaragua to recruit more soldiers, especially horsemen. He remained in Coaque until two of the ships returned with nearly sixty Spaniards, and then resumed the southward march toward Tumbes, the Inca city where Pizarro was supposed to establish the capital of his colony.

After the assault on Coaque, local leaders came out to meet the Spaniards peacefully, and Pizarro received them eagerly and tried to communicate some basic knowledge of Catholic doctrine.³⁰ Presumably, one of the Dominican priests accompanying the expedition read the "Requerimiento" (Requirement), a Spanish document drafted in 1513 that the Spaniards were expected to read aloud when they encountered native people for the first time.³¹ Assuming that the Andean translators who accompanied Pizarro participated in this reading, it is easy to understand how the myth of Viracocha

²⁹ Xérez (1989:69–70 [1534]). Trujillo (1989:194 [1571]) says the Spaniards knew of the great treasure to be had, and Pedro Pizarro (1921:148 [1571]) agrees that their sneak attack was intended to keep the natives from hiding it.

³⁰ Xérez (1989:70 [1534]).

³¹ The document presented a brief overview of Christian history, the universal power of the pope, and the secular powers of the Spanish monarchs, presenting indigenous people with a choice between accepting Christianity or rejecting it, thereby declaring war on Christians. It was designed as a check on the wanton plunder of Native Americans, but its implementation fell far short of expectations (e.g., Hanke 1936).

could attach itself to the approaching Spaniards.³² The “Requerimiento” opens with a story of universal creation that is reminiscent of the one that the Incas celebrated in their pilgrimage to Lake Titicaca and the ruins of Tiwanaku:

God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and the earth, and one man and one woman, from whom we and you and all men of the world were and are descended and procreated, as well as all who should come after us. Owing to the great number which have come from them . . . it was necessary that some men should go to one part, and others to another, and that they should be divided in many Kingdoms and provinces, those who could not be sustained and preserved in one.³³

Spaniards reading this document claimed a dual identity: they were both the servants of rulers whose sovereign power civilized barbarian peoples and the assistants of a male Creator who had formed the world, made the first people, and dispersed them to their proper places. Such theological and sovereign claims would be easily entwined with Andean creation myths as word of the strangers spread among the Incas.

Passing through the communities of the Ecuadorian coast, the Spaniards reached the island of Puná, located in the head of the Gulf of Guayaquil. Pizarro had heard that Puná was densely peopled—a place where he could acquire treasure and supplies—and he sailed over to the island with his two boats and several reed rafts acquired from the locals.³⁴ Pizarro’s decision to move people, horses, and supplies across two miles of open water came after an enthusiastic reception by Tumbalá, the lord of the island, who held sway over the region and was an enemy of the people of Tumbes. Arriving on a richly adorned raft and accompanied by musicians, Tumbalá greeted the Spaniards with feasts and celebrations, and he gave Pizarro gold and silver. Even though the conquistadores were only about fifty miles (80 km) from Tumbes, Pizarro resolved to remain on the island to wait out the rainy season

³² This is not to say that the young men who had been kidnapped from the Pacific coast did not speak Spanish well by this time. They had been learning Spanish for several years, and some translators had spent nearly two years with Pizarro in Spain.

³³ My translation. Xérez (1989:77 [1534]) explicitly mentions the presentation of the “Requerimiento” in Puechos, 300 miles farther south, where Pizarro “notified them of the Requirement that their majesties had ordered to bring [the natives] to the knowledge and obedience of the Church, and of their majesties.”

³⁴ Xérez (1989:71 [1534]).

and the return of more favorable seas, which might bring him reinforcements and supplies from Central America. Many men in the company had already fallen ill, and Pizarro hoped to continue on to Tumbez at full strength.³⁵

Unfortunately for the Spaniards, the friendly reception that greeted them on Puná was not what it seemed. Tumbalá was a canny political survivor who had long maneuvered to build a base of power on the rich coastal trade routes that ran at the margins of Inca territory. A few years earlier, he had carried out a similar scheme when Inca expansion near Tumbez threatened his networks. Knowing he could not defeat Huayna Capac, Tumbalá sent the Inca rich gifts and promised to serve him. Once the imperial army moved back to the highlands, Tumbalá allegedly murdered the Inca officials who were posted on the island.³⁶ After Huayna Capac's death and the outbreak of the civil war in the highlands, the people of Puná returned to their hostilities with Tumbez, sacking and burning the city, and carrying off three golden statues and a large number of men, women, and children to serve them as slaves.³⁷

Believing themselves to be safe, Pizarro and his men relaxed and lowered their guard. But they received secret messages from the lord of Tumbez, who attempted to convince them not to forge an alliance with his enemies. This warning was timely, as Tumbalá had secretly ordered the island's population to make weapons and prepare for an attack.³⁸ Under the pretext of staging a great celebration, he moved his warriors into position around the place where the Spaniards were lodged. But Pizarro's men became aware of the danger and attacked first, capturing Tumbalá and several local leaders.³⁹ The

³⁵ Xérez (1989:71 [1534]). Diego de Trujillo (1989:195 [1571]) affirms the growing number of sick on the expedition. Benzoni (2017:86 [1565, bk. 3]), Pedro Pizarro (1921:153 [1571]) and Ruiz de Arce (1933:354 [1543]) describe a wart-like growth that afflicted Spaniards passing through that region: painful, bloody, egg-sized boils that formed on the face and body and had to be cut off and treated. Another chronicler mentions foot infections that only healed with difficulty in the humid conditions of the equatorial rainy season.

³⁶ Cieza de León (1864 [1553, chap. 55]; cf. Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572, chap. 46]) says that Pachacuti first brought the island to submission, but Tupa Inca Yupanqui had to reconquer it. Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 62]) and other chroniclers describe Tumbalá's submission to Huayna Capac.

³⁷ Pizarro (1921:153 [1571]); (Trujillo 1989:197 [1571]). Ruiz de Arce (1933:356 [1543]) says that the decisive battle had taken place two months earlier.

³⁸ Xérez (1989:71 [1534]). Ruiz de Arce (1933:355 [1543]) and Trujillo (1989:196–197 [1571]) claim that Tumbalá attempted to drown the Spaniards on their crossing over to Puná, but that his trap had been foiled when people from Tumbez warned Pizarro.

³⁹ Xérez (1989:72 [1534]), cf. P. Pizarro (1921:153 [1571]).

Spaniards looted the lord's residence and passed an anxious night on guard, waiting for a native attack that threatened to overwhelm them. Despite the earlier arrival of sixty men, Pizarro now only had seventy horsemen and a hundred footmen, and they faced the combined force of the entire island. At daybreak, the warriors of Puná gave out a great shout and swarmed the Spanish camp, killing and injuring several men and horses in pitched battle before the cavalry were able to put them to flight.⁴⁰

Over the next three weeks, Pizarro sent his men throughout the island to seize local leaders and suppress further resistance. Ten local lords were captured in this way, and the Spaniards administered a rough justice that would not have been out of place on an Inca battlefield: they burned some of the prisoners alive, and beheaded the rest.⁴¹ As the hostilities were dying down, Hernando de Soto arrived at the island with two ships, horses, more reinforcements, and Juana Hernández, the first Spanish woman to reach Peru.⁴² Since there was little to be gained by staying longer on Puná, Pizarro sent messages to the lord of Tumbez, requesting that he send rafts to convey them to Tumbez, where the Spaniards thought they would join up with Inca allies who would feed them and give them comfortable lodgings.⁴³ Despite his brutality toward native leaders and their people, Pizarro still hoped that native resistance would die down when his men finally reached Inca territory.

Betrayal in Tumbez

The people of Tumbez turned out not to be the friends that Pizarro anticipated. During the fighting on Puná, warriors from the city had raided the

⁴⁰ Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 34]) says that a horse was killed in the battle, and that Pizarro had its body thrown into a crevasse, "so that the Indians of Tumbez would not believe that they had the power to kill horses." Lamana (2008:21–25) discusses how, although the Spaniards were received as men, they intimated that their horses possessed supernatural powers. Ruiz de Arce (1933:357 [1543]) recalls many people dying of disease on Puná, but says that two Spaniards and a horse died in the fighting.

⁴¹ Xérez (1989:72–73 [1534]). Pedro Pizarro (1921:153 [1571]) says the rebel leaders were turned over to the lords of Tumbez, who beheaded them in front of the Spaniards. The choice of burning was a punishment for heretics, a manner of execution that Pizarro had no sanction to impose. Charles V extended burning to witches in his 1532 criminal law (*Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*), which permitted torture as a way of extracting information.

⁴² Trujillo (1989:197 [1571]).

⁴³ Cieza de León (1988 [c. 1553, chap. 35]).

island, settling scores with their old enemies. Considering them allies, the Spaniards let them plunder. When Pizarro sent word that he intended to come to Tumbez, the leading lords of the city debated how to receive them. The Spaniards expected to be received as conquerors, and to fulfill their royal contract by establishing a Spanish municipality and dividing the native population among them. The lords of Tumbez had no desire for the invaders to enter their city, and were determined to resist them. They sent rafts to carry Pizarro's men across the water, but during the short voyage, three ill Spaniards, who were sent ahead in a raft, were taken to a different landing point and killed by their guides. On other rafts, the pilots attempted to drown their passengers and carry off their weapons and supplies.⁴⁴ Their plans revealed, the people of Tumbez fled the city as the Spaniards approached. Pizarro entered and set up a camp in the abandoned palace of the Inca lord. Not knowing that his missing men had been killed, Pizarro sent troops up the valley to search for them, and he dispatched messengers to find the local lords to summon them to come and submit to Spanish rule.

When the Spaniards entered Tumbez in early 1532, they found the Inca city a shell of its former grandeur. Just five years earlier, Pedro de Candía and his companions had seen a thriving imperial port filled with fine houses, temples, and an impressive palace complex. The surrounding valley was well-watered by an extensive irrigation network, and fishing populations brought a rich catch from the coastal waters. Now Tumbez was largely abandoned, and even though the surrounding valley still had excellent prospects for farming and herding, the Spaniards had expected to have abundant Indian bodies to work their lands. But much of the population had either perished in the bloody wars with the people of Puná, or had been struck down by the same plagues that had killed Huayna Capac and many of the Incas of Cuzco. The rest fled the invaders who intended to live in their city and appropriate their labor and the fruits of their lands. Surveying the ruins of the once-thriving center, Pizarro quickly gave up on establishing the well-ordered Spanish town that he had been instructed to settle, concluding that "Tumbez was destroyed, although it had seemed to be a great thing."⁴⁵ He decided to continue southward on the Inca coastal road, seeking a better populated and

⁴⁴ P. Pizarro (1921:157–159); cf. Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 36]); Trujillo (1989:198 [1571]).

⁴⁵ Xérez (1989:76 [1534]). Ruiz de Arce (1933:358 [1543]) says the Spaniards spent four months in Tumbez before moving onward, although he might have remained behind as the main group advanced.

prosperous place in which to establish the first town. Pizarro left a captain in Tumbez to maintain order and receive the reinforcements and supplies that were sailing down the coast, and then proceeded onward with his remaining forces.

Although the royal contract vested Pizarro with broad powers to advance the discovery, conquest, and peopling of Peru, his partners—who were in Panama organizing supplies and reinforcements—lost important privileges when he abandoned the plan to colonize Tumbez. Fernando de Luque had been named and reconfirmed as bishop of Tumbez, with the income and resources appropriate to that honored position. Diego de Almagro had expected to take possession of the palace, an imposing enclosure built by Huayna Capac, with sumptuous painted lodgings, generous patio spaces, and well-watered gardens.⁴⁶ More than twenty other men held grants and titles from the Crown that were specific to the city of Tumbez: for example, Martín Yáñez was to be a scribe for the city council; Rodrigo de Cháves was named a *regidor*; and Alonso Riquelme journeyed from Spain as the royal treasurer of the province of Tumbez.⁴⁷ Pizarro's decision to bypass Tumbez undercut the legal claims of his oldest allies. Such a move might have reflected the desires of the reinforcements who continued to arrive from Panama and Nicaragua, men whose interests were not addressed in the colony charter. There had been no significant seizure of new treasure since Coaque, and new arrivals, who had come to Peru after hearing of those riches, were probably not interested in rebuilding Tumbez in order to receive *encomienda* grants smaller than the ones they had left behind in Nicaragua, Panama, and other places.

Leaving Tumbez in May 1532, Pizarro and his men moved slowly along the Inca road, passing inland through the desert forests of the Amotape hills and stopping at Inca way stations and small towns to reconnoiter the area before continuing. They eventually reached the large town of Poechos in the Chira Valley, where the leaders of the lower valley communities came out to meet them in peace. The Spaniards entered the town and occupied a walled compound. Every day, people brought food for them and their horses, and Pizarro forbade his men from plundering the population of the town or the surrounding area. The arid valley was extensively irrigated. The locals grew

⁴⁶ *Capitulación de Toledo* (1529: sections 6, 8). The description of the palace at Tumbez comes from Xérez (1989:76 [1534]) and Ruiz de Arce (1933:358 [1543]).

⁴⁷ AGI Patronato 276 N.3 R.49 [1529], AGI Patronato 276 N.4 R.126 [1530], AGI Patronato 276 N.3 R.50 [1529]. Other titles are in AGI Lima 565 L.1 [1529]. Among the honorees were the thirteen men who had stayed with Pizarro during his earlier voyage.

large quantities of maize and kept llamas, ducks, and guinea pigs in their homes. Seafood from the abundant coastal waters supplemented the crops and meat the local farmers raised.⁴⁸ Noting a suitable location for a port nearby on the coast, Pizarro thought the valley would be a good place to establish a town.⁴⁹

This was not accomplished without violence. Pizarro learned that the leaders of the upper Chira Valley communities, where gold mines were known to be, would not come to obey him. He sent cavalry and foot soldiers to capture and force them into submission; but he forgave them when they were brought before him. On the coast, some local lords plotted to attack the Spaniards who were bringing the expedition's boats down from Tumbes, and it was only Pizarro's arrival that saved the mariners. This time, Pizarro responded harshly, publicly burning the local lord and many other nobles. News of this brutal punishment spread across the region, terrifying local people, who were learning that the newcomers inflicted punishments similar to those of Atahualpa.⁵⁰

With the local population cowed into submission and all his men gathered in one place, Pizarro conferred with the highest-ranking religious and royal officials, and they agreed to establish a Spanish municipality. They founded a settlement called San Miguel, situated in the middle of a native town called Tangará, a short distance from the coast. Pizarro melted down the gold that he could lay hands on so that he could distribute it to his men and pay off some merchants who had already sailed ships down from Panama with supplies. He sent word of this development back to Almagro in Panama as he assigned lands to forty Spaniards who would settle as San Miguel's founding citizens. These men received *encomiendas* in the name of local leaders whose people would provide the colonists with the labor they needed to live well.⁵¹

Bypassing Tumbes changed the trajectory of Pizarro's expedition in important ways. Once it was clear that his goal was no longer to reach and settle Tumbes, Pizarro began to emphasize the broader aspects of his royal contract: to explore, conquer, and settle the province of Peru as far south as the Chíncha Valley. By leaving only a few dozen men in San Miguel, Pizarro would retain a larger force that could continue to explore Inca lands in search

⁴⁸ Ruiz de Arce (1933:358–359 [1543]).

⁴⁹ Xérez (1989:78 [1534]).

⁵⁰ Xérez (1989:80 [1534]); cf. Trujillo (1989:198 [1571]).

⁵¹ Xérez (1989:81 [1534]); cf. Ruiz de Arce (1933:358–359 [1543]).

of riches. Inca infrastructure must have helped to convince Pizarro to search for wealthier and more powerful lords than the ones he had already met on the coast. Traveling south from Tumbes, the Spaniards found the roads to be wide and well-made, paved along their rougher stretches.⁵² In areas of desert, the Spaniards found water and shelter at Inca way stations that had been built and supplied for the use of soldiers and travelers on state business.⁵³ The Inca road infrastructure made it possible for the Spanish horses to cover great distances quickly. Side roads branching off from the main coastal artery climbed the Pacific valleys into the Andean highlands, and Pizarro's men began to make tentative forays into the mountains. Pizarro soon learned that rich settlements lay along the coastal road, and that a highland road ran parallel to it to a place called Cuzco.⁵⁴

Everything that he had done in nearly a decade exploring the Pacific predicted that Pizarro would use his ships and ground forces to continue southward along the coast, where he already knew there were rich, densely populated valleys.⁵⁵ Instead of taking this path to visit other native cities where Spanish colonists could be settled, Pizarro chose to turn inland, taking a road to almost certain destruction. The natives of Tumbes and the Chira Valley had told him that the highlands were controlled by Atahualpa, a terrifyingly cruel lord, who was in the highland city of Cajamarca with a vast army that could easily kill them all.⁵⁶ Even though Atahualpa was not necessarily reputed to be wealthy, Pizarro resolved to seek him out and make him a Spanish subject. If he could do that, Pizarro thought, the rest of the Andes would be easily pacified.⁵⁷

Refraining from his habitual plundering, Pizarro decided to attempt a risky, but potentially rewarding stratagem: to subjugate an enemy lord as a way of gaining control over his subjects, and perhaps receive a rich ransom along with favorable terms of surrender. Spaniards who knew the chivalric legends of the *Reconquista* understood that a knight could attain heroic status this way. For example, after El Cid had captured the Count of Barcelona, he received a rich ransom, a noble marriage alliance, and his famous sword,

⁵² Xérez (1989:77 [1534]).

⁵³ Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 38]).

⁵⁴ Xérez (1989:81–82 [1534]).

⁵⁵ Xérez (1989:82 [1534]).

⁵⁶ Xérez (1989:82 [1534]). Cristóbal de Mena (1930:220 [1534]) identified Atahualpa not as a king, but as a “great lord,” whose captains had defeated his older brother, Cuzco.

⁵⁷ Xérez (1989:82 [1534]).

Colada. Seizing a noble enemy remained the ultimate deed of old-school chivalry in the early sixteenth century, but it was also a practical course of action for quickly gaining power and wealth. As we have already seen, when Pizarro was in Spain securing titles and royal permission to settle Peru, anyone who followed the news of the world heard how ordinary Spanish soldiers had laid hands on the pope and the king of France, forcing their hostages to agree to a new balance of power.⁵⁸ Pizarro learned first-hand from Hernán Cortés how he had held the emperor Moctezuma prisoner in his own capital, Tenochtitlán, as the explorer recruited the native allies who fought with him in the campaign that brought down the Aztec Empire (1519–1521). Pizarro himself had a personal history of hostage-taking from his time in Panama and Nicaragua, where it was common practice to seize local caciques and force them to pay a ransom (*rescate*) of gold or slaves.

Although he did not have a nuanced sense of the distribution of power in the Andean world, Pizarro had learned the names of some of the most important coastal and highland centers, probably while being told about the Incas. His 1529 royal contract named Tumbez and the powerful coastal kingdom of Chinchá as part of Pizarro's colony in Peru. Other documents from that time referred to Huayna Capac's estate city of Tomebamba, which the Spaniards were supposed to settle within six months after they had colonized Tumbez.⁵⁹ By the time the people of Tumbez had warned Pizarro about Atahualpa, the Spaniards already knew of a province called Cozcoz (Cuzco), although they were not certain whether that rich highland city fell within Pizarro's jurisdiction.⁶⁰ The early mention of Inca centers in

⁵⁸ After King Francis I was captured at the Battle of Pavia (1525), he remained a Spanish hostage until early 1526, when he signed the Treaty of Madrid, in which the French renounced extensive territorial claims. During the 1527 Sack of Rome, Pope Clement VII surrendered to the imperial troops, who held him for six months, until he agreed to pay a rich ransom and surrender various papal cities.

⁵⁹ AGI Lima 565 L. 1 f. 1 [1529]; AGI Patronato 276 N.3 R.47 [1529]; AGI Patronato 276 N.3 R.59 [1529]; AGI Patronato 276 N.3 R.70 [1529]. Rodrigo de Mazuelas, Bartolomé de Grado, and Juan de Moldes were named *regidores* "in the town of Tumipompa, which is in the jurisdiction that we have entrusted to the Captain Francisco Pizarro." Pizarro's Spaniards learned the name of Huayna Capac's palace town in Ecuador when they reached Tumbez. Cristóbal de Peralta described Tumbez and "Tomipapa" as "very great cities," although he could not name other Andean population centers (AGI Patronato 150 N.3 R. 2 f. 6 v. image 58/98 [1528]).

⁶⁰ AGI Panama 234 L.5 F.34R. In a royal *cédula*, signed in Spain in June 1532, Diego de Almagro received permission to take cattle to Tumbez "and to the province of Cozcoz [*sic*], if it should be colonized." This suggests that Almagro, who was in Panama, had heard of Cuzco long before Pizarro reached Tumbez.

mountains suggests that Pizarro understood that highland rulers were the ones who held dominion over the coast. He might have contemplated seeking the lord of Peru in the Andes during the long years he spent organizing his third expedition.

Atahualpa's Descent

As the Spaniards slowly made their way down the Pacific coast in the first half of 1532, Atahualpa was never more than a few hundred miles away, monitoring the progress of the violent invaders even as he was pursuing efforts to legitimize himself as Inca. In Quito, his representatives held the frontier and built his estates and royal household, while his captains Chalcochima and Quisquis advanced on Cuzco to destroy Huascar and relocate the imperial heartland to the north. With his representatives and statues standing in for him, Atahualpa moved through the highlands with his bodyguard, visiting his towns and provinces so that he could preside over festivities, inspections, and the judgment of his subjects.⁶¹ The warlord needed to be *seen* as Inca, doing the things that an unchallenged sovereign does: mingling with his vassals, relaxing, hunting, and communing with powerful *huacas* that resided on the Andean landscape.

Of course, his newly subjugated realm was not at peace, and being of a vengeful mind, Atahualpa also ordered horrific acts of violence as he passed through resistant areas. In the lands of the once-rebellious Cañaris, he condemned a group of prisoners to being buried alive in an enclosed plot, as if they were ornamental plants in a garden: "He said that he planted that garden with people of evil hearts. He wished to see if they would produce their evil fruit and works."⁶² In the Palta highlands, the local people remained unconquered, and Atahualpa allowed his soldiers to plunder their lands to feed themselves, during which time they were to capture and execute the entire population, including the elderly and pregnant women. The army blazed a trail of bloodshed from Palta lands to the province of Guambo, a distance of roughly 120 miles (190 km), destroying local communities and taking their women for the pleasure of the military commanders and lords

⁶¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 9]).

⁶² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 9]).

who traveled with Atahualpa.⁶³ From Guambo, Atahualpa went with his army to the Pacific coast, where the Zaña Valley had risen up in rebellion. He captured and executed the people of the valley, and then returned to the highlands, stopping at the provincial center of Cajamarca to rest and relax.⁶⁴ Mass executions, rape, and plunder were the new foundations Atahualpa's empire, violent practices that he shared with the approaching Spaniards. Terror achieved the would-be Inca's immediate aims, convincing local leaders to lay down their arms and receive him as their lord. These tactics set the stage for indigenous engagements with Pizarro and his men, who reached the north coast of Peru shortly after Atahualpa's campaign of retribution had swept through.

As he had already done on the northern frontier, Atahualpa followed challenges to his sovereignty with marked efforts to perform as a legitimate Inca. Leaving Cajamarca, he traveled southward to Huamachuco, the next administrative center on the royal highway to Cuzco. After receiving the local lords in peace, Atahualpa ordered that a sacrifice be made on his behalf at Catequil, a mountain representing the force of thunder and lightning, whose oracle site was an important pilgrimage destination.⁶⁵ When asked to prophesy the warlord's future, the elderly man who spoke for the *huaca* counseled a less violent path: "He said the Inca, son of the Sun, should not kill so many people because Viracocha, who had created the people, was angry about it. He wanted him to know that from it no good would come to Atahualpa."⁶⁶ Atahualpa's response was predictably vicious. He declared the sacred mountain an enemy, and ordered his warriors to surround it so that the *huaca* could not escape. When this was done, Atahualpa took a battle-axe in hand and climbed up to the shrine where Catequil's icon was kept. He struck the stone image a mighty blow with the axe, cutting off its head. Not satisfied, Atahualpa had the priestly caretaker of the image brought before him. He beheaded the old man as well.

⁶³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 9]). Xérez (1989:92–1534) repeats the account of the lord of the coastal Zaña Valley, who said that Atahualpa's soldiers took 600 women and children for themselves when they killed 80% of the men in the valley.

⁶⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 10]).

⁶⁵ John Topic (1998; see also Topic and Topic 1993; Topic, Topic, and Cava 2002) has written on this shrine and its place in the broader Huamachuco region in Inca times. See *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:19–20 [16th c.]).

⁶⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 16]).

Having killed a *huaca*, Atahualpa wished to destroy its lingering power. His men brought loads of grass and wood, and they burned the headless remains of the stone *huaca* and its priest. On the following day, Atahualpa ordered his men to take the charred stone and bone that remained and grind them to dust. The pulverized remains were then cast into the wind from the top of the mountain.⁶⁷ As his men completed the obliteration of the sacred statue and the holy man who spoke for it, Atahualpa received word that his captains had captured Huascar near Cuzco. In celebration, he said that no person or *huaca* would ever insult him, and he ordered the complete destruction of Catequil's mountain. He ordered that even more wood be brought up to the mountain from the forests below, to make a fire that would flatten the sacred peak. The inferno blazed so brightly in the night that it seemed to bring a second sunrise in the darkest hours, a false dawn for a brutal new era.⁶⁸ Locals said that the fire burned for six weeks.⁶⁹

Turning from his destruction of a rebellious mountain, Atahualpa ordered his brother-in-law Cusi Yupanqui to proceed to Cuzco to preside over his vengeance on Huascar's household and supporters. Atahualpa remained in Huamachuco for three months as his men worked to burn and level Catequil's peak.⁷⁰ While he was there, news came from the coast that Pizarro's expedition had advanced to the coastal town of Tangarará. Pizarro had heard about Atahualpa and had sent four messengers from the local Tallanes people to take gifts to the great lord. The messengers described the Spaniards and their horses to Atahualpa, who conferred with his advisers and decided to leave the Huamachuco area for Cajamarca, where he would await the strange intruders.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 16]).

⁶⁸ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 16]).

⁶⁹ Augustinian friars attested to the burning on the mountain, but they noted that the stone of Catequil had been broken and cast into a river, not ground to dust. After Atahualpa departed, the local people retrieved the pieces and built a house for their worship, but they moved them to a cave when the Spaniards arrived in the highlands (*Primeros Agustinos* 1992:20 [16th c.]).

⁷⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 17]).

⁷¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 17]). Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 68]) offers a similar narrative.

Strange Tidings

History's significant moments often only come into focus in hindsight, and this is particularly true for Inca history, which was written for the first time during the ongoing ruptures of conquest and colonization, as the Incas and Spaniards wrestled with what had happened and what it signified for their own futures. When we consider how the Incas preserved the histories of their rulers, it is not surprising that Atahualpa's receiving the news of Pizarro would stand out as a significant moment in the narrative, one that would need to be placed alongside the accounting of the ruler's conquests and achievements. It also should come as no shock that indigenous sources collected in different places and times situated that first moment of Inca awareness of foreign invasion at different meaningful places in the story of the Spanish conquest.

Juan de Betanzos, whose account we have been following closely in recent chapters, interviewed his Inca in-laws in the early 1550s, a generation after Pizarro's arrival. By that time, Spaniards and Incas had a well-established understanding of how those events related to the advent of Catholicism and Spanish colonial administration. Betanzos foreshadowed the Spanish conquest at the very beginning of his narrative, when the creator Viracocha disappeared into the Pacific Ocean at Puerto Viejo, where the Spaniards had first appeared to Inca populations in 1526.⁷² His chronicle also attributed a prophecy of the Spanish invasion to the legendary empire-builder Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui.⁷³ Having sown the seeds of Inca apocalypse, the chronicler situated the news of Pizarro's approach at two significant moments for the Incas. After Huayna Capac died of a mysterious illness without leaving a clear heir, messengers from the coast arrived carrying strange trade goods and surprising news of the arrival of bearded white men in Tumbes. The messengers learned that Huayna Capac had expired just as they were arriving with their world-changing news.⁷⁴

⁷² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 2]).

⁷³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 29]).

⁷⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I chap. 48]). The chronicler observes that this would have corresponded to the first successful voyage down the coast in 1526, the one in which Diego de Almagro complained of the loss of Spanish lives to the diseases brought by men newly arrived from Castile. After mentioning Pizarro, Betanzos returns to the description of Huayna Capac's death, which he uses to end the first part of his history.

Elsewhere in the same chronicle, new tidings of the coming Spaniards arrived at the precise moment that Atahualpa learned of his brother Huascar's capture. Messengers from the Tallanes people brought gifts from the strangers: pearls, combs, and mirrors, as well as steel knives and scissors. The Tallanes described the strangers in a way that recalled the account of the creation of the present universe, and when Atahualpa asked what the strangers called themselves, the messengers told him that the local people had come to call them *viracochas*, after the Andean creator. When Atahualpa asked why they used this name, the messengers said that the old men of their communities had told them that after Contiti Viracocha created the first people, he entered the ocean and departed for the north, the direction from which the Spaniards now sailed. Even if the creator Viracocha was not among the approaching strangers, local people called them *viracochas*, the name given to the assistants that the creator sent across the Andes to summon the first people from their origin places.⁷⁵

Betanzos merged the news of the Pizarro expedition with significant moments in the formation and collapse of the Inca dynasty; other writers drawing from indigenous oral histories did the same, although they chose different episodes to foretell the collision of the Spanish and Inca worlds at Cajamarca. Pedro de Cieza de León, a contemporary of Betanzos, said that the first news of Pizarro came to Huayna Capac after he had completed his campaigns in the Quito region. The Inca received reports describing the Spanish ship and the strange clothing the bearded men wore. A few of the Spaniards were left behind on the Pacific coast, and Huayna Capac sent for them, wishing to see to see these strange people with his own eyes.⁷⁶ In this version, Huayna Capac fell ill as Inca soldiers brought the Spaniards close to Quito, and the dying Inca prophesied that the men who came in that ship “would return with great power, and would conquer the country.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 2]). The colonial Inca narrative indicates the interpretation of the cataclysm of 1532 as dynastic—the *viracochas* returned to finish off the Incas whose first ancestors they had summoned forth—rather than universal.

⁷⁶ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 68]).

⁷⁷ Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 68]). The chronicler treats the Inca account as demonic and a false prophecy: “This was probably a fable, and if he said so, it must have been through the mouth of a devil, for who could know that the Spaniards went to arrange their return as conquerors?” A group of Inca quipu specialists (*khipukamayukuna* 1892:42 [1542/1608]) also said that Huayna Capac learned of the Spaniards while he was at Quito, and that he said that great new things would be wrought upon the land, and that Atahualpa faced a great challenge, as he thought the Spaniards were *viracochas*.

Whereas Cieza de León treated the initial news of Pizarro's earlier voyage as momentous, he suggested that both Huascar and Atahuallpa received frequent updates on the Spaniards from the time they reached the northernmost coastal provinces.⁷⁸

By the 1600s, writers had added new details about Huayna Capac's knowledge of the Spaniards, which became more fantastic over time. The indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote in 1615 that the Inca had learned of the early coastal contacts while he was in Cuzco, and that he traveled in his litter to meet and speak with Pedro de Candía in Tumbez.⁷⁹ Giovanni Anello Oliva, an Italian Jesuit writing in 1631, made an even more extravagant claim: Huayna Capac had heard of the Spaniards when they first reached the Pacific coast of Panama in 1513, and the Inca then suspended his northward campaigns out of fear.⁸⁰ Although the seventeenth-century accounts seem incredible, reliable early chroniclers agreed that Inca nobles in Cuzco and Quito were aware of the Spanish arrival in Tumbez, and that Atahuallpa and Huascar tracked Pizarro's progress along the Pacific coast and into the Andean highlands.

Pizarro Ascending

Having determined to capture the Inca warlord or die trying, Pizarro's force left San Miguel in late September of 1532, traveling southward on the coastal Inca road to the hot and humid desert town of Piura, which had been occupied in advance by Juan Pizarro and a group of horsemen. After spending ten days arranging supplies and putting their weapons and armor in order, the invaders entered the Andes on a minor road that rose tortuously from the coastal plain to connect with the highland trunk road.⁸¹ Pizarro began the climb with sixty-two horsemen and 102 foot soldiers, three artillerymen, and twenty crossbowmen. These Europeans were accompanied by a baggage train supported by enslaved men and women from Africa and Central America, and by Andean soldiers and porters whom Pizarro

⁷⁸ Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chaps. 33, 39, 40]).

⁷⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala [c. 1615 f. 370–372]. He also claimed (f. 377–378, 381–385) that both Huascar and Atahuallpa sent emissaries to Tumbez to make peace with the Spaniards, and that his father had been one of Atahuallpa's ambassadors.

⁸⁰ Anello Oliva (1998 [1631, bk. 1, chap. 2.1]).

⁸¹ Xérez (1989:82–83 [1534]).

had convinced or compelled to accompany him.⁸² Entering the Andean foothills, Pizarro passed through towns where recent conquests by Huayna Capac and Atahualpa were still fresh traumas. At Pabor, the local lord told him that Huayna Capac had devastated twenty towns in the area and killed many of his subjects. Eager to set the foreign soldiers against the Incas, the lord furnished an account of all the towns and rulers in the region, as well as a description of the imperial road to Cajamarca.⁸³ Pizarro learned that 2,000 of Atahualpa's soldiers were stationed at a nearby highland center called Cajas. He sent several dozen men under the command of Hernando de Soto to confront them, read them the "Requerimiento," and either accept their submission or face them in battle.⁸⁴ The main Spanish force advanced to the piedmont town of Sarán, where they remained for more than a week, preparing for the climb into the high mountains while Pizarro met with local lords and gathered more information.

The members of the advance party returned safely from Cajas, accompanied by a noble Inca messenger dispatched by Atahualpa. They described how they had pushed hard into the mountains to the small highland valley where the Inca town was located, capturing some people who had come to spy on their progress on the road. They had advanced quickly on the well-made road, and they marveled at the sophisticated bridges that permitted safe passage across turbulent highland rivers, as well as the fine cut-stone masonry used in the buildings at the way stations where they took lodging and food.⁸⁵ At Cajas, the Spaniards encountered evidence of the recent civil war and Atahualpa's violent retribution. The bodies of several recently executed men were hanging by their feet at the entrance to the Inca center, and the local of the valley told of Atahualpa's bloody vengeance against the province after it sided with Huascar.⁸⁶ The local lord was offering the Spaniards some gold and women from the *aqllawasi* cloister when one of Atahualpa's captains came out to meet them, bringing gifts from his lord to be presented

⁸² Xérez (1989:83 [1534]). Spanish accounts of the journey to Cajamarca mention some of the non-Europeans in the party but do not give their number. Xérez suggests that some of the coastal lords sent people with Pizarro, a gesture that would have been familiar to them from Inca conscription practices.

⁸³ Xérez (1989:84 [1534]).

⁸⁴ Trujillo (1989:199 [1571]).

⁸⁵ Xérez (1989:86–88 [1534]).

⁸⁶ Mena (1930:224 [1534]).

to Pizarro.⁸⁷ Directing the invaders away from Cajas, the captain told Soto about the riches of the recently conquered city of Cuzco. He said that the vast palace of the lord there contained a room, where the body of the former ruler (Huayna Capac) was kept, “in which the floor was coated with silver, and the walls and roof made of interwoven plates of gold and silver.”⁸⁸ The account of these fantastic riches came with a clear description of the recent Inca civil war: “Until a year ago, all of those towns had been for Cuzco [Huascar], the son of Old Cuzco [Huayna Capac], until his brother Atabaliba rose up; and he has come conquering the land, taking great tributes and services, and . . . every day he commits great cruelties on them.”⁸⁹

If there had been any confusion about Atahualpa’s sovereignty before, the Spaniards understood then that he was not the Inca, but rather a rebellious tyrant, a warlord who could not legitimately offer the submission of the rich lands of Cuzco to Charles V.⁹⁰ Despite this understanding, the Spaniards engaged in diplomatic exchanges with Atahualpa as both sides sought to learn more about one another. Atahualpa’s emissary brought a message of friendship to Pizarro and presented him with an unusual set of gifts: some pieces of fine cloth; an elaborately sculpted stone drinking cup; and several dried, skinned ducks that were to be ground into a powder and burned as incense.⁹¹ He told Pizarro that Atahualpa awaited them in Cajamarca. Pizarro received the strange offerings from Atahualpa, which might have represented the kind of clothing, drink, and food that Inca priestesses served to royal mummies and *huacas* in Cuzco. It is possible that Atahualpa was uncertain what kinds of men the Spaniards were and sought to test them by

⁸⁷ Xérez (1989:85 [1534]). The chronicler states that Atahualpa had them killed for sexually assaulting the religious women and adolescent girls in the *aqllawasi* cloister, which was still occupied by hundreds of women who were “spinning and making cloth for Atahualpa’s forces.” Cf. Mena (1930:224 [1534]).

⁸⁸ Xérez (1989:85 [1534]). Trujillo (1989:199 [1571]) recalls the Inca captain’s response to the attempted seizure of the girls in the *aqllawasi*.

⁸⁹ Xérez (1989:85–86 [1534]). Ruiz de Arce (1933:359 [1543]) says news of the Inca civil war came to the Spaniards when they were two days’ journey from San Miguel.

⁹⁰ Hernando Pizarro (1968:119 [1533]) wrote to royal authorities that Atahualpa was “son of Old Cuzco and brother of the one who at that time was lord of the land.”

⁹¹ Xérez (1989:88 [1534]) says that these gifts were what “is done among lords of that land.” Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20]) identifies the messenger as Ciquinchara, and says that he met Pizarro at Tangará and accompanied him to the foothills, where Pizarro sent him back to Atahualpa (cf. Ruiz de Arce 1933:359 [1543]; Trujillo 1989:199–200 [1571]). He met the Spaniards a second time two or three days before they reached Cajamarca. Mena (1930:226 [1534]) describes the gifts as well.

seeing if they would consume his gifts in the manner of supernatural beings. Pizarro send the messenger back to Atahualpa with gifts of his own—a shirt and some Castilian trade goods—with a promise to make haste to where he was waiting in Cajamarca.

Ignoring the glaring problem of carrying out diplomacy with a vicious usurper, Pizarro engaged with Atahualpa's representatives as "ambassadors of a great lord" and treated them well. He sent his response: "Tell [Atahualpa] on my behalf what I have said to you, that I will not stop in any town on the road, so that I might arrive quickly to be with him."⁹² Instead of continuing into the mountains, where his advance guard had already seen the roads and local towns, Pizarro returned to the coast, making his way back to the Inca highway and then continuing swiftly south. Along the route, he lodged in Inca way stations and met with the local lords, who came out peacefully and shared information about Atahualpa's whereabouts. Local cooperation seemed to give out in the Zaña Valley, where several towns showed hostility and refused to parlay with Pizarro out of their fear of Atahualpa.⁹³ Pizarro captured and tortured a local nobleman, who told him that the Inca warlord had sent troops prepared for battle. One company had gone to the Andean foothills; one waited in the highlands; and a third remained with Atahualpa in Cajamarca. The lord of Zaña said that Atahualpa had 50,000 soldiers with him, a force that had recently swept through the region, killing thousands of men and taking women and children as plunder.⁹⁴

After leaving San Miguel, Pizarro made no attempt to establish another Spanish settlement or fort near the coast, even though the lords of the fertile and formerly well-populated valleys had come out in peace, either because of their fear of Spanish cruelty or their hopes of vengeance against Atahualpa. Instead of acting as a colonial governor, Pizarro maintained his troop strength for a confrontation with an Inca lord who lacked the sovereign standing to become a princely vassal of Charles V. From the Zaña Valley, Pizarro sent a Tallane lord from the San Miguel area to Atahualpa carrying a very different message from what a true sovereign would hear when the "Requerimiento" was read. Pizarro instructed the coastal lord to tell Atahualpa and his people how well the Christians treated the local lords,

⁹² Xérez (1989:89 [1534]).

⁹³ Xérez (1989:91 [1534]). Trujillo (1989:199 [1571]) describes Zaña as a large settlement with abundant stores of food and rough cloth.

⁹⁴ Xérez (1989:91–92 [1534]).

and to say that they only made war when attacked. If Atahualpa met him with goodwill, Pizarro “would be his friend and brother, and would favor him and help him in his war.”⁹⁵

Knowing that Atahualpa was not the Inca king, and that he committed atrocities in his fight against the rightful sovereign in the Andes, Pizarro nevertheless offered an alliance wherein the Spaniards would become his military auxiliaries. Instead of serving as Spain’s vanguard of Christian conversion, Pizarro proposed to act as the enforcer of a pagan warlord, fighting to advance his grand plan of vengeance and terror. Reaching an important crossroads on the Inca road, Pizarro once again turned his force toward the Andes and confrontation with Atahualpa. Many of the men in the company opposed this reckless gambit, preferring to continue along the coastal road toward Chíncha rather than cross the high mountain passes to face an army already blood-drunk from a brutal campaign.⁹⁶ Pizarro told them that Atahualpa had been expecting them to come to him since they left San Miguel; if they changed course, the people of the coast would stop cooperating with them. Leaving a rear guard with his baggage, Pizarro led his men into the mountains.

The ascent into the Andes was difficult. The cavalry had to dismount and lead the horses along narrow trails so steep that some sections were paved as stone staircases. The horses, hot from the climb out of the desert lowlands, became chilled as the temperatures dropped. Caught between the dangerous invaders and Atahualpa’s wrath, local communities fled the approach of the Spaniards, who captured those they could and tortured them for information. Pizarro climbed to elevations higher than any mountain in Spain and then sent for his rear guard, while his soldiers made camp, pitching the cotton tents they had brought up from the coast. After almost two years of enduring the heat of tropical swamps and coastal deserts, the expedition faced an unfamiliar cold in the high tundra that spread out below the snowcapped peaks.⁹⁷

Atahualpa’s messengers came to the Spaniards in those desolate highlands, bringing them food and drink. They asked when Pizarro planned to arrive in Cajamarca, and claimed that Atahualpa wished to ensure that the

⁹⁵ Xérez (1989:92–93 [1534]). Trujillo (1989:200 [1571]) says Pizarro sent gifts to Atahualpa, who demanded restitution for what the Spaniards had taken from Inca towns and way stations. He sent a Venetian glass cup, shoes and shirts from Holland, and some beads.

⁹⁶ Xérez (1989:93 [1534]).

⁹⁷ Xérez (1989:95–96 [1534]).

Spaniards were well-supplied. From Atahualpa's perspective, Pizarro had already declared himself a vassal, answering the Inca's summons; and as a subject providing service, he was to be fed from the Inca's stores, just as soldiers, artisans, and ordinary laborers were. While conferring with the messenger, Pizarro questioned him about the Inca civil war, and he was again told explicitly that Atahualpa was not the legitimate ruler, but rather a younger son of Huayna Capac who had been given the domain of Quito, and nothing more. His claim to sovereignty rested on the assertion that his older brother Huascar, the lord over all other Inca lands, had triggered the civil war by killing Atahualpa's messengers when they came to ask that he be left in control of Quito.⁹⁸ Pizarro, an illiterate man who had held his noble title for just three years, gave his self-serving opinion of the situation. He announced to the messenger that Atahualpa was justified in rebelling: "Since his brother was not content with what he had, he wanted to diminish your lord from the state in which his father had left him." Pizarro learned that Huascar was now a prisoner and would soon arrive under guard in Cajamarca, and that Atahualpa now controlled Huayna Capac's realm.⁹⁹ He declared that Huascar's death and loss of property were just punishment for his pride and unchecked ambition.¹⁰⁰

Speaking with the messengers, Pizarro made no pretense of believing in Atahualpa's sovereign status. Instead, he focused on placing his small fighting force on stronger footing with the warlord. Although he acknowledged that Atahualpa was a great lord and mighty warrior, Pizarro made it clear that he represented a higher power: "My lord is the Emperor, king of the lands of Spain and of all the Indies and Tierra Firme, lord of all the world. He has many subjects who are more powerful than Atahualpa, and his captains have defeated and captured many lords who were greater than Atahualpa and his brother and father." Pizarro said that his world emperor had sent the conquistadores to the Andes so that all who lived there would learn of God and submit to obedience. Pizarro claimed that, with his small handful of valiant Christians, he had defeated more powerful rulers than Atahualpa, but repeated his offer to form an alliance with the warlord: "If he should wish my friendship and receive me in peace, as other lords have done, I will be a

⁹⁸ Xérez (1989:96–98 [1534]) preserves a short account of the civil war, which affirms the general features of the Inca narratives seen in the 1550s accounts of Betanzos and Cieza de León.

⁹⁹ H. Pizarro (1968:121 [1533]).

¹⁰⁰ Xérez (1989:98 [1534]).

good friend to him and I will help him in his conquest.” Atahualpa would be left in place as Inca, while Pizarro would continue conquering across South America, until he reached the Atlantic Ocean. If it came to war, the Spaniards would unleash the same violent destruction they had visited on the lords of Puná and Tumbez.¹⁰¹

Pizarro’s blustery claims exaggerated Spanish power. Charles V was not the lord of all the world, and Pizarro had met defeat repeatedly at the hands of local chiefs who were much weaker than Atahualpa. To the Inca listeners, the tone of such a speech might have led to some confusion and hesitation as it was translated into Quechua, which probably was not the native tongue of Pizarro’s Andean interpreters.¹⁰² As he bluffed his way toward Cajamarca, Pizarro unwittingly talked about the advent of the Christians in ways that resonated in the language of Andean creation, power, and cataclysm. Shortly after this exchange, another messenger from Atahualpa arrived with several gold cups that he filled with maize beer, saying that his lord would receive Pizarro in peace at Cajamarca, as a friend and brother.¹⁰³ This messenger was the same one who had brought gifts to Pizarro earlier, and after he repeated Atahualpa’s wish that the Spaniards should come to Cajamarca, he traveled with them, observing the invaders as they neared their encounter with his lord.

Confrontation in Cajamarca

Atahualpa waited for Pizarro at Cajamarca, receiving regular reports as the strange invaders sped up their advance. It had taken the Spaniards a year and a half to move from the Ecuadorian coast to Tanagerá, where they founded San Miguel, and they had made long stops as they waited for ships to bring more men, horses, and supplies. After leaving San Miguel, however, they began to move quickly and unpredictably, covering hundreds of miles over

¹⁰¹ Xérez (1989:98–99 [1534]). Hernando Pizarro (1968:121 [1533]) said that Pizarro sent word to Atahualpa “that if there was any lord who did not care to give him [Atahualpa] obedience, he [Pizarro] would help him to conquer them.”

¹⁰² In Quechua, *pacha* means “world” and “universe,” and “lord” can be translated as *yaya* or *qhapaq*. So “lord of all the world” can be translated as “father/king of all the universe.” Likewise, if “God” is translated directly as “Viracocha,” then “knowledge of God” can come across as “wisdom and skill of Viracocha.”

¹⁰³ Xérez (1989:99 [1534]).

several weeks and moving in and out of the highlands. As he monitored the situation in Quito and sent Cusi Yupanqui to Cuzco to punish the city and send Huascar to him, Atahualpa dispatched soldiers, spies, and envoys to track Pizarro's movements and determine what sort of threat they posed.¹⁰⁴ Messengers relayed this news to Cajamarca, and the arrival of Pizarro's own native messengers presented an additional opportunity for Atahualpa to gather information, and to act the part of an all-powerful Inca.

When Pizarro's Tallane messenger returned from the mission to Cajamarca, he reported that he had not been permitted to see Atahualpa, nor had he been fed or received as an official envoy. He had, however, been permitted to wander the Inca city, which was largely deserted, and to pass through the huge military camp that was stationed just outside it, where he saw a multitude of soldiers, pack animals, and tents, all made ready for battle.¹⁰⁵ Atahualpa's uncle eventually met the coastal lord to say that the would-be Inca was fasting and thus unavailable to receive him. As the messenger recalled, Atahualpa's kinsman inquired about what the Spaniards were like and what weapons they bore. He told them that the invaders were brave and warlike, and that most of them fought on foot with sharp swords, protected by wooden shields and quilted cotton armor. Although the armor and shields were familiar to Atahualpa's frontier warriors, the swords were a marvel to be seen, capable of cutting a man in half, or lopping the head off of a llama. In addition to these double-edged blades, the Spaniards had crossbows whose bolts rained death from a great distance, and other weapons that shot lethal balls capable of killing many people at once. Along with this formidable arsenal, the Spaniards had ferocious horses that ran as fast as the wind and killed men with their feet and their teeth.¹⁰⁶

Atahualpa's counselors scoffed at this attempt to play up Spanish military strength. They said that none of this amounted to anything. The Spaniards were few in number, and their horses carried no weapons—they would kill them with lances. They said they had no fear of firearms, since Pizarro and his men carried only a few.¹⁰⁷ Had the Incas had more knowledge of the European force they faced, they might have been even more dismissive.

¹⁰⁴ Mena (1930:220 [1534]) identified a spy who visited the Spanish camp disguised as a poor native.

¹⁰⁵ Xérez (1989:100 [1534]).

¹⁰⁶ Xérez (1989:100–101 [1534]).

¹⁰⁷ Xérez (1989:101 [1534]). Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20]) shares a similar Inca response to Spanish weapons.

Many of the men who had accompanied Pizarro from Spain were inexperienced fighters, and their horses were hardly capable of biting and stomping an entire Inca army to death. Crossbows and arquebuses were useful projectile weapons, but they required time to reload, so large numbers of these weapons would have been required to direct effective volley fire at an enemy. At Cajamarca, the Spaniards probably had the capacity to fire no more than about fifty shots per minute, and their modest supply of powder, shot, and crossbow bolts could not be refreshed in the Andean highlands.

As the Spaniards made their way down the Pacific coast, Atahualpa was of two minds regarding how to respond to their approach. The first rumors of seaborne strangers had become entangled with coastal myths of creation and devastation, with references to Viracocha, the Andean creator, garbled into translations of Spanish theological and imperial pronouncements.¹⁰⁸ These accounts came to Atahualpa at a time when pestilence and warfare were spreading across the Inca world, and when he and his brother Huascar were both proposing to overturn the Inca dynastic order. As a man who claimed the power to animate golden statues with supernatural force and to destroy sacred mountains, Atahualpa seems to have entertained the possibility that Pizarro and his men possessed similar potency. When Pizarro paused for four months in the Chira Valley to observe the area and establish San Miguel, Atahualpa dispatched a noble Inca to observe the intruders and, as described already, sent with him the kinds of ritual offerings that Inca nobles and priestesses fed to the royal dead and the most powerful supernatural entities. When that messenger returned, Atahualpa anxiously asked what kind of people the invaders were: “If they are the gods who created the world, I should serve them and worship them as such. Let me tell you that I am highly pleased at their arrival and for having come in my time in order to validate and uphold my government. It is not by accident that they come in my time.”¹⁰⁹ It was possible that the foreigners heralded the long-awaited

¹⁰⁸ Miguel Cabello Balboa (1951:326 [1586, bk. III, ch. 17]) noted that many coastal peoples traced their ancestral origins from the north, along the cold waters of the Humboldt current: “They went down in rafts, following the current and southerly winds.” In the Lambayeque region, locals believed that a lord called Naymlap had arrived in ancient times with a fleet of balsa rafts, his household and retinue, and the cult object that the new dynasty would worship (Cabello Balboa 1951:327 [1586, III:17]; see Donnan 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20].

turning over of the Andean world, and that Atahualpa would be the first emperor to oversee the creation of the new era.

The envoy returned with a very different impression of the Spaniards: “I saw and understood that they are men like us because they eat and drink, dress and mend their clothes, and have relations with women. They perform no miracles nor do they raise or level mountains nor create people nor produce rivers and springs in areas that need water.”¹¹⁰ The messenger continued by describing the Spaniards as cruel and greedy, coveting all that they saw and taking young women, gold and silver vessels, and fine cloth when they saw those things.¹¹¹ They were strange to look at and had awe-inspiring weapons, but they were also a small group. Instead of Viracocha, the messenger called the Spaniards “mere itinerant, disorderly thieves,” and he recommended an easy way to kill them all: Atahualpa should invite them to lodge for the night in a large building, and then seal the doors and set it on fire. Understanding the Spaniards to be gold-obsessed men, Atahualpa sent his messenger back to Pizarro with pairs of golden cups, inviting them to come drink with him at Cajamarca.¹¹² For Pizarro to drink Atahualpa’s beer with him from such a cup would symbolize to the Incas and their subjects that the Spaniards were Inca vassals.

Having determined that he would make Pizarro a subject or kill him, Atahualpa withdrew to some hot springs, just over an hour’s walk to the east of Cajamarca, to prepare for another ceremonial act meant to legitimize himself as Inca. It was nearly time for the festival of Capac Raymi, a month-long puberty ritual in which the Inca sovereign armed noble youths as his warriors. Atahualpa wished to preside over these ceremonies in Cajamarca.¹¹³ It would be the first year that the rituals would not be held in Cuzco, but Atahualpa already had many of his royal kin with him, and his captains were expected to empty the capital of the surviving members of the nobility. He went into seclusion to complete a ritual fast that would sanctify him to play his ceremonial Inca role. Accompanied by *huacas* representing the Sun, the Moon, Thunder, and the creator Viracocha, he would lead the

¹¹⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20]).

¹¹¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20]). The chronicler’s Inca witnesses were describing precisely the kinds of things that an Inca ruler legitimately accumulated, which he dispensed to loyal subjects to show his wealth and generosity.

¹¹² Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 20]).

¹¹³ See Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 14]); Molina (2011:52–66 [c. 1575]).

performance of praise songs, ceremonial dances, ritual battles, and festive drinking.

Pizarro's arrival interrupted these preparations, and set in motion a different sort of ceremonial confrontation in the central plaza of Cajamarca. As with the most important Inca imperial encounters, the procession to the center was an essential part of the performance. While Atahualpa remained in seclusion at the thermal baths, Pizarro's force approached from the northwest on the imperial highway, camping out in the wild grasslands above the valley so that they could enter Cajamarca at midday.¹¹⁴ At daybreak, Pizarro took his main force to within three miles (5 km) of the city, put his troops in order, and descended into the warm Cajamarca Valley on the Inca road. The Spanish warriors marched in three columns, their arms at the ready, and messengers went in advance to summon Atahualpa to meet with Pizarro in the city.¹¹⁵ As they entered Cajamarca, the Spaniards saw a center built for imperial festivals, full of temples and open spaces for Inca subjects to gather. The city was largely deserted, although there were people in the sun temple, and the *mamakuna* priestesses and their young charges occupied the *aqllawasi* cloister. The invaders caught sight of the camp where the Inca warlord was secluded, which covered the hillslopes three miles to the east.¹¹⁶

After passing through Cajamarca, Pizarro decided that the central plaza and its surrounding lodgings and administrative palace offered his troops the greatest strategic advantage. The plaza was much larger than the ones found in Spanish towns, an enclosed space surrounded by walls and long, finely made buildings. A palace complex opened onto the plaza, offering restricted access to fine lodgings in its interior.¹¹⁷ As night grew closer a storm moved in, bringing rain and hail. Pizarro ordered his people to take shelter in the city center and prepare to pass the night there, and to defend themselves against any attacks that the Inca army might launch. The Spaniards were ordered to remain at the ready, and the gunner Pedro de Candía set up his firearms on the ceremonial platform in the middle of the plaza, from which the Inca camp was visible.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Xérez (1989:102 [1534]). To Inca eyes, such an act distinguished them as wild (*purum*), as the uplands were spaces considered to be uncivilized uplands where predators and lawless men roamed (Covey 2011).

¹¹⁵ Xérez (1989:102 [1534]).

¹¹⁶ Mena (1930:230–234 [1534]).

¹¹⁷ Xérez (1989:103 [1534]). Cf. Ruiz de Arce (1933:362 [1543]).

¹¹⁸ Xérez (1999:103 [1534]).

Three miles away, the Inca army—a host of tens of thousands of experienced warriors and their provincial allies—watched as the European men and their diverse group of servants, slaves, and auxiliaries entered Atahuallpa's city. Throughout the afternoon, groups of cavalry rode out from Cajamarca carrying messages for the Inca warlord. Twenty horsemen under Hernando de Soto passed through the sea of tents that covered the slope and then arrived at a small compound of four finely made buildings, where Atahuallpa was cleansing himself with hot and cold water being piped into a bath in the central patio.¹¹⁹ The Spanish riders made their way past a large contingent of bodyguards, reaching the gateway to the complex. When they did not return after several hours, Pizarro sent his brother Hernando, with a second group of twenty horsemen, to search for them. Hernando Pizarro found Soto in the courtyard and asked him about the delay. Soto complained that Atahuallpa's people had kept him waiting but kept assuring him that he would come out at any moment. Through his interpreter, Hernando Pizarro demanded that Atahuallpa come out immediately and called the would-be Inca a dog.¹²⁰

Atahuallpa finally emerged with the women of his household and seated himself on a stool. He wore the Inca royal *borla* fringe and acted as though he had little interest in the visitors. When he spoke, it was to complain of the Spanish treatment of the coastal lords who were his vassals. As for the Spaniards' claim that they treated their native allies well, Atahuallpa said that one of his captains had sent him an iron collar from the coast, and told him that the invaders abused the local lords and threw them in chains. Inca forces had supposedly taken the collar in a skirmish in that killed three Spaniards and one of their horses.¹²¹ Hernando Pizarro denied these claims, and said that the Spaniards were good to their allies, but would destroy their enemies if attacked. Warming to that theme, he told Atahuallpa that the Spaniards were willing to go into battle to fight for him. Atahuallpa would then see how well they helped him against his enemies, and would know he had been lied to.¹²² Pizarro took a ring off his finger and presented it to Atahuallpa as a

¹¹⁹ Ruiz de Arce (1933:360 [1543]). See Herring (2015) for an art historical analysis of the Spaniards' visual impressions of Atahuallpa.

¹²⁰ Trujillo (1989:200–201 [1571]).

¹²¹ Xérez (1989:106–107 [1534]). Cf. Ruiz de Arce (1933:360–361 [1543]) and H. Pizarro (1968:121 [1533]), who says that the lord of Tumbez claimed that the Spaniards were “bad people and not good for war, and that that cacique had killed our horses and people.”

¹²² Xérez (1989:107 [1534]).

sign of peace and of the love the Christians felt for him.¹²³ To Atahualpa, the offer to fight for him was tantamount to recognizing his sovereignty as Inca, and he told Hernando Pizarro that he would send the Spaniards out with his own troops to punish a resistant cacique. Pizarro bragged that ten Spanish horsemen would be sufficient, a boast that Atahualpa found amusing.

Having come to an understanding, the Inca sent women to bring them gold cups filled with maize beer, and insisted that Soto and Hernando Pizarro drink with him, another sign that they were his subjects. The Spaniards then left, understanding that Atahualpa would come to Cajamarca the following day.¹²⁴ As they left the hot springs, Hernando Pizarro spurred his horse and galloped toward one of the Inca squadrons that guarded the entrance, forcing some of the soldiers to break ranks. The Spaniards returned to Cajamarca, leaving Atahualpa perplexed at what had just happened.¹²⁵ To Inca eyes, violent outlaws had entered his city and occupied his palace. They broke the protocols for a royal audience and embarrassed his hand-picked bodyguard. And yet they seemed willing to perform as Inca subjects, offering him their military service and drinking with him to seal their relationship.

The following day, Atahualpa choreographed his own advance into Cajamarca. He spent the first part of the day sending messages back and forth to Pizarro to determine how the Inca army would enter the city. Although he initially said he would bring armed troops to the city—just as Pizarro had sent his own the day before—Atahualpa changed his mind, saying that unarmed soldiers would move into Cajamarca and prepare him a place to stay there.¹²⁶ He sent a group of 600 servants wearing checked red and white livery out onto the causeway that linked Cajamarca to the hot springs, who removed rocks and grass from the road and put it in order for the procession.¹²⁷ As the day passed, the Inca army formed into squadrons, but it was late in the afternoon when the warlord and his vanguard finally made their way toward the city. Riding in ornate litters, Atahualpa and his most senior

¹²³ Mena (1930:236 [1534]).

¹²⁴ Xérez (1989:107 [1534]); cf. Ruiz de Arce (1933:360–361 [1543]); Mena (1930:238 [1534]).

¹²⁵ Trujillo (1989:201 [1571]). Ruiz de Arce (1933:361 [1543]) says that Atahualpa requested the show of horsemanship, which caused thirty to forty soldiers to flinch, for which they were beheaded.

¹²⁶ Xérez (1989:108 [1534]).

¹²⁷ Trujillo (1989:201 [1571]).

lords approached, surrounded by a thousand bodyguards who cleared the path and made music as they advanced.¹²⁸

At the moment of the encounter, the Spaniards possessed certain advantages that proved to be decisive that day. The large central plaza of Cajamarca was made for imperial gatherings of a ceremonial nature: processions that told the history of provincial conquests, mock battles and dances that celebrated the symbolic violence binding the empire together, and generous feasts at which Inca officials recognized the service of provincial subjects.¹²⁹ It was a place to celebrate victory, not to fight an actual battle, and the Incas did not expect to be attacked by people who had declared friendship and loyalty the night before. For their part, the Spaniards expected to fight for their lives. Pizarro's men were road-weary, sleep-deprived, and terrified. They had passed the previous night waiting to be overrun by thousands of Inca soldiers, and some witnesses recalled their companions wetting themselves from sheer terror of what lay ahead. They had never faced an army of this size and organization, and they knew that they could not defeat a determined Inca force in open battle.

While most of the men leading the Inca procession were unarmed, the Spaniards had prepared an ambush. Pizarro had his cavalry mounted inside the great halls that lined the plaza, ready to ride out of their many doorways on his command. His artillery pieces were ready to fire from the platform at the plaza center.¹³⁰ Pizarro ordered his men to take Atahualpa alive, warning them not to spring the trap until they heard the artillery fire, which would happen after the signal "Santiago!" was shouted. Spanish forces were arrayed for a surprise attack, whereas Atahualpa came accompanied only by a ceremonial bodyguard that could not easily enter the plaza where the Spanish trap was laid. Inca troops had only one avenue of access to the city—across a causeway that cut through marshy bottom lands lying between the thermal baths and Cajamarca. The Inca army was not deployed to execute the kinds of tactics that had won the civil war, but rather as a narrow parade that stretched for miles, its approach watched by Pedro de Candía from the platform in the central plaza. As the front of the Inca procession entered the plaza, there were

¹²⁸ Ruiz de Arce (1933:362 [1543]); cf. Mena (1930:240–242 [1534]).

¹²⁹ Morris and Covey (2003); see Morris, Covey, and Stein (2011) for the archaeology of the central plaza at the Inca provincial capital of Huánuco Pampa.

¹³⁰ Xérez (1989:109 [1534]).

squadrons at Atahualpa's camp still waiting to move onto the causeway and into the city.

The final advantage was that Atahualpa himself came at the front of his army, so that when the Spanish trap was sprung most of his forces remained behind him, unaware that anything was wrong until fleeing soldiers came rushing toward them in a panic, pursued by enemy horsemen. With the afternoon shadows lengthening and Inca troops still on the move, Pizarro sent a Spaniard to tell Atahualpa to come directly into the plaza. The Spaniard returned with news that the Incas would soon be there, and that some were wearing cotton armor and carrying slings and stones under their cloaks.¹³¹ The Inca procession entered the plaza with a grandeur that impressed the Spaniards.¹³² The most important lords rode in litters, carried on the shoulders of their people. They wore gold and silver crowns, and garments adorned with hammered metal pendants. Atahualpa's litter was especially ornate, decorated with colorful feathers and covered in gold and silver plates. Squadrons of soldiers in fine livery followed the lords.¹³³ Atahualpa's litter advanced to the center and stopped there as his soldiers began to flow into the plaza.

Atahualpa looked around the open space, puzzled not to find the Spaniards there. He asked why all the strangers were concealing themselves from him, and wondered whether they had fled his majestic approach.¹³⁴ He sent men into the nearby buildings, where they saw the Spaniards hiding.¹³⁵ The Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde—the only religious man still traveling with Pizarro—walked out to the center of the plaza and began speaking to Atahualpa (Figure 5.2).¹³⁶ The Inca warlord said that he would go no farther until the Spaniards came out and returned the things they had stolen from his land. Valverde tried to convince him to come down from his litter and go into the place where, he said, Pizarro was waiting for him, as if for a brother, to teach him about Christianity.¹³⁷ The Dominican produced a breviary and

¹³¹ Xérez (1989:110 [1534]).

¹³² Ruiz de Arce (1933:362 [1543]).

¹³³ Xérez (1989:110–111 [1534]).

¹³⁴ Mena (1930:242 [1534]).

¹³⁵ Cataño (in Busto Duthuburu 1964:282).

¹³⁶ The *Cabildo de Jauja* (1888:9 [1534]) noted that of the six Dominicans who left Spain with Pizarro, two had died, and three others had left Peru.

¹³⁷ Cataño (in Busto Duthuburu 1964:282). Seed (1991) offers a critical reading of this moment.

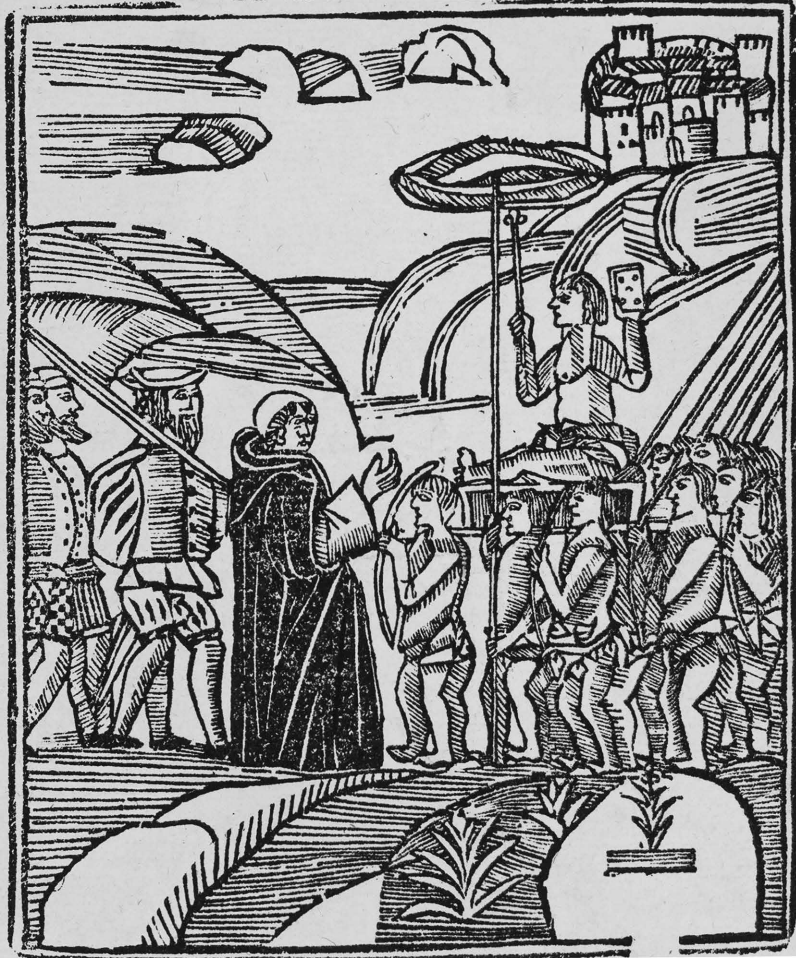


Figure 5.2. Earliest depiction of the encounter at Cajamarca, from the 1534 chronicle of Pizarro's secretary, Francisco de Xérez. The woodcut contradicts the chronicler's account of Atahualpa's capture. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

began to read from it, which intrigued Atahualpa, who probably understood the book to be a sacred object, a *huaca* whose will the priest purported to speak in his presence. As we have seen, Atahualpa considered himself to be a *huaca*-killer, and he demanded to hold the book. When it did not speak to him, Atahualpa was infuriated, and he threw it to the ground with scorn.

Valverde ran back toward the edge of the plaza, calling out to God. His voice was soon joined by that of Pizarro, who gave the signal to attack.¹³⁸

Shouting the name of their patron saint Santiago, the artillerymen fired into the Inca procession as the Spaniards who had been lying in wait came pouring out of their hiding places to attack the litter-bearers and bodyguard. Such was the confusion and terror among the Incas that they retreated in a stampede toward the troops still entering the city, their desperate force crushing and suffocating many.¹³⁹ Trapped in the enclosed plaza, some of the Inca soldiers managed to breach the perimeter wall and flee, but the rest remained to be slaughtered as the Spanish cavalry rode back and forth across the plaza, cutting down any Inca soldiers who remained on their feet. Atahualpa later claimed that the Spaniards massacred 7,000 people in just two hours, as the sun set on the city.¹⁴⁰ That body count would amount to about forty deaths per Spanish soldier, a slaughter the Spaniards immediately attributed to divine aid: "In truth, it was not by our own strength, for we were few in number; but by the grace of God."¹⁴¹

Pizarro remained on foot with his humbler soldiers, fighting as he had in the jungles of Panama and keeping a lookout for any horsemen who might be unseated by Inca soldiers. The foot soldiers battled their way toward the litters of the nobles and began hacking at the unarmed litter bearers until Atahualpa spilled onto the ground and he was taken prisoner. The Incas were unable to regroup and counterattack, and as the darkness deepened, the Spaniards hurried the captive to their lodgings in the nearby palace, sounding the trumpet to fall back. As the Spaniards retreated into the Inca palace, dragging a large number of other nobles with them as prisoners, they congratulated Pizarro on the victory, a slaughter that had not cost a single Spanish life. The victors set a watch on their prisoners, while outside in the blackness, the Inca survivors contemplated the sudden change of their imperial fortunes.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Ruiz de Arce (1933:362–363 [1543]). There are many eyewitness versions of the encounter, which put different words in the mouths of Valverde and Atahualpa (e.g., Cataño [in Busto Duthuburu 1964:282]; Marquina, in Oesterreicher 1999[1533]; Trujillo 1989:202–203 [1571]; Xérez 1989:III–112 [1534]).

¹³⁹ Ruiz de Arce (1933:363 [1543]).

¹⁴⁰ Ruiz de Arce (1933:363 [1543]).

¹⁴¹ Mena (1930:244 [1534]); cf. Cataño (in Busto Duthuburu 1964:283).

¹⁴² Ruiz de Arce (1933:363 [1543]).

6

Beyond Cajamarca

It occurred to me to write this account . . . which should be to God's glory, for aided by His divine hand they have defeated and brought to our holy Catholic faith such a multitude of gentiles; and to the honor of our Caesar, because with his great power and good fortune in his time such things should transpire.

—Francisco de Xérez, 1534

As the sun rose again on the morning of November 18, 1532, it illuminated the plaza of Cajamarca, showing what remained of the previous night's carnage. Blood was everywhere, and Inca prisoners were clearing the broken bodies that lay heaped near the damaged buildings, and stripping the precious metal from the stately litters, which lay abandoned where they had fallen. The most powerful lords who had come to meet the Spaniards had been pulled from the shoulders of their litter-bearers, to be seized by Spanish soldiers or killed along with thousands of men who belonged to Atahualpa's household and bodyguard. As the panic surrounding Atahualpa's capture spread beyond the city, many of the provincial soldiers in his great army dropped their weapons and disappeared into the night, no longer impelled to the battlefield by the fear of Atahualpa. Pizarro's cavalry went out to ensure that there was no risk of an immediate attack. Accompanied by their African and indigenous slaves, they plundered Atahualpa's camp, taking male and female prisoners, pack animals, cloth, emeralds, and precious metals and large quantities of gold and silver plates, cups, pitchers, and other serving vessels.¹ With the loss of his army and the material trappings of royalty, Atahualpa's project to make himself Inca had sustained a serious blow.

¹ Xérez (1989:115 [1534]); Mena (1930:248 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]).

And yet, Atahualpa woke that morning in a palace, unlike his brother Huascar, who was chained in a cage somewhere on the road between Cuzco and Cajamarca. Atahualpa was not free, but the men who held him—and murderous though they were, they clearly were not gods—showed every interest in treating him as a sovereign. The night before, Francisco Pizarro himself had shielded Atahualpa from harm, removing him from the unfolding massacre and remaining beside him, “soothing him from the irritation and embarrassment he had in seeing himself cast down so suddenly.”² Oddly, Pizarro’s words of comfort echoed elements of the “Requerimiento,” which apparently had not been delivered in any of the earlier encounters with the Inca warlord:

The Emperor, whose vassal I am . . . is lord of Spain and of the earthly universe, and by his command we came to conquer these lands, so that all should come to an understanding of God and of His Holy Catholic faith. And God, creator of heaven and earth and all creation, permits that with the good demand we bring—that you should know Him and leave behind the beastliness and the diabolical life that you lead—that such a small number as we are could conquer such a great multitude of people.³

This change in tone is striking when contrasted with the claims of indigenous civilization that Pizarro had used at court to gain his contract to colonize Peru. Arguing that the miraculous Spanish victory demonstrated God’s will against the demonically inspired savagery of the Incas, Pizarro now claimed that the Spaniards would treat their conquered foes piously, forgiving them when they could destroy them. Atahualpa must have known better than to believe this—everything he had seen of the invaders suggested that they shared his passion for vengeance and violent spectacle.

Both Pizarro and Atahualpa seem to have grasped the need for cooperation in that moment. Pizarro’s small force remained surrounded by an army that still numbered in the tens of thousands and could overrun or lay siege to Cajamarca. The Spaniards needed to establish some sort of understanding that would ensure their security until the circumstances shifted to their favor.

² Xérez (1989:112–113 [1534]).

³ Xérez (1989:112–113 [1534]). Pizarro claimed that Atahualpa had provoked the hostilities, and that God had permitted the Christian victory because of the disrespect shown to the breviary Valverde showed him. Cf. Mena (1930:244–246 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]).

Pizarro recognized that holding Atahualpa was essential to the survival of his company, and he told his soldiers to watch him carefully: “[T]his lord, as we know, is feared and obeyed, and they will attempt all manner of ruin and stealth to take him from our power.”⁴ For his part, Atahualpa knew that he also needed to survive that uncertain moment so that he could marshal his power to address the threats to his becoming an unchallenged Inca sovereign. He responded to Pizarro that he had been deceived by his captains. He had wished for peace with the Spaniards, but his captains, who were now dead, had advised him against it.⁵

Even though Atahualpa and Pizarro sought different outcomes, they immediately embraced a new narrative: Atahualpa was a compliant sovereign who would compensate the Christians for the error of doing battle with them. On the night of his capture, Pizarro dined with Atahualpa, seating him at his own table, giving him special attention, and serving him the same food that he himself ate.⁶ He ordered that Atahualpa be allowed to choose women for his service from those who had been captured, and that a comfortable bed for the Inca be prepared in the room where Pizarro slept. Although he had chained, tortured, and burned alive other resistant lords, Pizarro ordered that Atahualpa be permitted to move freely about the palace, watched by guards. The captive Inca soon spent his days lounging in his fine garden lodgings and enjoying the palace baths. Within hours of the massacre in the plaza, the Spaniards were already promoting Atahualpa as a legitimate Inca, a lord who ate and slept with their own commander, but who was not free to leave their company (Figure 6.1).⁷

In the days that followed Atahualpa’s capture, the Spaniards ordered the Inca army to disperse, and demanded that food be brought to them every day in the city. They plundered fine cloth from the royal storehouses of Cajamarca, but did not discover a large haul of gold or silver beyond what had remained in Atahualpa’s camp.⁸ Knowing that the Spaniards desired

⁴ Xérez (1989:114 [1534]).

⁵ Xérez (1989:113–114 [1534]).

⁶ Xérez (1989:114 [1534]).

⁷ Hernando Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]) suggests that his brother had been weighing his options from the moment he had seized Atahualpa. He immediately inquired after Huascar, who Atahualpa said would soon arrive in Cajamarca as a prisoner.

⁸ Xérez (1989:115 [1534]) says that 80,000 pesos in gold and 7,000 marks of silver were taken from the camp. Hernando Pizarro (1968:124 [1534]) mentions just over half that amount.



Figure 6.1. Depiction of Atahualpa under Spanish guard in the palace of Cajamarca, from the indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala (c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 387[389]/drawing 155.

those metals above all other things, Atahualpa regaled them with stories of his father, Huayna Capac, and the riches to be found in Cuzco. He said that in that city, they would find twenty houses whose walls were plated inside and out with gold leaf. They could plunder Huayna Capac's treasure house, "which consisted of three lodgings full of gold pieces, and five more of silver, and 100,000 gold plates (*tejuelos*) that had been taken from the mines, each

one weighing fifty *castellanos*.”⁹ There were even greater riches waiting to be dug in the mines that lay farther south, where provincial populations had good farmlands and large flocks of llamas and alpacas. Atahualpa vividly described Cuzco—a city he had long been planning to destroy—as a prize to be looted and colonized. He apparently neglected to mention his own city of Quito, where he intended to relocate the noble survivors of the defeated Inca capital.

A Lord's Ransom

As he plied his captors with golden visions of Cuzco, Atahualpa offered his version of the Inca civil war, describing how his captains Quisquis and Chalcochima had taken Cuzco and were sending his brother Huascar and some of the spoils of war to him at Cajamarca. Representing the imperial capital as his just reward from the war, Atahualpa said that he had a garrison of 10,000 to watch over the city and its treasures, and he offered it up to the Spaniards as a way of gaining leverage.¹⁰ Fearing that the Spaniards would kill him in favor of Huascar, who was acknowledged to be the legitimate lord of all but Quito, Atahualpa told Pizarro that he wished to give his Spanish captors a huge ransom of gold and silver. Tempted by this rich proposal, Pizarro asked how much treasure was being offered, and when it would be delivered. Atahualpa replied that in just two months' time he would assemble enough gold to fill a room that measured 22 feet by 17 feet (approximately 7 × 5 m), up to an *estado* and a half in height, about 9 feet (just under 3 m). He would give twice that amount in silver.¹¹ Pizarro accepted this enticing offer and told Atahualpa to send his messengers running to Cuzco to order the removal of its treasures.

Atahualpa's proposal might seem desperate, but it was a clever ploy to buy thee additional time to develop a long-term strategy for dealing with the invaders and with his Andean enemies. The months that it would take to collect the gold and silver and transport it to Cajamarca guaranteed that Atahualpa would be able to dispose of Huascar and other relatives while the Spaniards were still waiting for their treasure. It also encouraged Pizarro

⁹ Xérez (1989:119–120 [1534]); cf. Mena (1930:258 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]).

¹⁰ Xérez (1989:121 [1534]); cf. Mena (1930:248–250 [1534]).

¹¹ Xérez (1989:122–123 [1534]); cf. H. Pizarro (1968:124–125 [1533]).

to remain at Cajamarca, waiting for the riches to come to him, instead of advancing to Quito or Cuzco. The rainy season was beginning in the Andean highlands, and even a short delay would mean that the Spaniards would face great difficulty when they crossed the snowy mountain passes and sodden tundra. It would be nearly impossible for them to communicate with their compatriots on the coast, or to receive reinforcements of men, gunpowder, horses, and other supplies. Once the gold and silver were collected, the sheer weight and value of the accumulated treasure would slow further Spanish movement, which would encourage the greedy invaders to take their riches and return to their own lands, the only place where they could use it for anything other than an adornment.

Meanwhile, the logistics of assembling and transporting the ransom forced the Spaniards to allow Atahualpa to send orders to and receive information from his highland provinces. This made it possible for him to develop plans for dealing with the Spaniards, the Cuzco Incas, and any provincial groups who supported his enemies. Using his network of message runners, Atahualpa could send information across the Andes faster than the Spaniards could travel, giving him a superior understanding of the broader impact of his capture. It was not long before good news came to the prisoner in Cajamarca. Among the messages that reached Atahualpa in Cajamarca came word that Huascar was dead. When the soldiers who were bringing the Inca to Cajamarca learned of Atahualpa's capture, they had killed their prisoner.¹² Understanding that Atahualpa's half-brother Huascar was a greater lord than he was, Pizarro was eager to meet the captive Inca when he reached Cajamarca, which constituted a grave threat to Atahualpa's survival.¹³ The rebellious warlord feared that Pizarro would repudiate their tentative alliance and free the legitimate emperor, who could surrender Peru to Charles V. With Huascar dead, Atahualpa saw his position strengthening. There was no surviving Inca prince as powerful as he, and prisoner though he was, he had Pizarro's ear. Claiming that his captains had acted on their own initiative, Atahualpa told the Spaniards of his brother's demise, and then dedicated himself to choreographing the sack of Huascar's defeated capital.

¹² Xérez (1989:125 [1534]). Hernando Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]) said that Atahualpa ordered Huascar's death "with fear that the governor [Francisco Pizarro] would restore him to his lordship."

¹³ Mena (1930:250 [1534]).

Rather than represent himself as a rich lord who would pay his own ransom, Atahualpa directed the treasure-hungry Spaniards toward the properties of his royal ancestors in Cuzco, which he had claimed as his spoils from the civil war. By offering up Cuzco's treasures—particularly those belonging to his father Huayna Capac—Atahualpa sent the foreign invaders to diminish the estates of his rivals, including the many surviving children of Huayna Capac whom the Spaniards might otherwise look to as allies. For Andean people who witnessed the Spaniards traveling in the company of Quito soldiers, it was easy to see the strangers as an extension of Atahualpa's sovereign power. The Spaniards appreciated the benefits of the arrangement. For example, Gaspar de Marquina, one of Pizarro's pages, wrote home to Spain that with Atahualpa in Spanish custody, "a man can go by himself 500 leagues without getting killed; instead, they give you whatever you need and carry you on their shoulders in a litter."¹⁴ This was no exaggeration. When Pizarro dispatched a few low-ranking foot soldiers to accompany Atahualpa's representatives to oversee the removal of Cuzco's gold and silver, he said a prayer for them and turned them over to a crowd of native litter-bearers, who picked them up and took off running for Cuzco.¹⁵ The men were carried along the royal road to Cuzco in the manner of *huacas* or Inca lords and received royal service on the way. They eventually returned with treasure and the first eyewitness accounts of the imperial capital.¹⁶

In Cuzco, the Spaniards met Atahualpa's captain Quisquis. He showed them little regard, but directed them to the golden walls of the Coricancha, Cuzco's sun temple. No native person would help the Spaniards to defile the most sacred place in the Inca world—to do so was to invite death, they said—so the three men took copper bars and pried the precious metal off the walls themselves. To this dangerous loot, the Spaniards added a golden throne used for making sacrificial offerings. Under the watchful eye of Atahualpa's captain, the Spaniards made their way into the homes of the Inca nobility to take their golden serving vessels. They entered other compounds that were filled with gold and silver objects. In one, where they found large clay serving

¹⁴ Marquina [1533], in Lockhart (1972:460); cf. Mena (1930:254 [1534]).

¹⁵ Mena (1930:254 [1534]). Pizarro's decision to send footmen, rather than a contingent of cavalry, suggests that he might not have expected the men to return alive from a 1,500-mile (1,800-km) journey deep into Inca territory. Hernando Pizarro (1968:129 [1533]) mentions that one of these men was of African heritage.

¹⁶ None of those eyewitnesses gave a detailed account of the visit. Hemming (1970:64–65) offers a composite description, some of it drawn from later chronicles.

jars covered in gold leaf, the men came face to face with the powerful Inca religious women and some of the royal mummies. A golden-masked woman carrying a fan and a golden rod ordered them to remove their shoes before coming to where the mummies were. From that place, they took rich serving wares to add to their plunder. Although the Spaniards were primarily searching for gold during their time in the city, they saw silver everywhere they went—jars, pitchers, serving wares, and other fine pieces. They took what they could, and departed for Cajamarca.¹⁷

Building New Alliances

As Atahualpa directed the collection and transport of his ransom, Pizarro sent his own messengers back to San Miguel, informing the colonists there of what had happened at Cajamarca, and asking whether new ships had reached the new town from Panama or elsewhere.¹⁸ Native messengers returned in late December with a letter informing Pizarro that six ships had made their way down the coast, carrying 150 Spaniards and 84 horses, the majority of which were under the command of his partner Diego de Almagro.¹⁹ Pizarro sent a response back, directing Almagro to come and join him in Cajamarca, and for the ships to await a massive cargo of gold and silver. If everything went as promised, the Spaniards expected that they would soon be able to haul a king's ransom back over the mountains to the Pacific coast, arriving in the season when new ships might be sailing down the coast from Panama. Obviously, this plan did nothing to carry out the colony-building instructions laid out in Pizarro's 1529 contract. Charles V would receive one-fifth of the plunder from Cajamarca, but the tiny town of San Miguel would remain the only progress toward establishing his kingdom of New Castile.

During the months he was waiting for the Inca treasure to arrive from Cuzco and other locations, Pizarro reinforced the Spanish position, but he made no attempt to re-convert his conquistadores into colonists by founding a town at Cajamarca. Despite the favorable location of the Inca city and the fact that the population of the surrounding countryside was already feeding

¹⁷ Mena (1930:256–258 [1534]).

¹⁸ Xérez (1989:124 [1534]).

¹⁹ Xérez (1989:126 [1534]). Some came from Nicaragua, where Pizarro had sent treasure from Coaque to his old acquaintances.

and supplying the occupying force, Pizarro apparently intended to move on from the site of his great victory as soon as the ransom arrived.²⁰ Cajamarca remained an Inca center and its palace was the location of Atahualpa's court, which grew daily as Inca nobles and provincial leaders came to confer with a lord whose soldiers and messengers still held sway throughout the highlands. With Huascar dead, many Incas joined Atahualpa in Cajamarca, restoring some of the splendor that the warlord had lost when he was taken prisoner. A brother of Atahualpa arrived one day from Cuzco, bringing several sisters and kinswomen, as well as "many golden vessels—pitchers, pots, and other pieces—and much silver."²¹ As highland lords learned of Atahualpa's capture, many journeyed to Cajamarca to see the Inca and meet with Pizarro. The prisoner played up his status as a peerless lord, and Spaniards marveled when they saw how sincerely people regarded him as the Inca and obeyed him. "Every day they brought him gifts from all the land. Thus, imprisoned as he was, he had the state of a lord, and was very happy."²²

During the time that Atahualpa watched the riches of Cuzco begin to trickle into Cajamarca he continued to use Pizarro's desire for gold and silver to direct Spanish violence against other Andean lords who might challenge his sovereign status. For example, when the custodian of the Pachacamac creation shrine and the ruler of the coastal valley where it was located came to meet Pizarro, Atahualpa convinced the Spaniards that the men were thieves and liars. He told them that a demon that occupied the *huaca* had encouraged him to attack the Christians. Based on his counsel, Pizarro threw the visiting lords into chains and demanded that they surrender all the gold belonging to the temple.²³ Messengers were sent to Pachacamac with orders to deliver up the shrine's treasures, and all gold and silver belonging to the local ruler, within fifty days. Atahualpa was learning quickly that he could feed reports of treasure and demonic influence to the Spaniards, which inspired them to ravage places of his choosing. By claiming that local lords were conspiring or promoting false religion, the would-be Inca gave his captors the justification they needed to pursue their mutual interests. Unfortunately for Atahualpa, the Cuzco Incas who came to his court at

²⁰ Xérez (1989:124–125 [1534]) says that Pizarro ordered that a church be established in the Cajamarca plaza, and raised the height of the enclosure wall to make the space easier to defend.

²¹ Xérez (1989:126 [1534]).

²² Xérez (1989:125 [1534]).

²³ Xérez (1989:127 [1534]).

Cajamarca were also well-acquainted with the art of palace intrigue, and they stoked the Spaniards' paranoia with frequent rumors that Atahualpa's captains were preparing to attack Cajamarca.

Although Pizarro sent only three low-ranking foot soldiers to accompany Atahualpa's removal of the treasure in Cuzco, he decided to dispatch a significant part of his cavalry to loot Pachacamac and collect information along the coastal and highland roads. On January 5, 1533, Hernando Pizarro led twenty horsemen and some artillery out on the Inca road to Huamachuco to retrieve treasure that had reached the Inca provincial capital there. Large numbers of indigenous porters went with the Spaniards, who traveled in the company of two brothers of Atahualpa.²⁴ On the road, Hernando Pizarro tortured indigenous people to extract information on the movements of Atahualpa's captain, Chalcochima, who was said to be advancing toward Jauja, another Inca provincial capital where a large store of treasure had accumulated.²⁵ Rather than confront this potential threat, Hernando followed his brother's orders to proceed to Pachacamac; he turned off the main highland road and took a less-traveled route over the Andes and down to the coast. His men found the journey arduous—their horses needed shoeing, and they were ill-supplied for crossing in the frigid uplands—but they forged ahead toward the great shrine “to go for that gold—so that the natives would not carry it off—and also to see how the land was, and whether it was ready to have Christians settled in it.”²⁶

The journey to Pachacamac took more than twenty-one days, most of which were spent crossing the Andes at the height of the rainy season. Although the road was paved and well-constructed, the Spaniards found the highlands “truly a land so muddy that its like has not been seen in Christendom.”²⁷ Hernando Pizarro's troops and their native porters passed in the shadow of the snow-covered peaks of the Callejón de Huaylas, climbing into the high grasslands before descending into the blazing sunlight and warm fruit orchards of the Fortaleza Valley (Figure 6.2). They reached the main Inca coastal highway and turned southward, passing through rich valleys and stretches of desert until they came upon Pachacamac.

²⁴ Xérez (1989:128, 142 n. 218 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:125 [1533]).

²⁵ H. Pizarro (1968:125 [1533]).

²⁶ Estete, in Xérez (1989:132 [1534]); cf. Mena (1930:258–260 [1534]); Xérez (1989:129 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968 [1533]).

²⁷ H. Pizarro (1968:125 [1534]).



Figure 6.2. A highland lake near the upper part of the Callejón de Huaylas.

As they approached the shrine, the Spaniards felt that they were entering a center of dangerous diabolical power, “a town that is larger than Rome, in whose mosque the Devil talked to the Indians.”²⁸ The priests in charge of that temple handed over some sacred objects to them, but they denied the Spaniards entry to the sanctuary where the *huaca* resided.²⁹ As the Spaniards learned more about *huacas*, they did not doubt the powers that inhabited Andean sacred landscapes and temples, but they understood them as demonic forces that had to be defeated in spiritual battle. That fight was a secondary consideration; Hernando Pizarro and his men were primarily concerned with discovering treasure that would make them wealthy. The local lords initially seemed friendly, and they promised to assemble all of Pachacamac’s gold when ordered to do so. Instead, they moved slowly and used the delay to hide their *huacas*. After several weeks, they had turned over very little treasure and told the Spaniards that they had no more (Figure 6.3).³⁰

Having waited for a month as he watched pilgrims come and go from Pachacamac’s temple, Hernando Pizarro became annoyed and impatient. He ordered that one of the shrine’s oldest seers be seized and tortured, and then demanded to see the image of Pachacamac, a carved wood *huaca* that was

²⁸ Mena (1930:260 [1534]).

²⁹ See MacCormack (1991:56–58) on Hernando Pizarro’s actions at Pachacamac.

³⁰ Estete, in Xérez (1989:136 [1534]).



Figure 6.3. The remains of the main temple at Pachacamac, where Hernando Pizarro destroyed the wooden image of the Creator in 1533.

kept secluded in a dark, cave-like temple chamber. Pizarro described the room as a place where a demon inhabited the wooden statue and spoke with the priests, who were his diabolical allies. He taught them the practices of an evil religion, which they spread throughout the Andes. The statue told them that it was their god, and that it would drown them in a flood if they angered it or failed to serve it faithfully. The fate of the world depended on their prayers and sacrifices.

As the priests and temple servants watched in horror at the violation of the inner sanctum, convinced that Pachacamac would now kill them all, Hernando Pizarro ordered them to cast down the ceiling of the shrine room and break up the wooden image. He made a sign of the cross to defend himself from the demon while its material vessel was being destroyed.³¹ After that act of desecration, Pizarro reported a shift in the behavior of the local lords. One declared that he had only served the shrine out of fear, but now he only

³¹ Estete, in Xérez (1989:136ff [1534]).

feared the Spaniards, and wished to serve them.³² In all, the rulers of at least seven coastal kingdoms traveled to the shrine to declare their loyalty to the Spaniards, offering them gifts of gold and silver. Hernando Pizarro added the precious metals to the plunder taken from Pachacamac, and he instructed the local lords to make regular gifts to the Spaniards.³³ The pillaging mission devised by Atahualpa succeeded in undermining Pachacamac's religious authority, although it had unintended political consequences, by allowing the Spaniards to establish diplomatic contacts with the coastal lords who ruled the valleys along the southern limits of Pizarro's territory.³⁴

While Hernando Pizarro was still at Pachacamac, he received word that Atahualpa's captain Chalcochima had halted a caravan carrying a large quantity of gold up the highland road to Cajamarca. The Spanish and Inca captains exchanged messages, and Chalcochima agreed to meet Pizarro and accompany him to Cajamarca with the treasure.³⁵ Leaving Pachacamac with the gold and silver they had managed to find, the Spaniards traveled north along the coast to the Huaura Valley, turning inland for the difficult climb into the highlands of Cajatambo. They traversed high passes covered in deep snow that reached the saddle straps of their horses, picking their way past remote herding communities and descending through a district of high mountain lakes to reach the main highland road again.³⁶ They received word that Chalcochima was waiting at the highland city of Jauja, several days' travel to the south, and would not continue without them.

Mindful of the danger facing his small troop, Hernando Pizarro nevertheless followed the lure of more Inca plunder; he headed south, taking the royal road to the provincial center of Pumpú. At the Inca city, local lords and several of Atahualpa's captains met the Spaniard and his Inca allies, handing over nearly a ton and a half of gold that Chalcochima had sent ahead.³⁷

³² H. Pizarro (1968:128 [1533]); Estete, in Xérez (1989:137–138 [1534]).

³³ Estete, in Xérez (1989:138–139 [1534]). Many of the kingdoms near the Pachacamac shrine worshiped local shrines said to be wives and children of Pachacamac (Morris and Covey 2006).

³⁴ By early 1534, Pizarro had requested and received an extension of his coastal domain so that some of these lords would fall into his jurisdiction (AGI Lima 565 L.1 f. 154v. [May 4, 1534]).

³⁵ Estete, in Xérez (1989:139 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:128 [1533]).

³⁶ Estete, in Xérez (1989:139–140 [1534]); H. Pizarro (1968:129 [1533]).

³⁷ Estete (in Xérez 1989:140–141 [1534]) reports that there were 150 *arrobas* of gold, the equivalent of 3,750 pounds (1,725 kg); compare with H. Pizarro (1968:129 [1533]), who says that one of Atahualpa's captains was leading 5,000 soldiers, supposedly to conquer a rebellious local lord.

While they were there, they encountered one of the three foot soldiers who had gone to Cuzco and who was now on his way back to Cajamarca. He had just passed through Jauja and warned his compatriots that he had seen Chalcochima at the head of an army of 35,000 soldiers.³⁸ Hernando Pizarro and his men rested their horses for a day before continuing along the shores of Lake Junín, through high pastures and wetlands where local people kept vast herds of llamas and alpacas. They descended into the warm Mantaro Valley, making their way to Jauja.

Chalcochima was not in the city, which was occupied by tens of thousands of visitors who had traveled from neighboring valleys to celebrate a five-day festival of singing, dancing, and ceremonial drinking. From a distance, the arriving Spaniards saw a dark patch covering the huge central plaza, which proved to be a multitude of Inca subjects.³⁹ The Spaniards rode their horses through the crowds, seeking out the local lords, who received them cordially. They inquired after the Inca commander, who had withdrawn to a nearby town until he could learn the Spaniards' intentions toward him. An Inca prince who was traveling with Hernando Pizarro offered to go in his litter to speak with Chalcochima. While they waited for him to return, the Spaniards took lodgings in the great halls on Jauja's plaza and warned the lords of the city to keep their people out of the plaza, because their horses would become angry if the people entered and kill them.⁴⁰ The following day, the Inca prince and Atahualpa's captain rode into Jauja in their litters. After meeting with Hernando Pizarro, Chalcochima agreed to accompany the Spaniards to Cajamarca.

The Spaniards remained on guard for the time it took to assemble the precious metal that they would take with them, enough gold and silver to require a caravan of dozens of llamas.⁴¹ During that time, they were able to see the city of Jauja and the large, warm, and densely populated valley that surrounded it. The well-planned streets of the Inca city compared favorably with Spanish cities, and they were crowded with tens of thousands of people

³⁸ H. Pizarro (1968:129 [1533]) identifies him as the "black" man who went with the three foot soldiers. This is a good reminder that there was an unknown number of free people of color who joined Spanish expeditions in the Andes.

³⁹ H. Pizarro (1968:129 [1533]).

⁴⁰ Estete, in Xérez (1989:143 [1534]).

⁴¹ Estete (in Xérez 1989:143 [1534]) says there were thirty *cargas* of gold and from thirty to forty of silver. A *carga* is a variable unit, but if it is used to refer to the loads that the local llamas could bear, it probably represents a ton or more of each metal.

who thronged to the plaza each day and bartered with one another in the open marketplaces.⁴² Inca officials moved through these crowds, counting the tribute-paying subjects who had assembled. Atahualpa's soldiers kept an uneasy surveillance over the local Wanka population, which had not supported him strongly in the civil war.

Hernando Pizarro and Chalcochima left Jauja late in March 1533. They traveled north on the Inca road, which passed through the high grasslands, descending abruptly into the valleys on stone-paved staircases. As they journeyed, the travelers received lodging and provisions in Inca way stations, and Chalcochima shared stories of the bloody battles he had recently won against Huascar's armies along that same route. In large towns and the provincial capitals of Pumpú and Huánuco, local lords assembled festivities to honor Chalcochima, who traveled as Atahualpa's representative.⁴³ Two months after leaving Jauja, Hernando Pizarro and Chalcochima arrived in Cajamarca. The Inca captain went immediately to Atahualpa, giving him the respect due to the rightful lord of the Andes.

By the time Hernando Pizarro rode into Cajamarca with the gold and silver from Pachacamac, Pumpú, and Jauja, the original timeline for Atahualpa's ransom had been extended significantly. Two months had turned into six as the captive Inca strung the Spaniards along, telling them of yet another load of gold and silver that had been dispatched. He ordered his captains to pause at highland centers, where they could stop the advance of the treasure caravans and also take the opportunity to impose order over provincial populations that might rebel. The captains of the ships that had brought men and supplies to San Miguel were happy to take this precious cargo on the return voyage to Panama, but they would charge Francisco Pizarro dearly for having to wait, knowing that they risked uncertain winds and currents, and the loss of other business shuttling eager new conquistadores to Peru.⁴⁴ These delays put new pressures on Pizarro. He sent Hernando to San Miguel with 100,000 *castellanos* in gold—an advance on the royal one-fifth share he owed Charles V from Atahualpa's ransom—so that his brother could return to Spain with a taste of treasure and a Pizarro-friendly account

⁴² Estete, in Xérez (1989:144 [1534]); cf. H. Pizarro (1968:129–130 [1533]), who recommended that his brother found a Spanish settlement there.

⁴³ Estete, in Xérez (1989:145 [1534]).

⁴⁴ Xérez (1989:148 [1534]).

of the expedition.⁴⁵ By this time, Diego de Almagro had reached Cajamarca with his 150 men, and the new arrivals were already clamoring for a share of what was arriving for Atahualpa's ransom.⁴⁶ Pizarro was eager to divide the spoils and tell his version of events before more Spaniards arrived to try and claim a piece of his conquest.

He held off until early May, when the highland rainy season was drawing to a close and the Andean passes would again be easier to navigate. Pizarro ordered that preparations be made to melt down the gold and the silver, so that they could be distributed among his men. Just days after this order was issued, one of the foot soldiers who had been sent to Cuzco arrived with an eyewitness account of the city and the removal of its gold and silver, some of which was still making its way north on the royal road. There were still 178 loads of treasure in transit—each one carried by a group of four men—and the need to press local porters into service along the road had imposed additional delays.⁴⁷ Pizarro was forced to wait another month, but when the Cuzco treasure arrived, on June 13, 1533, it was truly a king's ransom: 200 loads of gold, and twenty-five of silver, which were followed by another sixty loads of alloyed gold plates taken from two of Cuzco's principal temples.⁴⁸ Using nine forges worked by indigenous smiths, the Spaniards melted down Atahualpa's ransom over the following month, reducing symbols of Inca power and generosity to inert lumps of metal.⁴⁹

Once the gold and silver were refined and weighed, the men of Pizarro's expedition finally knew their reward. The six tons of gold amounted to 1,326,539 pesos, and the silver to 501,610 marks, of which the Spanish Crown would receive one-fifth, to help finance a new religious war against Ottoman expansion in central Europe and the Mediterranean.⁵⁰ At today's prices, the metals would be worth well over \$300 million—a huge sum, but not as impressive once it was split into almost 200 shares. After the deduction of the royal fifth and the costs of processing the metal, Pizarro's horsemen

⁴⁵ H. Pizarro (1968:130 [1533]); cf. Sancho (1917:11–12 [1534, chap. 1]); Xérez (1989:157–160 [1534]). In Spain, Hernando Pizarro received royal permission to bring 200 black slaves to Peru, 100 for himself, and 100 for Francisco Pizarro. Half of this human traffic was to be female. This set the brothers up as major slave dealers (AGI Lima 565 L.1 F.178V [1534]; AGI Panama 235 L.6 F.100R–101R [1534]).

⁴⁶ Hemming (1970:71).

⁴⁷ Xérez (1989:148–150 [1534]).

⁴⁸ Xérez (1989:150 [1534]).

⁴⁹ Xérez (1989:151 [1534]).

⁵⁰ Sancho (1917:11 [1534, chap. 1]).

received 8,880 pesos of gold and 362 marks of silver; foot soldiers took half of that share.⁵¹ Pizarro and the other leaders of the expedition claimed multiple shares of treasure, whereas the citizens of San Miguel and those arriving with Almagro were offered much smaller portions.⁵²

Pizarro completed the distribution of Atahuallpa's ransom eight months after taking the warlord captive. The Spaniards who were in Cajamarca with him now considered what would come next. For many of those who had received hefty shares of gold and silver, returning to Spain was an appealing prospect. Remaining in Peru was risky and expensive. At the time, purchasing a new horse cost 2,500 gold pesos, and a new sword cost between forty and fifty pesos. A taste of home was similarly costly: a bottle of wine cost more than a sword, and even a head of garlic cost half a peso—about \$100 at today's rates. Many men who no longer wished to dress and feed themselves like Inca subjects, scrounging from the bounty of imperial storehouses, must have looked forward to the long journey home, where the value of their treasure would be multiplied.⁵³ For the latecomers who were not present in Cajamarca for Atahuallpa's capture—Almagro's recruits and the citizens of San Miguel—watching their compatriots begin to barter and gamble the abundant riches of Pachacamac and Cuzco probably made their modest shares of gold and silver seem inadequate.

To the extent that Pizarro and his men could be thought of as a company of conquistadores, the distribution of gold and silver in Cajamarca fulfilled their relationship. But most of the Spaniards in Cajamarca in 1533 had agreed to settle permanently in Peru, and they had made few efforts to carry out the colonizing work that was supposed to generate steady income for them and for Charles V. After so many months at Cajamarca, Pizarro and Almagro were both eager to continue with the expedition, although it was not obvious which aspect of their mission—"to conquer, discover, pacify, and populate" the kingdom of New Castile—they would pursue when they left the Inca city. Though they had paid off their men, the two leaders understood that they would need as much military force as possible for what came next, so they only released a few married men to cross over the Andes with the sick

⁵¹ Xérez (1989:150–151 [1534]). See Lockhart (1972).

⁵² Mena (1930:272 [1534]) says that Almagro's men split 25,000 gold pesos, while those from San Miguel received 2,000, about 200 pesos per person.

⁵³ These prices come from Xérez (1989:152 [1534]), and they make it easy to see why merchants were willing to take on the risks of bringing horses, weapons, and supplies to Peru.

and injured and a portion of the treasure. From the port near San Miguel they could make their way home to Panama or Spain on the ships that continued to bring men and trade goods down the coast in late 1533. The men selected to return carried another installment of royal treasure, which they gave to Hernando Pizarro when they caught up with him in Panama, waiting for a ship to Spain.⁵⁴ The rest of the royal spoils, mostly silver, remained in the Andes, accompanying the conquistadores as they moved onward.

As Hernando Pizarro made the long journey to Spain to convince Charles V that all was proceeding well in Peru, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro had to decide where to go next. One option was to return to the work of being colonists: they could cross the Andes to the well-populated coastal valleys that Hernando Pizarro had ridden through on his way to Pachacamac, settling new towns and forts in the lands of friendly lords until they reached the Chíncha Valley. Alternatively, they could continue to carry out an expedition of discovery and conquest, pushing southward in the highlands toward the rich lands of Jauja and Cuzco. They were weighing these two options when Hernando Pizarro departed for Spain with the first installment of treasure.⁵⁵ It is interesting that they did not consider a third possibility: go north on the highland road to the province of Tomebamba and Atahualpa's domain in Quito. Atahualpa had managed to prevent the Spaniards from traveling there even after they had learned about the region's riches and military defenses.⁵⁶ Pizarro's reticence might have been less important than the fact that the northern Inca frontier fell outside the geographic limits spelled out in his royal contract.⁵⁷ Pizarro and Almagro knew that the rest of the Inca world held temples and tombs that could be plundered, as well as fertile valleys, where Inca subjects could be assigned to Spanish *encomiendas* to watch their flocks and grow their food. They also knew that it was only a matter of time before more Spaniards came, looking for a share.

⁵⁴ Hernando Pizarro (1968:130 [1533]) says that he carried a total of 265,000 gold pesos, equivalent to the royal fifth from the first distribution of treasure. He took fewer than 13,000 silver *marcos*, leaving more than 85,000 *marcos* in Peru with his brother.

⁵⁵ H. Pizarro (1968:130 [1533]).

⁵⁶ Mena (1930:268 [1534]).

⁵⁷ This helps to explain the scramble for the conquest of Quito by Pedro de Alvarado and Sebastián de Benalcázar, as well as the ensuing push to invade the Colombian highlands in the years that followed.

Making Incas

Part of the decision of how to proceed from Cajamarca depended on what Pizarro would do with Atahualpa, who had held court in captivity for months, orchestrating the consolidation of his civil-war victory as he arranged for rival lords to be plundered to pay his generous ransom. Atahualpa's offer of huge sums of gold and silver helped to keep him alive until his brother Huascar was dead, but in the months that followed, several of his close relatives built their own alliances with the invaders. Inca and provincial lords came to Cajamarca, including other sons of Huayna Capac, and many of them stood to lose if the Spaniards set Atahualpa free or supported his claim as Inca. One night, two of the sons of Huayna Capac entered the Spanish camp secretly, for fear of their half-brother. Pizarro showed them great honors, lodging them in the same room where he slept.⁵⁸ As the men presented treasure and offered services and information to gain the trust of Pizarro and other Spaniards, they joined Inca women at Cajamarca who had already established relationships with the invaders, pursuing strategies they had long used to build the power of royal households. It is important not to downplay the sexual violence the European men perpetrated against Andean women, but the more discerning Spaniards comprehended the resources and connections the Inca princesses had, which they would attempt to pass on to a generation of mixed-heritage (mestizo) children born in the mid-1530s and after. In the early days following Atahualpa's capture, Huayna Capac's most powerful daughters and other Inca noblewomen forged alliances with prominent Spaniards. As we will see, these would prove essential for keeping the invaders alive in the years that followed.

While imprisoned in the palace of Cajamarca, Atahualpa had made great efforts to be seen as an Inca. He surrounded himself with powerful women, ate from golden vessels, and dressed himself in exotic garments, some made of vicuña wool and even the fur of vampire bats. Atahualpa's servants collected his hair and nail trimmings, so that they could someday be placed in golden statues animated by his life force. Still, he never truly felt safe in Spanish custody. Before Hernando Pizarro left for Spain, Atahualpa attempted to strengthen their friendship, hoping that it might save him. After Hernando's departure for Spain, Atahualpa's position became more precarious. He

⁵⁸ Mena (1930:272 [1534]) says that one of these was the legitimate lord (*señor natural*) in Cuzco after Huascar's death.

remained a Spanish prisoner after the first haul of Inca gold and silver was melted down and distributed, and he began to voice new fears for his life. One evening, around the time of the June solstice, Atahualpa was watching the stars when he observed a comet passing through the constellation Mayu, the “river” of stars that we call the Milky Way, which represented the cyclical flow of waters through the earth and sky.⁵⁹ The warlord who had burned the oracle of Catequil for predicting his defeat took the comet as an omen that his death was at hand.

His fears proved to be well-founded. Just days after Atahualpa’s half-brothers came to stay in the Spanish camp, Francisco Pizarro announced that he had received word from a lord of Cajamarca warning him that the Inca hostage had been plotting against the Spaniards. After his capture, Atahualpa allegedly sent secret orders to Quito, instructing his captain, Rumiñawi, to raise an army to march on Cajamarca. That force, which included 200,000 frontier veterans and 30,000 lowland cannibal warriors, intended to kill all the Spaniards and burn the Inca city.⁶⁰ If true, this information would have been terrifying to the Spaniards, who were threatened by an army that outnumbered them by more than one thousand to one.

But there are reasons to think that this news was either exaggerated or false. It is doubtful that Atahualpa’s captains, who were stretched across the central highlands attempting to hold Cuzco and the Chinchaysuyu provinces, would have been able to assemble his largest army yet. Quito had experienced deadly epidemics, rebellions, and the levies of other armies for the civil war. Even if such an army could have been raised on the northern frontier, the logistics of marching it to the outskirts of Cajamarca without alerting Atahualpa’s many enemies would have been daunting. The timing of the warning was also suspicious. If Atahualpa had sent for warriors from Quito when he was captured, they would undoubtedly have arrived before the heavy loads of gold and silver that were hauled slowly northward from Cuzco.

The Spaniards had already shown themselves to be fearful of any rumors of military conspiracies led by Atahualpa’s captains, even though none had proven to be true. On hearing the latest, and most serious, warning of an

⁵⁹ The 1533 comet was reported by European astronomers, who had also observed bright comets in 1531 and 1532 (Kolkott 1981). See Bauer and Dearborn (1995) on Inca astronomy.

⁶⁰ Xérez (1989:153 [1534]); cf. Sancho (1917:12–15 [1534, chap. 1]), who says that Pizarro had already decided that Atahualpa was too dangerous to release.

imminent attack, Pizarro staged a show trial for his prisoner. Calling a scribe, he prepared a questionnaire laying out the allegations against Atahualpa. Then he summoned several indigenous witnesses to respond to it, including a brother of Huayna Capac and several provincial lords.⁶¹ After these hand-picked witnesses confirmed the story of the lord of Cajamarca, Pizarro confronted Atahualpa with his new intelligence. The Inca laughed off the accusations, saying that Pizarro should not joke with him in that way. Pizarro responded by chaining him by the neck and sending out two native spies to ascertain whether there was a large army in the nearby hills.⁶² The Spaniards went on high alert as they tried to sort out the situation, but even though they kept their horses saddled and ready in case of sudden attacks, no Spaniards rode out from Cajamarca to confirm whether they were actually in danger, a significant departure from their earlier use of cavalry.

At sunset on July 26, 1533—a day after the feast of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain—Pizarro's Andean spies returned running to Cajamarca, claiming that they were being pursued by Atahualpa's great host, which would attack that night or the next. Pizarro consulted briefly with his captains and the royal officials who were with him, and then sentenced Atahualpa to death. He would die by burning, unless he chose to be baptized, in which case he would be strangled.⁶³ Facing the same eternal destruction he had inflicted on the *huaca* of Huamachuco, Atahualpa embraced Christianity, ironically as a way to preserve his supernatural vitality in an undamaged body (Figure 6.4).⁶⁴ The Spaniards took him out of his palace and tied him to a wooden pole in the center of the plaza, where they garroted him. As the cries of his women and retainers rose in mourning, the Spaniards went back into their camp, leaving Atahualpa's body in the darkness.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Xérez (1989:153 [1534]); cf. Sancho (1917:15–16 [1534, chap. 1]). These nobles were among the new allies that the Spaniards had made since Atahualpa's capture, and they must have weighed the opportunities and risks of supporting a warlord who had decimated resistant provinces and ransacked the city of his ancestors.

⁶² Xérez (1989:154 [1534]).

⁶³ Sancho (1917:16–19 [1534, chap. 1]); Xérez (1989:155 [1534]).

⁶⁴ MacCormack (1988:962).

⁶⁵ Sancho (1917:18 [1534, chap. 1]); Xérez (1989:155 [1534]). Decades later, Pedro Pizarro (1571) claimed that several noblewomen committed suicide to accompany Atahualpa in death, but that his living sisters began to sing the warlord's life history and carried out traditional mourning practices, including a search for the deceased Atahualpa in the places he had recently lived (MacCormack 1988:962). When the Spaniards in Panama heard the news of Atahualpa's execution, they were concerned about killing a native lord, saying



Figure 6.4. The capture, conversion, and execution of Atahualpa. From the Dutch publication *West-Indische spiegel* (1624), written by “Athanasius Inga, Peruvian from Cuzco.” Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

No attack came in the night. In fact, the Spaniards never saw any evidence of the army of Rumiñawi, and they made little further effort to ascertain the truth.⁶⁶ Instead, as morning broke, they dug a grave for Atahualpa and gave him a Christian burial in their makeshift church. Pizarro then began to

Atahualpa could easily have been exiled elsewhere in the Spanish Empire (Espinosa 1959:67–68 [1533]).

⁶⁶ Cieza de León (1998 [c. 1553, chap. 55]) says that Hernando de Soto was sent out with cavalry to look for the Quito army, and found no evidence of it.

take important steps to move forward from Cajamarca. His first act was to identify a successor to Atahualpa. Pizarro knew that the Spaniards would be in a stronger position dealing with a single native ruler: “[G]reat confusion would result if it were not thus, for each of them would rise up with his own lordship, and it would cost them much toil to bring them into friendship with the Spaniards and into the service of [Charles V].”⁶⁷ Pizarro assembled the native lords who were in Cajamarca and presented Tupa Huallpa, a younger son of Huayna Capac who had become a Spanish ally. Tupa Huallpa agreed to become a vassal of Charles V, so Pizarro ordered the lords to accept him and obey him as they had served Atahualpa, since he was the legitimate son of Huayna Capac and a natural lord over the Andes.⁶⁸ The noblemen agreed to this, and Tupa Huallpa went into seclusion for several days to prepare to become Inca.

After a ceremonial fast in a specially constructed house near Cajamarca’s plaza, Tupa Huallpa emerged wearing a rich outfit, accompanied by soldiers and lords from across the Andes. He walked to the place of his coronation, where he was seated on soft cushions, with fine cloth placed beneath his feet.⁶⁹ The new Inca feasted with his most important lords, and then Pizarro and the leading men of his company came out dressed in their best clothing to receive them as subjects of Charles V.⁷⁰ Beneath the royal standard and to the sound of Spanish trumpets, Pizarro raised Tupa Huallpa up on behalf of his emperor, and the lords assembled there honored their new Inca, thanking the Sun as the puppet king received the royal *borla* fringe. There is no mention of how Inca women participated in the coronation ceremony. However, the fact that Tupa Huallpa did not marry a Coya as part of the ceremony suggests that the years of civil war had already threatened the power of Inca women, as the violent spectacles staged by Atahualpa and his captains overshadowed the ritual performances that Inca women made in Cuzco and in sun temples across the empire.

⁶⁷ Sancho (1917:21–22 [1534, chap. 2]).

⁶⁸ Xérez (1989:156 [1534]). Sancho (1917:22–23 [1534, chap. 2]) says that Pizarro offered the assembled lords the chance to name an alternative, but they expressed satisfaction with Tupa Huallpa. Hernando Pizarro heard about Atahualpa’s execution while he was in Panama preparing to sail to Spain, and he said (1968:130 [1533]) that Tupa Huallpa was “an enemy” of Atahualpa’s (cf. Espinosa 1959:68 [1533]).

⁶⁹ Sancho (1917:25 [1534, chap. 2]).

⁷⁰ Xérez (1989:156–157 [1534]); cf. Sancho (1917:26–27 [1534, chap. 2]).

Pizarro's decisive actions in the two weeks that followed the final distribution of the gold and silver from the ransom—executing Atahualpa and crowning a new Inca—suggest that the Spaniards had already determined to colonize Peru through alliances with the Cuzco Incas and the lords of the central highlands. Ignoring the wealth and power of the coastal kingdoms and what was left of the military might of Quito, Pizarro and Almagro decided to accompany their new Inca ally toward Cuzco, and along the way establish a new colony at the thriving highland city of Jauja.⁷¹ They would continue onward to Tupa Huallpa's capital, where the new Inca would rebuild the royal city that Atahualpa had tried so hard to destroy. The Spaniards would defend the Inca from the Quito forces Atahualpa had deployed along the royal highway, including the large garrison commanded by Quisquis that still held Cuzco in its grip. Knowing that this route would take them hundreds of miles farther away from their compatriots in San Miguel, Pizarro dispatched a small contingent of horsemen to the coast and ordered them to defend the town there until new ships could make their way down the coast with Spanish reinforcements.⁷²

Supported by supplies and porters that Tupa Huallpa provided, Pizarro and Almagro set out to the south with the new Inca.⁷³ The expedition was still carrying massive amounts of gold and silver that had been distributed in Cajamarca, and the transport of baggage and treasure made it necessary to send workers ahead to repair roads and bridges that had been damaged or destroyed in the civil war. To Andean highlanders, this must have looked not like a Spanish victory, but rather the return of an Inca sovereign, whose servants were carrying back the precious metals looted from Cuzco. As the Inca-Spanish force advanced, word came that Atahualpa's captains had killed a son of Huayna Capac who had been sent ahead to oversee the repairs on the road.⁷⁴ The Spaniards feared that Chalcochima, who was traveling

⁷¹ Sancho (1917:29–30 [1534, chap. 3]). Pizarro's decision to leave Cajamarca and then establish a capital at Jauja, while he was on his way to Cuzco, seems to reflect his broader plans for colonization, and the pressure to establish strategic Spanish settlements that he was beginning to feel. The valley surrounding Jauja was well-populated and fertile, and Pizarro was able to take the Inca road to the coast, less than 100 miles away. As he made alliances with the local Wankas and Yauyos, Pizarro “sent some Spaniards to look at the coast around Pachacamac, to see if it could be arranged to make another settlement in the lowlands with the people who were arriving in boats every day” (Cieza de León 2001 [c. 1553, chap. 61]).

⁷² Sancho (1917:30 [1534, chap. 3]).

⁷³ Cabildo de Jauja (1888:2–3 [1534]).

⁷⁴ Sancho (1917:31 [1534, chap. 3]).

in chains as their prisoner, was conspiring with his troops to attack them, but they faced no opposition during the weeks they spent moving slowly through the highlands of Huamachuco, Huaylas, and Cajatambo. As they approached Jauja, one of the Spaniards heard from his servant—a native of the nearby Tarma region—that four captains of Quito had assembled near Jauja, and had laid an ambush for the Spaniards in a difficult pass on the approach to Tarma.⁷⁵ Pizarro initially kept this news from Tupa Huallpa as he advanced cautiously to Pumpú, but messengers soon brought new accounts of the enemy's intentions. Soldiers sent by Quisquis were seen five leagues from Jauja, approaching quickly on the main Cuzco road. They intended to burn the city so that the Inca-Spanish army would find no shelter or supplies there, after which they planned to reunite with the remaining Quito troops in Cuzco.⁷⁶

Anxious that Jauja might be destroyed, as Tumbes had been, Pizarro left his baggage and most of his troops in Pumpú and hurried onward toward the Inca city with his cavalry.⁷⁷ The Spaniards learned that a narrow stone road that climbed a steep, forested slope to the Tarma pass was not being watched, the riders were able to dismount and lead their horses through that hazardous stretch. The advance force moved quickly, spending uncomfortable nights without tents or fires as rain and snow drenched and chilled them. As the Spaniards approached Jauja, local people came out to welcome them, understanding that they were coming to protect them against Atahualpa's soldiers. The four captains of Quito were camped a day's walk from Jauja, and they had sent several hundred soldiers into the city to burn the thatch-roofed buildings, desecrate the imperial monuments, and destroy the stores of cloth and food that were kept there.⁷⁸ This destruction was well underway when the arriving Spaniards surprised the Quito soldiers, driving them from the city in confusion. The local Wanka people, angered by the violence that Atahualpa's soldiers had inflicted on their communities since the civil war, eagerly helped the Spaniards to find and kill the remaining soldiers from Quito. Once Pizarro learned that the enemy captains had retreated toward Cuzco, he stopped in Jauja to wait for the remainder of his troops and baggage.

⁷⁵ Sancho (1917:34 [1534, chap. 3]).

⁷⁶ Sancho (1917:36–37 [1534, chap. 3]).

⁷⁷ Sancho (1917:37–40 [1534, chap. 3]).

⁷⁸ Sancho (1917:44–45 [1534, chap. 4]).

When the Spaniards and their Inca allies were all assembled in Jauja, Pizarro announced that he would settle a town there. This was a curious strategic choice. After all, Jauja was a burned-out Inca center that lay hundreds of miles from the nearest Spanish settlement. Leaving a force that could defend itself ably reduced the number of cavalry and foot soldiers available to help Tupa Huallpa reconquer Cuzco from Quisquis and his frontier troops. No Spaniard wanted to remain in Jauja while there were still enemies to defeat and new treasures to plunder.⁷⁹ For men who had not been present for Atahualpa's capture, sitting in a vulnerable location while their compatriots continued on to the rich city of Cuzco held no appeal. Despite this opposition, Pizarro established a town called the City of Kings, which he said would serve as the capital of Peru. He appointed municipal officials and named eighty men as citizens, and ordered them to watch over the treasure hauled from Cajamarca as he led a hundred horsemen and thirty foot soldiers to Cuzco with his Inca allies.⁸⁰

Tupa Huallpa arrived in Jauja as Pizarro was preparing to transform one of his most important provincial capitals into a Spanish town. While there, the new Inca fell ill and died a painful death, throwing Pizarro's plan to take Cuzco into doubt. Many Spaniards blamed Atahualpa's captain Chalcochima for Tupa Huallpa's demise, and a rumor circulated that he had somehow placed poison in the Inca's cup.⁸¹ The leading Spaniards debated whether to realign themselves with the Quito captains or continue to build support among the lords of Cuzco. Pizarro assembled the Andean captains and lords traveling with them, and told them he wished to know whom they would put forward to replace the short-lived Inca he had given them.⁸² The Quito faction argued that a young son of Atahualpa should be made ruler, whereas those of Cuzco promoted another son of Huayna Capac as their candidate. Pulling Chalcochima aside, Pizarro asked that he send for Atahualpa's son; he offered to make the imprisoned captain regent over the kingdom until the boy came of age—provided that he could bring the Quito troops in line. As he spoke to Chalcochima, Pizarro made effusive claims of having loved Atahualpa and of being eager to honor his dying wish to provide for his son. But he soon turned his attention to the lords of Cuzco, offering to support

⁷⁹ Sancho (1917:51 [1534, chap. 5]).

⁸⁰ Cabildo de Jauja (1888:3 [1534]).

⁸¹ Cabildo de Jauja (1888:3 [1534]).

⁸² Sancho (1917:53 [1534, chap. 5]).

whichever Inca lord *they* selected.⁸³ By leading the two Inca factions on, Pizarro hoped to lay hands on Atahuallpa's heir while also reducing factional competition in Cuzco in advance of the Spanish arrival. As these intrigues unfolded, the Spaniards prepared the soldiers who would fight onward to Cuzco, and Pizarro sent an advance unit to supervise the repair of roads and bridges. He remained in Jauja, setting up the Spanish municipal government there and waiting for news from the coast, where he had sent scouts to search for good ports in which new towns could be settled.⁸⁴

Leaving behind much of the gold and silver in Jauja's new City of Kings, the procession of foreign invaders, captive military commanders, and Inca lords departed with its diverse array of porters and slaves, traveling through the Mantaro Valley and awkwardly crossing the hastily repaired suspension bridge there. As they moved southward toward Cuzco, they found that the forces from Quito had torched many of the roadside settlements, destroyed aqueducts, and taken or burned the stores left in imperial way stations.⁸⁵ To maintain the military initiative as the main expedition slowly progressed toward Cuzco, an advance force of Spanish riders pressed ahead on the royal road, which threaded in and out of deep highland valleys where river crossings had to be improvised. The Spanish vanguard surprised its enemies at the Inca town of Vilcashuamán, and although the horsemen scattered and slaughtered much of the garrison there, they had faced a determined resistance that foretold a difficult approach to Cuzco.⁸⁶

The Spanish cavalry had done well fighting in the Inca cities of Cajamarca and Jauja, where they had the element of surprise, but the Quito warriors knew better than to face them in the open. They retreated to rugged high ground and resorted to guerilla tactics to neutralize the advantage of the horsemen. Chasing the Quito soldiers from Vilcashuamán, one Spanish captain led his men through a gap in the mountainside and down a dangerously steep slope. The Quito veterans patiently waited for the Spaniards to descend, and then attacked them with such ferocity that they quickly killed a horse and wounded two others. Before the Spaniards could recover, they scattered in every direction, retreating by means of tortuous mountain paths where the horses could not follow.⁸⁷ Although the Spaniards claimed

⁸³ Sancho (1917:55 [1534, chap. 5]).

⁸⁴ Sancho (1917:58 [1534, chap. 5]).

⁸⁵ Sancho (1917:64 [1534, chap. 6]).

⁸⁶ Sancho (1917:69–70 [1534, chap. 7]).

⁸⁷ Sancho (1917:70 [1534, chap. 7]).

victory, having killed hundreds of their opponents and taken the Inca town, the warriors of Quito showed that they had gained valuable tactical knowledge about how to evade cavalry and kill horses. In the skirmishes that followed, they wounded several Spaniards and horses, and the vanguard was forced to pause to rest and recover until Pizarro's main force reached them. The riders sent an account of the fighting to Pizarro, who ordered them to advance cautiously toward Cuzco, stopping at the Apurímac River so that their combined forces could move together into the Cuzco region to face the army of Quisquis.⁸⁸

The horsemen in the vanguard continued on the royal road, skirmishing with the retreating Quito forces and with reinforcements that Quisquis sent up from Cuzco. As they pressed ahead, the Spaniards continued to take whatever plunder and prisoners they discovered in towns and Inca centers. By the time they neared the Apurímac River, their numbers had dwindled, because men were left behind to guard the slower-moving train of pack animals and porters who brought baggage and treasure.⁸⁹ After crossing the Apurímac River, the small company of cavalry climbed out of the deep river canyon toward the famous Vilcaconga pass, the legendary place where Pachacuti had defeated the last of the Chanca invaders. In the afternoon, as the horses tired and became spread out along the seemingly endless climb, the lead riders came upon a group of several thousand Quito soldiers who had been sent from Cuzco to defend the pass. Both sides raced to take the high ground, and the melee that followed was the fiercest fighting the Spaniards had faced since entering Inca lands.

The Spanish horses were breathing hard and lathered with sweat from climbing the high mountain slope, and their riders could not spur them into a spirited attack. The Quito soldiers harried them from a distance with their projectile weapons, throwing slingstones and spears and firing off arrows. When the Quito soldiers realized that the horses were exhausted, they charged the Spaniards and pulled five riders from their mounts, which could not reach the summit in time. The attack was so fierce that two of the Spaniards were killed in their saddles. The others managed to dismount, and they fought desperately until finally falling to native battleaxes and clubs.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Sancho (1917:73–74 [1534, chap. 8]).

⁸⁹ Sancho (1917:81–82 [1534, chap. 9]).

⁹⁰ Sancho (1917:84 [1534, chap. 9]); cf. Cabildo de Jauja (1888:4 [1534]); Francisco Pizarro (1986:40 [1534]).

Outnumbered and exhausted, the surviving Spaniards regrouped, made as if to retreat, and then wheeled around to scatter their pursuing enemies. This maneuver allowed them to reach the pass, where they camped for the night. Among those who survived the onslaught, six Spaniards were wounded, as well as eighteen horses. Although they had failed to keep the Spaniards from the high ground, the Quito troops remained nearby, setting up their camp close enough that their voices could be heard in the night.⁹¹ Anticipating the arrival of Quisquis with reinforcements, the warriors remained confident, and they shouted out Quechua insults and threats to the Spaniards: “Wait, Christians, until dawn, when you are all to die, and we shall take away from you all the horses that you have!”⁹² As it turned out, it was the Spaniards who received reinforcements in the night. Their baggage train caught up with them, accompanied by thirty horsemen that Diego de Almagro brought to their aid. The following morning, the Quito troops observed that they now faced a much larger force that held a significant strategic advantage, and they withdrew into the mountains.

Francisco Pizarro departed from Jauja in the company of the highland lords and their servants and soldiers, but when he learned of the perils facing his advance guard, he left his Andean allies behind and moved forward with his best troops. As his baggage train and foot soldiers slowly made their way toward Cuzco, Pizarro sent most of his cavalry ahead, while he himself proceeded with a company of horsemen, as well as the twenty foot soldiers who guarded Chalcochima. Pizarro hoped that Atahualpa’s captain would convince Quisquis and his troops not to resist the return of the lords of Cuzco to their ancestral city. As the fighting intensified, Pizarro presented Chalcochima with a final warning: “I shall cause you to be burned alive . . . unless you urge these Indian friends of yours to lay down their arms and come in peace.”⁹³ This was no idle threat. Pizarro’s men had already burned native lords alive, and had tortured Chalcochima with fire in Cajamarca to gain information about Atahualpa’s treasure.⁹⁴

Like Atahualpa, Chalcochima claimed that his captains were not obeying his orders, an excuse Pizarro found unconvincing. Pizarro and his men reached the Apurímac River, the ancient limit of the Inca heartland, where

⁹¹ Sancho (1917:86 [1534, chap. 9]).

⁹² Sancho (1917:87 [1534, chap. 9]).

⁹³ Sancho (1917:94 [1534, chap. 10]).

⁹⁴ Mena (1930:264–266 [1534]).

they found Almagro waiting for them. The commanders crossed the river and climbed out of the valley to meet the troops holding the Vilcaconga pass. With his main army reunited, Pizarro advanced down the gentle slope of the Ichubamba Valley, following the royal road to Jaquijahuana, a town that held the last way station before Cuzco, as well as a sumptuous country palace belonging to Tupa Inca Yupanqui.⁹⁵ Entering the town plaza, Pizarro ordered that wood be brought. He told the Incas who were with him to burn Chalcochima alive. The Dominican Vicente de Valverde tried to convince the doomed warrior to convert to Christianity. He described the Christian understanding of the afterlife, that “those who were baptized and who believed with true faith in our savior Jesus Christ went to glory in paradise and that those who did not believe in him went to hell and its tortures.” Chalcochima chose the incineration of his body over the possibility of redemption, using his final words to cry out to Pachacamac, and to his fellow captain, Quisquis.⁹⁶

The execution of Chalcochima affirmed Pizarro’s intention to support the lords of Cuzco and drive Quisquis and his army from the Inca capital. Pizarro passed the night in Jaquijahuana, and the following morning he met with Manco, a young son of Huayna Capac who was “the greatest and most important lord who was then in that land.”⁹⁷ The lords of Cuzco wished for Manco to be their king, and the Inca prince offered Pizarro an alliance in order to expel the Quito army from the city that would be his capital. Pizarro accepted his proposal enthusiastically, telling Manco that he had journeyed from Jauja to help him liberate the Inca capital on behalf of Charles V.⁹⁸ Without further delay, Pizarro ordered his troops to advance toward Cuzco, with the intention of camping near the city that night and entering it the following day. The Spaniards and their allies set out across a causeway that cut across the marshy valley floor, and as they got closer to Cuzco, they saw troops moving into position against them. The Spanish cavalry went out

⁹⁵ Farrington and Zapata (2003) describe the excavated remains of the palace. Covey (2014) provides an overview of the regional archaeology.

⁹⁶ Sancho (1917:97 [1534, chap. 10]).

⁹⁷ Sancho (1917:99 [1534, chap. 11]). Manco survived the civil war purges because he was a teenager, and “those of his mother’s lineage hid him well” (Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 19]).

⁹⁸ Sancho (1917:100 [1534, chap. 11]). An Inca witness testified years later that “Hernando Pizarro gave the *borla* insignia that the lords of this kingdom had to that Manco Inca near Ichubamba [a grassy plain near Jaquijahuana] . . . with which the natives were pacified (BNE *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 123v [1599]).

in small groups to engage these enemies, sometimes driving them off, but sometimes being repulsed in intense combat in which Spaniards and their horses were killed and wounded.⁹⁹ The Spaniards made camp just outside Cuzco; they spent the night on alert in anticipation of a bloody morning when they would fight Quisquis's main army to win entry to the city.

The morning of November 15, 1533, did not bring the expected showdown between the two invading armies vying for control of the Inca capital. Pizarro and his allies set out at dawn, but encountered no enemies on the road into Cuzco. They entered the city without fighting, almost exactly a year after they had captured Atahuallpa at Cajamarca.¹⁰⁰ Descending from the hillslopes above Cuzco on the same road used by the mythical Chanca invaders a century earlier, the Spaniards brought a new Inca into the Haucaypata plaza. Pizarro ordered his men to lodge themselves in the Inca palaces in central Cuzco, but they were to sleep in tents in the plaza with their horses ready until they knew what had become of Quisquis.¹⁰¹ The following day, Pizarro announced Manco as the Inca ruler. By declaring the return of an Inca to his sacred center, Pizarro hoped to unite the lords of Cuzco and the faithful Inca provinces, and to discourage them from crossing over to support Quisquis against the new invaders.¹⁰²

Two New Cuzcos

The Cuzco that Pizarro entered was a shadow of the splendid city Huayna Capac had left behind when he had gone to campaign in Quito years earlier. The imperial capital had suffered wave after wave of devastation during the years when the Inca and Coya were not present to preside over the most important ceremonies of the Inca nobility there. A deadly epidemic killed many of the city's most powerful men and women, and the paranoid and debauched reign of Huascar saw the bonds of royal kinship—the foundation of Inca imperial power—fray and break, erupting into the civil war that took the lives of so many well-born Incas. Atahuallpa's captains had held the city for a year, punishing many of the noble families and declaring an end to

⁹⁹ Sancho (1917:102–104 [1534, chap. 11]); cf. Cabildo de Jauja (1888:4 [1534]).

¹⁰⁰ Sancho (1917:104 [1534, chap. 11]).

¹⁰¹ Sancho (1917:105 [1534, chap. 11]).

¹⁰² Sancho (1917:105 [1534, chap. 11]).

Cuzco's imperial splendor. To underscore the point, Atahualpa ordered that many of the capital's most important monuments and palaces be ransacked, and their gold and silver carried off to Cajamarca.

Despite these tribulations, Cuzco the city still retained a measure of its splendor, and the Spaniards marveled at its palaces, storehouses, and dense population, which rivaled the largest Iberian cities of that time.¹⁰³ From the perspective of many noble Incas, November 15, 1533, marked the dawn of a new era. An Inca had come back to Cuzco, accompanied by a band of dangerous strangers who fought mercilessly on his behalf. The forces of Quito had fled, taking with them the threat of dispossession and resettlement. Pizarro conferred with Manco, and advised him to pursue and destroy Quisquis's forces. He sent Hernando de Soto and fifty horsemen to accompany an Inca army of 5,000 that Manco had raised for that purpose. The Inca-Spanish force chased Quisquis to a bridge marking the edge of the Cuzco region, and after the Quito army fled across it, Manco returned to his capital, leaving the pursuit to his soldiers.¹⁰⁴

After Manco returned as a victorious commander, he carried out the traditional ceremonies to become the legitimate Inca. He performed a three-day fast, secluding himself in a mountainside lodging that his father Huayna Capac had built. After his body was purified, Manco returned to Cuzco and proceeded in splendor to the central plaza, where the lords of the city recognized him as Inca and offered their obedience.¹⁰⁵ The lords of Cuzco named him Manco Inca, a variation of the name of the founding ancestor of their dynasty, which now seemed to be restored after years of uncertainty. Surrounded by his Cuzco relatives and the mummies of former Inca kings and queens, Manco Inca presided over solemn sacrifices to establish his sovereign power, as well as the joyful celebration of lavish feasts with the noble families who would help him to recover and rule his empire.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ The accounts of Pedro Sancho [1534, chap. 17], Bartolomé de Segovia, and the Cabildo de Jauja offer descriptions of the city in 1533.

¹⁰⁴ Sancho (1917:107–110 [1534, chap. 12]); F. Pizarro (1986:40–41 [1534]). From an Inca perspective, there was symbolic significance to driving a foreign evil from the city. Every year, Inca nobles ran from the central plaza in the Situa ritual, carrying ceremonial weapons wash them in the nearest major rivers, a symbolic act that cleansed the capital (Bauer and Reid 2015).

¹⁰⁵ Sancho (1917:111 [1534, chap. 12]).

¹⁰⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 28]); Cieza de León (1883 [c. 1553, chap. 11]) mentions the presence of the mummies.

As Manco rekindled the sacred center of the Inca world, the Spaniards carried out their own urbanizing vision for Cuzco, which they pursued alongside the Inca ceremonies of sovereign renewal. Pizarro encouraged Manco to send a second, larger army in pursuit of Quisquis, and offered him fifty cavalry to serve as the Inca vanguard.¹⁰⁷ The Spaniards arranged to have the expedition depart from the city on the last day of their Christmas celebrations. After they attended Mass, Pizarro and his men entered the Haucaypata plaza, where Manco and the Inca nobility were assembled. They read the “Requerimiento” yet again, and the Incas accepted its terms, understanding that Manco held sovereignty in the Andes, but was now a vassal of Charles V. Following the ceremony, Manco offered to drink maize beer with the Spaniards from a gold cup, and then invited them to a feast.¹⁰⁸ This ceremony, which would have looked like a Christian add-on to the solstice celebration that Manco had just presided over, placed the new Inca in a new geopolitical context. Despite these performances, Manco knew that the work of realizing his sovereignty would take some time to accomplish.

Several months after arriving in Cuzco, Pizarro decided to create a Spanish town at the center of the Inca capital. One reason for doing this was that the Spaniards had been remarkably successful in laying their hands on large amounts of gold and silver from the city and its surrounding hinterland. Settling as citizens of the town would make it possible to formalize their parasitic relationship with the Inca nobility, rendering the leading Spaniards trustees over the native lords and the people who served them. This would also make it easier to deal formally with newcomers who might arrive in the future to enrich themselves in the same way. Before founding the Spanish town of Cuzco, Pizarro ordered a second melting and distribution of the treasure that had been acquired since leaving Cajamarca. All told, there were nearly 600,000 pesos of gold and 215,000 marks of silver, including pieces that had religious significance to the Inca nobility. Spanish eyewitnesses marveled at the quantity of treasure, which included the golden serving vessels of the Inca nobility: plates, jars, cups, and other vessels. There were also four golden statues of apacas. The most impressive objects melted down in the

¹⁰⁷ Sancho (1917:111 [1534, chap. 12]).

¹⁰⁸ Sancho (1917:112–113 [1534, chap. 12]). Soon after Manco heard the “Requerimiento,” there were rumors that he was being encouraged to join forces with Quisquis. Pizarro had Manco and other Inca lords brought to his room, where he told them of the accusations. He tortured some of the noblemen before finding them innocent (Sancho 1917:115–116 [1534, chap. 13]).

Spanish furnaces were a set of ten or twelve life-sized statues of women, “all of fine gold and as beautiful and well-made as if they were alive.” These were probably images of the line of Coyas who ruled alongside the Incas, and they were given the highest reverence. The people of Cuzco dressed them in the finest cloth, fed them, and spoke to them, revering them as if they ruled over the entire world.¹⁰⁹ Spanish fire brought an end to this line of Inca queens, reducing them to molten metal that was poured into dead ingots and divided among the conquistadores in Cuzco and Jauja.

On March 23, 1534, Francisco Pizarro gathered his Spaniards in the Haucaypata plaza, where he performed ceremonies to found “the very noble and great city of Cuzco.”¹¹⁰ He assigned eighty-eight Spaniards to be the founding citizens, and designated indigenous lords to serve in their *encomiendas*. Although Pizarro specified the location where a church was to be built, he prohibited the eviction of Inca people from their homes, and he ordered that no changes be made to the layout of the existing Inca city.¹¹¹ Pizarro made it clear that he did not want to aggravate Manco Inca, and he specifically forbade the colonizing population from throwing the religious women (*mamakuna*) out of the Hatun Cancha cloister: “[If] they should be cast out of their houses and dwellings there would occur such damage and unrest among the natives, that they could rebel against His Majesty.” Although Pizarro’s men in Cuzco had safeguarded their position from other Spaniards who might follow them, their “city” was more or less invisible to the Inca nobility, who saw themselves saddled with unwelcome, and dangerous, house guests, who seemed to have no intention of leaving.¹¹² With two Cuzcos established, Francisco Pizarro left with his ally Manco to visit Jauja and confront new challenges to their authority.

¹⁰⁹ Sancho (1917:128–129 [1534, chap. 14]); cf. F. Pizarro (1986:40 [1534]). Some of these statues might have represented Inca queens, whose mummies and images still circulated in Cuzco. If so, the melting down of the Coya statues would have been a significant blow to female power, which was already compromised by the murder of Inca women from some of the royal houses. Hemming (1970:130–134) describes the plundering of Cuzco.

¹¹⁰ Rivera Serna (1965); Sancho (1917:131 [1534, chap. 14]); Hemming (1970:142).

¹¹¹ Rivera Serna (1965:37); Sancho (1917:131–132 [1534, chap. 14]).

¹¹² When he took the Inca title, “Manco Inca and the rest of the nobles felt that he should become Inca and Capac [king], as his ancestors had been and that the Spaniards should all leave the country and return to Castile” (Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 28]). He realized that this would not happen when the Spaniards began assigning *encomienda* grants for the population living near Cuzco.

The Destruction of Quito

By the time Francisco Pizarro was proclaiming a new Spanish Cuzco within the Inca capital, Quisquis and the remnants of his army were far to the north, trying to make their way back to Quito. As with Manco and his Spanish allies, Quisquis found his movements hampered by the destruction of Inca bridges and roads. Unable to ford the swollen rivers, he stopped at Vilcashuamán to wait out the rainy season as he plundered the countryside.¹¹³ By the time the remnants of the Quito army were able to move again, they were pursued by an army of 24,000 Andean soldiers and Spanish cavalry that Manco Inca sent out from Cuzco. The Inca-Spanish army was eager to overtake Quisquis before he reached Jauja, where the Spanish settlers were guarding a huge quantity of Atahualpa's gold and silver in their vulnerable City of Kings. The Quito army maintained its head start by continuing to destroy bridges and roads as it passed, and Manco's forces lost weeks rebuilding them. For example, at the Pampas River, Manco's engineers needed almost three weeks to rebuild a span nearly 400 feet long, which they widened to allow two horses to cross the gorge at once.¹¹⁴ Upon reaching Vilcashuamán, Manco learned that Quisquis was already nearing Jauja. The Inca sent the Spanish cavalry ahead with 4,000 of his troops, and then he returned to Cuzco to ensure that there were no threats to his power there.

When the Inca and Spanish forces reached Jauja, the Spaniards learned that the army of Quisquis had indeed entered the region, and had conspired with some local groups to attack the colonists who had been left behind there. The royal treasurer of the new town, anxious not to lose the treasure that had been left in his charge—much of which belonged to Charles V—had placed the gold in one of the large buildings in the city center, leaving the sick and wounded to guard it.¹¹⁵ The rest of the Spaniards in Jauja had gone out to a strategic bridge, where they battled to keep the Quito troops from crossing. Their efforts would have been hopeless, had they not been supported by several thousand local Wanka warriors, who fought bravely to prevent Atahualpa's captains from bringing another wave of violence to

¹¹³ Sancho (1917:117 [1534, chap. 13]); Cabildo de Jauja (1888 [1534]).

¹¹⁴ Sancho (1917:118 [1534, chap. 13]). A grass suspension bridge remained in this place when Ephraim George Squier visited in 1865 (Squier 1877). See Bauer (2006) on Inca bridge-making technology.

¹¹⁵ Sancho (1917:121 [1534, chap. 13]).

their lands. The Wanka-Spanish forces managed to push the Quito troops and their allies back into the mountains, to the high refuges that local people had long ago used for defense when the Incas conquered the region. Joined by a few Spanish cavalry, the Wankas drove the Quito troops from the area, and they killed the lords of other highland groups who had tried to sack and burn their city. Quisquis was able to reassemble his forces in Tarma, but by this time their strength was so diminished that the local population easily defeated them.¹¹⁶ For the military commanders who had remained in Quito, the news of the disastrous retreat from Cuzco was the latest evidence that their prospects for establishing an imperial center at the equator were fading quickly. After the failed invasion of Jauja, they received word that Quisquis had died at the hands of his own troops, and they knew that the huge armies that Atahualpa had unleashed on the Inca interior would never return to the north.

Instead of the victorious homecoming of their long-absent comrades, the soldiers in Quito began to receive troubling reports from the coast. As 1534 began, the southerly winds and currents brought new Spanish convoys, which landed between Puerto Viejo and San Miguel. Long before news of Atahualpa's capture and ransom reached Spain, Spaniards living in Guatemala and Nicaragua had learned of Peru's riches. They moved quickly to follow their compatriots to seek a fortune in the Andes. By the time one royal official in Panama heard of the events at Cajamarca, the situation already seemed dangerously out of control. He wrote to Charles V that the men of the region "are going and abandoning their estates, or giving them to whomever would like to have them."¹¹⁷ Pizarro was able to bring some of these men under his standard. For example, after sailing from Panama with a relief force of seventy men, Diego de Almagro welcomed another 130 from Nicaragua, who marched with him to reinforce Pizarro's troops at Cajamarca. Men who had traveled to Peru without permission later claimed that they were inspired to aid Pizarro in his time of need, and that they had been instrumental in maintaining the momentum toward Cajamarca and beyond. For example, Cristóbal Bernal left Panama with Pedro Gregorio in 1531, bringing soldiers, horses, and supplies. Their company aided Pizarro on the Ecuadorian coast, having found him "in great need of food and assistance." Bernal offered the governor support and then fought with him on the coast as far south as the

¹¹⁶ Sancho (1917:119–126 [1534, chap. 13]).

¹¹⁷ Espinoza (1959 [1533]).

island of Puná, eventually participating in Almagro's conquest of Quito.¹¹⁸ Juan Barbarán, a conquistador of Nicaragua, organized fifteen horsemen and followed the same route, accompanying Pizarro, who was "with very few men and in great need of aid," in his journey to Cajamarca.¹¹⁹

In 1534, a fleet landed on the Ecuadorian coast that was distinct in its size and motivations. With the Inca alliance formally established in Cuzco, the conquistadores already in Peru did not welcome its arrival. The new expedition was larger than the one Pizarro and Almagro had assembled, and it was led by Pedro de Alvarado, the governor of Guatemala and a conquistador with a fearsome reputation. When the ships landed, thousands of outsiders—Spanish men and women, African slaves, and large numbers of Central American natives—swarmed off the boats with horses, attack dogs, weaponry, and the tools and supplies needed to conquer and colonize. They began to spread out like a pestilence, making forays into the interior, where they captured locals and tortured them for information on how to reach the Inca road to Quito without crossing into Pizarro's territory.

Messengers from San Miguel brought word of Alvarado's approach to Pizarro while he was still in Cajamarca in 1533. Alvarado had responded to the news of the Pizarro expedition's advance into the Inca Empire by claiming that Pizarro had abandoned his province and failed to settle any town other than San Miguel. As hundreds of Spaniards across Central America turned toward Peru, Alvarado assembled a fleet of twelve vessels to sail from Nicaragua. He recruited at least 400 Spaniards—including 150 cavalry and artillery and crossbowmen—and arranged to bring 140 sailors, 200 black slaves, and a large complement of enslaved natives from Guatemala.¹²⁰ After landing his forces, Alvarado dispatched his ships to Nicaragua and Panama to bring him new recruits, and he sent two ships southward along the coast to conduct explorations into Pizarro's territory. Leaving ships and men in Puerto Viejo, Alvarado's men struck out for the interior, intending to climb the jungle slopes of the Andes to conquer Atahualpa's kingdom of Quito.

¹¹⁸ Bernal, a citizen of San Miguel, received a coat of arms for his services (AGI Patronato 169 N.2 A.1539 R.1 [1539]).

¹¹⁹ AGI Patronato 169 N.3 A.1539 R.4 [1539].

¹²⁰ Alvarado (1880 [1534]); F. Pizarro (1986:38–39 [1534]). By this time, there was already a market for slaves from Africa and Central America. Martín de Paredes wrote (1959:100) from San Miguel, in early 1534: "Very good Blacks are worth 100–130 pesos here because the natives kill them, and they desire the Indians of Nicaragua more."

In San Miguel, the news of a rival conquest of Quito spurred Sebastián de Benalcázar into action.¹²¹ Benalcázar, who had attempted his own expedition to that coast in 1531, had been convinced to join Pizarro, whom he accompanied to Cajamarca. When Pizarro left for Cuzco, he sent Benalcázar back to San Miguel to hold the town until reinforcements arrived. Claiming to serve Pizarro's interests, Benalcázar assembled an expeditionary force of 200 soldiers, men who had recently arrived from Nicaragua and Panama and were eager to fight and plunder. Leaving San Miguel, the soldiers climbed into the mountains on a road that Benalcázar had reconnoitered when Pizarro had first passed through the region in 1532. The men from San Miguel were intent on reaching Quito before Alvarado, not simply to protect the interests of Pizarro and Almagro, but because of the rumors of gold and silver, emeralds, and exotic spices that were abundant in that land.¹²²

Learning of the two invading forces that were approaching, the captains of Quito attempted to mobilize what remained of their soldiers and allies, only to see the powerful mountains of the region turn against them. As Benalcázar's forces passed through Riobamba—about 150 miles (200 km) to the south of Quito—the snow-capped volcanic peak Cotopaxi erupted, “expelling so many rocks from within that it [was] an indescribable wonder.”¹²³ The sounds of the explosion echoed like thunder in Quito as the mountain cast ash and pyroclastic missiles across the region. The Incas had respected the devastating power of the volcano, and with good reason. Its hungry fires consumed hillside villages and killed local people and their animals. The heat of the eruption melted the snowpack on the 19,000-foot (5,897 m) mountain, sending waves of mud to scour the slopes, some of them reaching as far as the Pacific coast. Ash fell for twenty days. People who knew how to interpret such omens determined that no resistance to the invaders would succeed. Nevertheless, Rumiñawi, Atahuallpa's last surviving captain, rejected a messenger that Benalcázar sent to Quito offering peace and rallied the tattered remnants of the once-mighty frontier army to fight. But after a decade of pestilence, bloodshed, and uncertainty, many looked up at the ash-darkened sky and felt that that the twilight of their world was approaching.

¹²¹ Benalcázar (1959:76–77 [1533]); F. Pizarro (1986:39 [1534]). See Lockhart (1972:122–129).

¹²² Espinosa (1959:173 [1535]).

¹²³ Cieza de León 1998:282 [c. 1553, chap. 60].

As Benalcázar advanced on Quito, skirmishing with Rumiñawi's forces, he forged an alliance with the local Cañari people, who had for so long provided the Incas with soldiers, and who had suffered terribly in the fighting and reprisals of the civil war.¹²⁴ Now the Cañaris provided Benalcázar with 3,000 warriors, and the combined Andean-Spanish army defeated a determined attack by the Quito forces at Teocajas on May 3, 1534. Despite losing men and horses in the almost ceaseless fighting, Benalcázar and his native allies advanced toward Quito in the weeks that followed. But when they reached the city in late June, they found it a smoldering ruin. Rumiñawi had taken the treasure, food stores, and people from the city and burned its monuments. After Benalcázar made camp in the abandoned city, the Quito army returned for a night attack, setting new fires that illuminated the fierce street fighting between the two desperate forces. The Spaniards and their Cañari allies were able to hold Quito, but they faced strong opposition from the people living in the surrounding region.

As Benalcázar attempted to defeat this resistance across the Quito region, Diego de Almagro arrived with troops that he had brought up quickly from the south when the news of Alvarado's landing reached Cuzco. Soon after, Alvarado's decimated expedition also reached the city, after a horrific Andean crossing that killed nearly 100 Spaniards and almost all the company's horses. Alvarado's brutality toward the indigenous communities was extraordinary, even by conquistador standards, and his men left untold numbers of the slaves and indigenous porters traveling with them to freeze to death on the high passes.¹²⁵ Alvarado had literally followed Benalcázar's footsteps into Quito upon reaching the highlands, arriving while Almagro and Benalcázar's combined forces were fighting off a determined guerilla resistance led by Rumiñawi. As Alvarado's men limped toward Quito, Almagro addressed the threat by founding a town called Santiago de Quito, which gave him a prior claim to a previously unconquered area. Almagro then met with Alvarado and bought him off, paying 100,000 pesos for his ships and weapons.¹²⁶ As Almagro dealt with the rival Spaniards, Benalcázar managed

¹²⁴ Hemming (1970:151–168) offers a vivid account of the campaign.

¹²⁵ Hemming (1970:161–163) chronicles some of the claims made against Alvarado.

¹²⁶ Alvarado sold his fleet of six ships and his weapons to Almagro for 100,000 pesos (AGI Patronato 254 N.1 G.1 R.1 [August 26, 1534]) in Quito, on the same day that he sold his royal appointments to Almagro and Pizarro (AGI Patronato 254 N.1 G.1 R.2). Lamana (2008) notes that the funds for this buy-out included royal treasure that had not yet been sent to Spain.

to track down Rumiñawi and other resistance leaders with the help of local allies and traitors. The Spaniards tortured their prisoners with fire to try to discover the location of hidden treasures, and then they executed them.¹²⁷ Although Quito continued to be a place with strong Inca ties, the military power built there since the time of Pachacuti was now destroyed forever.

A Fragile Beginning

As Spaniards moved into Quito and Cuzco, a new imperial era began for the two Inca centers, a coming together of two worlds that would be contested and renegotiated in the years that followed. The Spaniards were able to establish modest settlements within a few highland Inca sites, but not because the native Andeans saw themselves as defeated. Rather, Andean lords viewed the conquistadores as useful military allies during an uncertain time, as multiple Inca factions positioned themselves to restore dynastic power and non-Inca leaders contemplated a life free from imperial rule. Manco Inca reigned in Cuzco, but he had yet to restore his sovereign control over many of Huayna Capac's provinces. To live up to the legacy of the ancestors whose mummies saw him raised up as Inca, Manco still had to leave his imprint on a new era. With his father's domain broken into pieces, Manco had to be a charismatic empire-builder like his great-grandfather Pachacuti, but he also needed to pacify rebellious subjects, rebuild infrastructure, and re-establish institutions and hierarchies that his grandfather Tupa Inca Yupanqui had established.

For their part, the Spaniards who marched into Cuzco with Pizarro understood that their conquest and colonization of New Castile depended on the good will of the Inca nobility and other Andean lords. With indigenous allies willing to feed and house them, to advise their military and diplomatic strategies, and to fight alongside them, the earliest conquistadores transposed their own factional rivalries onto Cuzco's social fault lines. Elsewhere the Andes, they made alliances with disgruntled Inca subjects who offered them support and riches. New waves of aspiring conquistadores continued to arrive on the Pacific coast, aggravating the tensions between Pizarro and Almagro, and increasing the pressure on them to accelerate the tempo of exploration and colonization. Cuzco was the center of Manco's realm, but

¹²⁷ Hemming (1970:166–168) describes this, noting that the sources are not very reliable ones.

it lay at the edge of Pizarro's colonial kingdom and the territory of Diego de Almagro's still-unrealized realm of New Toledo (Nueva Toledo). It would take two more decades for the Inca capital to come under stable imperial rule as a Spanish colonial city.

News of the Miracle of Cajamarca

As Francisco Pizarro entered Cuzco and was attempting to transform it into a Spanish town, the first accounts of Atahualpa's capture at Cajamarca reached Spain and began to inspire new European visions about the significance of the Americas. At the end of 1533, men who had been present at Cajamarca began to arrive in Seville on ships from Panama. The rumors of Inca gold spread like wildfire through the city, as Cristóbal de Mena and a few others began to spend their new wealth. A month later, Hernando Pizarro arrived with gold and silver for Charles V—heavy stacks of valuable ingots, as well as dozens of gold and silver vessels and statues that his brother Francisco had sent to the king as examples of Inca artisanry. These were carted through the city to the customs house, and were eventually melted down for their metal.¹²⁸ As more ships arrived with news from the Indies, the wealth of Peru began to circulate in Seville, along with rumors of a great conquest.

Francisco Pizarro had sent his brother to Spain in order to control the narrative about what had happened, and Hernando Pizarro had completed an account of the expedition before his ship reached a Spanish port. He presented it to royal officials and fired off letters to Charles V, playing up the discovery and seeking royal honors and privileges. It is worth noting that the tone of that writing was anything but apocalyptic. Pizarro wrote to assure the Crown that his brother's expedition was making orderly progress to conquer and colonize the Andes, always pursuing royal interests. When he described Atahualpa's capture, Hernando Pizarro made no mention of God or miracles, stating simply that "the governor [Francisco Pizarro] came out and took Atahualpa," a move that inspired virtually no native resistance.¹²⁹ Recalling his visit to Pachacamac, Pizarro described the Andean creation shrine as a coercive hoax maintained by powerful

¹²⁸ Working with the eyewitness account of Xérez, Hemming (1970:88–89) describes the return of the first Spaniards from Peru.

¹²⁹ H. Pizarro (1968:124 [1533]).

priests: "I believe that they do not talk with the Devil, but that those servants of his deceive the caciques so that they can keep them in service."¹³⁰ Instead of spiritual warfare, the report described a Machiavellian scam that allowed Pachacamac's priests to rule through fear rather than devotion. Since the colonization of Peru was still underway, Hernando Pizarro did not treat Cajamarca as a definitive battle, just as another of the services that Francisco Pizarro was performing for the Crown, which were beginning to yield riches.

Hernando Pizarro closed his narrative by hinting that other accounts from Peru might not cast his brother in such a generous light. Hernando knew that other Spaniards had sailed to Spain ahead of him, and expected that some of the new arrivals might give accounts that would damage the Pizarro family's standing at court. As it turned out, several of the returning conquistadores were eager to share their stories with the world. In the spring of 1534, the printer Bartholomé Pérez published two accounts of the Pizarro expedition in Seville; literate Spaniards were now able to read a story that had circulated for months as a golden rumor. On the title page, the new books carried a woodcut image of the encounter between the Spaniards and Incas. Printed books were a relatively new medium—a technology about as old as television is today—and the combination of mass-produced words and images quickly spread the news of Cajamarca, and shaped the European interpretations of its significance as the books were translated into French and Italian. The scene depicted in the woodblock did not match the details of eyewitness accounts, but it offered European viewers recognizable visual cues to unpack an encounter between Christian Spaniards and the leader of an Indian civilization.

Atahualpa's capture and ransom was important news for European readers, but it was not written up as history as we think of it today. The earliest books played up Spanish heroism in the manner of a medieval romance, a genre that still sold well in Spain at that time.¹³¹ Like Hernando Pizarro's report, the new books emphasized the Christian identity of the conquering Spaniards, but they amplified the religious tone of the conquest story, and included miraculous outcomes that came to men who suffered for God's

¹³⁰ H. Pizarro (1968:128 [1533]).

¹³¹ In Seville, a rival publisher, Juan Cromberger had printed an edition of *Amadís de Gaula* in 1531, as well as a 1533 printing of the *Cronica del muy efforcado cavallero el Cid ruy diaz campeador* (see Griffin 1998; Leonard 1992[1949]).

glory.¹³² Victory in Peru was the secular evidence of Spain's spiritual contract to spread a pure form of Christian doctrine, to build God's kingdom on earth. It was the sign of some significant turning point in the Christian world.¹³³ The earliest news from Peru helped to stress Christian unity in those early years of the Protestant Reformation, identifying a greater mission in the conquest of heretic kings and the destruction of their demonic idols. There was no need for Christians to seek the world's end fighting one another in Europe. As Cristóbal de Mena's chronicle noted, the gold taken from one pagan lord in Peru could fund Charles V to lead new crusades against the Ottomans who threatened his eastern frontiers.

Despite the many ways that Pizarro failed to honor his royal contract, the new books insisted that Pizarro and his Spaniards consistently sought to serve God and king. The verbose titles of the earliest books advertised the interplay between the heroism of Christian knights, the miraculous fulfillment of God's will, and the service to the Spanish Crown. The first of these works, attributed to Cristóbal de Mena, was called *The conquest of the Peru, called New Castile, which land was marvelously conquered by divine will in the most felicitous venture of our lord, the Emperor and King, and through the prudence and hard work of the very magnificent and brave knight, the Captain Francisco Pizarro, the governor and advance commander of New Castile, and his brother Hernando Pizarro, and his lively captains and loyal and hard-working companions who were found there with him*. Not to be outdone, Pizarro's former secretary, Francisco de Xérez, produced his own account a few months later, which bore an equally wordy title: *True account of the conquest of the Peru, and the province of the Cuzco, called New Castile; conquered by the magnificent and hard-working knight Francisco Pizarro, son of the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro, knight of the city of Trujillo; being the captain-general of the Caesarean and Catholic majesty of the emperor and king, our lord*.

Such accounts of Peru not only informed Europeans of events that were taking place thousands of miles away; they also inspired Spaniards of different ranks to journey to the Inca world, to seek adventures and fortunes as brave knights and loyal subjects of the Crown. In January 1534, royal officials in

¹³² Pérez had previously produced mostly religious texts, although he had recently begun to publish current events, including accounts of Spanish fighting in Italy and the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor.

¹³³ Milhou (2003) describes how the news from Peru convinced ordinary people that the New World was an Edenic place, touched by Christ himself, where ordinary people could build a better life.

Seville began to grant Spaniards permission to travel to Peru. In the first two months of that year, a few dozen men were approved to migrate each month. That number tripled in March of 1534, reaching approximately eighty.¹³⁴ Soon after receiving the first installment of Cajamarca treasure, Charles V approved new contracts for expeditions to the south of Diego de Almagro's kingdom of New Toledo.¹³⁵ Along with these official departures from Spain were a growing number of unauthorized merchants and migrants who sailed west from Europe, as well as a swell of men who abandoned colonial towns across the Indies to seek their own miraculous fortunes in Peru. One of these was the impoverished nobleman don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, who left his native Seville for Hispaniola in 1533, allegedly after being banished from court for trying to kill Charles V's accountant. When the news of Atahualpa's ransom reached the Caribbean, he quickly decided to abandon the colonist's life in Santo Domingo, and to wager instead on the risky odds of the conquistador's path: "I then determined to go to Peru, a newly discovered land, where there is an infinite quantity of gold. But the gold cannot be had for nothing, eighty men dying out of a hundred who go to Peru."¹³⁶ As we will see, it was the twenty survivors out of that hundred who would prove so troublesome in the years that followed—to Pizarro, the Incas, and the Spanish Crown.

¹³⁴ These figures come from unpublished archival records, kept by the Casa de la Contratación, an institution founded by Isabella in 1503 to manage trade with the Indies (AGI Contratación). Women's names were rare on the passenger lists from the earliest years; but more Iberian women began to travel to the Andes to wed men who held *encomiendas* and other properties there.

¹³⁵ Pedro de Mendoza received a long-awaited *capitulación*, on May 21, 1534, to colonize the Rio de la Plata (AGI Indiferente L.1 f. 148v-152v). Simón de Alcazaba received permission to explore 200 leagues between Mendoza's area and the Strait of Magellan on the same day (AGI Indiferente 415 L.1 f. 127r-135v). After hearing Hernando Pizarro's account of the expedition, Charles V extended Pizarro's territory to 270 leagues, granted him new income and administrative privileges, and permitted the Pizarro brothers to import hundreds of slaves to work in mines (Varón Gabai 1997:301).

¹³⁶ Enríquez de Guzmán (1862:87 [1543, chap. 38]). This chronicler is an unreliable one, who admits to exaggerating his account for improved literary effect: "[M]any things in this book, both to improve the style, and to give an appetite to him who reads it, are not related exactly as they happened, though the substance is true." Guzmán (1862:78 [1543, chap. 35]).

7

Sovereign Failures and New Miracles

In the sieges that they [the Incas] placed on us with countless people—in this city [of Cuzco] and in Los Reyes [Lima]—being many times almost taken prisoner, and the city almost lost, God miraculously set us free.

—Spaniards of Cuzco, 1572¹

For much of 1534, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro criss-crossed the Andes, moving constantly to keep invaders from depriving them of their conquests. Those interlopers were fellow Spaniards who flocked to the Andes after seeing the Inca treasure that Pizarro had sent to Nicaragua, Panama, and Spain. When Pizarro made his way down the Pacific coast in his early expeditions—losing men almost daily to disease, hunger, and battle wounds—he and his partners were short of men, and they recruited anyone desperate enough to join them. They hoped to bring enough reinforcements to Peru to offset their constant losses and sustain the expedition long enough to seize much-needed profits.² Because of the time it took for messages from Peru to reach other Spanish settlements—and for adventurous and treasure-hungry men to outfit themselves and travel to the Andes—the flow of newcomers continued to build even after the immediate need for more soldiers had passed. Men from Nicaragua and Panama began to arrive in Peru before Pizarro reached Cajamarca, and others from Guatemala and Hispaniola landed on the Pacific coast while the treasures taken from Cuzco for Atahualpa's ransom were moving slowly toward

¹ In a letter transcribed by Gabriel de Loarte ([10/24/1572] in *GPVII*:122).

² More than one-third of the Spaniards who were at Cajamarca had returned to Spain by 1536. At that time only fifty-eight men from that expedition were still alive in the Indies (Lockhart 1972:46, 60).



Figure 7.1. Depiction of peaceful interaction between a Spaniard and an Inca in Cuzco. From the 1554 edition of Pedro de Cieza de León's *Parte Primera de la chronica del Peru*. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Cajamarca. By the time Castilian adventurers set foot in the imagined realm of New Castile, Pizarro had already founded Spanish Cuzco, and he and his Inca allies had driven Atahualpa's captains back to their final defeat in Quito. Pizarro and Almagro now viewed the arrival of more Spaniards as the greatest threat to their power.

This was largely because the Spaniards felt confident that they had finally established a stable alliance with a legitimate Inca sovereign (Figure 7.1). Unlike Atahualpa and his short-lived successor Tupa Huallpa, Manco Inca was the choice of the Inca nobility, a son of Huayna Capac who rose to power in Cuzco in a ceremony that reflected the ancient customs of the empire.³ At his coronation, Manco agreed to the terms of the *Requerimiento*,

³ On hearing of Atahualpa's execution, Charles V supported that course of action, noting that the other "son of Cuzco" (Tupa Huallpa) "has greater [sovereign] claim" (AGI Lima 565 L.1 f. 184 [May 21 1534]).

which made him a vassal of Charles V. This relationship was supposed to reinforce his sovereignty and define his relationship with Pizarro, the highest-ranking servant of the Spanish crown in Peru. The restoration of Manco's imperial domain served the interests of Charles V, and the conquistadores became auxiliaries in Manco's military efforts to retake the Inca provinces that had broken away in the previous decade. As they did so, the Spaniards understood that they would benefit from *encomienda* grants that would flow through Inca social hierarchies in areas ruled by Cuzco.⁴ Spaniards would still be free to send expeditions to areas that were unconquered in Inca times, so long as they remained within the geographic limits spelled out in the royal contracts made with Pizarro and Almagro.

Familiar Rivalries

With the highlands surrounding Cuzco reconstituting as a new Inca empire, Pizarro focused his attention and resources on the growing waves of new Spaniards arriving on the north coast. No longer needing reinforcements to fight against Inca armies, Pizarro pursued two strategies to diminish the threat posed by an accumulation of armed men who had sold their possessions or taken on debts to travel to Peru in the hopes of getting rich. Pivoting from his identity as conquistador to that of colonial governor, Pizarro settled new towns whose residents were granted productive farmland and *encomiendas*. While rewarding some of the new arrivals, this plan helped to neutralize royal inquiries about why the kingdom of New Castile had not yet begun to generate revenue.⁵ Settling the coast with new Spanish towns would also keep rivals like Pedro de Alvarado from claiming that Pizarro had abandoned his royal contract, thereby leaving the coast open for their own colonizing expeditions. After paying Alvarado handsomely to leave the Andes in 1534, Pizarro and Almagro quickly established three coastal towns. While Almagro was still in Quito, he sent Francisco Pacheco down to Puerto Viejo to settle at a spot where many of the ships from Panama were already making landfall.⁶

⁴ Manco and his lords initially viewed the conquistadores as treasure hunters rather than rent-seekers, thinking that they would return to Spain with their treasure and leave him as a client ruler of Spain (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550s, pt. II chap. 28]).

⁵ Charles V was demanding detailed reports about the status of the colony (AGI Patronato 185 R. 5 [1533]).

⁶ E.g., AGI Patronato 104B R. 19, image 18 [1561].

Later that year, Almagro founded Trujillo in the Moche Valley, the seat of the rich Moche and Chimú civilizations, where Spaniards were already beginning to dig into ancient burial mounds in search of treasure.⁷ Farther south, Pizarro had sent men to explore the coast near the Pachacamac, and he decided to establish a new City of Kings in the Rímac Valley just to the north of the creation shrine. The new town, known today as Lima, was founded on January 18, 1535.⁸ Pizarro made Lima his capital and resided there for most of his remaining years.

The new Spanish towns provided land and labor to a few hundred veterans from among the first conquistadores, but most of the new arrivals to the Andes did not receive such accommodations. That is not because there was a shortage of productive land and indigenous labor for *encomiendas*, but rather because the awards made to the first settlers were massive. In the Cuzco region, Pizarro awarded huge estates to his brothers and closest supporters, and the leading townsmen mapped themselves onto properties owned by the imperial nobility. For example, Hernando Pizarro received an *encomienda* that included more than thirty towns in the Cuzco area, as well as the entire population of three valleys and the subjects of three indigenous lords.⁹ Early *encomienda* grants placed the labor of as many as 20,000 households at the disposal of a single Spaniard, a resource far more valuable over the long term than the shares of gold and silver distributed in Cajamarca.¹⁰ An *encomienda* of fewer than 2,000 households would pay out more than a knight's share of Cajamarca treasure—every year, for as long as a family held the grant.¹¹

The feudal pretensions of the Pizarro faction contrasted with the prospects of most new Spaniards, who did not hold *encomienda* grants but still sought unfree labor to build their estates. Slavery was part of the design of the

⁷ See Heaney (2016). Segovia (1895:437 [c. 1553]) says that Almagro designated the site of the new town, and Pizarro returned later to distribute lands and *encomiendas*.

⁸ Cobo (1882 [1639, bk. I, chaps. 1–3]) describes the foundation of Lima.

⁹ Julien (2000b). Varón Gabai (1997) details the estates of the Pizarro family. See Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris (2006) on Gonzalo Pizarro's *encomienda* in Collasuyu.

¹⁰ Both Francisco and Gonzalo Pizarro had allotments this large, although they proved difficult to implement. Putting large *encomiendas* in the context of the other stream of unfree labor the Spaniards sought—that of black slaves—the royal fifth that Charles V took from the gold melted at Cajamarca amounted to the value of fewer than 2,000 slaves at 1530s prices in Peru. See Bowser (1974:11).

¹¹ This is based on tribute levels from the 1570s (about five pesos per household annually), which reflect a significant reduction in what Spaniards could take from native populations in the 1530s.

Spanish colony in Peru, and it was the foundations for the profits of many of the Europeans who followed the first waves of conquest. In 1533, Charles V approved the purchase and possession of native Andean slaves, under certain conditions.¹² Newcomers from Central America and the Caribbean sometimes illegally brought their own indigenous slaves with them to Peru, but they also helped to fuel a demand for “black” slaves that intensified as new Spanish towns were settled. The Pizarro brothers were major players in this slave trafficking, which brought them huge profits, while also filling Spanish boats with people who seemed to present less of a threat than treasure-hungry Spaniards. By 1534, the number of black slaves Hernando and Francisco Pizarro had royal approval to import duty-free was equal to the number of Spaniards Pizarro had been instructed to take with him in 1529.¹³ Enslaved men and women of African heritage quickly made up a significant proportion of the non-Andean population of Peru, along with an unknown number of free people of color. The earliest Afro-Peruvians sustained the colony, fighting alongside Spanish factions, working colonial plantations, tending to European animals, and laboring as artisans to build the first churches and monasteries.¹⁴

The uneven distribution of *encomiendas* guaranteed that there would be growing numbers of poor and discontented Spaniards in the Andes, which encouraged Pizarro and Almagro to approve new expeditions beyond Inca territory. Original conquistadores typically organized and outfitted these, because they had the political connections and resources to purchase supplies

¹² AGI Lima 565 L.1 f. 106 [March 8, 1533]. Conquistadores and colonists could purchase or “ransom” Andean slaves held by native lords. For example, Inca *yanakuna* could be sold to Spaniards as perpetual servants. Before learning of Atahualpa’s capture, Charles V said that Pizarro or some religious officials should go to where the “rebel Indians” were, to read them the “Requerimiento,” and then determine if they could wage just war against the native and enslave them (AGI Lima 565 L.1 f. 114v). Peruvian slaves were not to be exported (AGI Panama 234 L. 5 f. 25v-26r [1532]), although Spaniards returning from Peru were allowed to bring a few indigenous slaves with them.

¹³ The brothers held duty-free licenses to import 250 black men and women. See Bowser (1974); Lockhart (1968:171ff).

¹⁴ In 1534, Juan de Urrutía received permission to bring six black slaves to take care of twelve mules being brought to Peru (AGI Lima 565 L. 2 f. 39v). In the 1540s, the Dominicans received licenses to bring black slaves to work as carpenters, smiths, and masons in the construction of monasteries and the Lima cathedral (AGI Lima 566 L. 4 f. 23r. [1543]; AGI Lima 566 L. 6 f. 168r. [1549]). As Ireton (2017) observes, hundreds of free people of color migrated to the Americas from Spain, but they were not as well documented as those who were enslaved.

and recruit men. Explorations of new frontiers presented a win-win scenario for Pizarro. If an expedition failed to make any discovery and its company died in the unforgiving jungles and deserts, there would be fewer disgruntled men causing unrest in the Spanish towns. Conversely, the successful plundering and conquest of a new region would provide newcomers with the riches they sought, potentially making it possible to settle new towns and grant *encomiendas* to the most prominent survivors.

One early success was Alonso de Alvarado's expedition into the Chachapoyas region, the mountainous cloud forest in the northern Peruvian highlands where the Inca Huayna Capac fought his first campaign.¹⁵ Inca brutality encouraged Chachapoya leaders to seek an alliance with the Spaniards when they were still at Cajamarca awaiting Atahualpa's ransom, and they remained loyal supporters in the decades that followed. Chachapoya warriors accompanied Pizarro to Cuzco and remained there as part of an indigenous guard for the Spanish town, making up a military force that enthusiastically helped to keep the Incas in line. According to one of their leaders, Alonso de Alvarado requested permission to explore the Chachapoyas region and areas farther inland, and after founding Lima, Pizarro granted him a license to lead that undertaking.¹⁶ Alvarado traveled directly to the Chachapoya town of Cochabamba, where he ordered the local people to fill chests with gold and silver. He took that treasure back to the newly settled town of Trujillo and used it to purchase supplies and recruit soldiers. When Alvarado led his men into the lowlands, the local Chachapoya lord provided him with porters and troops for a foray into the lowlands that eventually led to the founding of the town of San Juan de la Frontera in 1538.¹⁷

The Chachapoyas campaign exposed some of the cracks spreading across the Spanish-Inca alliance. Local Andean lords had begun seeking out Pizarro directly while Atahualpa was a prisoner, and many did not wish to be pressed back into provincial service under Manco Inca. This did not immediately produce a crisis, as Manco made little effort to test his imperial reach while Pizarro and Almagro were busy confronting rival Spanish incursions. Instead of exercising the military power that had caused so much devastation during his brothers' civil war, Manco focused on his sacred role, making performances that would show him to be an unrivaled sovereign in

¹⁵ Schjellerup (1997) describes the region in Inca and colonial times.

¹⁶ AGI Patronato 28 R. 56 [1532].

¹⁷ Cook (1980:191–194) describes Alvarado's expedition.

Cuzco. He mounted a great hunt for his Spanish allies to watch, assembling thousands of his subjects in Jauja to encircle a mountainous region and drive the vicuñas, deer, foxes, and other animals toward a central space where the Inca nobles could kill the predators and shear the wild camelids.¹⁸ The event recalled the spectacles of his father Huayna Capac, who as a young man organized hunts to communicate his control over docile provincial people. On his return to Cuzco, Manco officiated at a maize harvest ceremony in honor of the Sun. The mummies of his royal ancestors attended the festival, as did hundreds of women from the *aqllawasi* cloister.¹⁹ Manco settled into his ritual role in Cuzco and began to construct a palace for himself on the slopes overlooking the city's central plaza.

Although Manco performed important ceremonial roles that marked him as the Inca lord in Cuzco, his status was not unrivaled. The new Inca could not claim descent from the earliest ancestors through both his maternal and paternal lines, and there were other children of Huayna Capac who were busy using their status to build alliances.²⁰ Some of these rivalries escalated into violence. According to one chronicler, Francisco Pizarro arrived in Cuzco in 1533 with another young son of Huayna Capac, who served the Spaniard in his bedchamber. This close relationship worried the new Inca: "Since Manco Inca saw that the marquis loved that brother of his, he suspected that his love for him would lead him in the end to name him Inca." This was precisely what had happened to Atahualpa when his half-brother Tupa Huallpa came to Cajamarca. To neutralize the threat, Manco allegedly ordered his half-brother Paullu and a friendly Spaniard to kill Pizarro's new favorite, a murder that they committed in the Inca's palace.²¹

Paullu might have killed for Manco, but he was the half-brother who proved to be the Inca's greatest rival. Like Manco, he lacked a strong royal pedigree, although he claimed that his mother, a powerful lady from Huaylas named Añas Colque, was Huayna Capac's favorite wife.²² Paullu was born

¹⁸ Cobo (1990:241).

¹⁹ Hemming (1970:172–173) uses an eyewitness account (Segovia 1895:461–463 [c. 1553]) that combines the harvest ceremony with the ritual maize ploughing Manco would have directed in August.

²⁰ See Julien (2000a) and Guengerich (2015) on genealogical status.

²¹ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 28]); cf. Hemming (1970:570–571). The romantic undercurrent to this story sheds light on another potential aspect of sexual alliance-building that the chroniclers themselves would not have admitted to.

²² BNE *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inca*.

at the sacred site of Tiwanaku, during an inspection tour his father made to his southern provinces, and he seems to have remained at the edge of the intrigues that ultimately tore apart his father's royal household.²³ Early colonial sources describe Paullu as a clever survivor. Both Huascar and Atahualpa imprisoned him at some point during the civil war, but Paullu managed to survive the dynastic bloodbath and hold out until the Spaniards reached Cuzco. As Manco Inca worked to build relationships with the men of the Pizarro faction, Paullu gravitated toward Diego de Almagro's supporters, who might have shared his self-identification as an underdog who only needed a small stroke of luck to rise to the top.²⁴

As Manco and Paullu looked for opportunity in the growing tensions between Pizarro and Almagro, it is important to recognize that neither was positioned to function fully as Inca. Both were of less-than-ideal parentage, and although they were sons of Huayna Capac, they did not have a network of powerful women who could build a palace faction around them. Neither man had a mother from the noblest Cuzco houses. Of equal significance, neither man was married to a woman powerful enough to restore the Inca Empire's hierarchies of female power, which had been compromised in the catastrophic events surrounding the civil war. Powerful Inca women were already at work establishing their social positions in Cuzco's early days as an Inca-Spanish city. There were still sisters and wives of Huayna Capac living in the city, as well as a large cohort of daughters who were coming of age and moving into reproductive alliances that were probably engineered by their mothers and other relatives. Rather than marry Paullu or Manco, most of those young Inca women instead maintained relationships with leading Spaniards that were intended to build a new generation of political and economic connections.²⁵ For example, the princess Quispe Sisa (Inés Huayllas Yupanqui) traced her maternal descent to Huayllas, as did Paullu, but by 1535 she had two children by Francisco Pizarro, including a daughter (Francisca

²³ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 45]).

²⁴ Hemming (1970) says that Manco Inca did not necessarily trust or like the Pizarro faction, but they were the dominant representatives of Spanish interests. He had some positive interactions with Almagro, who supposedly attempted to protect him from Pizarrist abuse.

²⁵ Hemming (1970:181–183) details some of the noble Inca women who bore children to leading Spaniards, although he treats the women more as spoils of war than active alliance-builders.

Pizarro) who would one day inherit large parts of his estates.²⁶ Her sister, Cusirimay Ocllo (Angelina Añas Yupanqui)—the girl Huayna Capac reportedly adopted to become the Coya for whichever of his sons succeeded him as Inca—became a consort of Francisco Pizarro in the later 1530s and bore him two children.²⁷

Given the unrestrained sexual violence that accompanied Spanish exploration and conquest, it is easy to read Spanish coercion in these relationships and to view Inca women as mere pawns, who were brutalized in the power games played by Spanish and Andean men. The importance of Inca women before the Spanish invasion suggests a more active role in alliance-building during the conquest period, one that was consistent with their earlier political roles in cementing alliances at court. Many Inca noblewomen chose to maintain years-long relationships with Spaniards, bearing them children whom the conquistadores recognized and named as their legitimate heirs. Inca women shared information with the Spaniards, and they helped bring their family networks and resources to the aid of Pizarro and his men when they needed it most. As we will see, there were powerful Inca women in early colonial Cuzco who used the Coya title, but these women were no longer married to the Inca or perpetuating the dynasty of the queens whose statues were melted down in 1533. They were wealthy and powerful dealmakers who steered the fortunes of Cuzco as the city's Inca and Spanish populations grew into a new colonial community.

Resolving Almagro's Claims

The rivalries that still divided Cuzco's Inca nobility led powerful men and women to gravitate toward Spanish factions. Aware of the simmering tensions between the leading Spaniards and their followers, some of the Inca families made alliances with Pizarro's faction, while others supported Almagro.²⁸ Manco, the crowned monarch, first tried to deal with the Pizarrists, who held the political titles and most valuable *encomiendas* in New Castile. Soon, however, the Spaniards' intensifying seizure of lands and

²⁶ See Guengerich (2015, 2016) for more on the strategies of royal Inca women after the European invasion.

²⁷ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 47]).

²⁸ Segovia (1895:459 [c. 1553]).

treasure alienated the new Inca, and Manco began to cultivate a relationship with Almagro, giving him large amounts of gold and a sister one chronicler described as “the highest-ranking lady in that realm.”²⁹ As Manco tried to maintain ties to both Spanish factions, his half-brother Paullu was drawn to the complaints and schemes of the Almagro camp, which attracted growing numbers of Spaniards who were frustrated by the lack of opportunities to enrich themselves.

As we have seen, the rift between Pizarro and Almagro began to open in the early days of their partnership. Almagro had provided valuable financial and logistical support for the first Peruvian expeditions, shuttling back and forth from Panama to bring fresh men and supplies to replace those that were consumed in Pizarro’s relentless press forward. For these efforts, he received lesser honors in the 1529 royal contract Pizarro negotiated, and many of those were voided when Pizarro chose not to colonize Tumbes as promised. When Almagro learned that Pizarro had entered the Andean highlands without consulting him, he followed him to Peru with a “rescue” force, and men living in Panama were expecting a violent outcome when the two met. When Almagro and his men reached Cajamarca, they received only tiny shares of the Inca ransom.³⁰ In fact, had Pizarro waited until Almagro’s departure from Cajamarca to smelt and distribute treasure, preventing his partner from directly rewarding his supporters. Constantly undermined by Pizarro, Almagro built a following by attracting the have-nots of Spanish Peru, men who also felt thwarted by the Pizarro brothers. Writing from Panama in 1532, their partner Hernando de Luque warned Charles V that Peru was already filling with restless and discontented men, and that without royal intervention, the colony would soon see the same violence that had broken out among Spaniards in other recently settled lands.³¹

Long frustrated as a conquistador, Almagro still thought that he might succeed in colonizing Cuzco, which was located to the south of the Chincha Valley, the 1529 boundary between Pizarro’s kingdom of New Castile and the stretch of coastline that had been granted to Almagro to explore and conquer. If the Inca capital were determined to lie in Almagro’s domain, he would find himself in a position to build his own estates and reward his

²⁹ Segovia (1895:463 [c. 1553])

³⁰ The *licenciado* Espinosa wrote (1889:44–49 [1532]) about Almagro’s pursuit of his partner from Panama.

³¹ AGI, Patronato 194 R. 10 [October 20, 1532]. Luque singled out Hernando Pizarro, who came with his brother from Spain, as an instigator of factional divisions.

supporters. What Almagro did not understand when he returned to Cuzco in 1535 was that his partner had already taken steps to make sure this would not happen. Before Pizarro entered the Andean highlands to confront Atahualpa, he had already petitioned Charles V to extend his territory an additional fifty leagues to the south.³² When his brother Hernando presented treasure and an account of Cajamarca at court in 1534, Pizarro was able to have his kingdom of New Castile extended to 270 leagues along the coast. Almagro would not have known of that decree when he raced to Quito to head off the Alvarado invasion, or when he settled Puerto Viejo and Trujillo. His fortunes were slipping away from him in slow motion, as the boundaries his kingdom of New Toledo, defined as the 200 leagues of coastline lying to the south of Pizarro's New Castile, were shifted south into the hyperarid Atacama Desert and the lonely stretches of high grassland and salt flats found in the neighboring highlands.

Soon after Pizarro had founded Lima, he learned that Hernando would be returning from Spain with the royal response to his petition to extend his territory.³³ Almagro also heard that a royal decision was imminent, and rumors spread that Cuzco would be awarded to him.³⁴ Almagro was in Cuzco, where Pizarro had placed him in charge of the city, and the atmosphere of uncertainty inflamed the ill-will between the two Spanish factions, almost to the point of open conflict. Pizarro hurried to Cuzco, where he took steps to reduce tensions with his partner. After negotiations, the two partners determined that Almagro would lead an expedition farther south, to conquer and settle New Toledo. Both men hoped that Almagro would find rich lands to conquer and colonize, so that the possession of Cuzco would not remain so contentious.³⁵ At any rate, Almagro and the discontented men following him would be out of the picture as Pizarro consolidated his control over the Peruvian coast. Pizarro ordered a new melting and marking of treasure, firing up the furnaces, in late May 1535, to process gold worth six million *maravedis* for Hernando de Soto and Rodrigo Orgóñez,

³² Charles V agreed to a twenty-five-league extension on the condition that Pizarro would settle a Spanish town in the Chincha Valley, which he never did (AGI, Lima L. 1 f. 117 [March 8 1533]).

³³ Segovia (1895:442 [c. 1553]) says that the news came when Pizarro was in Trujillo.

³⁴ Hemming (1970:174–175).

³⁵ Segovia (1895:446 [c. 1553]). Few Spaniards had ventured as far south as Lake Titicaca, and they had reported that the land was unconquered.

who were competing to serve as Almagro's second-in-command and needed funds purchase horses, weapons, and supplies for the journey.³⁶

On July 3, 1535, Almagro's forces rode out of Cuzco on the Collasuyu road, a well-supplied expedition of nearly 600 cavalry and foot soldiers.³⁷ This company was more than three times larger than the one Pizarro had led to Cajamarca three years earlier, and thousands of Inca troops and porters joined them under Paullu's command.³⁸ Manco Inca had ordered the Inca army to accompany Almagro, with the aim of pacifying his southern provinces, which covered much of the territory that Almagro sought to colonize as the kingdom of New Toledo. The Inca sent Paullu to represent him at the farthest reaches of his father's empire, hoping to reassert his authority over those wayward provinces. Paullu might have seen the military command as the opportunity he had long awaited. He was journeying to the land of his birth at the head of a powerful army, with a Spanish ally who might find a use for an Inca prince as he attempted to build his own kingdom for Charles V.

Things began well enough for the Spaniards. Paullu helped them to collect gold from communities living near the Inca highway that ran from Cuzco to Collasuyu. An advance force under the command of Juan de Saavedra made its way to the Inca center of Paria, in highland Bolivia, settling a small town there and waiting for Almagro's main army.³⁹ Almagro's forces marched southward, robbing the land of people and goods. They took huge numbers of llamas from the local herds, as well as cloth and other supplies. Local people were compelled to accompany the expedition as porters, and those who resisted were put in chains or tied with ropes for the journey.⁴⁰ Paria was the last large Inca center in the south, and as Almagro moved beyond it, he learned that the rumor of rich lands was "more of a dream than a reality."⁴¹

³⁶ *Relación del Oro* (1868 [1535]). Lamana (2008:119–121) observes that Pizarro was trying to cover up his misappropriation of royal treasure, and that he was already being denounced by other Spaniards.

³⁷ Zárate (1555, bk. III, chap. 1); Hemming (1970:175). The *Relación del Oro* (1868 [1535]) says that Almagro did not leave Cuzco until late July; he was present to see huge quantities of gold smelted and marked, which provided him with a fortune to fund his expedition.

³⁸ Segovia (1895:1464 [c. 1533]) says that Almagro sent Paullu and the *willaq umu*, a high-ranking Inca priest, in the company of three Spanish horsemen, asking them visit all the native communities for 200 leagues, "asking for gold for Almagro."

³⁹ Segovia (1895:464–465 [c. 1533]).

⁴⁰ Segovia (1895:465 [c. 1533]).

⁴¹ AGI, Patronato 194 R.33-1 [1536]. See Gyarmati and Condarco (2018) on the archaeology of Paria.

The southern Andes did possess abundant metals and minerals, but most of them remained underground, hidden beneath a desolate and unforgiving landscape. The region's dispersed populations would have to be conquered and then made to mine the wealth the Spaniards sought. As Almagro pushed farther south, his men entered local towns on the pretext that they had rebelled, placing men, women, and children in irons to replace the porters who were dying on the march. They used these people cruelly, demanding to be treated as Incas. One eyewitness recalled that some Spaniards were carried along the Inca road reclining in litters, and leading their horses by the reins because they were too overweight to ride them.⁴²

Almagro's men would not remain fat for long. The company continued farther south, where there were fewer and fewer towns from which they could steal food and kidnap porters. In the populated valleys, they often faced stiff military resistance, and were drawn into fights in which they lost significant numbers of cavalry. In several instances, local people pretended to come out to meet Spanish horsemen peacefully, then turned to attack the riders once they had dismounted.⁴³ The Spaniards responded to these losses with the same terror tactics that Pizarro had used on the Ecuadorian coast five years earlier. In Copiapó, they burned thirty local leaders at the stake and took their people as slaves.⁴⁴ Although he still had 400 horsemen at his disposal, Almagro understood that he would need a much stronger army to overcome native resistance.⁴⁵ Having found neither treasure nor good places to settle, he decided to turn back to Cuzco.⁴⁶ On the way, his men plundered without restraint, devastating local communities for their food stores and taking slaves who could be sold for a profit if they survived the journey back to Cuzco. The return to Cuzco left a trail of bodies across the unforgiving Atacama Desert, and untold numbers of enslaved Andean native men and women perished on the forced march.⁴⁷

The expedition to Chile failed to enrich Almagro or his men, many of whom died crossing the world's driest desert and fighting native armies that would never surrender to Spanish rule. As a sovereign project to rebuild the

⁴² Segovia (1895:465 [c. 1553]).

⁴³ AGI, Patronato 194 R.33-5-6 [1536].

⁴⁴ Segovia (1895:468 [c. 1553]).

⁴⁵ AGI, Patronato 194 R.33-5-6 [1536].

⁴⁶ A false rumor reached Spain that Almagro had died, which had led to the return of his men (AGI, Patronato 185 R.14-1).

⁴⁷ Segovia (1895:469 [c. 1553]).

Inca empire for Manco, it was a disappointment, and Paullu was unable to use his military command and alliance with Almagro to gain power in the south. Almagro limped back toward Cuzco, his colonizing efforts stymied and his treasure spent. His military force was greatly diminished, and the only bright spot was the steadfast support that the Inca prince Paullu had shown him throughout the nightmare journey.

The Inca Reconquest

As soon as Almagro's soldiers left Cuzco to seek their fortunes in Chile, Pizarro made another distribution of Inca treasure to his followers. He reopened the furnaces, which had been idle for weeks, and a furious pace of smelting ensued in the weeks that followed. Records of the proceeding registered almost 200 entries, accounting for tens of millions of *maravedis*. Together, Francisco Pizarro and his brother Juan recorded nearly forty million *maravedis* of gold, as well as large quantities of silver.⁴⁸ A small amount of the gold came from new mining, an emerging industry where Francisco Pizarro was already using slave labor to accumulate riches. The remainder of the gold and silver was of unspecified origins, although some of the Spaniards admitted that their treasure had been acquired by taking Inca nobles hostage and forcing them to pay ransoms (*rescates*) for their freedom. This sort of kidnapping and extortion was a well-established Spanish practice elsewhere in the Americas, although it was only legal under conditions of "just war" that clearly did not apply to the formal alliance with the Incas.⁴⁹ Manco's acceptance of the *Requerimiento* made him a vassal of Charles V, a sovereign whose subjects should have been protected from the growing number of Spaniards who were acting as if Cuzco's riches were the legitimate spoils of war. The leading men of the Pizarro faction were duty-bound to protect the Incas from such treatment, but they were among the most aggressive, extracting unheard-of riches from the Inca heartland. Manco Inca claimed that he was physically coerced into providing precious metals to them. Juan Pizarro forced the Inca to give him 1,300 gold bricks, as well as more than 2,000 gold bracelets, cups, and other pieces. As Manco recalled, threats of violence

⁴⁸ *Relación del Oro* (1868 [1535]).

⁴⁹ The Crown issued guidelines in 1528 for taking gold and slaves through *rescates* in Panama (AGI, Panama 234 L. 3 f. 140v-141r [1528]).



Figure 7.2. Spaniards holding an indigenous man's feet to a fire. Torture by burning was a common method that Pizarro and his men used to extract information and extort treasure. From a 1598 Latin edition of Las Casas's *Brevissima relación*, illustrated by Theodore de Bry. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

added humiliation to the theft: "They said to me: 'Dog, give us gold. If not, you will be burned'" (Figure 7.2).⁵⁰

Manco Inca was distressed by the seizure of objects that marked the splendor of his palace. More importantly, he was beginning to recognize that his prospects as Inca were worsening under the continuing Spanish occupation. When Pizarro founded Spanish Cuzco and distributed *encomiendas* near the city, Manco realized that the invaders did not intend to take their plunder and return to their part of the world, leaving him as an unchallenged monarch. As Inca princesses began to bear the children of the Spaniards and Manco remained without a publicly recognized Coya, it became clear that

⁵⁰ In Hemming (1970:185). Manco also complained of being imprisoned, urinated on, and paraded around in a chain.

the nobles of Cuzco were not united in the desire to see him as the founder of a new Inca dynasty. Now, as the Pizarro family and their lackeys openly abused him and robbed him of his property and women, Manco realized that his ceremonial performances in Cuzco had not been potent enough to make him more than a Spanish puppet. It would take a different kind of power to drive the invaders out of Cuzco and other Inca lands.

Manco secretly conferred with other like-minded Inca men, and they determined to raise an army to retake their city. Some of the noble conspirators slipped away from Cuzco, journeying throughout the highlands to encourage provincial lords to join them in open war against the Spaniards.⁵¹ Over the next several months, Andean people killed dozens of Spaniards in remote areas before Manco finally succeeded in escaping from Cuzco, where he had been imprisoned after rumors of the plot reached the Pizarros.⁵² In mid-April of 1536, Manco received permission to travel to the neighboring Yucay Valley to celebrate an annual ceremony with the mummy of Huayna Capac. He promised Hernando Pizarro—who had returned from Spain and was in command of Cuzco—that he would return with a large gold statue for him.⁵³ When Manco did not return to the city, the Spaniards went in search of him. They found him in the Sacred Valley, raising troops. Hernando Pizarro was alarmed by this development, but still he fought his way into the town of Calca, seizing gold, silver, and women there before retreating to Cuzco, with Manco's growing army in hot pursuit.⁵⁴ An Inca war to reconquer Peru had begun.

The Miracle of Cuzco

Manco returned to Cuzco at the head of an army the Spaniards estimated to number at least 100,000. Mindful of the divisions among the Spaniards, the Inca sent messengers south to find Diego de Almagro and inform him

⁵¹ This was successful in many places. The Incas Tisoc and Illa Tupa raised the central highlands near the imperial centers of Pumpú and Huánuco. A brother of Manco's killed the Spaniards who had remained at Jauja, and the Inca priest *willaq umu* incited local lords in the Condesuyo and Collasuyo provinces to the south of Cuzco began to attack Spaniards (Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* 1879:6, 74–75 [1539]).

⁵² Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:6 [1539]).

⁵³ Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:8 [1539]).

⁵⁴ Anonymous *Relación de Sucesos* (in *GP* II:390 [1548]).

of the uprising, which he blamed on Hernando Pizarro's poor treatment of the Inca nobility in Cuzco.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Inca troops poured into the Cuzco basin, and an important priest called *willaq umu* led them as they occupied Sacsayhuaman, a ritual complex located on the slopes above the city. As they fortified their positions, Inca fighters advanced down the hillsides toward Cuzco, launching burning projectiles down into the city, which set the thatch roofs of the capital ablaze. Those who remained in the city were driven into the open, where Inca troops attacked them fiercely. Spanish accounts say that there were fewer than 200 European men in Cuzco at that time, many of them sick or wounded. The Inca army soon had the city surrounded.

Manco's fighting force was huge, but it was largely composed of ordinary farmers and herders who were primarily carrying slings. They swept into Cuzco with little stratagem other than to overwhelm the Spaniards with their numbers. As one eyewitness recalled, "[T]hey came every day . . . and they burned everything, bringing the battle to us from atop the walls [of the burned buildings], throwing large and small stones." The Spaniards retreated into the Haucaypata plaza, where they slept in tents, but Inca warriors took the central platform in a dawn attack, driving them into the nearby buildings. Led by Hernando Pizarro and Hernán Ponce, the Spaniards retreated to two great halls that stood at the edge of the plaza, where Manco's fighters harried them with their slings, casting such a rain of stones through the doorways that it seemed like a deadly hailstorm. Sensing imminent victory, the Incas shouted out their battle cries, striking terror in the hearts of the beleaguered Spaniards. Facing imminent death, the leading Spaniards declared that they would rather die fighting than be slaughtered there like pigs. They prayed to Christ and the Virgin, and sallied forth from the buildings, fighting with a desperate ferocity that surprised their attackers. Ill-equipped to face Spanish swords, the slingers scattered into Cuzco's streets, where the Spaniards and their native allies pursued them.⁵⁶

Having survived the assault on the central plaza, the Spaniards were able to regroup and defend the center of Cuzco, although their enemies roamed other parts of the city, setting up barriers and digging pits to neutralize the advantages of Spanish cavalry. Eventually, the Spaniards were able to take

⁵⁵ Pedro Gallego [1537] gave the figure of 100,000 (in *GP* II:88); the Anonymous *Relación de Sucesos* (in *GP* II:390 [1548]) says 300,000. Gerónimo Costilla recalled the messages sent to Almagro in 1571 (in *GP* II:173).

⁵⁶ Anonymous *Relación de Sucesos* (in *GP* II:392 [1548]).



Figure 7.3. The megalithic walls of Sacsayhuaman, a religious precinct built by Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Mama Ocllo on the hillslopes above Cuzco. Manco Inca's forces fortified the site during the siege of Cuzco, and it was retaken in fierce fighting.

back the outer city and mount an assault on Sacsayhuaman, which they took in fierce fighting, during which Juan Pizarro was killed (Figure 7.3).⁵⁷ With that victory, the momentum of the campaign shifted away from Manco's army. Although they maintained a siege on Cuzco and prevented communication with other Spanish towns, the Inca forces settled into a more intermittent pattern of attacks, which the Spaniards countered with cavalry assaults of their own.

How did the tiny contingent of Spaniards survive the burning of Cuzco and the assault by Manco's massive army, and how did they manage to re-take strategic parts of the city? Many of those who wrote about the siege of Cuzco treated the survival of the Christian forces as miraculous, describing divine assistance that echoed the legendary medieval battles of Clavijo and Covadonga. For example, the interpreter Juan de Betanzos's Inca in-laws told him that Cuzco's makeshift church was the only building whose thatch roof

⁵⁷ Hemming (1970) offers a vivid account of the recovery of Sacsayhuaman and other fighting during the siege of Cuzco.

did not burn when flaming arrows from the Inca force landed on it. Where those projectiles landed and ignited the dry grass, they said that an unknown Spanish lady, dressed all in white appeared, and she extinguished the flames with some long white pieces of cloth that she carried.⁵⁸ Later Spanish accounts identified her as the Virgin Mary.⁵⁹ Those Incas also recalled that during the direst moments of the Inca attack, a man with a long white beard appeared on a white horse and rode in front of the Christian forces whenever they went out from Cuzco to fight. This mysterious warrior wore a red cross on his chest—the insignia of the order of Santiago—and was said to be the spirit of Francisco Pizarro, who was trapped in Lima fighting another Inca army. The Incas said that the rider’s horse created so much dust that Manco’s soldiers were blinded by it and unable to fight, which led to their defeat (Figure 7.4).⁶⁰ Even though these friendly Incas had fought and died alongside the Spaniards, they were willing to join the Christians in the belief in miraculous forces that could extinguish fire and summon blinding whirlwinds.

If we read the primary sources closely, it is obvious that the Spaniards who fought for their survival in Cuzco and Lima did not stand alone. In relating the small number of Spaniards—among them many wounded and several Spanish women—some writers acknowledge that there were thousands of indigenous fighters who remained with them. Among the “friendly Indians” were large numbers of Cañaris and Chachapoyas who had joined the Spanish camp after Atahualpa’s capture in 1532.⁶¹ Inca accounts of Manco Inca’s campaign state that at least 2,000 Cañari and Chachapoya allies and *yanacona* servants fought with the Spaniards in Cuzco, and they describe the presence of enslaved people of African heritage as well.⁶² The Cañaris were led by Chilche, the lord of the servant population serving on Huayna Capac’s Yucay Valley estate. Like Manco Inca, Chilche sought Pizarro out as the Spaniards

⁵⁸ Manco Inca’s son Titu Cusi Yupanqui countered this legend, saying that African slaves had been posted on the roof to extinguish the fires.

⁵⁹ Montesinos (1906:89 [c. 1542]) says she was accompanied by St. Michael, who fought off demons while Santiago led the Spanish cavalry.

⁶⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s II:32]).

⁶¹ When Manco sent a close relative named Cayo Tupa to the Chachapoyas region to raise the resistance, the local lords there declared their support for Pizarro, and then sent out 1,500 warriors to capture Cayo Tupa and his retinue, whom they burned to death.

⁶² Khipukamayuc (1974:66 [1542/1609]). A contemporaneous Spanish account (Anonymous *Relación de Sucesos*, in *GP* II:396 [1548]) says there were 30,000 “friendly Indians” in Cuzco.



Figure 7.4. Image of Santiago aiding the Spaniards during Manco Inca's siege of Cuzco, from a 1728 edition of the chronicle of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1615). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

approached Cuzco in 1533. Chilche made Pizarro a promise that he kept during Manco's siege: "I come to serve and will not deny the Christians till the day I die."⁶³ During the Inca siege of Cuzco, Chilche served the Spanish cause eagerly, killing Inca warriors in pitched fighting that he would remember well in his old age.

⁶³ Diego de Trujillo, in Varón Gabai (1997:174).

Many of the men and women of noble Inca houses maintained their support of the Spaniards as well.⁶⁴ Contarguacho, a secondary wife of Huayna Capac's, raised an army in her native land of Huaylas and marched it to Lima to aid Francisco Pizarro, who was the father of two of her grandchildren.⁶⁵ Contarguacho's daughter, doña Inés Huayllas Yupanqui, warned Pizarro about the threat of Inca forces coming to attack his capital. In Cuzco, another of Manco's sisters, later known as doña Beatriz, gave the first warning of the imminent attack. When the hostilities broke out, four powerful Inca lords—Cayo Topa, don Felipe Cari Topa, Inca Pascac, and Hualpa Roca—declared their support for the Spaniards; they brought with them large numbers of fighters and the resources of nearby farming communities, which provided critical support.⁶⁶ These noblemen, some of them half-brothers and cousins of Manco, provided much-needed legitimacy to the Spanish occupation of Cuzco, withdrawing their networks of kin and allies from an Inca who was destroying their ancient city. In addition to providing military support, those lords performed a vital service for the allied forces that held Cuzco. As food stores ran low, Inca noblemen led risky raids on storage centers in the surrounding countryside, ransacking the storehouses and returning with much-needed supplies. A few years after the siege, a group of Inca record keepers declared that the food stores of the Spaniards would not have held out without divine aid, and noted that God was served when the four powerful lords brought their support to the Christian cause.⁶⁷

Manco's Retreat

If Manco's huge army had succeeded in overrunning Cuzco in its initial assault, it might have been possible to join the troops besieging Lima, creating an unstoppable force that could have swept away the last remaining Spanish enclaves in the Andes.⁶⁸ Inca soldiers had already shown themselves capable

⁶⁴ The Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:43–44 [1539]) treats the Inca women as Spanish hostages, saying that Hernando Pizarro ordered them killed if their husbands did not lift the siege.

⁶⁵ Espinoza Soriano (1976); cf. Guengerich (2016:110–113).

⁶⁶ *Khipukamayuyq* (1974:65 [1542/1609]). Pascac was a brother or cousin of Manco Inca, as were Inguill and Huaypar, who served as emissaries to the Spaniards after Manco Inca had retreated to Vilcabamba.

⁶⁷ *Khipukamayuyquna* (1892:36 [1542/1608]).

⁶⁸ Hemming (1970) provides a detailed account of the siege of Lima.

of fighting against Spanish horses and weaponry. After Pizarro succeeded in repelling the Inca troops from Lima, he sent several companies of cavalry to relieve Cuzco, all of which were ambushed on mountain passes or destroyed in open combat with Andean forces. Hundreds of Spaniards were killed in the fighting. In Cuzco, Manco began to mount his own cavalry using captured horses, which would have made Andean armies much more dangerous in future battles with Spanish invaders. One source says that Manco seized 100 horses when his armies defeated Spanish relief forces, as well as lances and swords. His men forced the captive Spaniards to make gunpowder for them, and in the later stages of the siege of Cuzco, were starting to use firearms.⁶⁹

After Manco's initial assault had failed, and the Andean allies rallied to the Spaniards to defend and provision the city, the situation became much more uncertain. Manco's army controlled the roads and bridges around Cuzco, but he could not keep a large force encircling the city indefinitely. With a contingent of veterans of the frontier wars of Quito, he might have been able to win back the city, block by block, but those armies had been destroyed in relentless fighting of recent years. Warriors who hailed from groups that provided long-term frontier soldiers for the Incas—the Cañaris and Chachapoyas—remained in the city, fighting for their lives as Spanish allies. Most of Manco's troops were ordinary farmers and herders from the Cuzco countryside, sling-bearers with no formal military training and little battle experience. When, despite the advantage of sheer numbers, they failed to take Cuzco, it became increasingly difficult to keep the conscripts away from their agrarian labors, and many of them returned to their fields and flocks. The situation ground down into a stalemate, punctuated by occasional attacks. Manco's forces could not push all the way into the city, and the Spaniards and their allies could do little more than make provisioning forays into the countryside. Manco was for several months able to reassemble a large force during the time of each full moon and make a new attack on Cuzco, but these attacks were unsuccessful, and the hostilities ebbed as the moon waned. Manco had mounted his campaign from a command center in the nearby Sacred Valley, but he soon withdrew downriver to Ollantaytambo, a country palace of his great-grandfather that he fortified against Spanish attacks.

The Inca campaign was already losing momentum when Diego de Almagro returned to Cuzco with what remained of his expeditionary force,

⁶⁹ Anonymous *Relación de Sucesos* (in GP II:396 [1548])

accompanied by his Inca ally Paullu. Almagro sought to end the siege, but instead of sending his troops or messengers to Hernando Pizarro in Cuzco, he dispatched Alonso Enríquez to Manco's headquarters to declare Almagro's friendship and negotiate a peace treaty with him.⁷⁰ Almagro encouraged the Inca to lodge a complaint with Charles V over the Pizarro brothers' mistreatment of the Incas. While Enríquez was with Manco, a messenger brought the Inca a letter written by Hernando Pizarro from the besieged city of Cuzco. Pizarro urged Manco not to come to terms with his brother's partner, and warned that Almagro wished to burn Manco to death and crown Paullu as Inca. Hernando Pizarro was more afraid of Manco allying himself with Almagro than he was of the months-long war that had cost so many lives, including that of his brother Juan. But he was not far off the mark: Almagro might not have wanted to burn Manco alive, but when his negotiations with the Inca broke down, he staged a ceremony at which he presented Paullu with the royal *borla* insignia and named him Inca.⁷¹ Facing a new Inca-Spanish alliance and the remains of the army that was returning from Chile, Manco gave up his efforts to take Cuzco. He abandoned the city of his ancestors and led his few loyal supporters into the jungles of the Vilcabamba region, where he established an independent capital that would stand for thirty-five years.

Located to the northwest of Cuzco, Vilcabamba was one of the first areas the Incas had conquered when their armies reached beyond the Cuzco area, and Manco attempted to transplant the Inca capital there. He carried off the mummies of several of his ancestors, as well as the Panchao, a golden statue of the Sun, which he placed in a temple that he had built for it. The retreating Inca was accompanied by some of the powerful *mamakuna* priestesses, who were able to sustain traditional elements of imperial ritual life and to care for the *huacas* they had salvaged in the flight from Cuzco.⁷² Some writers have described Vilcabamba as a "kingdom in exile," but it is important to recognize Manco's strategy for continuing his war of liberation. His new capital

⁷⁰ AGI, Patronato 192 N.1 R. 20 [1539]. Hemming (1970:224–227) provides a detailed account of the failed negotiations.

⁷¹ Lamana (2008:160–173) reviews the primary sources that describe Paullu's coronation.

⁷² Lee (2018); Bauer, Fonseca Santa Cruz, and Aráoz Silva (2015), Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti (2016). Despite Manco's embrace of Inca tradition, his Vilcabamba kingdom absorbed some of the colonial technologies (iron, roof tiles) brought by the Spaniards.

was situated in a remote valley on the eastern Andean slope, a position that offered protection against Spanish invasion. It was also within striking distance of the main Inca road through the central highlands, where Inca forces continued to hold strategic locations. Manco's generals occupied the provincial center of Huánuco and were fighting to take the Pumpú region. Manco was still poised to rebuild a modest version of his empire in Vilcabamba if he could retake the nearby highland provinces and extend his control deeper into the lowlands.

Manco's retreat to the Vilcabamba region marked a significant point in the conquest of Peru. It was by no means the end of indigenous fighting against the Spaniards, which remained fierce in many parts of the central Andes for several years to come. But as the threat of Manco's army receded from Cuzco, the Spaniards turned their weapons on each other. Sent as agents of Catholic civilization, the conquistadores acted with "great cruelty and recklessness, not having the fear of God nor reverence for His Imperial Majesty before their eyes."⁷³ In 1537, Cuzco became the epicenter of the first of a series of civil wars that lasted for nearly twenty years, consuming European combatants, as well as indigenous populations who were drawn unwillingly into the conflicts. Those who witnessed Christians savagely killing each other believed that they had forgotten the miraculous significance of their discoveries and conquests, and fallen into a sinful state that called God's judgment down on their heads.⁷⁴ Looking back decades later, the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara portrayed the factionalism that ate away at the conquistadores as a diabolical invention "hatched by the Devil so that many men should be killed all at once."⁷⁵

Division

As soon as Manco's forces withdrew, Almagro and Paullu made their way into Cuzco and took control of the city (Figure 7.5). The only resistance they

⁷³ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 1]).

⁷⁴ For example, Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 9]).

⁷⁵ (1904:7, introductory letter). In that passage, the chronicler described the men of the Pizarro and Almagro factions as actors in a morality play: "[T]hey all went around in masks and made farcical characters, from which unfolded a tragicomedy and elegy of diverse calamities and bad deaths, for where there is no God, King, law, peace, or justice, there will be a Babylonian confusion and a continuous war and mortal pestilence."



Figure 7.5. Woodcut depicting Diego de Almagro's entry into Cuzco after Manco Inca's siege had been lifted. From Francisco López de Gómara (1552).

encountered came from a handful of hard-core Pizarrists, who had barricaded themselves in an Inca palace, until they were smoked out and taken prisoner. Half of the Spaniards in Cuzco came over to Almagro's side immediately, and the indigenous people who had fought alongside the Pizarro faction showed little appetite for resisting the newcomers.⁷⁶

Once in the city, Almagro held a public coronation to recognize Paullu as Inca. In the charred and collapsed ruins of the Inca capital, Almagro assembled the men and women of the Inca nobility—as well as ordinary people from the surrounding region—and he had them receive Paullu as lord “according to their custom.”⁷⁷ Soon after enthroning his Inca ally, Almagro learned from Paullu's messengers that a powerful Spanish relief army was approaching Cuzco under the command of Alonso de Alvarado. Pizarro had

⁷⁶ Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:110–112 [1539]); Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 9]).

⁷⁷ Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:125 [1539]).

survived the siege of Lima, and now he sent Alvarado toward Cuzco with 350 men. On the road, Alvarado's Spaniards were reinforced by 200 new arrivals from Panama and Spain, as well as thousands of porters and warriors from the Wankas of the Jauja region. This army fought its way along the Inca highland road, facing stiff resistance as it advanced toward Cuzco.⁷⁸ Rather than welcome the Spaniards into the liberated city, Almagro sent his men under Rodrigo Orgóñez, accompanied by Paullu and 10,000 of his followers, to meet the approaching force. The two armies met at Abancay. Spanish treachery helped Orgóñez to surprise Alvarado and take him prisoner, on July 12, 1537.⁷⁹ Almagro's soldiers brought their Spanish prisoners back to Cuzco, where they began preparing weapons for Pizarro's counterattack.

Almagro knew that it would take months for his partner to bring new troops against Cuzco, but he also feared that if he took his army out of the city to attack Lima, Manco Inca could return to take his former capital. To resolve the threat posed by Manco, Almagro sent Orgóñez with 200 Spaniards to invade Vilcabamba.⁸⁰ On hearing that a Spanish force was approaching, Manco retreated deeper into the jungle, leaving the road behind him destroyed and booby-trapped. It took fierce fighting for the Spaniards to take the string of forts protecting the Vilcabamba region, but Orgóñez was able to seize Manco's capital at Vitcos. The Inca and most of his supporters were able to retreat and avoid capture, and Almagro recalled Orgóñez to Cuzco. He returned with Manco's golden statue of the Sun, as well as other gold and silver objects. That plunder was not melted down to reward Almagro's battered troops, but was instead presented to Paullu as the sovereign recipient of the spoils of battle. Rather than condemn the Punchao statue as a demonic idol, the Spaniards treated it with respect when they returned it to their Inca, and it was "kept with the reverence of God, because they say that the Sun is the one that makes and creates all things."⁸¹

Even after his brush with disaster in Vitcos, Manco continued to sally from Vilcabamba with his warriors, making unpredictable raids in all directions. They killed unprotected travelers and destroyed Spanish property where they could, but more importantly, they created an atmosphere of fear across

⁷⁸ Hemming (1970:221–223).

⁷⁹ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chaps. 16, 17]).

⁸⁰ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 21]).

⁸¹ Anonymous *Sitio del Cuzco* (1879:134 [1539]). Either the Vilcabamba Incas recovered this statue, or they fabricated a new one, because the Punchao was captured in 1572 in the final invasion of Vilcabamba.

the region.⁸² Areas located near the Vilcabamba kingdom gained a dangerous reputation, especially the road between Cuzco and Huamanga, which was known for its inhospitable terrain and frequent Inca attacks.⁸³ A year after Orgóñez had invaded Vilcabamba, Francisco Pizarro sent troops from Cuzco to the Huamanga area to track down Manco Inca, who was reportedly marauding there. Spurred on by the desire to capture the Inca—and his women and treasure—a vanguard of roughly thirty Spaniards raced ahead of the main force. They ascended a mountainside to a place called Onqoy, where the exhausted men found themselves face-to-face with the Inca, and heavily outnumbered. Manco killed the Spanish captain and almost all his soldiers, although Andean allies helped a few to escape.⁸⁴ The Inca and his men fell back once more to their jungle fastness, taking the heads of their Spanish victims with them.⁸⁵

Almagro's return to Cuzco must have surprised Pizarro, especially when he learned that his partner had taken his brothers prisoner and defeated Alonso de Alvarado. The break between the two governors created yet another front for Pizarro, who faced continued native fighting throughout the highlands. From his capital in Lima, Pizarro enjoyed two significant advantages: he could draw on the constant stream of reinforcements coming down the coast from Panama, and his access to ships meant that he could both send his version of the conflict to Spain and control the information coming back from court. Almagro understood this, and he made for the Pacific coast, where he attempted to establish a town called Almagro in the Chíncha Valley, which was part of Pizarro's jurisdiction.⁸⁶ His invading army devastated the lands it passed through, inflicting even worse carnage than Pizarro's troops had committed just a few years earlier. Spanish chroniclers treated the atrocities against native communities as God's punishment for the sins of the Incas and their subjects. During the fighting, Spanish forces passed repeatedly through

⁸² Cieza de León (1553, chap. 86)

⁸³ Zárate (1555, bk. 1, chap. 9). An example of the danger on that road comes from a 1543 letter to Charles V describing the uprising of the younger Diego de Almagro. Almagro sent seven Spaniards as messengers to Huamanga, hoping they would find safety in numbers. Two were killed on the road (AGI, Patronato 185 R.32 [1543]).

⁸⁴ Cieza de León (1553, chap. 86)

⁸⁵ In 1539, Gonzalo Pizarro made another unsuccessful attempt to conquer Vilcabamba. When royal officials replaced the Pizarro brothers, they pursued a policy of diplomacy, reflecting Charles V's opinion that Manco was justified in waging war against the conquistadors.

⁸⁶ *CDIH-C* volume V (1889:33ff).

the southern coastal valleys, seizing local food stores and carrying off men and women in chains. These and other brutal acts quickly devastated coastal populations between Lima and the Nasca Valley.⁸⁷

From his makeshift town in Chincha, Almagro sent messages to Pizarro, attempting to negotiate an end to the conflict on favorable terms. Desperate to get his version of the fighting to court, Almagro reportedly had a supporter commandeer a balsa raft to sail up the Pacific coast carrying letters, an account of what had happened, and 12,000 gold pesos for Charles V.⁸⁸ As the two partners prepared to face each other in battle, they entered into a last-minute arbitration with royal officials, who ultimately favored Pizarro's claim on Cuzco.⁸⁹ Several Spaniards blamed the failure of the peace talks on a Mercedarian friar, Francisco de Bobadilla, who they believed was possessed by a demon that wished to sow dissent among the Christians.⁹⁰

Thwarted in his attempt to establish his jurisdiction in Cuzco and Chincha, Almagro retreated into the Andes with the help of Paullu and his people. Hernando Pizarro pursued him to Cuzco, where it was clear that their differences would be resolved through outright war. The Almagrists mustered 500 men from Cuzco, many of whom had to be forced to take the field of battle. The news of the coming fight spread through the Inca heartland, where sacrifices had long been made to the *huacas* with the goal of bringing the Spaniards to destroy themselves. Large numbers of natives flocked to the ridges and hillsides surrounding the Cuzco basin to watch the Spaniards fight one another. They cheered for both sides to inflict maximum casualties, hoping that they would all be killed.⁹¹ Although Paullu brought 6,000 auxiliaries to the battle, his troops held back, content to let the Spaniards fight on their own. The Battle of Las Salinas (April 26, 1538) went to Hernando Pizarro, whose soldiers killed a quarter of Almagro's men.⁹²

⁸⁷ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 24]). The Chincha Valley, which Hernando Pizarro took as his, saw a decline of more than 95% of its indigenous population by the 1570s (Cook 1980:42); this was followed by the large-scale importation of African slaves to work the Spanish plantations.

⁸⁸ AGI, Lima 566 L. 4 f. 112v [September 25, 1540].

⁸⁹ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 41]).

⁹⁰ Cristóbal de Vega, a knight of Santiago, swore to this (Fiscal de S. M. 1883:198 [1540]), and the royal treasurer Manuel de Espinar expressed a similar opinion (Espinar 1883:260 [1539]).

⁹¹ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 63]).

⁹² Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chaps. 62–64]).

Almagro was taken prisoner, and Hernando Pizarro pronounced a death sentence on him, which was carried out immediately.⁹³

After Almagro's death, Francisco Pizarro still had to worry about hundreds of men who had fought for his partner. He also had to address the even larger number of new migrants who had flocked to Peru during Manco's war of reconquest. When Pizarro had first learned of the Inca siege of Cuzco in 1536, he sent a quantity of silver to Panama along with a request for reinforcements, horses, weapons, and other supplies.⁹⁴ Thousands of men came from Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Hispaniola. The Empress Isabella even dispatched a company of 100 artillery and crossbowmen from Spain when she heard of the threat to the fragile colony.⁹⁵ The first support to reach Lima came from other Andean towns, such as Puerto Viejo and Quito, but reinforcements from Central America were not far behind. Many of these men perished shortly after their arrival. As already described, Pizarro sent several contingents of soldiers into the Andes to aid Cuzco, all of which were destroyed by Inca forces. Hundreds of Spaniards died as the brash newcomers rode incautiously into traps and ambushes, or confronted superior Andean forces, believing that they, too, would achieve miraculous victories.⁹⁶ But the reinforcements continued to arrive, even after the sieges of Cuzco and Lima had been broken. Because the news of the Inca menace took so long to reach court, the hundreds of soldiers dispatched by Isabella and Charles V arrived in Peru long after the danger had passed. Few of

⁹³ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 70]).

⁹⁴ In a 1536 letter, Charles V says that the news had reached Panama and Santo Domingo that Pizarro "has sent out a request for aid—of people, weapons, and horses, and other equipment and munitions of war" (AGI, Patronato 185 R. 14-1 [1536]). The king named Diego de Fuenmayor to lead additional cavalry and foot soldiers from Hispaniola to help in the fight to retake the Cuzco and Lima areas and then continue on to complete the conquest that Almagro had undertaken (he was thought to have died on his expedition).

⁹⁵ Diego de Fuenmayor arrived with 500 men after the conflict had subsided, in time to witness the growing discord between the Pizarro and Almagro factions (AGI, Patronato 192 N.1 R.14 [1538]). Tomás de Berlanga indicates that 2,000 or more men came from Hispaniola, Cartagena, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico (in Porras 1959:235). Isabella ordered that the 100 men traveling from Spain be exempted from customs duties (AGI, Lima 565 L.2 F.233 [1536]). After the fighting ended, Charles V ordered his viceroy in Mexico to reimburse expenses related to sending aid to Pizarro (AGI, Mexico 1088 L.3 F.75-77 [1538]).

⁹⁶ Vicente de Valverde ([1539], in Porras 1959:223) estimated that 500 Spaniards had died in the uprising, which was still ongoing. Valverde was killed shortly after, when the native of Puná massacred dozens of Spanish merchants there.

those newcomers were keen to make their way back to Hispaniola or Spain empty-handed.

Lima was the principal destination for Spaniards sailing down the coast from Panama, and Pizarro needed to manage the new waves of violent opportunists in a town whose original founders had already divided up the native population of the surrounding region for their *encomiendas*. Those who made their way to the Cuzco highlands found a city tense with simmering Spanish conflicts and fears of future invasions by Manco Inca. Mired in lawsuits and feuds with his own partners and other prominent conquistadores, Pizarro understood the danger of letting large numbers of unoccupied and resentful Spaniards remain in his fragile Peruvian towns, where they could be pulled into the orbit of a rival faction. To empty Lima and Cuzco of potential troublemakers, Pizarro and his surviving brothers oversaw several new expeditions into the Amazonian slope and other territories lying beyond the Inca domain. Immediately following the Battle of Las Salinas, Hernando Pizarro permitted Pedro de Candía—the famous Greek artillery captain, who was a prominent Almagro supporter—to lead an expedition onto the Amazonian slope northeast of Cuzco. An Inca woman in Candía's service had told him that there were rich lands to be discovered there. Hernando Pizarro allowed Candía recruit men for his company, hoping to rid Cuzco of some of the 1,600 unruly Spaniards who occupied the city.⁹⁷ Candía took 300 of those men with him. They passed over the mountains and through “truly infernal” lands until supplies gave out and local tribes began to attack them with bows and arrows.⁹⁸ They returned with no treasure, and Candía immediately became enmeshed in an unsuccessful plot to murder Hernando Pizarro.

While his brothers were managing new conquests on the Inca periphery, Francisco Pizarro established several new Spanish towns as a way of consolidating his power and reducing the risk of more factional violence. He attempted to match Manco Inca's strategic movement into Vilcabamba by occupying nearby parts of the Inca imperial highland network. Building on an earlier expedition, the Spaniards founded San Juan de la Frontera in the friendly territory of the Chachapoyas in 1538, which helped to connect

⁹⁷ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chap. 65]). Alonso de Alvarado was busy returning to Chachapoyas, and Pedro de Vergara received permission for an expedition to Bracamoros.

⁹⁸ Cieza de León (1923 [c. 1553, chaps. 66, 67]).

Peru to the Spanish towns of the northern Andean highlands.⁹⁹ The following year, Pizarro sent a group of disaffected Almagro supporters to settle Huánuco, a short-lived Spanish town that they founded in the central plaza of an abandoned Inca administrative center.¹⁰⁰ The settlers intended to hold the highlands between Lima and Chachapoyas, where Inca resistance still posed a serious threat to coastal towns. During Manco's campaign, the Inca captain Illa Tupa occupied Huánuco and used the site to launch attacks on Spanish settlements on the coast.¹⁰¹ Carrying an image of the oracle Catequil as their talisman, Illa Tupa's forces threatened Trujillo, where they killed as many Spaniards as they could, and also attacked and plundered the houses of native communities that were friendly to them.¹⁰² After Illa Tupa withdrew from Huánuco, the Spanish town established there amid the Inca ruins represented a key bulwark against further Inca expansion.

Pizarro settled another strategic town, called San Juan de la Frontera, in Huamanga in 1539, placing a Spanish population along the main road between Lima and Cuzco. The new town was situated at the edge of the territories of Cuzco and Lima, a dangerous frontier, where Manco Inca and his warriors carried out ambushes and raids, killing and robbing Spaniards and their indigenous allies.¹⁰³ Despite the distance and danger lying between these far-flung Spanish outposts, few new Spanish settlements were established in the central Andean highlands in the decades that followed. Incoming Spaniards were channeled into new coastal towns, or toward the silver towns and new frontier settlements in Chile, lowland Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina.

As Pizarro sent supporters of the Almagro faction to explore and settle dangerous and remote areas, he moved aggressively into the territories that had been granted to Diego de Almagro. Months after Almagro's execution, Pizarro approved a joint Inca-Spanish campaign in Collasuyu, which

⁹⁹ Cieza de León (1553, chap. 68) discusses the founding of Chachapoyas, noting that the locals had been cruelly reduced to servitude by the Incas.

¹⁰⁰ Craig Morris (Morris and Thompson 1985; Morris, Covey, and Stein 2011) has studied the archaeology and ethnohistory of the Spanish occupation at Huánuco.

¹⁰¹ Cieza de León (1553, chap. 69).

¹⁰² Zárate (1555, bk. 4, chap. 1).

¹⁰³ Cieza de León (1553, chap. 86). The site of Huamanga was moved in 1540, the year that Arequipa was founded in southern Peru (Cieza de León 1553, chap. 87). After the royalist victory at Chupas over the younger Almagro, the victorious Cristóbal Vaca de Castro ordered the town named changed to San Juan de la Victoria (Cieza de León 1553, chap. 86).

resulted in the 1538 settlement of Charcas (modern Sucre, Bolivia), a city well to the south of the disputed border between the kingdoms of New Castile and New Toledo. Such a move would have been a clear violation of the boundaries approved by Charles V if the Pizarro brothers had not been accompanied by an Inca lord whom they recognized as holding some sovereign power. Paullu Inca, who had accompanied Almagro's failed expedition into this region, went with Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, reconquering resistant Inca subjects in the Bolivian highlands.¹⁰⁴ Hernando Pizarro soon led another expedition into the region to seek out the mines where the Incas obtained their silver.¹⁰⁵

In the Condesuyu highlands southwest of Cuzco, the town of Arequipa was established in Francisco Pizarro's name in 1540, occupying lands that marked the southern limit of his extended territorial claim.¹⁰⁶ Reaching even farther south, Pizarro sent Pedro de Valdivia into Chile, where in 1541 he founded Santiago, more than a thousand miles (1600 km) south of Arequipa. With these new towns came a series of new *encomienda* grants, and the leading citizens of Nuevo Toledo complained to the Crown that Pizarro had ignored the grants that Almagro had stipulated in his will, awarding them instead to men who fought for his own faction.¹⁰⁷ These reports of the predatory expansion of Pizarro's kingdom of New Castile against Almagro's royally ordained realm of New Toledo provoked Charles V to order that the territories of the two kingdoms be carefully demarcated, and that there be formal inquiries into whether Pizarro was abusing his position as governor.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ The younger Almagro claimed (in *Causa contra Barragán* 1895:349–350 [1543]) that Paullu was coerced to take 10,000 warriors along with Hernando Pizarro and 400 Spaniards, who dug up *huacas* and burials for their treasures, tortured and burned local lords alive, and extorted from the local populace large quantities of precious metals, llamas, and food that they sold in the Cuzco market.

¹⁰⁵ A report in the Archivo General de Simancas (CCA, DIV, 46–35 [16th c.]) notes that Hernando Pizarro encountered the mines at Porco, near the place where his brother founded the town of La Plata (modern Sucre).

¹⁰⁶ Although the traditionally accepted founding date for Arequipa is August 15, 1540, earlier documents refer to the settlement (AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 172–173 [February 4, 1540]). A few months later, Charles V instructed the inspector Cristóbal Vaca de Castro to report on Arequipa, Charcas, and other towns that Pizarro had founded in the kingdom of Nueva Toledo, and to compel Pizarro's secretary to produce records for those towns (AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 36–38 [June 19, 1540]).

¹⁰⁷ AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 193v [July 6, 1541].

¹⁰⁸ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 368 [June 15, 1540].

Royal Judgment

Hernando Pizarro's summary execution of Diego de Almagro after the Battle of Las Salinas had violated Spanish legal procedures, and he was imprisoned when he finally returned to Spain to present the Pizarrist version of events. As Hernando Pizarro was giving testimony against Diego de Almagro from his place of confinement in the castle of La Mota, the poor and hungry remnants of the Almagrist faction in Peru began to consider a violent solution that would reverse years of legal and military defeats. While Francisco Pizarro was presiding over new settlements and *encomienda* grants intended to win supporters, he learned that Almagro's desperate followers were plotting against his life.¹⁰⁹ On June 26, 1541, the governor was dining at his home in Lima with more than a dozen guests, when a group of armed men burst in, shouting out their intent to kill him. Most of the guests fled from the house, risking the assassins' swords in a mad dash to safety, but Pizarro and his half-brother Martín de Alcántara stood their ground and fought the attackers, supported by their pages and a few men who had remained with them. According to witnesses, the old conquistador battled to the end, killing several of his assailants before he was cut down by their blades. The conspirators slashed and stabbed Pizarro's body repeatedly before turning to loot his house.¹¹⁰ They then went onto Lima's central plaza where other supporters of Almagro joined them, shouting "The tyrant is dead! Long live the king."¹¹¹

Francisco Pizarro's violent demise spared him the consequences of an impending legal inquiry into his actions during and after the invasion of the Inca world. Despite the attempts by the Pizarro faction to control the narrative about the unraveling colonization of Peru, conflicting accounts reached Charles V in Madrid, including direct accusations of fraud, abuse of power, and other tyrannical acts.¹¹² The Spanish king finally seemed to understand

¹⁰⁹ Cieza de León (1918 [c. 1553, chap. 17]) describes the state of Almagro's followers as desperately poor and hungry.

¹¹⁰ Ludeña (1985) reviews some of the eyewitness accounts of the murder (see Maples et al. 1989).

¹¹¹ Cieza de León (1918 [c. 1553, chap. 32]) adds this last part, which reflects how chroniclers referred to the Spanish rebels in Peru after more than a decade of civil wars.

¹¹² Almagro's supporters sent legal testimony against the Pizarro brothers from Cuzco in early 1537, as well as a follow-up document assembled in Lima in the weeks following Pizarro's assassination (e.g., AGI, Patronato 90A N.1 R.11).

that the Andean reality bore no resemblance to the government that he and his wife had carefully designed on paper more than a decade earlier. More than a year before Pizarro's assassination, Charles V had selected Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, a member of his council and Knight of Santiago, to set things straight in Peru. Dozens of decrees emanated from Madrid in 1540, ordering Vaca de Castro to oversee the inspection of Peru, resolve any excesses already committed, and establish good treatment of native Andean subjects.¹¹³ As he prepared to sail from Spain, Vaca de Castro received detailed instructions for the review and reform of almost every dimension of Spanish government in Peru.

One of the Crown's foremost concerns was that Vaca de Castro determine exactly what had happened from the time Diego de Almagro returned to Cuzco from his disastrous Chilean expedition until Hernando Pizarro executed him. Charles V ordered that officials in Peru and Panama refrain from taking any actions until the inspector could compile a detailed account of events, which was to be sent to the Council of the Indies.¹¹⁴ Although the Crown favored the Pizarro side in many respects—letters had been sent to Cuzco before the Battle of Las Salinas, stating that Hernando Pizarro was to be given control of the city—Vaca de Castro's investigation would consider a growing number of complaints that Pizarro had exceeded his authority and had failed to govern fairly based on his royal instructions.¹¹⁵ Charles V ordered an account of settlements founded by Pizarro in Nuevo Toledo, an assessment of whether he had used royal offices—including his own—for personal benefit, and verification of the accusations that he owed the crown large sums of gold and silver.¹¹⁶

Vaca de Castro was instructed to resolve a growing number of legal cases in Peru, which paralleled the violence that had become the normal form of

¹¹³ AGI, Lima 565 L.4 f. 1–15 [June 15, 1540]. Also AGI, Indiferente L.2 F.365r–378r [June 15, 1540].

¹¹⁴ AGI, Lima 565 L.4 f. 19–21v [June 19, 1540]; AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 65v [July 20, 1540]

¹¹⁵ In 1538 the Crown demanded that Almagro return Cuzco to Hernando Pizarro (AGI, Patronato 90A N.1 R.19 [1538]). By 1540 several legal proceedings were underway in Spain claiming that Hernando Pizarro was responsible for the death of several men who were presumably killed or executed around the time of the Battle of Las Salinas (e.g., AGI, Indiferente 423 L. 19 f. 345r–346r, 347r–347v, 347v–348r, 352r–353r, 392v–393r).

¹¹⁶ AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 36–40, 90 [June 19, 1540]. See Lamana (2008) on Pizarro's delay in handing over Peruvian treasure to the Crown.

conflict resolution for the conquistadores.¹¹⁷ As the Pizarro and Almagro factions warred with each other, their leaders reallocated *encomienda* grants and other resources, in many cases coercing defeated rivals to surrender their estates. For example, Juan de Escalante complained to the Crown that he had been dispossessed of his *encomienda* by Nicolás de Ribera, a follower of Almagro, an act in which he was aided by an Andean lord who had deposed and murdered his own brother so that he could usurp the title of cacique.¹¹⁸ In Cuzco, Juan Ortíz claimed that he had been imprisoned and bullied into renouncing his possessions, which included a fine house, which Diego de Almagro gave to Paullu when he named him Inca.¹¹⁹ Francisco and Hernando Pizarro did the same to Almagro's followers, seizing the *encomienda* Almagro had awarded to Juan de Guzmán after he participated in the conquest of Quito.¹²⁰

Vaca de Castro's instructions noted that the Crown had repeatedly attempted to reduce the size and strategic influence of the estates of the Pizarro brothers and their closest supporters. For example, when Charles V approved a promised *encomienda* grant of 20,000 tributary households to Francisco Pizarro in 1537, he ordered that it not be made in a provincial capital or a port city, a condition intended to prevent the governor from dominating politics and economic life in Cuzco or Lima.¹²¹ Vaca de Castro carried orders to inspect—and if necessary, reform—the *encomiendas* of Cuzco, which were too large and contested by Inca nobles. Word had reached court that Pizarro had taken lands near Cuzco that belonged to Inca lords, and divided them up with his brothers Juan and Hernando. Paullu and the other members of the Inca nobility had petitioned the Crown for their return. In addition to executing Almagro and seizing vast tracts of Inca lands in the Cuzco region, Hernando Pizarro stood accused of shaking down Spaniards for “royal contributions” that were never sent to the king.¹²²

Part of the potential damage that the Pizarros and others had caused had a direct impact on royal patrimony in Peru, and Charles V was anxious that

¹¹⁷ Records in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (Justicia, Lima 565–566) show dozens of cases referred to Vaca de Castro during a one-year period before he arrived in Peru.

¹¹⁸ AGI, Lima 565 L.3 F.226v [June 10, 1540]. Escalante claimed to have liquidated his property for far less than its value out of fear of Pizarro and Almagro.

¹¹⁹ AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 229–230 [June 11, 1540].

¹²⁰ AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 227 [June 11, 1540].

¹²¹ AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 43v–46v, 64v–65v [June 19, 1540].

¹²² AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 145 [December 16, 1540]

Vaca de Castro look over the colony's financial records. During the visit, he was to find and punish Spaniards who had taken gold and silver that by rights belonged to the Crown, as well as people who had not paid one-fifth of their treasure to royal officials. The instructions to rein in the Pizarros came with directives intended to establish control over the Spaniards in Peru, who were supposed to be settling there permanently as law-abiding colonists. Instead of living amid the indigenous populations, taking Andean women for their pleasure, Spaniards were ordered to build durable houses, to spend 10 percent of their incomes each year, and to marry within four years or lose their *encomiendas*.¹²³ Those who had profited at the expense of the Crown were to be punished, and the municipal councils of all Spanish settlements received instructions to cooperate with Vaca de Castro, who was ordered to gather copies of all royal provisions and ordinances into a single book for more effective oversight.

Although the unfolding anarchy among the Spanish residents of Peru was an important concern for Charles V, his instructions to Vaca de Castro literally began and ended with considerations of the well-being of the indigenous population. The emperor had heard that many of the Spaniards in Peru—including the Pizarro brothers and their followers—had treated native Andeans badly, stealing their lands and personal property, and taking their women and children against their will. In their search for Inca treasure, they had imprisoned noble people, and administered torture and beatings that had killed those who would not divulge the locations of rich tombs or shrines.¹²⁴ In addition to robbing native of their property, the Spaniards took Andean people as slaves during Manco Inca's war of reconquest, and had branded their faces and forced them to do dangerous and unhealthy labor, including deadly service as porters on lowland expeditions of discovery and conquest.¹²⁵ Although the Crown had banned the enslavement of peaceful natives, the market in Andean slaves was booming in Peru and Panama, and Spaniards returning from Peru routinely brought slaves home with them.¹²⁶

¹²³ AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 23v, 33, 42 [June 19, 1540]

¹²⁴ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 365r [June 15, 1540].

¹²⁵ AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 134 [November 8, 1539]; AGI, Patronato 192 N.1 R.33 [1543].

¹²⁶ AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 72 [January 31, 1539]. Spaniards returning to Spain from New Castile and Quito were permitted to bring two "Indian" slaves and two free natives with them (AGI, Lima 565 L.3 f. 15v [1538]).

Before Vaca de Castro sailed from Seville he was told to find all the enslaved Andeans in the city and offer to take those who wished to return to Peru.¹²⁷

Those who seized the opportunity to make the arduous journey back to the Andes would struggle to recognize what remained of the Inca realm. In Cuzco, the violent shock waves of the late 1530s had devastated the agrarian economy, killing an estimated 50,000 Andean people and undermining their fragile first steps toward Christian conversion. As native people starved, Spanish speculators gathered up what food was available and sold it for inflated prices in the indigenous barter markets. According to one observer, many of the hungry embraced Christianity in a vain attempt to receive life-sustaining charity from the Spaniards. The new converts “would go begging with a crucifix, that for the love of God they should give them something to eat.”¹²⁸ When the Spaniards refused to help them, many threw their crosses to the ground and sought other ways to survive.

Charles V ordered that all of Peru’s native population—those living in *encomiendas*, as well as those managed by royal officials—be treated as Christians and free vassals of the Spanish crown.¹²⁹ Vaca de Castro was told that when he visited Spanish towns, he should gather the indigenous leaders from the surrounding region and to tell them through an interpreter that he was there on behalf of the Crown to bring order to the native population, to ensure that the Spaniards lived with them peacefully and justly and to right the wrongs that had been committed against them.¹³⁰ If Francisco Pizarro had not already taken steps to standardize and reduce the native tributes, Vaca de Castro was expected to do so for all *encomiendas* in Peru, including those belonging to the Pizarro brothers.¹³¹

In his decrees and instructions, Charles V made vague references to rebellious indigenous leaders who might wish to make peace, and to give him

¹²⁷ Orders were given to allow unlicensed Andean slaves in Panama to return home (AGI, Lima L.4 f. 257 [1541]).

¹²⁸ AGI, Patronato 194 R.9 [July 22, 1539].

¹²⁹ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 365r [June 15, 1540].

¹³⁰ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 376v [June 15, 1540]. The crown saw the native caciques as eventual allies, ordering that their sons be educated in schools and monasteries (AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 35v [June 19, 1540]).

¹³¹ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 366r–366v [June 15, 1540]. Pizarro had been ordered in 1536 to establish standard tribute levies (*tasas*) that would lay out what native populations were to pay their Spanish *encomendero*.

gold and silver as a token of service.¹³² Whether or not he had only Manco Inca in mind, the emperor instructed Vaca de Castro to bring the Inca to peace, which would involve Manco making a payment of gold and silver. If he should do so, Manco “should be placed in complete liberty and given all the lands that he ought to have as lord (but not so much that it might provoke him to do something like in the past).”¹³³ He would not be detained or imprisoned, and would be completely forgiven for the deaths and damage associated with his ongoing resistance.¹³⁴ From the wording of the instructions, Charles V seemed to think that it was a question of when, not whether, the Inca would return from Vilcabamba as the lord of the Andes.

Vaca de Castro made his way from Spain to Panama, crossed the isthmus, and sailed southward for Peru, intending to land in Puerto Viejo and travel the Inca coastal road to Lima. His ship departed Panama under unfavorable winds, and he ended up landing on the Colombian coast and struggling into the Andes, reaching to the highland city of Popayán with great difficulty.¹³⁵ As he slowly made his way across the Andes, the royal inspector sent messengers ahead to inform Peru’s Spanish population of the royal scrutiny that approached. The messengers returned with shocking news: Pizarro was dead, and the men who murdered him had rallied around Diego de Almagro’s mestizo son, promoting him as governor of Peru. They had replaced several royal officials in Lima with their own allies, as the younger Almagro wrote to supporters in other towns across Peru seeking support for his governorship.¹³⁶ From the Colombian highlands, Vaca de Castro understood these actions to constitute a rebellion against royal authority, but in Peru the heirs of Almagro and Pizarro probably understood their actions as a legitimate extension of their factional rivalries, since the governing titles granted by the Crown were hereditary. The younger Almagro claimed the

¹³² AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 371r [June 15, 1540]. The emperor also sent along a letter to an unnamed indigenous man in reference to the hidden gold and silver the man had offered him (AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 40v [June 19, 1540]).

¹³³ AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 378 [June 15, 1540]. The treasure was to be turned over to royal officials, bypassing Francisco Pizarro, to be sent along to Spain.

¹³⁴ AGI, Lima 566 L.4 f. 105 [July 9, 1540].

¹³⁵ Vaca de Castro described the journey in a letter to Charles V (AHN Diversos 22, N. 34 [November 15, 1541]). Pedro de Cieza de León also describes Vaca de Castro’s progress (1918, chaps. 26, 27, 40, 41), although many of his details conflict with earlier accounts.

¹³⁶ Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 10).

royal commissions bestowed on his father, which he said came to him by right.¹³⁷

The surviving Pizarro brothers might have made their own immediate claim to the governorship as well, except that they were far from Lima when Francisco Pizarro died. Hernando Pizarro, who had returned to Spain to explain why he had executed Almagro, remained imprisoned while he was being investigated for multiple murders and other crimes. Gonzalo Pizarro, sent by his brother Francisco to govern Quito, had abandoned his municipal office to lead an expedition deep into the Amazonian lowlands in a vain search for the fabled riches of El Dorado. The Pizarro faction was not positioned to put forward an heir to its murdered leader, so as the news of Vaca de Castro's approach spread, the scattered Pizarrists regrouped under the royal standard, hoping to destroy their Almagrist enemies and receive favorable treatment from the Crown.

As the supporters of Almagro grew more powerful across Spanish Peru, many of the men who did not wish to join them fled the Almagrist towns and made their way north, seeking to unite with Vaca de Castro as he approached from Colombia. For example, Alonso de Alvarado assembled some 200 Spaniards and a contingent of Chachapoya allies to serve the crown.¹³⁸ In Cuzco, the Almagro faction was able to take power, but several prominent Spaniards escaped and helped to rally a royalist force under Pero Álvarez Holguín, who retook the city. They were soon joined by more than fifty horsemen who had rallied to the royal standard in Charcas.¹³⁹ As had happened in Cuzco, the coastal towns of San Miguel and Trujillo quickly came under the sway of the Almagro faction, before finally declaring themselves on the side of the Crown. As we will see, the Spanish civil wars fought in the Andes over the next decade depended as much on changing declarations of allegiance as on actual fighting, and some men switched sides repeatedly.

The modest number of combatants mustered on both sides of the Spanish war underscores how little control Europeans actually had in the Andes almost a decade after the events at Cajamarca. Chronicles of the Almagrist rebellion mention that native people still massacred priests and merchants along the Pacific coast, and Spanish incursions on the Amazonian slope met with

¹³⁷ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 63).

¹³⁸ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 35); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 10).

¹³⁹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 44); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 11).

organized resistance. Assembling even the small armies that would face each other in 1542 required the Spaniards to abandon the new town of Huánuco. Messengers were sent on the trail of more than one lowland expedition to bring fighting men back to the highlands to kill other Spaniards.¹⁴⁰ Despite their small numbers relative to the indigenous population, the Spanish forces moving across the Andes had a catastrophic impact on local communities already decimated by war and social disruption. Although some of the Spaniards enjoyed the aid of indigenous auxiliaries, most of them simply appropriated the things they needed and desired when they passed through local communities. One Spaniard said that his compatriots murdered native people with no more thought than they would have given to killing useless beasts. They plundered food, wantonly slaughtered domestic animals, and pressed local populations into grueling service as porters, driving them to exhaustion and death.¹⁴¹

This is not to say that indigenous people remained passive as Spanish forces rode toward their villages and hamlets. News of the Europeans' movements spread quickly among Andean highlanders, so that by the time Almagro's emissaries reached the Jauja Valley seeking allies, the leaders of the Wankas already knew that two other forces were converging on the region. The Wankas gave porters and supplies to the royalists, but in other places indigenous populations watched warily for the approach of Spanish forces. When the Spanish soldiers approached, the villagers took their food stores and went into hiding in the uplands, "so as not to have the road covered with the bodies of those whom the Christians, in witness of their cruelty, would work to death and leave behind."¹⁴² When small Spanish contingents passed through remote areas, native fighters attacked them, inflicting significant losses, at heavy costs to themselves.

¹⁴⁰ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 36) says that the first bishop of Cuzco tried to flee the Almagrists by boat but was killed by the natives of the island of Puná around the time twenty merchants were massacred near Quito. He says that Gonzalo Pizarro was on an expedition to find the legendary land of Cinnamon when he and his 200 soldiers were recalled (chap. 47).

¹⁴¹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 48). The Wankas of Jauja testified that the Almagrists had looted their houses, and claimed that the Wankas supported the Pizarro faction. They gave more than 800 people into service as porters for the royalist troops led by Pero Alvarez Holguín, of whom several dozen died or disappeared (don Jerónimo Guacrapaucar [1558], in Espinoza Soriano 1971).

¹⁴² Cieza de León (1918, chap. 50).

After Vaca de Castro learned of Francisco Pizarro's death, he reportedly assembled the town leaders of Popayán and showed them a document from Charles V that placed him in charge of the government of Peru in the event of Pizarro's death.¹⁴³ The royal inspector announced that he would proceed to Quito, and from there to Peru. He sent copies of his mandate ahead to Spanish communities in the hopes of building an army that could impose order in the face of Almagrist resistance.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the younger Almagro decided to leave Lima with 500 men, hoping to occupy Cuzco while they waited to see whether Vaca de Castro would side with the Pizarro faction.¹⁴⁵ Many of the men died on the road as sickness spread through their camp. As they passed near Vilcabamba on the road from Huamanga, Inca attacks killed several more men. Their food supplies ran out—something that would never have happened to an Inca army in this part of the Andes—but Almagro and his men were able to reach Cuzco, and they entered the city without facing resistance.¹⁴⁶ Once there, the Almagrists looted the homes of men who had left to join the royal army. They even excavated throughout the monastery of Santo Domingo—built atop the old Inca sun temple—based on rumors that people had buried their valuables there.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile, Vaca de Castro continued his southward progress into Peru. As he accumulated troops, he faced the challenges of supplying them and dealing with egos and factional loyalties that threatened to break apart his patchwork army. Once he arrived in Lima, Vaca de Castro ordered that communication with the rebels in Cuzco be cut off, and that preparations be made for a campaign into the highlands.¹⁴⁸ The Spanish men and women living in Lima performed public prayers and made sacrifices to God, while

¹⁴³ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 46). This document does not exist among the others detailing Vaca de Castro's instructions, so it is difficult to ascertain whether the chronicler is correct.

¹⁴⁴ By the time he left Quito, Vaca de Castro reportedly had a force of 120 with him (Cieza de León 1918, chap. 54).

¹⁴⁵ Cieza de León (1918, chaps. 49, 52). Since Vaca de Castro brought no military commission, it was not a foregone conclusion that his arrival would lead to a decisive battle.

¹⁴⁶ AGI, Patronato 185. R. 32 [1543].

¹⁴⁷ Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 12). The Dominicans reportedly supported the Pizarro faction during this period, whereas the Almagrists sent correspondence through the Mercedarians of Cuzco.

¹⁴⁸ AGI, Patronato 185. R. 32 [1543]; Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 15) recalls that they made arquebuses; Cieza de León (1918, chaps. 68, 69) says that they sent word to the people of Jauja to produce pikes. As weapons were produced Vaca de Castro accumulated funds and put his fighting men in order.

the monks of the religious orders went through the streets praying that Vaca de Castro be granted divine aid, since he was waging war in the name of the king.¹⁴⁹ In Cuzco, the younger Almagro became concerned when no official letters came from Lima, but he was able to gather information about Vaca de Castro's advance from indigenous messengers sent by the Inca Paullu, who was cooperating with the occupying Almagrists. Manco Inca contacted the younger Almagro from Vilcabamba, providing him with additional intelligence about Vaca de Castro's movements and offering to meet the rebel in peace at Huamanga.¹⁵⁰ Almagro and his captains resolved to fight against the royalist army. They gathered all the Spaniards in Cuzco to listen to the young man make a case for defending his governorship by force. The men constructed an effigy of Vaca de Castro, which they insulted and burned publicly.¹⁵¹

As fire consumed his likeness in Cuzco, Vaca de Castro was finishing his preparations for war and marching his army into the highlands on the Inca road. They stopped in Jauja, where the Wankas supplied them with porters and supplies, including pikes and gunpowder that they had produced.¹⁵² Around the time the royalist army departed from Jauja, Almagro put his rowdy troops into battle order and left Cuzco to meet them, even though he knew that Spanish Peru was turning against him and that the royalist army now outnumbered his supporters. The two armies approached each other near Huamanga. Messages passed between them in a last-minute effort to avoid battle, but nothing came of the diplomatic efforts. The royalist army reached Huamanga first, but then withdrew to a nearby plateau called Chupas, which offered tactical advantages and ensured that Almagro could not skirt around them and race toward Lima on another Inca road.¹⁵³ Suffering from the cold and several days of unseasonal rain, the two Spanish armies went to battle on September 16, 1542. All told, approximately 1,200 Spaniards took to the field of battle, along with an unknown number of fighters of Andean and African heritage.

The news of the imminent clash had spread throughout the surrounding region, and native populations, who had supported the advance of both

¹⁴⁹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 63).

¹⁵⁰ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 70).

¹⁵¹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 63).

¹⁵² Cieza de León (1918, chap. 69); Espinoza Soriano (1971[1558]); Zárate (1555 bk. IV, chap. 15).

¹⁵³ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 76); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 17)

armies, gathered to watch the battle. As had occurred at Las Salinas a few years earlier, the hillslopes at Chupas were crowded with Andean spectators. Some were supporters of the Almagro faction, while others favored the Pizarros and the royal standard. Despite these affiliations, most of those who gathered did not fight. They shouted encouragement to the two Spanish armies, but most were gladdened by the sight of Spaniards fighting one another once more. They called out to the Sun with their thanks, seeing the battle as their revenge for everything that their people had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards.¹⁵⁴ Inca noblewomen were present in both camps, and they wept for the impending death of the men with whom they had aligned their fortunes.

The opposing Spaniards placed their men and weapons into position, and both sides advanced (Figure 7.6). As the first firearms were discharged, the Almagrists shouted “Long live the King and Almagro” and raced forward to engage the royalists, who cried “Long live the King and Vaca de Castro.” Both sides invoked the miraculous powers of Santiago as musket balls and larger shot filled the air.¹⁵⁵ The artillery killed and disfigured many prominent horsemen, breaking limbs and ripping heads from bodies.¹⁵⁶ For example, Alonso de Loaysa, a survivor on the royalist side, was struck in the mouth and face with shot, which knocked out his teeth and left him unable to eat normally for the rest of his life.¹⁵⁷ The artillery took much of the initiative away from the Spanish cavalry, which had been so decisive a decade earlier in the initial invasion of the Inca empire. When riders advanced past the range of the firearms, the pike-wielding infantry were able to plant their weapons and disembowel the horses. The carnage unfolded for an entire day, grinding into fierce hand-to-hand combat in which the superior numbers of the royalist force gradually gained an advantage. As darkness fell on the field, the men in Almagro’s army began to retreat and surrender, seeing that they were defeated. Indigenous and African auxiliaries who fought alongside the royalists seized and killed those taken alive, while the Spaniards “did uglier things,” cursing those who had surrendered and slashing their faces and bodies with

¹⁵⁴ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 77).

¹⁵⁵ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 78); cf. Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 18).

¹⁵⁶ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 78); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 19).

¹⁵⁷ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 78). Witnesses later attested (AGI, Patronato 130 R.12 [1586]) that he ate with a spoon (i.e., only boiled and soft foods) as long as he lived.



Figure 7.6. Depiction of Cristóbal Vaca de Castro's victory over the younger Diego de Almagro at Chupas. From a 1597 German publication on the Americas illustrated by Theodore de Bry. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

swords.¹⁵⁸ The cries of the wounded and dying ebbed as men bled and froze to death on the dark battlefield, while the royalists plundered the enemy camp, taking horses and native women as their preferred spoils.¹⁵⁹

When daylight returned to Chupas the next morning, one in five Spaniards who had fought the day before lay dead.¹⁶⁰ The bloodshed was not over, however. Vaca de Castro returned to Huamanga to punish the

¹⁵⁸ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 78); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 18) claims that Paullu had fought for a time on Almagro's side, attacking with slings and staffs before the royalist firearms dispersed them. This seems implausible, given the rewards that Paullu received through Vaca de Castro a few years later for his royal service.

¹⁵⁹ Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 21) claims that indigenous people despoiled the wounded, stripping many of their clothing and weapons.

¹⁶⁰ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 78) puts the total killed at 240, whereas Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 20) gives the figure of 300.

Almagrist leaders who had been captured on the battlefield, hanging two dozen of them and banishing several others. The indigenous population was not saddened to see the violent ends of men who were responsible for the deaths of so many Andean people. They took the news of the battle to Manco Inca at his palace in Vitcos. Although the Inca was happy to hear that so many Spaniards had died, he was disappointed to learn that Vaca de Castro and his Pizarrist supporters had won the day.¹⁶¹ The younger Almagro had escaped the battle and fled to Cuzco, reportedly intending to seek refuge in Vilcabamba with Manco Inca. But he was captured in the Yucay Valley and taken back to Cuzco as a prisoner, to await justice at the hands of Vaca de Castro.¹⁶²

It took the king's inspector, who now claimed Pizarro's titles of governor and captain-general, almost two months to arrive in Cuzco. After he presided over the punishment of the leading Almagrists in Huamanga, Vaca de Castro proceeded to the Inca center at Vilcashuamán, where he took up residence in the royal lodgings and began to reward the most prominent men who had come over to support the Crown.¹⁶³ From there, he slowly made his way to Cuzco. He approached the city in a triumphal military parade, and the leading citizens of Cuzco came out to meet him, offering him their staffs of office. Masked horsemen dressed in "Moorish" style staged a mock battle before the procession continued to the city.¹⁶⁴ At the edge of the Spanish town, they passed through a triumphal arch that had been erected for the occasion, advancing into a surreal ceremony of royal occupation. The people of Cuzco had built a wooden castle at the entry to the Haucaypata plaza, "with towers and ramparts and large, well-painted gates, all covered with flowers and roses and other fresh greenery." In front of it, they erected a statue of the Greek god Eros (Cupid) holding up his bow and arrow. A rigging had been constructed between the top of the castle and the statue's feet, and on it they suspended a young boy, who was dressed as an angel—"in a white woolen robe, with a stole and wings and diadem"—holding two large keys

¹⁶¹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 80).

¹⁶² Cieza de León (1918, chap. 81).

¹⁶³ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 82). He ordered the resettlement of Huánuco, which had been abandoned during the unrest, and issued new *encomienda* grants. At his next stop, in Andahuaylas, Vaca de Castro sent out settlers to the north to establish a new town in Bracamoros. It was not until he was a few days' travel from Cuzco that Vaca de Castro sent word to the Crown about his victory at Chupas.

¹⁶⁴ Calvete de Estrella, in Díaz Gito (2013:195).

in his hands. When Vaca de Castro approached the closed gates of the model castle, the angel was lowered to the ground, where he held out his hands to surrender the keys of the city. The governor took them, opened the castle gates, and entered through them followed by his horsemen and their flowing banners.¹⁶⁵

Following the ceremonial possession of Cuzco by the Spanish king's stand-in, the leading citizens proceeded to Cuzco's cathedral to hear a brief sermon on the significance of Vaca de Castro's arrival, before celebrating with a banquet and other festivities.¹⁶⁶ Some days after these remarkable festivities, Vaca de Castro proceeded to judge the younger Almagro, who had written out a defense of his actions as necessary to confront the offenses of Francisco Pizarro, whose "diabolical spirit and diabolical thoughts" reflected little fear of God, or of royal justice.¹⁶⁷ The young rebel leader described the Pizarros as a family so intent on plunder and vengeance that they were willing to sacrifice their souls to achieve their ends. The younger Almagro claimed that Hernando had rejoiced at his father's execution, saying, "Now that I am avenged, let the Devil come and carry off my soul." When Pizarro's fellow Spaniards urged him to back away from that dangerous statement, he doubled down: "If I saw Hell open up on one side and the throne of judgment on the other, and the King in front of me with rich cloths at his feet and a knife to my throat, I would not cease to avenge my heart."¹⁶⁸ The younger Almagro's claim to be the victim of evil men fell on deaf ears. Vaca de Castro declared the young rebel a traitor and tyrant and sentenced him to be beheaded in the central plaza.¹⁶⁹ Almost exactly ten years after Atahualpa's capture at Cajamarca, a royal governor now controlled the Inca capital.

¹⁶⁵ Calvete de Estrella, in Díaz Gito (2014:145). See Díaz Gito (2013, 2014) on different accounts of Vaca de Castro's arrival in Cuzco.

¹⁶⁶ Díaz Gito (2013).

¹⁶⁷ Almagro, in *Causa contra Barragán* (1895:357 [1543])

¹⁶⁸ Almagro, in *Causa contra Barragán* (1895:352 [1543])

¹⁶⁹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 84).

8

Royal Conquests in the Poor Soldier's Paradise

You find that these Spaniards in this country [Peru] are so arrogant that they never get tired of praising themselves, especially those who have never been to Italy. Other[s] say that they have taken this fortress and fought on that parapet, that they were always victorious and through their work they conquered and sacked that strong city, and that one Spaniard is worth four Germans, three Frenchmen, and two Italians. They say that without doubt five hundred of them would suffice to take painted Venice, as if she were some village made of twenty-five or thirty straw or wooden houses, like most of the cities they built in the Indies. There are many of them who came from Spain, not only to these Indies but also to all the other provinces they tyrannize, who say in their ignorance that they are from Visigothic stock—descendants of the Gusmani and Muaruchi. Then you learn the truth: in Spain they were pig farmers or shepherds.

—Girolamo Benzoni, 1565¹

Vaca de Castro's majestic entry into Cuzco masked the tensions running through Peru's European population, which whipsawed unpredictably as the fortunes of the Pizarro and Almagro factions waxed and waned. In the early civil wars, both sides called out to Charles V in their battle cries and claimed to serve the Crown. Obedience to the king was a way of serving God's will, and the conquistadores claimed that their rich discoveries and military successes manifested the righteousness of their cause, regardless of the tactics they employed. As Christians, they had learned to see God's hand guiding their brutality toward the native Andeans, making ordinary soldiers simultaneously the enforcers of apocalyptic judgment and agents of empire-building, whose

¹ Benzoni (2017:62).

discoveries and plunder were helping to fund Charles V's European wars against Protestants and Muslims. But as Catholics began killing each other in Peru's civil wars, it was clear that both sides could not be righteous. The arrival of Vaca de Castro as the king's inspector and judge represented the first significant step toward establishing Spanish sovereignty in Peru and addressing the crimes and sins of those who stood against God and king. Although Charles V wished to bring order to his Spanish subjects and to provide humane treatment to his indigenous subjects to encourage their conversion, the resistance of his "poor soldiers" in Peru forced him to make critical compromises as he gradually conquered his own conquistadores. In these efforts, his Christian Inca subjects proved to be invaluable allies.

Rewarding Christian Incas

When Vaca de Castro reached the Inca capital in 1542, he understood the value of the royal alliance with the Inca nobility and the importance of the local lords' support of the colonial government. The new governor dispensed justice to the younger Almagro, and then reached out to the Incas, hoping to convert those who had been faithful allies into loyal subjects of the Crown. The old Inca imperial nobility had been battered by conquest, war, famine, and pestilence. Their magnificent capital had been occupied, plundered, and burned over the course of a decade, and Manco Inca's retreat to Vilcabamba had stripped Cuzco of many of its *huacas*, priestesses, and royal mummies. For the Incas who saw the Spaniards as the rising dynasty in Peru, the cataclysmic destruction of the religious center of the Inca world turned Cuzco into a ruin where the new era would dawn. The conquistadores and their religious men were already beginning to build a new Cuzco, and Vaca de Castro wanted the Incas to make a place for themselves there, as noble subjects rather than sovereign lords. Christian conversion was essential to this transformation.

It took the Spaniards years to implement the missionary project that supposedly justified their conquest, a point that will be developed later in this book. A few years before Vaca de Castro's arrival, royal officials had begun to target noble men and women, hoping to use them to make inroads in spreading Christianity.² Cuzco's bishop, Vicente de Valverde, noting the large

² Morales (1943:73 [1541]).

number of descendants of Atahualpa and Huayna Capac, saw Inca noblewomen as particularly important targets for conversion: "It seems to me that the women, after being taught, could become Christians and marry some Christian men [i.e., Spaniards] . . . and Your Majesty could order that those Christians who married them be given land to feed them."³ Many of these women were daughters of Huayna Capac, and plenty of Spanish men wished to marry them for their incomes and estates.⁴ As priests and royal officials began to impose more specific rules for political and religious life in Peru, noble Inca women understood that Christian conversion would be an important step toward legitimizing their reproductive alliances and passing on titles and property to their children.⁵ By 1538, Quispe Sisa, the Inca princess who bore Francisco Pizarro two children and stood by him during the siege of Lima, had converted, transforming herself into doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui. She married Pizarro's former page, Francisco de Ampuero, and when the couple sought royal favors, they presented Spanish witnesses to testify that her example as a God-fearing Christian had inspired a multitude of indigenous women and men to convert.⁶

Writing in 1539, the bishop Valverde was less optimistic about using Inca men as spiritual auxiliaries, because he feared that at any moment they might organize to fight the Spaniards.⁷ Nevertheless, he identified an indispensable Inca ally among these bellicose men: "[W]e have great need of a son of Huayna Capac called Paullu, who leads the Indians of this land who are peacefully inclined toward our favor—and as the land is so rugged, all the Spaniards on the earth would not be enough to take the Inca who remains in a state of rebellion [i.e., Manco]."⁸ In light of this acknowledgment that the Spaniards lacked the power to destroy Manco Inca's Vilcabamba kingdom and eradicate the Inca religion he had transplanted there, converting Cuzco's Inca men became a more important project for extending Spanish political and religious control. The factional conflicts among the first conquistadores made military alliance-building a risky endeavor for Inca men, but the growth of royal power was creating an atmosphere in which Christian

³ Valverde ([3/20/1539]) in Porras (1959:323); cf. Morales (1953:53, 77 [1541]).

⁴ Morales (1943:79–80 [1541]).

⁵ Guengerich (2015).

⁶ AGI Lima 204 N.4 [1538]; see Guengerich (2016) for an overview.

⁷ Valverde ([3/20/1539], in Porras 1959:323).

⁸ Valverde ([3/20/1539], in Porras 1959:323); cf. Morales (1953:53, 77 [1541]).

identity was an important prerequisite for their legal self-representation and the defense of noble status.

When the Spanish priests first explained baptism, Inca nobles probably understood it as a political ceremony, akin to their own hair-cutting and puberty rituals, during which a network of kin and allies was assembled and promised to help with essential social acts, such as farming and house construction.⁹ As did the celebrants in those rituals, the newly baptized Christian received a new name, often that of a powerful Spanish patron. For example, doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui took her first name from Francisco Pizarro's sister, whereas when Paullu converted, he took the name of the governor Vaca de Castro, becoming don Cristóbal Paullu Inca.¹⁰ For noble men and women, conversion confirmed their elevated status and allowed them to use the honorifics *don* and *doña*. As Christian subjects of Charles V, Andean nobles were now eligible for titles, *encomiendas*, and other honors granted through their king's divinely given powers.

When, in 1540, Paullu sought royal favor for his services in Chile and Cuzco, he declared his wish "to turn myself into a Christian and live under the commands of the Sainted Mother Church," and he sought religious instruction that would prepare him for baptism.¹¹ Like an Inca going into seclusion to fast before his coronation, Paullu moved into the house of the royal chaplain, Luis de Morales, and lived there for five months, learning prayers and doctrine.¹² The baptism took place in late 1542, soon after Vaca de Castro had reached Cuzco. The Inca prince had received a generous bundle of *encomiendas* from Francisco Pizarro in 1539; the governor Vaca de Castro reconfirmed those grants in 1543, noting Paullu's conversion as evidence of a desire to serve the Crown.¹³ Paullu also received the title *alférez real* (royal ensign) and a coat of arms: a shield divided into two fields, one gold with a black eagle rampant flanked by two palms, the other blue with a tiger

⁹ The first hair-cutting established a child as a member of the human community, whereas puberty rituals reinforced the social networks that young men and women would build on when they eventually married (Covey 2012).

¹⁰ Guengerich (2015); Hemming (1970:259).

¹¹ AGI Lima 204 N.11-1 [1540].

¹² Morales (1943:77 [1541]). Morales recommended that the Crown generously reward the conversion, because Paullu was essential for Spanish survival at that time.

¹³ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inca* f. 11-11v. The indigenous towns granted by Pizarro included the high herding communities of the Canas region and productive valley-bottom maize lands at Mohina, as well as lands on the Amazonian slope where coca and other warm climate crops could be produced.

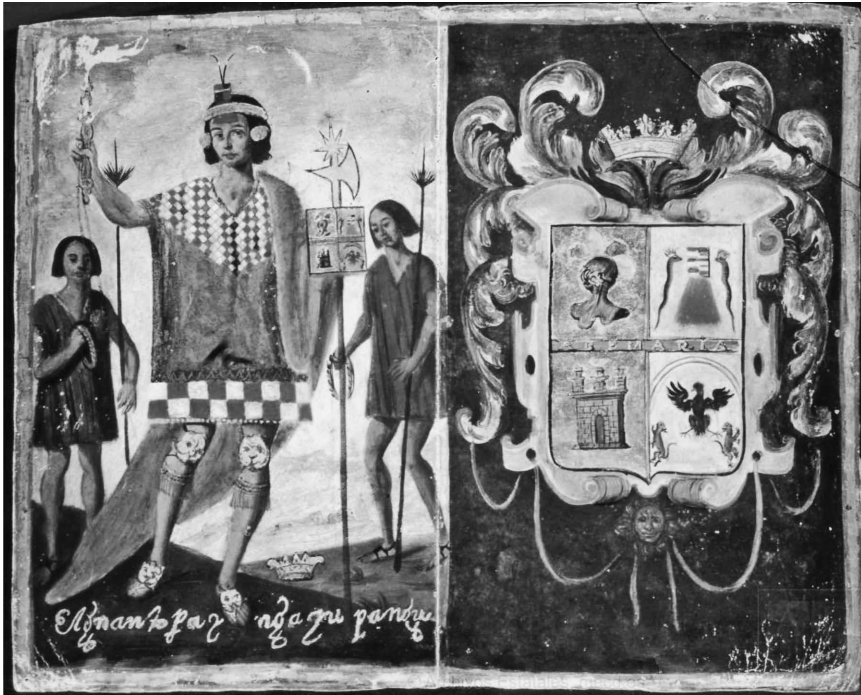


Figure 8.1. Coat of Arms (1545) of Gonzalo Uchu Hualpa and Felipe Tupa Inga Yupanquions of Huaina Capac Grandsons of Tupa Inga Yupangui. Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, MP-Escudos 78.

crowned with a sable *borla* (Inca royal fringe) accompanied by two gold-crowned serpents. Along with these Inca images of royalty was the legend “Hail Mary,” written in Latin with eight gold crosses between the letters.¹⁴

Many of the Inca nobility, men and women, followed Paullu into Christianity, and several received titles, coats of arms, *encomiendas*, and income from the Crown (Figure 8.1). The elevation of their status contrasts with the miserable state in which many Inca nobles found themselves during the destruction of Cuzco a few years earlier, when the most desperate went hungry and were forced to go door to door through the city begging for alms “in the name of God and his blessed Mother.”¹⁵ Vaca de Castro wrote to Charles V that the conversion of Paullu’s family was an auspicious start to

¹⁴ AGI Lima 566 L.5 F.163r [1545]. See also Amado González 2002; AGI MP-Escudos 77 [1544], 30 [1545], 78 [1545]; cf. Morales 1943:49, 77 [1541].

¹⁵ Morales (1943:68 [1541]).

spreading Christianity throughout the Andes.¹⁶ Conversion helped to reinforce the noble status of the Cuzco Incas, and it granted them access to the Spanish legal system. As Christians, they could swear to the truth of things that had happened before the conquest, which allowed them to influence legal proceedings and to promote their oral histories as factual accounts of their now-lost imperial era.¹⁷ Christian couples could have their marriages recognized, making it possible to legitimate their children and pass on their estates and honors.

Conversion came with some significant trade-offs. Most importantly, Christian Incas accepted the pursuit of noble status rather than sovereignty. There would no longer be an Inca emperor in the Andes, but in exchange, many Andean men and women would see their nobility as Incas recognized by the Spanish Crown. There would never again be another Inca palace like that of Huayna Capac. The Catholic sacrament of marriage prevented the powerful female networks that undergirded the Inca palace from being constituted, since only one wife could be counted as legitimate. When Paullu received baptism, he had already married Tocto Ussica, a woman of the lineage of Inca Roca, following Inca law. After the ceremony, the couple were married according to Catholic practice, and a celebration was attended by Spaniards and Incas alike.¹⁸ Although Paullu eventually renounced the formal lineage-building practices of his ancestors, he was nevertheless able to legitimize at least thirty of his children who were born to other women.¹⁹ Other Christian Incas were not granted such moral and legal latitude. The new Christian values regarding legitimacy would affect future generations of Inca nobles, a population that would reproduce itself slowly, as its special privileges eroded over time.

Conversion also affected the relationships of Inca men and women with their ancestors and *huacas*. Christian Incas consented to abandon many of the religious practices they had used to promote themselves as universal rulers over the Andes. Before his baptism, Paullu had relinquished the mummies

¹⁶ Vaca de Castro ([11/24/1542], in Porras (1959:508).

¹⁷ Participating in legal history-making was a privilege that was almost always restricted to men, but there are several instances of Inca noblewomen giving eyewitness testimony in important legal proceedings during the first decades of Spanish rule (e.g., AGI Patronato 188 R.6 [1557] 1-37ff; González Pujana 1982:81 [11/17/1559]). Noble women also were able to make important personal statements when they drafted their wills, providing for their souls and estates (e.g., Graubart 2007).

¹⁸ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 18v.

¹⁹ Hemming (1970:467, 511); Temple (1949); AGI Lima 566 L.5 F. 1116r [1544].

of Huayna Capac and several other Inca rulers to Luis de Morales, who had them interred publicly.²⁰ The royal chaplain recalled that Paullu seemed content at the burial of the Inca ancestors; but the event was traumatic for the older generation, and there was “much weeping from his mother and other lords and ladies.”²¹ Paullu distanced himself from public performances of Inca religion, turning to his Christian identity to play the role of religious patron. He built a church to San Cristóbal, next to his Collcampata palace, and placed in it six religious men, who worked there for six years, teaching Christian doctrine and promoting conversion.²² The six abandoned the chapel during the upheaval of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, and Paullu replaced them with a chaplain, whose salary he paid. When Paullu died in 1549, his will—a document that only a Christian could prepare—provided alms for the monasteries and hospitals and for the indigenous poor, and he was buried in the Franciscan church near the center of Cuzco.²³

Paullu's conversion did not take away all his privileges as the principal Inca lord in Cuzco. He wore the *borla* fringe Diego de Almagro had given him to reward his support during the Chilean expedition. After the siege of Cuzco was broken, Paullu was permitted to ride in a litter, as his ancestors had done, and he named captains and governors to assist him. For several years, he oversaw the annual puberty ritual in which Cuzco's noble boys were armed as knights, which many viewed as a royal privilege accorded to him by Spanish officials. Years later, noble Inca witnesses recalled his presiding over other Inca ceremonies in Cuzco's central plaza.²⁴ These vestiges of Inca imperial power did not pass on to Paullu's heir, don Carlos Inca.

One of the reasons Paullu and other Incas in Cuzco were more inclined to accept a diminished status as noble Christian subjects of Charles V was that the Spanish king still considered Manco Inca to be the rightful lord in the Andes. He sent Vaca de Castro to Peru with instructions to favor Paullu and the Cuzco Incas, but he also prioritized bringing Manco Inca to peace, apparently as part of an offer on the Inca's part to pay Charles V some gold as an acknowledgment of his subject status. The Spaniards never stopped

²⁰ Morales (1943:82 [1541]). This burial did not last—the old mummies were removed and circulated secretly in Cuzco for another decade. The mummy of Huayna Capac was confiscated multiple times.

²¹ Morales (1943:82 [1541]).

²² *Khipukamayukuna* (1974:41–42 [1608]).

²³ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 155v.

²⁴ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 156.

referring to Manco as “the Inca,” although Charles V seems to have weighed his options regarding the two Incas: he considered granting Manco’s estates to Paullu, even as he sought to negotiate Manco’s return from Vilcabamba.²⁵ When the emperor sent Blasco Núñez Vela to Peru as his first viceroy, he addressed a letter to Manco Inca, informing him that he had dispatched instructions to grant him favors and honors in order to end his “rebellion.”²⁶ Charles V considered that Manco Inca had just cause to rise up against conquistador brutality, but he did not intend that the Inca would return to Cuzco as the sovereign lord of the Andes. Even though pro-native writers argued for decades that the Inca should be made king of Peru, Manco was offered more restricted titles and *encomiendas* to leave Vilcabamba, a proposal he never accepted.

New Laws

Around the time Vaca de Castro entered Cuzco and began seeking a place for its Christian Incas in the new colonial order, the youngest Pizarro brother reappeared near Quito with the remnants of a powerful expeditionary force that had set out in 1541. Gonzalo Pizarro and his men went into the lowlands to make their fortunes in a fabled land of cinnamon plantations, hoping to discover El Dorado, a legendary ruler who would supply them with vast fortunes in gold. Instead, they found misery and death. The returning Spaniards made a pathetic impression on the people of Quito, who brought them food and assistance. Buffeted by the relentless rains of the Amazonian lowlands, their clothing had rotted away, and they returned to Quito almost naked, wearing only loincloths, sandals, and simple capes made from the pelts of deer they had hunted. Their rusty swords had no sheaths. Having eaten or lost their horses, they were all on foot, their arms and legs covered in scratches from the jungle undergrowth. They were almost unrecognizable.²⁷

²⁵ AGI Patronato 90B N2 R3 [1537]; AGI Lima 566 L.4 F. 290V [1541].

²⁶ AGI Lima 566 L.5 F.73R-74V [1543]; AGI Lima 566 L.5 F.74R [1543].

²⁷ Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 5). Cieza de León (1918, chaps. 18–22) gives a detailed account of the expedition, which he links to the legend of El Dorado (see Hemming 1978). He notes the brutal treatment of indigenous porters, who were left to freeze on mountain passes, and how the Spaniards set their hunting dogs on the local people, torturing and burning captives to try and learn the location of a gold- and spice-filled land that did not exist. As native groups fought back, the Spaniards ran short of food. They ate the pigs

Gonzalo Pizarro, having presided over the deaths of three-quarters of the Spaniards who had accompanied him—and unknown thousands of indigenous porters and guides—kissed the ground and thanked God to have escaped with his own life.

The disastrous venture into the lowlands was the young Pizarro's latest attempt to extend his estates, which had grown quickly, along with his status in Spanish Peru.²⁸ Before Manco Inca's siege of Cuzco, Gonzalo had played only a minor role in the conquest, but his brother Juan's death in the battle for Sacsayhuaman left him heir to a vast fortune. Following the Pizarrist victory over Almagro's faction at Las Salinas, Gonzalo accompanied Paullu's Inca army to the Collasuyu region, part of a small contingent of Spaniards commanded by his brother Hernando. In the southlands of modern Bolivia, he reaped the rewards of the reconquest of the former Inca province, a campaign that reached the silver mines of Porco. When Hernando departed for Spain to explain his execution of Diego de Almagro, Gonzalo became a much more important representative of Francisco Pizarro's power. As he began leading his own men, however, Gonzalo's pride and impulsivity contributed to a growing list of disappointments. In 1539, his invasion of Manco Inca's Vilcabamba kingdom ended in failure when the Inca managed to slip away into the jungle as Gonzalo and his Inca allies threatened his capital. After this setback, Gonzalo immediately set off from Cuzco to take the governorship of Quito, only to find himself besieged by Andean fighters in the Huánuco region. His men survived only because a relief force was able to reach them in time. The rash decision to abandon his administrative responsibilities in Quito to discover spice-rich lands was typical of a man who pursued his ambitions without considering the consequences of his actions.

For better or worse, Gonzalo was destined to live out his fate as the last Pizarro brother still standing in Peru. On his return to Spanish-held territory, he learned of his brother Francisco's murder, which vaulted him into prominence among the conquistadores who remained in Peru. Pizarro's will named Gonzalo as governor of Peru and the caretaker of his estates until Francisco's mestizo children by Inca princesses reached maturity. Because

they had brought with them, and then their fierce dogs. They finally killed and ate their own horses, as well as the leather from the saddles and stirrups.

²⁸ Lockhart (1972:175–189) offers a brief biography, chronicling his rise in stature among the conquistadores.

Charles V had granted Francisco Pizarro the authority to name his successor, Gonzalo Pizarro's claim to the governorship of Peru was a more plausible one than that of the Almagro camp a few years earlier. This presented immediate complications for Vaca de Castro, who had declared himself governor and amassed considerable military power. Nevertheless, after the royalist victory at Chupas and Vaca de Castro's triumphal entry into Cuzco, it was unlikely that a battered group of Pizarrist conquistadores would be able to challenge the king's inspector directly.

Vaca de Castro's appropriation of the governorship galled Gonzalo Pizarro, and the men of his entourage encouraged him to claim the title for himself.²⁹ Fearing a plot as Pizarro approached Cuzco, Vaca de Castro gathered 400 Spaniards in the city, who agreed that if Gonzalo broke the law or strayed from the service of the king, they would cut off his head.³⁰ When Pizarro reached Cuzco and went to Vaca de Castro's house, he found it protected by a company of arquebusiers and other armed guards. The two men exchanged forced pleasantries, and then Vaca de Castro presented Pizarro with a written order to ride immediately to his estates in Charcas, where he was to remain, forbidden from organizing fighting men for any reason. If he violated these terms, Pizarro would be declared a traitor and would forfeit all his property.³¹ Pizarro complied, heading into rich exile in the distant southern periphery.

Having dispatched the last Pizarro brother without bloodshed, Vaca de Castro proceeded to undertake his own interpretation of the duties of governor. Lacking the resources to reward all who had fought for the Crown at Chupas, Vaca de Castro sent out several expeditions to make new conquests, which held the potential to bring in treasures and to thin out the number of men seeking royal favors. He spent a year and a half in Cuzco, reorganizing the *encomiendas* of the region and designing ordinances for the sustainable government of the indigenous population.³² By confiscating and reducing some of Pizarro's *encomienda* grants, the governor acquired new resources that could be assigned to loyal subjects of the Crown.³³ Rather than reopen

²⁹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 88).

³⁰ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 88).

³¹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 88); Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 22).

³² Zárate (1555, bk. IV, chap. 22).

³³ It is hard to trace the size of *encomiendas* over time, since the earliest did not include population counts. During the decade from 1540 to 1550, the number of *encomiendas* in Peru increased by almost 20% (from 274 to 346), with a 55% increase in Cuzco (from 86 to 133), suggesting that the indigenous population was divided into smaller grants (Puente Brunke 1992:141).

the contentious question of the geographic limits of the kingdoms of New Castile and New Toledo, Vaca de Castro placed the latter into Pizarro's domain, which he now governed.³⁴ This decision was motivated by the successful settlement of Charcas and other southern towns and the discovery of silver mines that were expected to generate significant revenue for Charles V.

Vaca de Castro's moves reflected his orders from Charles V, to curtail the power of the early conquistadores and establish more humane treatment for indigenous Andeans. He quickly saw the utility of using Inca allies to revive elements of the imperial statecraft their ancestors had practiced in the previous century. Soon after his arrival in Cuzco, Vaca de Castro assembled the old men of the city and surrounding region so that he could inquire about their oral histories. To gain more details, he interviewed a group of four elderly record keepers who recounted a dynastic history of the rulers from Manco Capac to Huascar.³⁵ Having established that the line of Inca kings was local to the Cuzco region, the governor considered how Inca infrastructure and political institutions might help to stabilize and administer the surviving communities of indigenous Andeans. In early 1543, he gathered municipal officials in Cuzco and talked to them about the decline in the native population, which he attributed in part to their excessive service as porters, as well as "other damages and mistreatments and thefts" they suffered at the hands of the Spaniards.³⁶ Vaca de Castro declared that new ordinances would be the remedy for this, the first of which was to re-establish the network of Inca way stations (*tambos*) along the main roadways. Inca roads had been vital for binding together the Andean region, and the governor concluded that the deterioration of the way stations established by Huayna Capac and his ancestors was "the principal cause that the Indians are experiencing damages, death, and robbery."³⁷ The governor ordered the revival of *tambos* along major colonial routes. This was not a faithful resurrection of the Inca network, but rather the first of many royal attempts to govern the Andes using modified versions of Inca imperial practices.

Even as Vaca de Castro worked to establish royal control in Cuzco, the monarch he represented was already taking his own steps to transform

³⁴ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 100).

³⁵ *Khipukamayukuna* (1892:5–6). Parts of this document originated in 1542, although the manuscript that survives is part of a collection edited by a Spanish priest (Fray Antonio) in 1608. See also Domínguez Faura (2008).

³⁶ Vaca de Castro (1908:427–428 [1543]).

³⁷ Vaca de Castro (1908:429 [1543]).

his Andean kingdoms into directly administered provinces. After Vaca de Castro's departure for the Andes, Charles V convened a council to debate the organization of Spanish rule in the Andes. On November 20, 1542—almost exactly a decade after Pizarro's victory at Cajamarca—the emperor announced the New Laws, a set of reforms intended to place the Crown firmly in control of the indigenous and Spanish populations of the Indies.³⁸ These laws addressed the concern that insufficient control over the Spaniards was destroying the indigenous Andean population. As one sixteenth-century writer put it, “[T]he new Ordinances were born from the anarchy and the mistreatment, insults, and cruelty that the Spaniards committed against the native Indians, in levying excessive tributes and loading them like beasts, so that such a number of them died that every day they were fading away, so that if there was no remedy, they would all come to an end.”³⁹

Although the New Laws overlapped to a great degree with the royal instructions that Vaca de Castro had received before his departure for Peru, they also introduced a new structure for the colonial government: “[I]n the provinces and Realms of Peru, there shall reside a Viceroy and a Royal Audience (*Audiencia*) consisting of four learned Judges, that Viceroy presiding over the *Audiencia*, which shall be established in the City of the Kings [Lima].”⁴⁰ This single sentence made the governorships of Pizarro and Almagro obsolete on almost the same day that Vaca de Castro reached Cuzco and began his attempt to rule Peru from the old Inca capital.

Some of the decrees in the New Laws reflected the fierce advocacy for indigenous rights and self-rule by the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas, the one-time *encomendero* in Hispaniola who had risen to become a member of the royal council.⁴¹ The enslavement of Native Americans was banned without exception: “[N]either because of war—even under the category of rebellion—nor by barter, nor for any other cause in any other way, may any Indian be made a slave.”⁴² This was not necessarily as revolutionary a change as it might seem. Charles V had declared an end to the sale of indigenous

³⁸ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99) reproduces the text of the decree (see Stevens and Lucas 1893 for a facsimile).

³⁹ Calvete de Estrella (1889, bk. I, chap. 3).

⁴⁰ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99, section VII).

⁴¹ Zárate (1555, bk. V, chap. 1) voices a common conviction among chroniclers, that Las Casas was a major force in the design of the New Laws. Cf. Anonymous *Relación* 2003: f. 1r; Calvete de Estrella (1889, bk. I, chap. 3).

⁴² Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99, section XI).

slaves in Peru in 1538, a ban that he repeated in his instructions to Vaca de Castro, noting that some Spaniards ignored the order and continued to take Andean slaves, branding them on the face to mark their status for life.⁴³ The New Laws allowed people with a legal title to keep the slaves they already had, and they did nothing to help enslaved people of African heritage.⁴⁴ If anything, the implementation of the reforms would stimulate the demand for black slaves, especially in coastal regions where native populations had been wiped out. The indigenous Andeans granted in *encomiendas* were supposed to be relieved from carrying heavy loads and performing other dangerous tasks. The royal audiences were ordered to confiscate native Andeans from Spaniards who mistreated them. In Peru, this forfeiture of *encomiendas* was to be extended to those responsible for the fighting between the Pizarro and Almagro factions.⁴⁵ The New Laws were to be printed and sent to local priests who could translate them into indigenous languages, so that native leaders would potentially be in a position to lodge complaints that would result in their transfer to Crown administration.

Many historians frame these reforms as a victory for indigenous rights. A more jaded reader might see how the new ordinances were designed to consolidate royal power and wealth in the Indies. Charles V insisted that all native peoples were his subjects, and he demanded that Spaniards who held indigenous laborers without title surrender them to Crown officials. The royal audiences were charged with reforming the *encomiendas* in their jurisdictions, reducing them to "fair and moderate proportions, the rest being promptly brought under our Royal Crown."⁴⁶ Over time, the Crown intended to take all its indigenous subjects under direct administration. When an *encomendero* died, the new audiences were to determine whether it was possible to transfer his allotted natives to the Crown. Even if there were widows or children to support, that transfer could be made if the survivors were given a moderate income from the tribute that the *encomienda* population now paid to royal officials.⁴⁷

⁴³ AGI Lima 566 L.4 f. 35, 234v [June 19, 1540, October 7, 1541].

⁴⁴ When Vaca de Castro sailed from Spain with former Andean slaves he had freed in Seville, he also carried royal permission to bring more than a dozen black slaves with him without paying duty on them (AGI Lima 566 L.4 f. 94, 141 [September 7 and November 29, 1540]).

⁴⁵ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99, section XII).

⁴⁶ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99, section XII).

⁴⁷ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 99, section XII).

Considering everything that had taken place in the Andes in the previous decade, it is hardly surprising that the conquistadores in Peru perceived the New Laws as a threat to their privileges and estates. Their governing authority was to be taken over by royal officials who could reduce or confiscate their *encomiendas* and scrutinize any new exploration they might conduct. Their sources of slave labor and plunder were to be curtailed, and the conditions under which they exploited their tributary laborers were to be moderated. Estates they had thought would remain forever in their families would be taken from their widows and children. The medieval aspirations that drove these men to conquer—to take and hold their own Christian fiefs with the king's assent—were threatened by a new philosophy of government in which the monarch claimed to use the state apparatus to rule and protect all subjects directly. For men accustomed to treating the violent fulfillment of their ambitions as a royal service and the manifestation of God's will, the sovereign landscape proclaimed by the New Laws left a good subjects far less room in which to maneuver.

Reports of the New Laws reached the Andes in 1543, leading to speculation about how the statutes would be enforced and who would be sent to Lima as the first viceroy. In all Peru, resistance was fiercest in Cuzco, the largest city and the place where the wealthiest and most powerful *encomenderos* lived. When Vaca de Castro received a copy of the laws, he understood that his position as governor was being superseded by new officials who were already on the way there from Spain. The governor assembled the leading Spaniards of the city to hear the New Laws read. Although he voiced his support for the royal will, he also made them understand that he recommended petitioning the new viceroy for some sort of leniency. Most of Cuzco's Spanish citizens decided to send a representative to Spain to argue against executing the laws, offering the emperor 500,000 ducats to leave things as they stood.⁴⁸ At the same time, several prominent men embarked on a different course of action. They immediately wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro in Charcas, telling him about the new ordinances and encouraging him to take a stand as the defender of conquistador rights.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 104).

⁴⁹ Cieza de León (1918, chap. 104). Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 1) portrays Vaca de Castro as sympathetic to the plight of the *encomenderos*. He wrote Pizarro on April 13, 1544, to let him know that the new viceroy was in Trujillo (in Jiménez de la Espada 1877:57).

In early 1544, Vaca de Castro left Cuzco with 300 men to meet Peru's first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, when he arrived in Lima.⁵⁰ The official who was bringing the king's law and order was a military man, a knight of Santiago who had previously served as the commander of the fleet bringing treasure back to Spain from Santo Domingo. Núñez Vela sent messages to Vaca de Castro, ordering him to stop acting as governor. He declared his intention to enforce the New Laws immediately—and to the letter—without considering the petitions of the *encomenderos*.⁵¹ The leading citizens of Cuzco had ridden with Vaca de Castro so that they could lodge their complaints with the viceroy when he reached Lima. Hearing that their petitions would be ignored, they turned back to the city, plotting rebellion and seizing weaponry along the way.⁵² Their numbers increased as more disgruntled Spaniards left Lima and other Spanish towns and traveled to Cuzco to join the growing resistance. The most prominent of these men was Gonzalo Pizarro, who had arrived from Charcas with a dozen supporters. After debating how to proceed, the leading Spaniards of Cuzco selected Pizarro to represent them in Lima, in one last attempt to prevent the execution of the New Laws.⁵³ Pizarro would journey to Lima as the captain-general of an army from Cuzco, a force they would claim had been assembled just in case Manco Inca chose to attack.⁵⁴ As his men departed for Lima, Pizarro declared that being a Spanish subject did not negate his rights, and he and his army marched out of Cuzco in a display that declared the sovereignty of the former Inca Empire: "He ordered that they raise flags and standards, and play drums and pipes, and this was all done in the name of His Majesty and of the republics of the cities, villas, and places that had chosen him. Afterward, a large banner was made of crimson damask with His Majesty's arms on one part, and on the other [part] the arms of the city of Cuzco, as the head of the ancient empire of the Incas."⁵⁵ The Spanish citizens of Cuzco represented themselves as the rightful successors to Inca emperors as they prepared to resist their own

⁵⁰ Albenino (1930 [1549]); Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 3).

⁵¹ Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 3). Vaca de Castro relinquished the duties of governor and continued to Lima, where the viceroy soon had him arrested and investigated for corruption.

⁵² Albenino (1930 [1549]); Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 3).

⁵³ Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 4).

⁵⁴ Zárate (1555, bk. V, chap. 4). Manco's brother Paullu was an *encomendero* and supported Pizarro; he used his indigenous connections to ensure that news of the plot did not reach Lima.

⁵⁵ Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (1904, bk. I, chap. 15).

king. The Incas of Cuzco and Vilcabamba remained quiet, monitoring the escalating conflict.

God's Sovereign Judgment

As he journeyed toward Peru to bring royal judgment, Blasco Núñez Vela repeated to his fellow Spaniards that he would not compromise or entertain their petitions to delay the enforcement of the New Laws. He intended to upend their way of life, and some felt that the viceroy's coming "was a scourge of God, sent to chastise this kingdom for its sins."⁵⁶ This itself was a reversal of the conquistador ideology regarding divine will. Spaniards were now to be punished for the very actions they pointed to as the apocalyptic punishment of the Incas. In Panama, the viceroy confiscated all the gold and silver that was arriving by ship from Peru, arguing that it had been stolen from native people. He seized a large number of indigenous men and women from Peru, who were held as slaves in the homes of prominent Spaniards, announcing that he would return them to their native lands at their masters' expense.⁵⁷ Spanish priests and officials rallied to prevent the slaves from being repatriated, arguing that sending them from a Christian household to their pagan homes constituted a form of spiritual bondage that was worse than enslavement.⁵⁸

Accompanied by liberated Andean slaves—but also by a dozen black slaves he brought to serve his own household—the viceroy made a rapid voyage

⁵⁶ Cieza de León (1913, chap. 19) continues in this vein, saying, "I myself knew some citizens who by their concubines had fifteen sons. Many leave their wives in Spain for fifteen and twenty years, living with an Indian girl: and so, as both Christians and Indians sinned greatly, the punishment was general."

⁵⁷ This and the following comes from a denunciation written by the judges (*oidores*) of the Royal Audience of Lima in late September 1544. See Jiménez de la Espada (1877:58); cf. Cieza de León (1913); Solano, in Jiménez de la Espada (1877:70–78); Zárate (1555, bk. V, chap. 3).

⁵⁸ Juan Solano, who came to Peru to become bishop of Cuzco, wrote to the Crown on March 10, 1545 (see Jiménez de la Espada 1877:71) that "having the Indians subject to our holy Catholic faith, so that they are domesticated and meek toward the gospel and our Christianity, is not taking away their liberty so much as giving them that liberty that *Christus liberabit nos* [Christ shall set us free]; more than making them slaves, because they have to be treated *non sicut servi sub lege, sed sicut liberi sub gratia constituti* [not as slaves under the law, but as free under the order of grace]."

down the Pacific coast to Tumbez.⁵⁹ As soon as Núñez Vela landed, he ordered that an unauthorized Spanish settlement on the coast be abandoned and began removing native people from Spanish households. He ordered that the local lords of the region stop feeding Spanish residents or travelers, which they had been compelled to do since the conquest.⁶⁰ Making his way southward toward Lima, the viceroy repeated this performance of royal judgment in way stations along the old Inca coastal road, confiscating *encomiendas* from old conquistadores and removing indigenous domestic servants and slaves from Spanish households in Piura and Trujillo. Núñez Vela reduced the size of *encomiendas* and imposed new tribute levies “with an excess of passion and a lack of understanding,” terminating many of the privileges that Spaniards had appropriated for themselves in the Andes. Those who protested were savagely rebuked by the viceroy, who threatened to hang naysayers, or rip out their tongues. As the new imperial order swept the coast, more Spaniards fled to Cuzco to join those who were resolved to stand against the coming judgment.⁶¹

Núñez Vela entered Lima through a triumphal arch on May 17, 1544, acting out a ceremony of royal possession as he rode a fine black horse, beneath a crimson cloth covering. Native Christians watched this spectacle excitedly, talking among themselves. They had never seen a man given this special honor—only the Holy Sacrament when it was taken from the church—and they asked some of the Spaniards whether this man might be the Son of God.⁶² Having assumed possession of his new colonial capital, the viceroy went to lodge in Francisco Pizarro's house, where spiritual inscriptions had been painted on the walls.⁶³ Within days of the viceroy's arrival, his hot temper and heavy-handed ways began turning the city against him and his retinue. The new judges of the Royal Audience recommended suspending the New Laws until tempers cooled somewhat, but the viceroy

⁵⁹ The viceroy received royal permission to bring twelve black slaves to Peru duty-free, and each of four *oidores* of the Royal Audience had permission to bring four of their own (AGI Lima 566 L. 5 f. 9r-9v, 10v, 17v-18r, 73r).

⁶⁰ *Oidores* (1877:59); cf. Albenino (1930 [1549]); Cieza de León (1913, chap. 7); Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 3).

⁶¹ *Oidores* (1877:59-61).

⁶² Cieza de León (1913, chap. 21); cf. Anonymous *Relación* in GPII:258-267 [1545].

⁶³ Cieza de León (1913, chap. 21). Above the bed chamber was written *spiritus sanctissimus superveniat in te* (the most Holy Spirit comes about in you), and over a doorway were the words *velociter exaudi me domine quia deficit spiritus meus* (answer me quickly, Lord, for my spirit has failed), from *Psalms* 143.

answered them with threats. Things came to a head when a group of twenty Spaniards fled the city to join Gonzalo Pizarro in Cuzco. Furious, Núñez Vela summoned Illán Suárez de Carbajal—an official who oversaw royal estates in Peru, and whose nephew was in the group—to his lodgings in the middle of the night, where he accused him of treason. When Suarez insisted that he was as faithful a subject as the viceroy, Núñez Vela stabbed him with a dagger, and then ordered his servants to finish him off and bury his body in secret.⁶⁴

News of the homicide shocked the citizens of Lima, who began contemplating how to respond as the viceroy prepared for further conflict. Having learned of the conspiracy forming in Cuzco under Gonzalo Pizarro's leadership, Núñez Vela raised troops and began to arm them in Lima. To diminish the potential for violent infighting among the old conquistadores, he ordered that the young mestizo children of Francisco Pizarro be taken from Lima by ship.⁶⁵ Soon after, he said that the judges of the Royal Audience and all the city's Spanish women would accompany them. It was said that the viceroy planned to sack the city, a rumor that led people to hide and bury their valuables.⁶⁶ At the risk of outright fighting, the judges of the Audience assembled some armed men and went to confront the viceroy in his lodgings. Somehow, they managed to get past his armed guard, and they arrested him without bloodshed. They then prepared a denunciation of Núñez Vela's actions and put him on a ship to be taken back to Spain as a prisoner.

For a few weeks, it seemed in Lima as though the worst was over, but word came that the captain of the ship had released the viceroy, who landed in Tumbes and made his way inland to Quito with 150 to 200 men. Soon after this news reached Lima, the armed men from Cuzco arrived in the city, demanding that the Royal Audience name Gonzalo Pizarro governor and captain-general until Charles V determined how to proceed.⁶⁷ Under

⁶⁴ *Oidores* 1877:63; cf. Zárate (1555, bk.V, chaps. 5–6, 11)

⁶⁵ The daughters of Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro were ultimately sent to Trujillo (Spain) in 1549, to be raised until they married or entered a convent (AHN Diversos Colecciones 23 N.25 [1549]). Pedro de la Gasca expressed his fear for the well-being of girls without caretakers, explicitly because of his perception of their natural qualities as mestizas: “[T]hey tend to have the Spanish spirit inherited from their fathers—to do what pleases them—and the small consideration for their honor that they take from their mothers.” A mestizo son of Gonzalo Pizarro was also sent to Spain, for fear of his becoming a personality who could rally resistance, as the younger Almagro had.

⁶⁶ Solano (1877:73). To one writer (Albenino 1930 [1549]), the panic in Lima made the city feel like “another Babylon.”

⁶⁷ Solano 1877:75.

pressure, the judges capitulated; they ordered Pizarro to go north from Lima to drive the viceroy out of the land so that he would not cause further disturbances.⁶⁸ For months there were skirmishes in the north, as Pizarro pursued Núñez Vela and both men attempted to recruit troops and inflict damage on each other's forces. Loyal factions declared their support for the Crown in several cities across the Andes, and some raised troops to fight against the rebel governor. Pizarro understood that time was on the viceroy's side, and he left Lima in March of 1545 with an army of 600 foot soldiers and cavalry, intent on provoking a decisive battle before royalist forces could arrive from other regions.⁶⁹

That conflict finally came near Quito, on January 18, 1546 (Figure 8.2). Núñez Vela, who had moved northward into Colombia to assemble men and weapons, launched a campaign against Pizarro, who was pretending to retreat from the Quito region. When the two armies finally clashed, Pizarro had greater numbers, and he occupied a position that was ideal for deploying his artillery. Deadly gunfire crippled the advance of the viceroy's troops, and the momentum swung toward the rebels. In the melee, Núñez Vela was struck with an axe-blow to the head and beheaded by Pizarro's men, after which his forces lost the will to continue the fight. As many as 300 men from the royalist army perished in the engagement; a large number of them were decapitated and thrown in a mass grave after they surrendered.⁷⁰ Gonzalo Pizarro was, for the time being, able to claim the legacy that his brother Francisco had left him, becoming the uncontested governor in Peru.⁷¹

Death of Vilcabamba's Founding King

When word reached Manco Inca in Vilcabamba that Cuzco was emptied of most of its Spanish men, the Inca decided to send his soldiers against the city to kill the Spaniards who remained in the region.⁷² Inca troops assembled and marched out of the jungle toward their former capital, killing

⁶⁸ Solano 1877:76–77; cf. Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 17, 18).

⁶⁹ Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 19); Albenino (1930 [1549]). As Pizarro moved from the north coast into the highlands, he took food and porters from indigenous populations that had only recently been promised that they should never have to provide such service again without compensation.

⁷⁰ Albenino (1930 [1549]).

⁷¹ Zárate (1555, bk.V, chap. 35).

⁷² Cieza de León (1913, chap. 51).

native Andeans who stood in their way and burning their villages. The few Spaniards who were still in Cuzco lacked horses, so they were unable to launch a preemptive strike. The Vilcabamba army proceeded to the edge of the former Inca heartland, but it did not advance on the city, which raises questions about Manco's actual intentions.

Manco Inca remained at his palace in Vitcos, where his messengers brought him reports on the campaign. Several renegade Spaniards were there with him, followers of the younger Almagro who received sanctuary in Vilcabamba after fleeing the defeat at Chupas. As news of the growing conflict in Spanish Peru reached Vilcabamba, the fugitives saw an opportunity to reverse their fortunes. One day, as the Almagrists lounged in Manco's palace, playing horseshoes with the Inca, seven of the Spaniards attacked the Inca with daggers, knives, and swords, stabbing him to death.⁷³ The assassins were soon confronted and killed, but the murder put an end to the campaign against Cuzco. When word of Manco's death reached his captains, they withdrew to Vilcabamba.

Manco's assassination changed the relationship between the Vilcabamba Incas and the Spanish Crown. Up to that point, the official position was that Manco was a legitimate sovereign and subject of Charles V, who rose up with just cause against Spanish tyrants. The viceroy bringing the latest peace offer from the Crown was dead, and with Gonzalo Pizarro in power, diplomacy was off the table. Even if royal officials had been able to carry forward negotiations, it was not immediately clear who ruled in Manco's place. Manco Inca was still in his teens when he made his alliance with Pizarro in late 1533, and from what the Spaniards knew about his marital status, he left no children old enough to rule as Inca on their own. Eventually, they learned that the fallen Inca's captains had assembled a council in Vilcabamba to deliberate over who should be Manco's successor. They selected Manco's ten-year-old son Sayri Tupa to be the second Inca in Vilcabamba, and then performed the sacrifices and celebrated the funeral festival that was intended to enshrine Manco as the founding ancestor of the fragile new dynasty.⁷⁴

⁷³ Titu Cusi Yupanqui (2005:125 [1570]). Cieza de León (1913, chap. 51) says that Manco attempted to send the Almagrists to the viceroy to strike a deal without the knowledge of Gonzalo Pizarro, but the fugitives came to blows with the Inca before leaving Vilcabamba, and they killed him in a melee.

⁷⁴ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. II, chap. 33]).



Figure 8.2. Representation of Pedro de la Gasca (*upper left*) and other loyal commanders who fought against Gonzalo Pizarro's rebels. From Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1615), *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y tierra firme del mar oceano . . . Decada octava*. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

The End of the Pizarros in Peru

Almost a year and a half after Blasco Núñez Vela had been shipped out of Lima as a prisoner, Charles V—for the third time in six years—issued new instructions that he hoped would finally establish royal control in Peru. The council that advised Charles V on Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion noted that a purely military solution was unlikely to succeed. Spain had just fought a costly war against France, and it was virtually impossible to send enough soldiers, horses, weapons, and supplies to the Caribbean and move them by sea and land to Peru. Instead of a sending a general, the council recommended sending a negotiator to resolve the conquistador uprising, "some person of great prudence and wisdom who has extensive experience in making deals."⁷⁵ Charles V had already delegated his power unsuccessfully to a judge and a military commander. Now he turned to Pedro de la Gasca, a priest who served on Spain's Council of the Inquisition.

Gasca was named president of the Royal Audience and ordered to bring peace to Peru, doing whatever was necessary to led the people to the service of God and king.⁷⁶ Not knowing that the head of his viceroy was now on display in Quito, Charles V ordered a softer touch than might be expected for a rebellious province, granting Gasca the power to pardon those who had strayed, and to issue new *encomiendas* if there were any vacant grants. Although he still expressed concern for the well-being of his indigenous subjects, the emperor was willing to forego some revenue in the interests of peace, and he ordered the revocation of the provision in the New Laws that *encomiendas* would revert to the Crown after the death of their current holders. Had it come earlier, this concession might have prevented the bloodshed that had already taken place, committed because many of the rebellious *encomenderos* felt they had nothing to lose.

Gasca sailed from Spain in late May of 1546, traveling through the Canary Islands and on to Santa Marta, Colombia, where he received word of the death of Blasco Núñez Vela.⁷⁷ By that time, Gonzalo Pizarro had returned

⁷⁵ Calvete de Estrella (1889, bk. I, chap. 5).

⁷⁶ These instructions are found in AGI, Indiferente 415 L.2 f. 379r-381v [February 16, 1546]. Calvete de Estrella (1889, bk. I, chap. 5) describes the selection of Gasca by a council of bishops, noblemen, and administrators headed by the 18-year-old crown prince, Philip.

⁷⁷ Gasca sent this news to Charles V on July 12, 1546 (AHN, Diversos Colecciones 23 N.4). He also learned that the rebel army was twice the size of the royalist force at Quito, and it was well-equipped with artillery and firearms (AHN Diversos Colecciones 23 N.5 [September 26, 1546]).

to Lima, celebrating his victory in Spanish towns along the way. He knew that his actions would provoke some response from Spain, but he had several months to prepare for it. Pizarro moved quickly to consolidate and extend his power and resources. He seized as many ships as he could on the Pacific coast, and sent Pedro de Cabrera and forty arquebusiers to Panama, where his supporters took over the towns of Panama and Nombre de Dios and attempted to seize royal treasure that was there, awaiting shipment to Spain.⁷⁸ By the time Gasca reached Panama, it was clear that his task would be much more challenging than negotiating terms for the implementation of the New Laws. The priest would have to persuade wayward Spaniards in a region larger than Spain to return to their king.

When he arrived in Panama, Gasca had no army to confront Pizarro. Instead, he attracted support by sending word to Peru describing the royal concessions that he brought.⁷⁹ Charles V renounced his intended reforms regarding the humane treatment of native peoples, which placed Gasca in a position to win back Spanish subjects. There were many in Peru who had been unhappy to see Pizarro's rise to power, and even among the active supporters of the rebel governor, many would reconsider fighting against a king who had conceded to their demands and forgiven their recent violence. Since Pizarro claimed to resist the viceroy Núñez Vela in the name of the Crown, the letters that Gasca brought from Spain made it impossible for him to retain power as a loyal subject. In Panama, growing numbers of Spaniards came over to the president, accepting pardons and swearing loyalty to the Crown. Many were eager to go and fight in Peru, hoping to parlay their royal service into a rich *encomienda*.

As Gasca began to assemble a new royalist force in Panama, Gonzalo Pizarro still held sway in Peru, and he rejected the reconciliation that was offered to him. His staunchest advisers recommended a more dramatic break from the Crown. They told Pizarro that everyone living in Peru would submit to him—some out of love, and others out of fear—so he should claim a royal title, crowning himself king of Peru. He reportedly agreed to do so, ordering that they should stage a coronation drama similar to the one that had been done eighty years earlier in Ávila when enemies of Enrique IV deposed him

⁷⁸ AHN Diversos Colecciones 23 N.5 [1546]; Calvete de Estrella (1889, bk. II, chap. 3).

⁷⁹ For example, Gasca wrote a letter to loyal Spanish subjects in the Indies, calling them to support the Crown against the rebels, the way that their countrymen in Spain rallied to fight for Charles V against the Ottoman siege of Vienna ([December 15, 1546] in Savile 1917:349–350).

in effigy and raised his half-brother Alfonso as king of Castile.⁸⁰ There is no evidence that Pizarro ever followed through with this plan, but he continued to disregard Charles V's sovereignty, appropriating royal revenues to fund his rebellion, and even issuing his own coinage.⁸¹

Gasca's negotiations in Panama restored royal control over the isthmus and brought Pizarro's fleet of more than twenty ships into his possession. Pizarro's loss of sea power left him vulnerable in Lima, and it coincided with several royalist uprisings in Spanish towns in northern Peru, which signaled a shift in the balance of power. The rebel governor moved quickly to consolidate his army, assembling a force of roughly one thousand soldiers. At this time, there were many Europeans in the Andes who did not have royal permission to be there, and Pizarro's fighters were a mix of old conquistadores and the sort of men who could not hope to receive a pardon for their actions in Peru. Pizarro offered rich inducements for the men who came to fight with him, expending his own resources, as well as those that he extorted from other Spaniards and stole from royal coffers.

Despite efforts to accumulate power and present the illusion of sovereignty, Pizarro saw his support erode steadily. The newly assembled royal fleet sailed down the coast in 1547, and word spread that supporters of the Crown were to rendezvous in Cajamarca, the fateful site of Francisco Pizarro's victory over Atahualpa. The rebels abandoned Lima and fled into the Andes, regrouping in the city of Arequipa, which had remained faithful to Pizarro. By the time the rebel army arrived there, it had lost half of its strength to defections. From Cajamarca, the royalists proceeded along the Inca highland road as far as Jauja, where they established a camp that could coordinate between the northern highlands, Lima, and Cuzco.

Pizarro retreated farther south, toward the Andean interior, where it would be virtually impossible to follow and defeat him, but a second royalist army blocked his passage through the Titicaca basin. The two sides came to battle at Huarina on October 26, 1547. Although the rebel army fielded half as many fighters as the royalists, it had a large contingent of well-trained arquebusiers, and their firepower proved to be as decisive as it had at the battle near Quito. Firing in deadly volleys, they scattered the royalist foot soldiers and helped to hold off their cavalry, which still inflicted serious losses on Pizarro's own horsemen. The morning after the battle, nearly 500

⁸⁰ From a letter from a secretary of Pedro de la Gasca (in Jiménez de la Espada 1877).

⁸¹ Prescott (1847 vol. II:338).

Spaniards lay dead on the field; almost three-quarters of them were soldiers who had fought for the Crown. Many of Pizarro's prisoners changed sides to join the rebel army, which turned toward Cuzco, where there was hope of rallying a city that had long supported the Pizarro brothers. Pizarro's family still held huge *encomiendas* in Cuzco that were managed by influential Inca nobles who might raise thousands of Andean fighters to aid the rebel cause.

When Gasca learned of Pizarro's return to Cuzco, he sent for reinforcements and cannons from Lima, and prepared to march his army toward the former Inca capital. The rainy season made travel next to impossible, and after struggling through snow-choked passes and muddy valley bottoms, Gasca resigned himself to wait for more favorable conditions, which came in early 1548. By the time the army moved forward once again, it had almost 2,000 soldiers, almost half of them carrying firearms. Progress was slow, because the bridges had been cut and had to be restored. After several weeks, Gasca's forces finally made their way into the Cuzco region along the royal road. Facing a much larger army, Pizarro refused to run, and he decided to take up a position in Jaquijahuana, near where the Incas celebrated their victory over the legendary Chanca invaders, and where Francisco Pizarro had burned the Quito captain Chalcochima.

The Jaquijahuana Valley is a flat basin that receives water from several small streams, and seasonal rains made it a lake that was only passable by means of a causeway (Figure 8.3). Pizarro established a strong position on the side closest to Cuzco, joined by an auxiliary force of Andean warriors. Gasca's army entered the valley and the two sides skirmished in anticipation of a great battle the following day. As it happened, Pizarro's lines failed before the battle could even begin. As the two armies arrayed themselves for the fight, several prominent horsemen and foot soldiers deserted to the royalist side. The flow of defections increased as entire squadrons of arquebusiers and cavalry followed their example. The indigenous troops who came to fight for Pizarro melted away from the battlefield, along with most of Pizarro's remaining followers. Left with only a few desperately loyal cavalry, Gonzalo Pizarro rode out toward his enemies and surrendered.

Gasca allowed his troops to loot the rebel camp, and he confiscated the estates of the leading rebels. He passed judgment on Pizarro and his most important commanders before entering Cuzco. Gonzalo Pizarro was beheaded. His head was taken to Lima, where it was displayed publicly, with a label that said: "This is the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro, on whom justice was carried out in the Valley of Jaquijahuana, where he took to the field of battle against the



Figure 8.3. The Jaquijahuana Valley, where Gonzalo Pizarro was finally defeated by Pedro de la Gasca in 1548. The valley was also where Francisco Pizarro burned the Quito captain Chalcochima in 1533.

royal standard, wishing to defend his treason and tyranny.”⁸² The power of the Pizarro family had come to an end in Peru.

A Poor Soldier’s Paradise

The defeat and death of the last Pizarro brother left in Peru signaled the end of the free-wheeling early days of the conquest, but it did not resolve the administrative challenges facing royal officials. Pedro de la Gasca defeated Gonzalo Pizarro by bringing swarms of poor foot soldiers to Peru from across the Indies. By the time he reached the coast of Peru, Gasca complained that there were already too many trouble-making “vagrants” in Peru, and he begged royal officials to rescind their call for more soldiers to go there.⁸³ When the royalists celebrated their victory and punished the leading Pizarrists in Cuzco, Pedro de la Gasca faced the impossible challenge

⁸² Zarate, in Prescott (1847 II:401), my translation.

⁸³ Gasca (in Savile 1917:355 [August 4, 1547]).

of meeting the expectations of the men who had fought for the Crown. Most of the rebellious conquistadores who stayed faithful to Gonzalo Pizarro to the end lost their *encomiendas*, a collection of rich estates that generated more than a million pesos annually.⁸⁴ From this, Gasca needed to improve the standing of some *encomenderos* who had remained steadfastly loyal, and to fulfill promises to those who defected from Pizarro's camp just before Jaquijahuana. He also needed to reward men who had come to Peru to win consideration for their services to the Crown. All told, Gasca faced roughly 2,500 men seeking royal honors, but there were only about 150 available *repartimientos* for redistribution. As one writer noted, "[I]t was clear that he could not satisfy all of those demanding favors, and that almost all had to remain discontent."⁸⁵

The new waves of European arrivals that came to Peru to fight rebellious Spaniards reflected the changing military practices that developed during Spain's many wars in Europe. The Pizarro expedition had claimed to follow a knightly quest, not just because they carried a medieval nostalgia for the *Reconquista*, but because mounted swordsmen had real tactical advantages fighting in the Inca world during the early days of the conquest. By the time of the Spanish civil wars in Peru, armies relied increasingly on infantry—pikemen and halberdiers—and artillery. The increasing importance of foot soldiers in Peru reflected the new armies of Europe, where the Spanish *tercio* formation had helped Charles V win his Italian wars. As we have seen, the ultimate quest for Catholic knights was the crusader's dream of recapturing Jerusalem, a decisive step toward bringing about Christ's return. With the growing power of ordinary infantry came a distinct spiritual self-identification, as "poor soldiers" who yearned to liberate Peru to establish millenarian tranquility there.⁸⁶ In some ways, this could be seen as a lower-status complement to the ideal of Catholic empire that had been the aspiration of Spanish monarchs for decades. Blind to the suffering of indigenous Andeans and African slaves, common soldiers could see the permanent grant of good lands and labor in Peru as evidence of a utopian era that they would enjoy before Christ's return.

Facing the potential violence of the poor soldiers, who had already rallied to other charismatic and discontented leaders, Gasca returned to Cuzco

⁸⁴ Zárate (1555, bk. 7, chap. 9); Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 1).

⁸⁵ Zárate (1555, bk. 7, chap. 9).

⁸⁶ Milhou (1986) discusses how the decade of revolts by "poor soldiers" under Gonzalo Pizarro reflects a broader vision of an apocalypse as liberation.

and strategically drafted a series of new grants. He ordered that they not be announced until after he had departed for Lima, because his previous experience among these men led him to fear “the impudence of the soldiers, and to hear their complaints, blasphemies, and grumbling.”⁸⁷ These concerns were well-placed, for when the bishop of Cuzco began to read out the new distributions (*repartimientos*) on August 24, 1548, the assembled Spaniards protested publicly, threatening further uprisings. The reason for their anger was that some of the richest rewards had gone to supporters of Gonzalo Pizarro, traitors who had fought against the Crown until the very last moment, crossing the battle lines only at Jaquijahuana. Although the angry mob was temporarily placated by a distribution of silver, discontent festered openly, encouraged by some of Cuzco’s priests. A royal official in the city ordered that no Spaniard leave without permission, as he feared the plotters would put their words into action and start a new rebellion.⁸⁸

Fearing a new uprising, Gasca nevertheless persisted in his efforts to assert royal authority over the Europeans in Peru. His first action was to bring all supporters of Gonzalo Pizarro to justice. More than 1,000 men appeared before royal judges after the Battle of Jaquijahuana. Many of the less culpable were allowed to go free; others received public whippings, banishment, and forfeiture of their possessions. Some 350 men were sent to be rowers in Charles V’s Mediterranean galleys for the rest of their lives, and dozens of prominent rebels were hanged or beheaded.⁸⁹ In 1549, the Royal Council upheld the expulsion of 131 men from Peru and the confiscation of their goods.⁹⁰ Although many were from Castile and its dependencies, there were also men from Portugal, France, Crete, Hungary, the Netherlands, and Italy.⁹¹

Gasca moved from punishing the guilty to trying to spread out rewards to the loyal and brave. He quickly reallocated the *encomiendas* of Peru, returning most indigenous tributary labor to individual Spaniards, but on different terms than the early conquistadores had enjoyed. Most of the new grants were much smaller, many of them consisting of only a part of the

⁸⁷ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1 chap. 1).

⁸⁸ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1 chap. 1).

⁸⁹ AHN Diversos Colecciones 23 N. 158 f. 1v [1551]. Andrés de Cianca, an *oidor* of the Royal Audience of Lima, prepared a list of the men condemned after the rebellion (1873).

⁹⁰ AGI Indiferente 424 L.21 F.357V-362R [1549]

⁹¹ Only about one-fifth of the men came from Castile proper. Other parts of Spain with deportees included the Basque region, Catalonia, and Valencia.

income from a *repartimiento*. Gasca also attempted to define more limited levies of tribute in kind (*tasas*) that indigenous groups would deliver to their *encomendero*, which further curtailed the privileges of those lucky enough to possess full grants. To achieve this, he ordered a general inspection of the indigenous population of Peru, although it was never completed.⁹²

Gasca's administrative intensification created important new roles for royal officials, who now received tributes in kind—crops, herd animals, craft goods—that had to be converted to cash to pay out incomes granted to Spaniards and many noble Andeans. Royal accounts from Cuzco show a marked increase in revenue during the 1550s, broadening from payments of royal shares of mining proceeds, to a much more diverse array of tribute goods. One entry even mentions a herd of mangy alpacas sent as tribute from a remote rural village.⁹³ In addition to overseeing new economic functions, the royal treasurer in Cuzco, García de Melo, found himself directly administering some *encomiendas* that Gasca chose not to redistribute to those who fought for the Crown at Jaquijahuana.⁹⁴

The richest of these was the Yucay Valley estate of Huayna Capac, which Francisco Pizarro had taken for himself, placing its administration under don Francisco Chilche, the Cañari leader who had fought for the Spaniards since they arrived in Cuzco in 1533. After Pizarro's assassination in 1541, the valley passed over to his young mestizo sons, Gonzalo and Francisco, but it was administered by the boys' uncle, Gonzalo Pizarro.⁹⁵ After the boys died in Spain, royal officials took over the valley, although its permanent servants, or *yanakuna*, testified later that royal supervision at that time was limited to sending workers to the lowlands to grow coca leaf that could be used by native porters and miners.⁹⁶ By the 1550s, the mummy of Huayna Capac—the ancestral creator of the valley—had been confiscated for the last time,

⁹² Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 3).

⁹³ Covey (n.d.) has traced the changes to agriculture and food consumption in early colonial Cuzco, noting the 1550s as a period of significant changes.

⁹⁴ Pedro de la Gasca ([9/25/1548] in *GP* I:124) explained to Charles V that “[t]he *repartimiento* of Yucay with the coca of Avisca, which was what the Marquis [Francisco Pizarro] had in Cuzco, which is worth 12 or 13 thousand pesos in rent, I did not allot, but rather placed in deposit so that the coca would be cultivated and enjoyed, and so an account of what it should rent for could be taken, until [the Crown and royal officials] could be consulted.”

⁹⁵ Covey and Elson (2007). The younger Gonzalo was the son of doña Inés Huayllas Yupanqui, and his half-brother Francisco was the son of doña Angelina Yupanqui.

⁹⁶ Covey and Amado (2008).

and the lands of the warm and fertile Yucay Valley had become a sought-after place for Cuzco's leading Spanish citizens to build country homes and maintain gardens and orchards where Old World fruits and vegetables could be cultivated.⁹⁷ The Spanish elite of Cuzco shared the valley with several noble Incas who owned property there, including the surviving daughters of Huayna Capac.

The End and Beginning of Inca History

In May 1549, Cuzco's last crowned Inca died attempting to perform one final service for the Spanish Crown. Don Cristóbal Paullu Inca, an essential Spanish ally for more than a decade, fell ill while on a journey to Vilcabamba to escort Sayri Tupa—Manco Inca's son and heir—to Cuzco. Huayna Capac's son passed away soon after returning to his palace in Cuzco, prompting a military display by the Inca men still living in the former capital.⁹⁸ As news of Paullu's death spread through the city, Inca warriors assembled at the palace, prepared to do battle using their arrows, lances, and slings. They gave out great shouts and cries as they surrounded the palace, which they occupied and guarded until their Inca had been buried. Spaniards who inquired about the mustering of nearly 500 Inca warriors were told that this was the customary observance for the death of a natural lord, so that would-be tyrants could not gain entry to the palace to take royal women and children into their power.⁹⁹

The traditional concerns over royal succession proved to be unnecessary for an Inca who had acted the part of a good Christian subject for so long. Paullu had married his wife, doña Catalina Ussica, in a Christian ceremony just days before his death, leaving two legitimate children. As a Christian, he left a will that dictated what was to become of his estate.¹⁰⁰ He was given a Christian funeral and buried in the chapel that he had built and dedicated to

⁹⁷ Villanueva Urteaga (1970).

⁹⁸ Temple (2009:217–220). Pedro de la Gasca ([7/15/1549] in *GP* I:198) wrote of the reverse to his diplomatic efforts: "It is feared that his death will cool off things with Sayri Tupa and those who are with him, to come out of the Andes and the stronghold they have and come to the obedience of his Majesty, now that they lack the shadow of don Pablo [Paullu], whom Sayri Tupa saw as a father."

⁹⁹ Segovia (1840:158 [c. 1553]).

¹⁰⁰ Temple (1949).

San Cristóbal. The month-long funeral ceremonies for Paullu reflected his transitional roles as both Inca lord and wealthy *encomendero*. His church burial was attended by the prominent Spaniards of Cuzco, as well as Inca nobles and other indigenous people of the city. After the Christian rite, the native population of the region “came with much weeping and other ancient ceremonies that they made when their lord died. These lasted almost a month, and the [Spanish] justices consented to them, the land being so new, and the natives [so new] to the [Catholic] faith.”¹⁰¹ Paullu’s son, don Carlos Inca, inherited most of his property and *encomiendas*, but he was not permitted to wear the *borla* insignia. From the perspective of the Cuzco Incas, the death of Paullu was a turning point in Inca sovereignty. “[T]he *borla* expired and ceased, and the investiture of that kingdom [was] already totally peaceful under the royal crown.”¹⁰²

A year after Paullu’s death, the Incas of Cuzco gathered to give him a traditional funeral ceremony, the last of its kind to be performed in Cuzco. In the years since Manco Inca’s brief attempt to revive traditional Inca ceremonies, the religious power of the Inca state had almost completely faded. The priestesses who occupied the cloister on the Haucaypata plaza had long been evicted. As royal mummies were buried and *huacas* ceased to be brought into public, they were replaced by Catholic priests, who claimed to speak to Christian supernatural forces in their own arcane ways. Without the mummies, one important form of Inca historical performance was erased from Cuzco. The end of Inca funeral festivities in 1550 helped to silence the historical voices of Inca women. Women’s praise songs and interpretive dances had long been fundamental to the representation of the life histories of Inca rulers—men and women—but as Inca ceremonies were folded into Christian ones with incompatible gender roles, Inca women no longer had a stage for presenting their own versions of the past.

This is significant because Inca history as we know it only began to be collected around this time.¹⁰³ Juan de Betanzos and Pedro de Cieza de León were both in Cuzco to see Paullu’s funeral ceremony, and as they began to gather oral histories from Christian Inca men, both chroniclers represented women’s history-making work as something less factual, akin to allegories

¹⁰¹ Testimony of Gonzalo Antón in BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 77v.[1599].

¹⁰² BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga* f. 10.

¹⁰³ A 1608 document signed by one “Fray Antonio” contains materials from a 1542 account of Inca history that the governor Cristóbal Vaca de Castro collected from several elderly Inca *khipu* holders, who were apparently unbaptized at the time.

or medieval romances. Betanzos treated male testimony as reliable, and he interviewed numerous elderly Inca noblemen as he prepared his Inca history.¹⁰⁴ It is possible, but not certain, that he included testimony from his wife, doña Angelina Yupanqui, an Inca princess whose ancestry and life are woven into the chronicle. Using interpreters—some of them women—Cieza de León also gathered Inca men, including Cayo Topa, a man of Huayna Capac's house, and lords from other noble lineages.¹⁰⁵ By interviewing groups of older Inca men, the Spaniards felt that they could isolate true accounts of the Inca past from the conflicting narratives circulating throughout the Andes at that time. Inca men, accustomed to having their female counterparts represent them publicly in song, dance, and speech, offered the male vantage point only, which Spaniards treated as a complete account of the past.

The sudden Spanish interest in Inca history highlights the continued significance of Inca sovereignty in Spain. At court, Bartolomé de Las Casas continued to rail against the abuses that Spaniards committed against indigenous peoples across the Americas. Even though Charles V walked back many of the reforms of the New Laws to win over the conquistadores in Peru, he remained receptive to the arguments that Las Casas made. In 1550, the emperor suspended new conquests across his realm until he could determine a just way to carry them out. That year, Las Casas debated the humanist scholar Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in front of a royal jury in Valladolid, disputing the moral justification for conquering and governing indigenous peoples in the Americas. The exchange was inconclusive in terms of policy, but it highlighted the importance of understanding pre-contact social organization and religious practices. Because of the scale of the Inca realm and the unresolved question of indigenous sovereignty, knowing the Inca past became relevant to charting a morally defensible colonial policy in the Andes. When the second viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, arrived in Peru, he contacted Juan de Betanzos to request that he prepare a history of the Incas.¹⁰⁶ Pedro de la Gasca, who remained the president of the Royal Audience, continued to make his own inquiries about the Inca Empire, which he included in a report on Peru.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Betanzos (1996:3 [1550s, prologue]).

¹⁰⁵ Cieza de León (1880 [c. 1553, chap. 6]).

¹⁰⁶ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, prologue]). Pedro de Cieza de León assembled an Inca dynastic history around 1550. When he died a few years later, he directed that the unpublished manuscript be sent to Bartolomé de Las Casas.

¹⁰⁷ Gasca (1998 [1551–1553]). In the years that followed, Philip II sent inquiries to prominent Spaniards in Peru, Fernando de Santillán and Polo de Ondegardo, requesting Inca

Bartolomé de Las Casas leaped into the project of Inca history-making, using documents sent by his fellow Dominicans and other writers with indigenous sympathies to fashion an account of the Inca dynasty.¹⁰⁸ The Inca civilization assembled in Spain by Las Casas downplayed violent conquest, human sacrifice, and other practices that his opponent Sepúlveda had argued would negate the sovereignty of native rulers. Las Casas placed the Incas in a comparative world history, arguing that, like the ancient Romans, they were a pagan civilization that glimpsed spiritual truths and could be brought to Christianity without the need for military conquest.¹⁰⁹ These histories remained unpublished, but Las Casas managed to obtain royal permission from Charles V for his *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, which was first printed in 1552 and quickly translated and published across Europe.

This extraordinary text powerfully contradicted the miraculous rhetoric of Spanish exploration and colonization—including the portrayal of “poor soldiers” as bearers of a utopian millennium—casting it instead as the greedy and genocidal destruction of a New World paradise.¹¹⁰ The conquistadores were “tyrants” rather than Christian knights, and Las Casas reshaped the miracle of Cajamarca into a story of the cruel slaughter of an innocent people: “[T]he universal king and emperor of those realms, who was called Atahualpa [came] with many unclothed people with their silly weapons, not knowing how swords cut and lances wound, and how the horses race.” Portraying the Incas as innocents, Las Casas claimed that the Spaniards were so greedy “that if demons possessed gold they would undertake to steal it for themselves.”¹¹¹ He played loosely with the facts of the conquest in order to draw attention to the litany of cruel and evil deeds carried out by people who called themselves Christians. This paternalistic defense of native people circulated widely in Protestant countries, buttressing claims that Catholic empire brought apocalyptic devastation on the innocent, and that Spain risked God’s wrath if it did not reform its treatment of native subjects.¹¹²

histories, part of a broad range of questions about Inca administrative practices, which informed his own imperial policies (Ondegardo 1940 [1561]; Santillán 1879 [1563]).

¹⁰⁸ See Castro (2007) on the broader implications of indigenous rights advocacy among the religious orders.

¹⁰⁹ Las Casas (1875–1876 [1552–1562]; 1967 [1552–1562]).

¹¹⁰ Millhou (1986:11).

¹¹¹ Las Casas (1552).

¹¹² Hanke (1951, 1994).

The Final Conquest of Peru

As Europeans considered the significance of Inca sovereignty, Peru was plunged once more into Spanish civil war. Although Gasca's victory at Jaquijahuana heralded the long-anticipated arrival of royal government in Peru, many Spaniards remained discontented with the rewards they received for their service. Ironically, the most vocal of these disgruntled men was Francisco Hernández Girón, who had been granted Gonzalo Pizarro's rich Jaquijahuana *encomienda*.¹¹³ Although he was a wealthy man, Hernández Girón promoted himself as the spokesman for Peru's poor soldiers.¹¹⁴ He openly challenged the recent redistributions, and his boldness drew a coterie of discontented veterans who followed his lead as he flouted the ban on travel from Cuzco and blustered about how he would get satisfaction by one means or another.¹¹⁵ Gasca tried to rid himself of this mounting threat, appointing Hernández Girón as the captain of an expedition against the lowland Chunchu tribe in early 1550. This bought enough time for a new viceroy to arrive in Peru, but the royal commitment to ending uncompensated personal services to Spaniards ensured that the conflict would not go away.

Hernández Girón was not placated by his chance to be a conquistador, and after returning from his expedition, he began once more to conspire against royal officials in Cuzco. On the night of November 12, 1553, the leading citizens of the city were celebrating the wedding of the *corregidor*, Gil Ramírez, when Hernández Girón and thirteen supporters burst in and took Ramírez captive, killing at least one Spaniard who stood in their way. As royalists fled Cuzco for Lima, Hernández Girón's rebels gathered supporters, consolidating their hold on the city and sending their forces to the south to raise Arequipa and other Spanish towns in rebellion.¹¹⁶ Members of the royal audience in Lima learned of the uprising and acted to prevent it from spreading in the north, where the towns of Huánuco, Chachapoyas, and Trujillo stood

¹¹³ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1 chap. 1) notes that the *encomienda* produced rents of 9,000 pesos annually, making him one of the richest men in Cuzco.

¹¹⁴ Milhou (2003:421) notes that he wore a medal inscribed with the messianic saying "The poor shall eat and be satisfied" (*Edent pauperes et saturabuntur*).

¹¹⁵ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1 chap. 2).

¹¹⁶ The anonymous *Relación de lo acaecido en el Perú* (Anonymous *Relacion de lo acaecido* 1879) describes the rebellion. Diego Fernández (1571) offers another version, which Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) responded to in his recollection of his youth in Cuzco.

with the Crown, sending troops to build a new royalist army. Huamanga sided with the rebels, although many of its citizens escaped to Lima to join the royalists, who fielded a force of 1,300 against Hernández Girón's much smaller army.¹¹⁷

Indigenous people swelled the numbers on both side; some of them had been pressed into service, while others had joined as willing auxiliaries. At Huamanga, the rebels posted Andean pikemen to watch for opposing troops, while not far away the Wanka people of Jauja provided dozens of porters and abundant supplies to assist the royalists.¹¹⁸ In Cuzco, don Carlos Inca rallied to the standard of Charles V "in the fidelity and love" he had for his emperor, organizing the people of his rich *encomiendas* to support the royal army.¹¹⁹ This grandson of Huayna Capac rode into battle as a Christian knight, bearing a lance and leading his own native troops. The indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala claimed that his own father had joined other Andean nobles in the royalist army, where they fought with distinction against the rebels.

Along with the unknown number of Andean troops, accounts of the uprising of Hernández Girón mention hundreds of people of African heritage fighting in the rebel army. Many of these were enslaved workers on Spanish plantations, who had been offered freedom in exchange for their support. The royalists also recruited Afro-Peruvian slaves into their army, arming more than 200 men with pikes and firearms.¹²⁰ Although the chroniclers focus on the large numbers of enslaved Afro-Peruvians who fought, the free people of color living in Peru must have also chosen sides and fought in the name of freedom or fealty.

¹¹⁷ The Anonymous *Relación* (1879:204) says that no one really knew how many rose up to fight with the rebels, offering estimates ranging from 550 to 800.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:202). The *Memoria* of don Jerónimo Guacrapaucar mentions sixty-six porters (in Espinoza Soriano 1971:209 [1558 #136]), and the *Memorias* of don Cristóbal Alaya list extensive supplies and services given to help fight the rebellion, including food, clothing, weaponry, pack animals, and the service of more than 300 Wanka men and women ([1558] in Espinoza Soriano 1971:210–214).

¹¹⁹ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inca* f. 10, 148

¹²⁰ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:218). This description of the final battle, at Pucara, mentions 250 "Blacks" attacking alongside the Spanish troops. Bryant (2014:27) mentions the recruitment of slaves, also noting the role that Afro-Peruvians played in the royalist army. Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 54) says that 230 Afro-Peruvians were armed with pikes and arquebuses in the royalist army.

Despite his inferior numbers, Hernández Girón directed his army toward Lima, hoping to gain defectors from the royalist side as he menaced the colonial capital. If chroniclers of the war are to be believed, the rebel leader claimed a preternatural knowledge of the goings-on in his own camp, as well as of the movements of his enemies. He concocted clever fabrications and lies about his powers, which he proclaimed to his men in regular evening addresses.¹²¹ Hernández Girón surrounded himself with sorcerers, diviners, and witches who advised him about the war. Some moved through the camp like preachers, sharing Hernández Girón's words and deeds, as if he were possessed by an ominous spirit. Others were adepts at specific magical practices. There was a man named Valladares who claimed to be an expert in physiognomy, interpreting the appearance and behavior of humans and animals. A diviner named Becerra used two rods to find the locations of hidden treasures and graves, and a priest named Gonzalo Vázquez had a reputation as an astrologer, palmist, water-diviner, physiognomic, and even necromancer. Among these men was a powerful witch named Lucia de Herrera, a Muslim convert (*morisca*) whose magical powers included the interpretation of dreams.¹²² Advancing behind this vanguard of sorcerers and charlatans, the poor soldiers of Hernández Girón's diverse rebel army were clearly not the vanguard of Catholic orthodoxy.

It should be noted that the city they were marching toward was far from being a Christian bulwark. Lima's growing population was an intersection of the Andean, European, and African worlds, which circulated and combined magical practices developed on three continents. For example, in 1547, the black slave of a Spanish surgeon was accused of trying to kill his master with spells, and a widening investigation implicated an Andean shaman named Paico, who admitted to speaking with the Devil, whom he summoned in animal form as he carried out spells to ensure agricultural fertility.¹²³ Paico's native lord was present at the interrogation, and tried to laugh off this statement, saying that the shaman spoke to the Virgin Mary, and not the Devil. During the same proceeding, an Andean woman named Yanque

¹²¹ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 32).

¹²² Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 32). The leading men among the rebels also carried paper drawings with a wheel of Pythagorean numbers as an occult sign of their movement.

¹²³ See Nowack (2003) for the complete document and analysis. Several of the Andean witnesses in the case were not Christians, and they were permitted to swear to the truth of their testimony by invoking the sun and the earth.

was interrogated for conspiring with Huayna Capac's daughter, doña Inés Yupanqui, the Christian convert who helped Francisco Pizarro to save Lima a decade earlier. Yanque admitted to using an herbal concoction that she learned from an old woman at Pachacamac to cast a spell on Francisco de Ampuero, the Spanish husband of doña Inés, so that he would not be so violent toward his Inca wife. When that did not work, doña Inés persuaded another herbal specialist to poison her husband's food. Yanque admitted to speaking with the Devil, who appeared in human form and also spoke to her as a dusty gust of wind. Spanish officials took these admissions of augury and herbalism as a serious threat to their power and well-being, and they subjected the practitioners to gruesome public executions. The men were burned with hot tongs and garroted, and Yanque was burned alive.

Although the supernatural advisers of Hernández Girón apparently did not include Andean ritual masters, the attack on Lima followed an itinerary that resembled an Inca pilgrimage. As the rebels neared Lima and encountered stiffening resistance from the royalists, they bypassed the colonial capital and occupied the nearby creation shrine at Pachacamac, fortifying it as their base of operations.¹²⁴ The rebels skirmished with royalist troops before Hernández Girón convened a midnight council where he decided to abandon the ancient temple. His army retreated into the highlands with a force of roughly 350 Spaniards, abandoning their baggage and many of their indigenous and African slaves and servants. After the rebels left Pachacamac, royalist forces discovered books of spells that the sorcerers had left behind there.

Hernández Girón journeyed southward to the Nasca region, where he recruited soldiers from among the large Afro-Peruvian population that was enslaved in the southern valleys. After two months of delay and uncertainty, the royalist army moved in pursuit, under the command of the Cuzco *encomenderos* Pablo de Meneses and Pedro Portocarrero.¹²⁵ Fresh from defeating another Spanish rebellion in La Plata and Potosí, a second royalist force under Alonso de Alvarado advanced from the Lake Titicaca area, and Hernández Girón engaged it at the Battle of Chuquinga, a bloody fight that the rebels won.¹²⁶ It was reported that the victory of the small rebel army

¹²⁴ Anonymous (*Relación* 1879:206).

¹²⁵ Anonymous (*Relación* 1879:211); Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 35).

¹²⁶ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:212–215). In addition to these rebellions, there was a Spanish uprising in Piura, and news arrived in Lima of the death of Pedro de Valdivia at the hands of resistant indigenous groups in Chile (Fernández 1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chaps. 36–37, 40).

came after the *morisca* Luisa de Herrera and several Spanish ladies of Cuzco performed a magic spell to aid Hernández Girón. At a nighttime gathering, the women formed two groups of balls from the fat of llamas, which they laid out on a table. Herrera recited an incantation, causing the balls to fly at each other, “battling” until the side that represented the rebel army had knocked all the others off the table.¹²⁷

After his victory at Chuquinga, Hernández Girón gathered all his forces together and retreated through Cuzco, with the main royalist army in pursuit. On October 2, 1554, the rebels stopped at Pucara, a treeless redoubt at the edge of the Titicaca basin, to defend themselves at a place “as strong a fortress as Milan.”¹²⁸ The Spaniards believed the ancient ruins at the site to be Inca, a place where the empire maintained a garrison to monitor the people of that region.¹²⁹ Following days of skirmishes, Hernández Girón decided to attack the royalist army on October 8, 1554, and his sorcerers convinced him to do so in the hours between the setting of the moon and the sunrise.¹³⁰ Facing a fierce surprise attack in total darkness, the royalist forces somehow prevailed—“God favored us miraculously that night,” said one witness—and the rebels were driven back into their fort.¹³¹ Members of Lima’s Royal Audience were present at the battle, and they sent word that they would pardon all who came over to their side, which spurred several key defections from Hernández Girón’s besieged men.

As his numbers dwindled, the rebel leader escaped in the night with 150 men, fleeing to the coast before backtracking into the highlands around Jauja, where he met his final defeat at the hands of native Andean warriors. Pursued by a Spanish force along the old Inca road, Hernández Girón reversed his course and began to climb a mountainside, leaving his pursuers behind on the plain below. It seemed like he might escape capture yet again, but a company of 200 native slingers descended onto his troops from higher on the mountain, accompanied by three or four loyalist Spaniards. Attacking furiously from the high ground, the Andean fighters battered the rebels

¹²⁷ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 40).

¹²⁸ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:217). Like Pachacamac, Pucara held ancient significance for Andean people, with some of the earliest monumental architecture found in that part of the highlands. At the time of the battle, an extensive fortification was under construction in Spanish-occupied Milan.

¹²⁹ Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 51).

¹³⁰ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:218). Fernández (1571, pt. 2, bk. 1, chap. 54) says that they cast lots and assured him of victory.

¹³¹ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:219).



Figure 8.4. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's depiction of his father's services to the Crown in the capture of Francisco Hernández Girón (c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 434[436]/drawing 175.

with slingstones, forcing them to halt and take up a defensive position. They surrounded the rebels and closed in for hand-to-hand combat. Seeing themselves lost, many of the rebels tried to surrender to the native warriors, and it was only with great difficulty that the loyalist Spaniards convinced their Andean allies to cease their attack on the prisoners. Hernández Girón fought from his position until only a single foot soldier remained with him, and the

two men were overwhelmed and taken prisoner (Figure 8.4).¹³² From the perspective of Charles V, the last battle in the conquest of Peru was won by loyal Andeans against his rebellious Spanish subjects.

The rebel prisoners arrived in Lima in early December 1554, where royal officials presided over several days of judicial bloodshed. They beheaded Hernández Girón and other leaders of the revolt, and hanged several of his followers, bringing the Spanish body count in the uprising to more than 500.¹³³ Hernández Girón's head was placed on display next to those of the rebels Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisco de Carvajal.¹³⁴ After more than twenty years of conquistador devastation, Peru was finally coming under the rule of the Spanish Crown.

¹³² Anonymous *Relación* (1879:223).

¹³³ Anonymous *Relación* (1879:224).

¹³⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, bk. 7, chap. 30).

9

Conquering Andean Hearts and Minds

In our time, Our Lord God has been served, so that these provinces [of the Andes] should be discovered, which for an unmeasurable time are settled by peoples about whom we do not read . . . so as to give order through His divine grace and mercy as they are preached to and taught our Holy Catholic faith.

—Primer Concilio Limense, 1552.¹

It took a generation to usher in the era of royal Spanish control in Peru, as the Crusader visions of a Christian world empire gave way to violent acts of judgment and world-making in the poor soldier's Andean utopia. For more than two decades, the conquistadores stood directly in the way of social order in Peru, devastating local Andean societies through their unrestrained plundering, while fighting actively against the imposition of government above the level of their municipal cabals and imagined medieval fiefs. Most of these men were dead when Philip II took power in Spain. By that time, the last sons of Huayna Capac had also passed away, dying as loyal subjects and unrepentant rebels. A new generation of Peruvians was reaching adulthood and trying to make its place in the coalescing Spanish colonial order.

This chapter traces the continuing process of royal administrative consolidation in Peru from the end of the Spanish civil wars until the late 1560s, but we will also take a longer view on the religious conquest of the Inca world. Having focused on the halting establishment of Spanish sovereignty power in Peru—and its relation to that of the Inca and the conquistador—it is important to give attention to the progress of Catholic conversion in the

¹ In Vargas Ugarte (1951:7).

Andes.² In the face of Protestant resistance to the Catholic mission of world empire-building, Spanish writers continued to depict Spain's conquests as rooted in righteous missionary work. As we will see, this claim does not fit the reality of Andean Christianity in the tumultuous generation following the first European invasions. The conquistadores were largely content to leave a spiritual gap between themselves and the populations they plundered and enslaved. It was the high-born Incas and other indigenous nobles who sought out conversion as a means of gaining privileges and justice in the emerging colonial order. Only after royal armies defeated the Spanish resistance in Peru did church officials begin to formulate a plan for driving the diabolical forces of the Inca *huacas* from the resistant landscapes of the Andes.

The Triumph of Crusader Christianity

In the early years of the conquest, Pizarro and his men portrayed themselves as Christians fighting against pagan forces. This was a crusader's worldview that emphasized the defeat, rather than the conversion, of religious enemies. By the Spaniards' own accounts, they spoke to the Incas about God only when demanding their submission, although they prayed among themselves for divine aid before they rushed into battle. At times, Pizarro's men confronted indigenous *huacas* that they considered to be dangerous. As we have already seen, when Hernando Pizarro desecrated the coastal shrine of Pachacamac in 1533, he taught the local people to use the sign of the cross to protect themselves against the Devil.³ Outside these rare moments, most Andean people would not have had any direct experience with Christian beliefs or practices, although the Spaniards gained a reputation as having exotic supernatural connections, and for carrying their own powerful *huacas*: books, crosses, and effigies of saints and kings. They were seen making reverence to unseen forces that did not inhabit the Andean landscape, and sometimes attacking those that did.

Of course, as we have already seen, Pizarro received permission to go to Peru as a colonist, not a conquistador, based on the royal understanding that the civilized rulers of the Inca world would accept Catholic missionaries peacefully. The 1529 contract between the Spanish crown and Francisco

² Estenssoro (2003) is a key source for early evangelical efforts in Peru.

³ Xérez (1989 [1534]).

Pizarro specified that the colony in Peru was to build the infrastructure for establishing church hierarchies. Pizarro sailed from Spain with a delegation of six Dominicans, and his partner Hernando de Luque was appointed bishop of Tumbez and named royal protector of the indigenous population (*protector de naturales*), a well-paid position in which he was responsible for “watching well that the Indians receive good treatment and that they teach them the Catholic faith.”⁴ When Luque remained in Panama after Pizarro’s departure for Peru, the Crown revoked his title of *protector de naturales* and, in 1531, ordered Reginaldo de Pedraza, the prior who led the six Dominicans, to assume the position.⁵ Pedraza was already on the Ecuadorian coast when the order was issued, and thus unaware of his new responsibility. There was thus no one on the Pizarro expedition who was recognized as having the authority to oversee church affairs and protect the natives.

As Pizarro made his way slowly from Spain to Peru, the Crown continued to issue orders for organizing the religious life of the imaginary colony of Tumbez, staffing positions and managing resources that would never exist. For example, in early 1530—just three months after Pizarro had left Spain for the Americas—Empress Isabella dispatched a document to the royal officials of Peru, instructing them to assist a cleric named Diego Ortiz, who desired “to pass to that land to convert the natives.” The letter ordered that Ortiz be given “what is necessary for his sustenance from the ecclesiastical tithes that pertain to the royal crown, with the charge that he serve in some church.”⁶ By the time Pizarro had reached Cajamarca, he had already determined that Tumbez would remain an Inca ruin, and so for the foreseeable future, no church would be built, and there would be no native tithes to fund the priests.

After Pizarro failed to colonize Tumbez and establish the Catholic Church there, a group of disgruntled Franciscans and Dominicans abandoned Peru and returned to Panama, where “they spoke very badly of Pizarro’s way of governing” to the royal officials there.⁷ The Dominicans had journeyed with Pizarro for two years since the departure from Spain, probably expecting to set up a monastery in Tumbez that would minister to the new colony and

⁴ AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 29v, 47v [1529].

⁵ AGI Lima 565, L.1 f. 87 [March 11, 1531]. Luque remained in Panama even after Almagro had departed with reinforcements, sending a priest in his place (AGI Patronato 194 R. 10 [October 20, 1532]).

⁶ AGI Lima 565 L.1 F. 84v [1530].

⁷ Antonio de la Gama ([2/25/1532], in Porras 1959:26).

its indigenous vassals.⁸ As the Pizarro expedition traveled down the Pacific coast, they were joined by a group of Franciscans from Nicaragua, who had been drawn there by the news of new evangelical frontiers, where they hoped to perform mass baptisms and fulfill biblical prophecy. The friars' enthusiasm faded as they watched Pizarro and his men steal food and treasure, rape local women, and publicly burn native lords.

Of course, not all the religious men traveling with Pizarro matched the utopian zeal of the Franciscans. There were those whose desire for wealth or rich Indian parishes were well-aligned with that of the colonists whom they accompanied. To build churches and monasteries and support their ministries, priests and friars expected to receive lands and indigenous labor, and some were less committed to their vows of poverty than their mendicant orders expected them to be. Reginaldo de Pedraza, the Dominican prior named to protect the native population, seems to have been one of those. Pedraza traveled with Pizarro as far as Tumbez, but then fell ill and returned to Panama, where he died in early 1532. When royal officials went through his possessions, they discovered that Pedraza had accumulated a substantial quantity of gold, silver, fine cloth, pearls, and emeralds, some of it secreted out of Peru on behalf of conquistadores who remained behind.⁹ These treasures had presumably been taken from the native populations of the Ecuadorian coast, people whose Catholic "instruction" had been limited to the demand that they surrender to Pizarro and his men.

By the time Pizarro reached Cajamarca, the Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde was the only religious man left to minister to the invading Spaniards and the millions of people living in the Inca Empire. In failing to take religious officials to Peru and settle them in Tumbez, Pizarro had guaranteed that it would be years before the Crown could devise and implement a strategy for the religious governance of the Andes. It was only in 1534 that new priests were sent to serve in indigenous communities in Peru. At that time there were no monasteries established and few religious men. Charles V wrote to Valverde, ordering him to keep up his efforts to instruct and convert Andean natives, but realistically, one friar working alone could not be expected to make much headway.¹⁰ In 1535, Vicente de Valverde was named

⁸ Varón Gabai (1997:52–53) notes that not all the Dominicans who left Spain for Peru completed the journey.

⁹ AGI Patronato 194 R.15 [1532]; AGI Panama 234 L. 5 F. 99v–100r [1533]. The bishop of Panama tried to have some of the gold given to the Dominican monastery there, which was in desperate need of support (AGI Panama 234 L.5 f. 173R–173V [1534]).

¹⁰ AGI Lima 565, L.1, f. 190 [May 21, 1534].

bishop of Peru; but his evangelical efforts had only had limited success by the time of Manco Inca's war of reconquest the following year.¹¹

Religious Alliances

Given the lack of Catholic priests and friars and the decidedly un-Christian behavior of the conquistadores themselves, the work of conversion proceeded very slowly, especially in Cuzco.¹² Pizarro's efforts to maintain strong alliances with the Cuzco Incas led the Spaniards' to accommodate Inca religious practices, making it seem as though the two imperial religions could coexist in the Andes. When Manco became the Inca in Cuzco in 1534, the Spaniards made little attempt to intervene in the public ceremonies involving the Inca ancestral mummies and the figures of the powerful Andean *huacas*. Instead, they added their own elements to the Inca ceremony, standing by Manco as he restored the traditions of his imperial dynasty. Church buildings seemed important to the invaders, but they did little to disrupt the outdoor processions and ceremonies that made up the core of Inca public religious practices. Pizarro designated a building at Cajamarca as a church, and when the Spaniards distributed house lots in Cuzco on October 29, 1534, the municipal cathedral was one of the first lots selected. It was to be built in a space on the central Haucaypata plaza, but the structure was still incomplete years later.¹³

Just as Pizarro had ordered that noble Inca properties not be appropriated or altered in Cuzco, the colonizing Spaniards also made efforts to avoid disrupting many of the spaces used for Inca religion. For example, Cuzco's town council determined that when house lots were first distributed to Spanish citizens, they would not do anything to offend the *mamakuna* priestesses who served the Sun and the royal mummies. Their cloister was situated on Cuzco's central plaza and held rich lodgings, but the leading Spaniards understood that evicting the religious women would cause unrest among the Inca population, possibly leading to violence, or even an outright rebellion against the Spanish crown.¹⁴ It was determined that no one should

¹¹ E.g., AGI Lima 565, L.2, f. 202 [May 27, 1535].

¹² Ramos (2016) writes about the politics of conversion, and how it changed over time.

¹³ Rivera Serna (1965:35 [1534]).

¹⁴ Rivera Serna (1965:37 [1534]).

disturb the cloister or the temples where these religious women lived. Until the Inca city was destroyed by fire and war during Manco Inca's uprising, there were few spaces in Cuzco that could be remade to spread Christianity to the native nobility.

Even after the Spaniards established Cuzco as a Christian city, they continued to permit the observation of key Inca festivals in sacred places in and around the capital. In April 1535, the Incas celebrated an important annual festival "for all the *huacas* and shrines of Cuzco," and an eyewitness description suggests that there was no Spanish attempt to stop the proceedings. Before daybreak, the Inca nobility assembled their ancestral mummies and shrine objects on the east side of Cuzco. Thirty men formed a procession, singing as they went, until they arrived at a tent from which Manco Inca emerged to lead their song. The Inca noblemen sang from daybreak to noon as animal offerings were thrown on a ceremonial fire. The men were joined by 200 young women, who brought vessels of maize beer and baskets of coca leaf to offer the Sun. The sacrifices continued until sunset, when all returned to the city.¹⁵

Establishing the Spanish Church in Peru

The Inca restoration in Cuzco helped to return calm to many parts of the Andes, and Spanish religious authorities held out some hope that they could manage the factional conflicts among the Christians. As the relationship between Pizarro and Almagro became more fractious, Tomás de Berlanga, the bishop of Panama, traveled to Peru to try to arbitrate the dispute and to make recommendations to further the unrealized religious conquest of the Andes. Berlanga suggested establishing bishoprics in Lima, Cuzco, Trujillo, and Puerto Viejo, Spanish towns that had all been founded in the previous two years. The visiting bishop noted the lack of religious instruction being offered to the native populations, which he attributed to conquistador indifference and a scarcity of religious officials. Men from the religious orders were trickling into the Andes in small numbers, but in 1536 Berlanga identified only two Franciscans and four Mercedarians, who had joined a few Dominicans and secular clergy. He argued that new monasteries needed to be formalized under the Crown so that they would be adequately staffed.¹⁶

¹⁵ Segovia (1895:279–283 [c. 1553]).

¹⁶ Berlanga ([2/3/1536] in Porras 1959).

Berlanga wrote that Catholic institutions remained unfunded in Peru, and he argued that imposing a tithe on indigenous populations would be consistent with their existing religious practices. Andean people already had the custom of serving their *huacas* with offerings of maize, *chicha* beer, fish, and cloth. They also designated fertile farmland and large camelid herds to support the cult of the Sun. Although these practices might someday be transformed into a more formal tithe, Berlanga suggested that, for the time being, the native populations should be asked to give the church what they had been giving their *huacas* in Inca times.¹⁷ The bishop also recommended that Manco Inca and other native lords be placed directly under Crown administration, so that the treasures taken from royal tombs would not enrich the conquistadores. Concerned about the state of Pizarro's administration, Berlanga also noted that vast amounts of Inca treasure had been withheld from the Crown, and that the treatment of the indigenous population violated royal orders.

Berlanga's recommendations regarding Manco Inca became a moot point a few months later, when Inca armies attempted to destroy the Spanish towns of Peru. In many ways, Manco's war marked a religious turning point. Many of the Inca women who stood by the Spaniards were recent converts who encouraged their male relatives to follow their example. Manco's siege of Cuzco destroyed many parts of the old Inca capital, creating new spaces to build a colonial city and its Catholic monuments. The surviving priestesses who remained in Cuzco were cast out of the *aqllawasi*, and many fled to Vilcabamba with Manco Inca.¹⁸ After the fighting, the Dominican order began to build a monastery atop the Coricancha temple, and other orders constructed their own complexes in the central parts of the city. The sacred character of the Coricancha naturally aligned the Dominicans with the Inca nobility, who began to bury their Christian dead in the chapel in the 1540s.

Berlanga returned to Lima in 1537, when Spanish infighting was beginning to eclipse the crisis of Manco's war. The bishop found Lima's cathedral understaffed, its finances in disarray, and the Spanish population frequenting the taverns and shops during Mass. The church in Peru faced shortages of the flour and wine needed for preparing the sacramental bread and wine,

¹⁷ Berlanga ([2/3/1536] in Porras 1959:192). Morales made a similar suggestion a few years later (1943:65 [1541]), and he noted (pp. 65–66) that the Inca prince Paullu had already begun to pay tithes of maize, coca, and camelids in 1541, a year before his baptism.

¹⁸ Segovia (1892:285 [c. 1553]).

and French pirates had seized a ship carrying money to Spain to purchase vestments and church adornments.¹⁹ Far from bringing the Inca world to Catholicism, the church was unable to keep the Spaniards acting like Christians. Berlanga denounced the many “public sins of blasphemy” that he witnessed, most notably the unsanctioned childbearing that created Inca-Spanish households and produced children of mixed heritage (mestizos). Other religious officials voiced a familiar litany of complaints about the behavior of the Spanish men living in Peru: gambling, fornication, robbery, and murder. As Catholic religious officials established themselves in the Andes, they remained concerned with building their own resources and correcting the behavior of Spaniards, who showed an unsettling disregard for religious authority. In 1539, there were only seven churches in all Peru, all of them in Spanish towns, and the correspondence of religious officials suggests that there was greater concern for church income and the prospects of future tithes than any ministrations made for native souls.²⁰

Dogmatic Factions

With the Peruvian church struggling to keep the Spaniards on the straight and narrow path, it is not surprising that only a few itinerant friars began to venture out into the unconquered countryside, where indigenous resistance fighters targeted all but the largest groups of European travelers. Despite the small number of unaccompanied friars, the royal chaplain Luis de Morales warned the Crown, in 1541, about the risks they posed. His concerns stemmed from the lack of a shared vision for spreading Christianity and funding religious institutions and officials, which created conflict among the secular clergy and the religious orders.²¹ Some, like Morales, felt that it was time for church officials to move decisively to end the Inca ceremonies and *huaca* veneration.²² Others advocated a more tolerant approach to Inca religion, arguing that it could be used as a scaffolding from which to teach Catholic cosmology and practices. It is not surprising that the secular clergy and the religious orders often treated each other as competitors rather than partners. For example, in 1539 the bishop Valverde singled out his order, the

¹⁹ Berlanga ([4/5/1537] in Porras 1959:235–236).

²⁰ Vicente de Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:313).

²¹ Morales (1943:65 [1541]).

²² Morales (1943:82 [1541]).

Dominicans, as important stakeholders in the spread of Christian doctrine to native Andeans, and named the Franciscans as another group that could be trusted. However, he advised the Crown to ban members of lay orders from entering Peru, noting that “as laymen they understand nothing other than their own interests and profits, and they give a bad example, and the Indians are shocked to see such inconsistency.”²³ Without proper supervision, religious men might join other Spaniards in the relentless extraction of labor and theft of personal property. This was itself an impediment to the spiritual well-being of the indigenous flock; it was as if “to shear their wool and jeopardize their hides,” as Luis de Morales wryly noted when criticizing the lack of zeal for indigenous salvation that so many priests and friars showed.²⁴

As lay clergy and the religious orders competed to establish themselves in different parts of the Inca world, they aligned with Spanish and Andean factions and became entangled in the long years of Spanish civil wars. Valverde’s Dominicans supported royal officials, but over time many tried to work within the colonial system to promote indigenous rights the self-representation of Andean elites. In the decade after Manco Inca’s siege of Cuzco, Franciscans and Mercedarians came to Peru in increasing numbers, founding monasteries in Cuzco and other Spanish towns and building relationships with political elites to gain access to properties and estates.²⁵ The Mercedarians became entwined with the Pizarro faction and actively supported Gonzalo Pizarro’s rebellion, which led to their diminished status after his defeat.²⁶ Cristóbal Vaca de Castro established new monasteries in the highlands after defeating the Almagrist rebels in 1542, selecting the populous provinces of Jauja and Huamanga as religious centers. He also established a monastery in the Callejón de Huaylas, because the local lord and his family and kin had all converted to Christianity.²⁷

Centripetal Missions

As the Spaniards in Peru resisted the Catholic Church’s regulation of their behavior, many of the Andean nobility showed themselves eager to learn more about Christianity. The problem was the lack of reliable people to carry

²³ Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:317).

²⁴ Morales (1943:63 [1543]).

²⁵ Canedo (1953).

²⁶ Lockhart (1968); Varón Gabai (1997).

²⁷ Vaca de Castro ([11/24/1542] in Porras 1959:509).

out the missionary work. The bishop Valverde wrote that “the native people of this land are very apt, and they receive the doctrine of the holy Gospel very well . . . I have great need of someone who can help me with this.”²⁸ Not only were properly trained priests and friars in short supply, but there were few interpreters to translate Christian doctrine into Andean languages. Valverde recalled taking eight or nine Andean youths with him to Spain to train as interpreters and assistants, but only one had survived the voyage.²⁹ Without interpreters to teach Christian doctrine in native languages, church officials had to hope that their religion would “rub off” on natives as they served Spaniards.³⁰

Without priests and friars out in rural villages and hamlets, Peru’s religious leaders turned to *encomenderos* as agents of conversion. As we have seen, the *encomienda* was conceptually a spiritual trust, and the Spaniards who held these grants—a small minority of Europeans in the Andes—could be pressured to provide religious instruction to their native laborers, as well as moral leadership for their countrymen who were in Peru. Instead of priests visiting native villages and hamlets, religious instruction would occur as native people worked in Spanish houses and fields.³¹ Despite these expectations, there is ample evidence that *encomenderos* largely ignored their religious responsibilities. Church officials admitted their inability to venture into rural areas to oversee the interactions between the Spaniards and ordinary Andeans. In 1541, the bishop Valverde noted that he was unable to carry out his role as protector of the native populace, which required inspecting all the Spanish properties where indigenous people worked to determine if they were being well-treated and receiving Christian instruction.³² This was essential, given that many Spaniards did not allow their tributary laborers and native slaves to attend services in parish churches and monasteries.³³

Instead of going out onto the dangerous and inaccessible sacred landscapes of the Andes, Valverde advocated a strategy that the Incas would have found familiar: order native laborers to construct sacred places that would draw

²⁸ Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:317).

²⁹ Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:322).

³⁰ Morales (1943:65 [1541]).

³¹ This was the moral argument used to support uncompensated personal services: it was spiritually edifying for Andean people to be working constantly for Spaniards, to prevent backsliding into pagan ways.

³² Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:324–325).

³³ Morales (1943:50 [1541]).

indigenous souls together for the encounters that facilitated Catholic instruction. Church life in towns and villages would replace indigenous festivals and ceremonies, which remained an impediment to evangelization. In Cuzco, Inca conversion was still compromised by the ancient worship of the Sun, the royal mummies, and the *huacas*.³⁴ Once the Crown brought an end to the destructive fighting among Spaniards, Valverde recommended building more churches and hospitals to replace the old Inca religion. Churches would minister to the everyday needs of the indigenous flock, whereas hospitals would provide extreme unction to as many natives as possible, saving souls at the time of death and taking custody of bodies for Christian burial.³⁵ Andean highlanders were already accustomed to being summoned periodically for religious ceremonies, and the recruitment of Andean elites as Christian allies was an important first step toward converting one imperial religious tradition to the desired Catholic order.

New Converts and Wayward Souls

A decade after Cajamarca, Peru's Spaniards were just one group of wayward Christians who were subject to Charles V. Attempts to stifle Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire had proven ineffective, and the fight against Ottoman expansion in Europe failed to achieve the hoped-for reunification of western Christians. Seeing his political aspirations of world empire-building threatened by resistant Christians, Charles recognized the need to reconfigure Catholicism to address the new geopolitical reality. This was a view shared by Pope Paul III, who began to explore the possibility of assembling a church council that could heal the rifts exposed by the Protestant Reformation and clarify Catholic doctrine. In 1542, in a bull calling for a doctrinal convention, the pope lamented that "the unity of the Christian name was rent and well-nigh torn asunder by schisms, dissensions, [and] heresies," compromising Christendom's response to the Ottoman threat in the east.³⁶ The resulting Council of Trent convened in 1545 and met two

³⁴ Morales (1943:81 [1541]).

³⁵ Valverde [(3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:328). Luis de Morales (1943:48–49 [1541]) echoed this sentiment, adding that more charity was needed to support impoverished and starving Indians.

³⁶ Paul III, Bull of Induction [1542], 1848 translation of Council of Trent documents by J. Waterworth.

dozen more times over the next eighteen years. Although Charles V's advocacy for an ecumenical council reflected his vain hope of reuniting the church and avoiding conflict in the Holy Roman Empire, Protestants were not well-represented at the council, which used its sessions to distinguish and defend Catholic doctrine, reforming the practices of the clergy and ordinary Christians to provide the one true path to salvation. As we will see, the decisions of the council influenced a new wave of missionary work in Peru and shaped how religious officials viewed conversion and the traditional religious practices of ordinary Andeans.

The first sixteen sessions of the Council of Trent met between 1545 and 1552, during the time when Peru's civil wars were still raging. The early sessions focused on articulating the doctrine of the Catholic Church and identifying sacraments, the essential practices that Catholics would perform in recognition of their core beliefs. The early sessions addressed baptism (1546–1547), confirmation (1547), the Eucharist (1551), penance (1551), and extreme unction (1551). Wars in Europe disrupted the council after 1552, and meetings did not resume for a decade, during which time the papacy changed hands multiple times and Charles V divided his empire between his son, Philip II, and his younger brother Ferdinand I, who became Holy Roman Emperor.

As the first sessions of the Council of Trent were coming to an end, Lima's archbishop convened his own religious council, intended to address the spiritual lives of all people living in the former Inca realm. Convened in 1551, the First Lima Council (Primer Concilio Limense) acknowledged that in the previous decade many native Andeans had already converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, their growth in the new religion was hampered by inconsistent doctrine, imperfectly taught by priests and friars who often lacked good linguistic skills and theological training. A far greater problem was the lack of progress in extending Christian authority into the rural Andes to confront the enduring power of Andean supernatural forces (*huacas*), which many Spaniards considered to come from the Devil. As we have seen, Christians interpreted the miracles of the conquest as God's will, recalling extraordinary appearances by the Virgin Mary and Spain's national saint, Santiago, who came to aid beleaguered Christians. But the saintly power that permeated the towns and countryside of the Iberian world had not yet been introduced, except in a few Spanish towns and important indigenous communities. Beyond those Christian oases lay a spiritual wilderness still dominated by the *huacas*, a world where diabolical forces threatened to deceive and harm Spaniards and new converts.

The Lima council believed that a spiritual conquest was still needed. It was necessary not only to build new Christian churches and chapels in native communities, but also “to unmake those that are made in the honor and cult of the Devil” so that they would not tempt indigenous converts to return to their ancient rites.³⁷ The council commanded the religious men in Peru to seek out all idols and shrines in the towns of Christian Indians, and to burn and demolish them and replace them with churches—or at least, with a cross if there was no decent place to build a new home for a patron saint. To overturn the power of the Inca-era ancestors, Christian natives were to bring the bodies of their pagan dead, “which they have in their houses and other great tombs,” so that they could be buried in a public place.³⁸ No weeping was to be allowed at these mass interments, nor would priests permit Andeans to care for their ancestors with offerings of cloth, food, or drink. Those who defied these orders faced public beatings and imprisonment, as did the “sorcerers” who maintained shamanic Inca practices, such as sacrificing to the sun, the earth, the sea, the dead, and other supernatural powers.³⁹ In the place of Andean cosmology, new converts were to be given an orthodox description of the universe created by the triune Christian God. Significantly, native Andeans were to be taught how to distinguish between the benevolent powers of angels and the deceptive influence of hell’s demons. They were to learn about the virgin birth and Christ’s miraculous life, crucifixion, and resurrection, and how it opened the doors of heaven for those who believe.⁴⁰

Teaching native Christians to pursue a personal journey—along the straight and narrow path toward a blessed afterlife—meant turning them away from Andean sacred landscapes and the men and women who knew them best. New Christians were ordered to abandon their veneration for created things, like the sun, the moon, and the stars. They were told not to seek out the powers of their shamans when they fell ill, or when life-giving rains did not arrive to water their crops.⁴¹ Significantly, the Lima council expressed concern about the influence of indigenous religious practitioners, even within Spanish towns. They noted that many Spanish men and women forgot their fear of God—and the Christian example they were supposed to

³⁷ Vargas Ugarte (1951:8 [1552 Constitución 2]).

³⁸ Vargas Ugarte (1951:20–21 [1552 Constitución 25]).

³⁹ Vargas Ugarte (1951:21–22 [1552 Constitución 26]).

⁴⁰ Vargas Ugarte (1951:30–31 [1552 Constitución 39]).

⁴¹ Vargas Ugarte (1951:32 [1552 Constitución 39]).

set—and were seeking out Andean men and women with shamanic powers and following their counsel.⁴²

The Catholic conquest of Andean space was designed to usher in a new sense of sacred time. Indigenous converts needed to reject the cyclical passage of creation and cataclysm, in favor of the linear flow of Christian time from the creation to the present. This doctrine would be reinforced with a new calendar, and Inca-era festivals would be replaced by a dozen ceremonies marking Christ's life journey from the Annunciation to the Ascension. The populations of native towns and the surrounding countryside would come to the church for these feast days, and they would be required to attend Mass every Sunday.⁴³ Through constant instruction and the promotion of Christian ceremonies of baptism and marriage, the church sought to shape fresh converts into good Christians. The Lima council expected this process to take another generation, and recommended that priests select three or four of the most able children of local lords to receive even more intensive doctrinal training, including that "they should be taught how to pray when they go to bed and when they rise, to bless what they eat and drink, and other good customs and ordered life."⁴⁴ They would be taught to read the right sorts of books, and to speak Spanish. These noble children would carry forward the work of conversion into the next Christian century.

While the Lima council expressed its concerns about the lack of progress in the conversion and instruction of the native population, it issued twice as many instructions about the religious life of the Spaniards in Peru, which remained in a scandalous state. The new ordinances reflect a clear sense that the colonizing population included a large number of bad Christians. Some interpreted the waywardness of Spaniards in Peru as evidence of the strong grip in which the Devil held the Andes. They believed that God, instead of making the Inca world an Edenic utopia, had allowed the Incas to remain under demonic powers since ancient times, as a test for the Christians who would eventually go to live there.

This was an easy way to explain away the murderous violence of the conquistadores, as well as the everyday immorality that church leaders witnessed in Spanish towns. Peru's churches had become havens for criminals fleeing justice. The Lima council ordered fugitives not to gamble

⁴² Vargas Ugarte (1951:73 [1552 Constitución 60]).

⁴³ Vargas Ugarte (1951:18–19 [1552 Constitución 21]).

⁴⁴ Vargas Ugarte (1951:33 [1552 Constitución 40]).

inside the sanctuary; receive conjugal visits from their women; or lounge in the doorway of the church, joking around, gossiping, and playing musical instruments.⁴⁵ The council instructed law-abiding Spaniards to stop fortifying churches, keeping chained prisoners in them, and holding council meetings in the sanctuaries and cemeteries.⁴⁶ Those who attended Mass had to be threatened with fines for arriving late to services, and clergy were reminded that it was inappropriate to carry on conversations while sitting in the choir.⁴⁷ The Spaniards were supposed to set a Christian example to the Indians, blacks, and mestizos living around them, but the council made it clear that many kept their slaves and domestic servants laboring on Sundays and during religious festivals.⁴⁸ In the countryside, where the Spaniards were charged with bringing Catholic doctrine to their *encomiendas*, religious officials ordered that native churches be fitted with locks, so that Spaniards would not break into the sanctuaries to sleep, stable their animals, or do other indecent things there.⁴⁹

Considering how the Spaniards misused their churches, it is hardly surprising to see the Lima council issuing instructions about everyday lapses in their Christian lives. Some Spaniards ate meat on prohibited days “with little fear of God,” and others had to be warned about stiff fines for blasphemies against God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.⁵⁰ Even as church officials attempted to teach native Andeans about the sacrament of marriage, they felt it necessary to reprimand Spanish men and women for entering into secret or bigamous marriages.⁵¹ Church concerns about the persistence of Inca ancestor veneration confirmed the failure of many Spaniards to encourage proper burials. To avoid paying the necessary church fees, many interred their Christian slaves and servants outside the church cemetery.⁵²

The regulations issued after the First Lima Council suggest that the first generation of evangelization in Peru fell far short of the world-changing missionary efforts the Spanish monarchs had used for decades to justify their empire-building. Church officials acknowledged that there was widespread

⁴⁵ Vargas Ugarte (1951:52–53 [1552 Constitución 28]).

⁴⁶ Vargas Ugarte (1951:56 [1552 Constitución 34]).

⁴⁷ Vargas Ugarte (1951:39, 40 [1552 Constitución 5, 9]).

⁴⁸ Vargas Ugarte (1951:45 [1552 Constitución 19]).

⁴⁹ Vargas Ugarte (1951:59 [1552 Constitución 38]).

⁵⁰ Vargas Ugarte (1951:72–73 [1552 Constitución 57–58]).

⁵¹ Vargas Ugarte (1951:74–75 [1552 Constitución 61–62]).

⁵² Vargas Ugarte (1951:81–82 [1552 Constitución 70]).

indigenous enthusiasm for Christianity—especially among the Incas and other native lords—but they saw persistent threats to their growing flock. To truly conquer the Andes, it was necessary to redouble efforts at religious conquest, bringing the new orthodoxy of the Catholic Church to the Andes to save all who lived there.

Diabolical Imitations

As Lima's religious authorities worked to devise and implement a plan to improve religious practices in Peru, the early sessions of the Council of Trent inspired waves of missionaries who carried the new orthodoxy into the rural Andes.⁵³ In 1551, a group of Augustinian friars reached Lima and immediately sent two of its members into the highlands near Lima, hoping to bring the local Yauyo people to a more rigid Catholic practice. The friars fled the area shortly after their arrival “because at that time the army of the tyrant Francisco Hernández Girón was nearing Pachacamac, and knowing this, the friars deserted the native population [*repartimiento*] so that the tyrant could not force them to go in his camp.”⁵⁴ It is easy to imagine the friars' fear that their orthodox aspirations might be pressed into the service of Hernández Girón, alongside his conjurers and witches. It was only after the defeat of the last major Spanish rebellion that it became safer to go out into the pagan landscapes that stood in the way of true conversion.

Around that time, the Augustinians were looking northward to continue their mission, to the highlands of Huamachuco. They chose Huamachuco because the province was well-known for its idolatrous practices and the vast number of shrines and religious objects to be found in the care of native “sorcerers.”⁵⁵ The friars followed in the steps of Atahualpa, who had traveled to the region twenty years earlier to consult with—and then destroy—the great oracle of Catequil. The members of the order took up residence on the central plaza of the old provincial capital of Huamachuco, claiming the fine masonry halls built by Inca emperors. The zeal of the Augustinians was

⁵³ Vargas Ugarte (1951). The thirteenth and fourteenth sessions of the Council of Trent addressed the Eucharist, penance, and extreme unction, late in 1551. News of new church policies would have reached Peru after the First Lima Council had completed its work and released its regulations.

⁵⁴ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:5 [16th c.]).

⁵⁵ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:8 [16th c.]).

matched by that of the local Spanish *encomendero*. But the friars found their efforts hampered by the secrecy of the native population and their own inability to speak Andean languages. After a year, they began to make progress in discovering local religious practices because one of their *yanacona* translators, a Christian convert named Marcos, secretly informed his masters about some key shrines and sacred objects. For betraying their *huacas*, the local population allegedly killed Marcos with poison.⁵⁶

Once their secrets were exposed to the outsiders, the people of Huamachuco began to speak more openly about their cosmology and ritual practices. They worshiped a creator called Ataguju, who had two other avatars, called Sugadçavra and Vaumgavrad. Local shamans sacrificed guinea pigs and llamas to this three-part deity in a corral-like enclosure where thick wooden stakes were placed in pits to receive the offerings. At certain times of the year, people living across the region dressed in their finest clothes and assembled at this place for a five-day festival that included songs, interpretive dances, and drinking bouts that only ended when most of the participants had collapsed, senseless, on the ground.⁵⁷ These mass festivities—which differed from Inca-era creator worship practiced in other parts of the Andes—occurred in a single, easily identifiable place, making it possible for imperial officials to intervene, either as patrons or extirpators. In Inca times, the rulers Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac became sponsors of the cult of Catequil and nine other major shrines in the region, offering them vestments and sacrifices for their festivals.⁵⁸ By inserting themselves into local religious practices, Inca representatives could oversee offerings of maize beer made to Ataguju at the public drinking events that local nobles sponsored in the central plaza of Huamachuco.

The reuse of imperial buildings for the Augustinian monastery made it possible for the friars to address such practices directly when they occurred there. As friars penetrated local sacred landscapes for the first time, however, they began to understand that many native customs would be far more difficult to uproot. For example, the friars learned that the widespread practice of coca-chewing was linked to the veneration of Ataguju and other *huacas*: “The Lord knows how many idolatries and sorceries would be ended if it were not so, because . . . it is the most subtle and hidden way to

⁵⁶ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:10 [16th c.]).

⁵⁷ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:11 [16th c.]).

⁵⁸ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:21 [16th c.]).



Figure 9.1. Andean people conferring with a demon. From Pedro de Cieza de León (1553), *Parte Primera de la chronica del Peru*. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

commit idolatry.”⁵⁹ The Incas had left these kinds of everyday ritual acts in local hands, tolerating diverse practices rather than attempting to impose orthodox ones.

The Augustinians saw the Huamachuco highlands as a world inhabited by demons that actively sought to lead indigenous people astray (Figure 9.1). The friars attempted to make war on these supernatural adversaries by discovering and destroying as many sacred objects as possible.⁶⁰ Most of these

⁵⁹ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:12 [16th c.]).

⁶⁰ MacCormack (1991) traces the European discourse regarding Andean religion.

huacas were simple portable things—“rocks made [into] faces of Indians, others of wood posts or things that seemed out of the ordinary to them”—which were given offerings and consulted by shamans who dressed in elaborate costumes adorned with featherwork and precious metals.⁶¹ Some *huacas* were said to bring water to local communities, to guarantee success in warfare, and even to enhance the brilliance of the dyes of local weavers. As the Augustinians learned about the shrines and hiding places of the principal *huacas*, they pursued the same strategy as Atahualpa had, burning religious buildings and wooden objects and grinding down and scattering stones. The friars appropriated cloth, vessels made from precious metals, adornments, and other things given for the service of these beings, hoping to gain support for the monastery and its ministry among the indigenous poor. Some objects were harder to discover, such as the mummified remains of the Inca governor of Huamachuco; these were kept hidden under piles of stored maize and not found until 1560.⁶² After several years of work across the Huamachuco region, the Augustinians estimated that they had confiscated and destroyed 3,000 *huacas*.⁶³ This must have been a traumatic experience for local communities, particularly given their own memories of Atahualpa’s attack on Catequil.

Despite these successes, the Huamachuco campaign revealed the difficulties in establishing lasting spiritual change in the Andean highlands. Spaniards could interfere with public practices and formally established shrines, but the Augustinians feared that the local population would fall back into the old ways after the campaigns against the *huacas* ended. Like many Spaniards, the friars described the local people as tractable, yet fickle, noting that “although they have requested baptism with great vigor, the Devil easily leads them to return to their ancient rites.”⁶⁴ Demonic influence pervaded everyday cultural practices, so that constant instruction would be needed to ensure that idolatry did not creep into the celebration of Catholic sacraments. The Augustinians warned that the hair-cutting and naming rituals for infants were “a kind of baptism that the Devil has shown them,” and they complained that couples they had married often abandoned the relationship because the

⁶¹ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:15–16 [16th c.]).

⁶² *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:30 [16th c.]). Inca mummies in Cuzco were sometimes kept in rural storehouses, hidden in bins and grain-storage vessels.

⁶³ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:39 [16th c.]).

⁶⁴ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:13 [16th c.]).

local ceremony called *pantanakuy* had not been observed.⁶⁵ The sacrament of confession remained decidedly fixed in the realm of the shamans and the *huacas* they consulted. Ordinary men and women made a recitation of their faults, called *hucha*, admitting to social conflicts, the failure to act bravely, and other behavior that fell short of the service they owed to their native lords and *huacas*.

The Augustinians believed that native converts continued to make these “confessions” at the urging of a demonic figure called *supay*. Having observed the Christian doctrine that the friars were teaching, the demon told native people that conversion and participation in Catholic practices should only take place when they were coerced to adhere to the new religion.⁶⁶ Deceived and threatened by diabolical forces, the natives of Huamachuco fled Mass, confessing to their shamans and making traditional sacrifices afterward. Local healers ministered to the sick of the region, and the friars feared being poisoned by their herbs and powders. This concern seems reasonable, since the Augustinians understood that the local people were willing to murder those who exposed their secrets, a tactic signaling the desperation local people felt as their sacred landscapes were systematically desecrated. Although it was possible to disrupt public ceremonies and destroy the physical vessels occupied by Andean supernatural forces, the Augustinians nevertheless believed that “since these [natives] do not have perfect faith, the Devil has greater jurisdiction among them.”⁶⁷

Christian Incas

The orthodox campaign of *huaca* discovery and destruction in Huamachuco contrasts with the more blended Christian practices performed in Cuzco. Indeed, the Augustinian friars compared their work with that of the Dominicans and Franciscans that held sway in the former Inca capital, claiming that the other orders were not as hard-working, and had confiscated far fewer idols.⁶⁸ In Cuzco, the Christian Incas occupied a distinct social position that presented opportunities to infuse new Christian ceremonies

⁶⁵ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:34–35 [16th c.]).

⁶⁶ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:36 [16th c.]).

⁶⁷ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:38 [16th c.]).

⁶⁸ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:9 [16th c.]).

with practices that reinforced their ancient noble status. For example, when the city celebrated its first Corpus Christi festival in 1555, the procession into the central plaza proclaimed a Christian message that retained distinctly Inca features.⁶⁹ The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega recalled that all eighty Spaniards with native *repartimientos* in the city had litters made for their subjects to carry, in which they placed images of Christ, the Virgin, and various saints.

This procession of sacred objects in litters recalled Inca ritual, as well as the practices of Christian confraternities in Spain, and the Inca nobility added their own embellishments. The lords of the Cuzco region came to the city for the festival, dressed in their finest clothes and jewelry. They wore gold and silver garlands on their heads, and some had garments covered with plates of gold and silver. Each group carried or wore a symbol of its Inca-era origin myth: some arrived wearing the pelts of mountain lions; others wore condor wings on their backs. Many groups brought paintings depicting their genealogies and the rivers, lakes, mountains, and caves, where their first ancestors emerged. Some people wore monstrous masks, as they had once done during important Inca ceremonies.⁷⁰ The Inca nobility accompanied this unusual procession with Andean musical instruments—drums, flutes, and conch shells—as well as songs praising the Christian god.

As Inca people congregated in Cuzco's central plaza for a public performance that echoed the great preconquest festivals, Spaniards who took part in the same event must have understood that Christianity's victory over the religion of the Inca remained incomplete. Native lords continued to sponsor ritual events that included the mass consumption of coca and maize beer.⁷¹ Perhaps most distressing of all, the mummies of Inca lords had been secretly disinterred, and were circulating through hiding places around Cuzco. *Huacas* remained an acknowledged part of the landscape, and the anonymous demonic figures that had horrified the Spaniards at Paullu's Inca funeral ceremony five years earlier still came out to dance in the central plaza. As the religious spectacles of the Inca capital found new representations in Catholic processions, unsanctioned and illicit elements persisted, threatening to pull the city away from the sovereignty of church and crown.

⁶⁹ Corpus Christi is an important ceremony in Cuzco today, juxtaposing Christian saints, indigenous costumes, and traditional Andean foods.

⁷⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega (*Historia*, chap. 1).

⁷¹ Covey (n.d.) discusses the changing role of maize beer and coca leaf at this time.

Rival Christians

Inca men were not the only Andeans to promote themselves as Christian allies of the Spaniards. As we have already seen, Pizarro's forces already included large numbers of "friendly Indians" by the time they reached Cuzco, and the Cañaris and Chachapoyas remained faithful supporters. At the same Corpus Christi procession in Cuzco where Inca lords performed their antiquity, the elderly Cañari cacique don Francisco Chilche led his people up the stairs of the cemetery, wearing a simple cloak, which he dropped to reveal a macabre costume. He wore a warrior's tight-fitting mantle, and in his right hand he carried a modeled head by the hair. Chilche's outfit commemorated his victory over an Inca captain in the 1536 battle for Cuzco, and when the Christian Incas in the procession saw it, a scuffle ensued that had to be broken up by a Spaniard. The oldest Inca present raged that the "traitor dog" Chilche, whose people were Inca servants, was disrespecting the Christian ceremony, bringing his effigy head to stir up the past, which was best forgotten.⁷²

Chilche could safely provoke the leading Incas of Cuzco because of his powerful status. Chilche was himself a Christian, and at his baptism he had taken Pizarro's name, Francisco, receiving noble status for his many services to the Spaniards. In 1555, Chilche still oversaw the *yanakuna* living in the fertile Yucay Valley, though he resided in Cuzco, where he could participate actively in the political and religious life of the city. Like many leading Inca men whose Christian status granted them special power to testify about pre-conquest customs and land tenure, Chilche also appeared in court as a witness representing the interests of Spaniards, often contradicting Inca legal claims.

Mixed Christians

By the 1550s, Cuzco was home to a generation of young men and women of mixed heritage, mestizos whose mothers were powerfully connected Inca women, and whose fathers had been prominent conquistadores.⁷³ Cuzco's mestizos found themselves living among both the Inca and Spanish elite of the city. The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega recalled the intrigues and

⁷² Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, bk.VIII, chap. 1).

⁷³ Masters (2018) discusses the negotiation of mixed status in the Spanish colonial legal system.

alliance-building among Spaniards in his conquistador father's house, where he sometimes acted as an intermediary for the native lords of his father's *encomienda*: "I attended to the *kipus* and knots with my father's Indians, and with other *kurakas* when they came to the city for [the feast of] St. John and Christmas to pay their tributes. The rural *kurakas* asked my mother to make me compare their accounts, for, being suspicious people, they did not trust the Spaniards."⁷⁴ Having been taught to read and write with the children of other Spaniards, the chronicler was able to translate between Spanish tribute documents and local knot records. Besides spending time in his father's house, Garcilaso de la Vega spent time with his mother's relatives, where a maternal great-uncle made sure that he learned about Inca history and culture, often making irritable comments about what he regarded as the young man's ignorance and cultural betrayal.⁷⁵ In noble Inca houses, powerful memories of the fallen empire lingered, and the presentation of Inca identity was not as subdued as it appeared in public performances.

If Cuzco's mestizo sons were permitted to navigate both worlds of the city in their youth, the surviving conquistadores tried to ensure that their daughters would not be left under the influence of their powerful Inca mothers. In 1551, the men on the town council (*cabildo*) decided that the city needed a cloistered convent for the "remedy" of young mestizas, a place where they could be removed "from all communication with their mothers . . . an impediment to instilling anything good in them."⁷⁶ Just years after the Inca *mamakuna* lost their magnificent cloister on Cuzco's central plaza—and with it, their voice in Andean religion, history, and politics—the convent of Santa Clara was established as a way to undermine the power of Huayna Capac's daughters and other Inca noblewomen. It became an important institution for preparing young women, many of them rich heiresses, for a proper Christian life and marriages to Spanish men.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, bk. VI, chap. 9).

⁷⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega (1609, bk. IX, chap. 1). The chronicler's mother was a princess from the house of Tupa Inca Yupanqui (Garcilaso de la Vega 1609, bk. IX, chap. 38). His father arrived in Peru shortly after the events at Cajamarca.

⁷⁶ Ondegardo (in Burns 1999:16).

⁷⁷ Girls placed in the convent also became nuns and domestic servants (Burns 1999:17).

Reforming Peru

As the Incas of Cuzco began to celebrate new religious identities, the Spaniards observed the beginning of a new sovereign era. On December 8, 1557, Charles V passed his crown to his son, Philip II, in the central plaza of Cuzco, as the leading Spaniards and Incas of the city looked on. Or at least that was the message of an elaborate performance that took place thousands of miles from where the two kings were at the time.⁷⁸ The news of Charles's abdication reached Cuzco almost two years after it took place, inspiring the leading Spaniards of the city to reproduce the event. They built a platform in the central plaza, next to the cathedral, where they placed the portraits and effigies of Charles V and Philip II.⁷⁹ Like an Inca ruler surrounded by his *huacas*, Peru's viceroy mounted the platform with these sovereign images, dressed in purple garments and accompanied by Cuzco's bishop. Spanish officials and priests attended the gathering wearing sumptuous velvet robes, surrounded by "many knights and citizens and residents of that city." To the sound of drums and trumpets, the *corregidor* and a town official rode in on finely appointed horses, carrying a red standard with the royal arms, and a white standard with the image of Santiago and the arms of the city of Cuzco.

The recording scribe observed that "after those drums and trumpets had played for a good while . . . in silence that lord *corregidor* took in his hands a letter that appeared to be from the Emperor don Charles, our King and lord, and he kissed it and placed over his head and gave it to me . . . and ordered me to read it." The letter, a copy of one written in Brussels almost two years earlier, announced to the city of Cuzco the abdication of Charles V. After it was read, the *corregidor* took a second letter, "which appeared to be from the Majesty of the most serene prince Philip, King of England," and he kissed it, passed it over the head of Philip's effigy, and ordered that the scribe read it. That letter, dated one day after the first, announced Philip's accession. With the symbolic coronation of their king complete, Cuzco's Spanish elite spread the cry of "Castile, Castile; Cuzco, Cuzco; Peru, Peru, for the King

⁷⁸ Charles V began to abdicate his many titles in 1556, following the death of his mother. He ceded the title "King of Jerusalem" to his heir, Philip, on the occasion of Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor in 1554.

⁷⁹ The description of this event comes from the public scribe Sancho de Orúe (see Domínguez-Guerrero 2015:622–629). A similar event occurred in Lima in 1622, when a portrait of Philip IV presided over his own accession celebration (Osorio 2004).

don Philip, our Lord,” which echoed through the crowd and into the streets of the city. After a symbolic recessional, the plaza was cleared for music, mock cavalry skirmishes, and bullfighting. With this performance of loyalty to their new monarch, the leading citizens of Cuzco attempted to move past the conspiracies and violence that had repeatedly shaken the Spanish city in the previous twenty years.

Resolving Inca Sovereignty

A few months after the symbolic coronation, the most powerful woman in Cuzco entered a room full of Andean and Spanish men to preside over a different sort of sovereign transfer. Doña Beatriz Manco Capac Yupanqui was the daughter of Huayna Capac, and widely considered the most influential Inca still living in Cuzco.⁸⁰ As a young princess called Quispiqui, she had been an ally to the Spaniards from the earliest days of the conquest, consorting with the conquistador Mancio Sierra Leguizamo and bearing his son Juan during the last days of the siege of Cuzco. Some Spaniards credited the princess with saving their lives by warning them of her brother Manco’s uprising. In the years that followed, she was one of the first Incas to be baptized, and she married a royal treasury official named Pedro de Bustinza.⁸¹ Doña Beatriz held the *encomiendas* of Urcos and Juliaca, and she owned valuable property in the Yucay Valley as well.

When doña Beatriz appeared before the *corregidor* of Cuzco on March 21, 1558, she came as the legal representative of her nephew, Sayri Tupa, to take possession of the native lords who would serve on the estates the young man was receiving from Philip II.⁸² The *corregidor* read out the details of the *encomienda* document, which named the native lords of the different places that would now be part of Sayri Tupa’s *repartimiento*. Those men were present. The *corregidor* took them by the hand, and placed them in the hands of doña Beatriz in Sayri Tupa’s name, to signal his possession of those lords and the native populations that served them.⁸³ During this ceremony, doña Beatriz played a role normally reserved for powerful Christian men. As she did so, she insisted that the proceedings be translated to her in Quechua, even

⁸⁰ Stirling (2003) offers important details on her life.

⁸¹ See Stirling (1999:185–197).

⁸² Covey and Amado (2008:125 [1558 f. 190–191]).

⁸³ Covey and Amado (2008:48 [1558 f. 24–24v]).

though she had lived among Spaniards for most of her life and undoubtedly spoke their language.

This event was the ultimate achievement for the Inca princess, who had brokered a long sought-after peace between the Spanish crown and the Vilcabamba Incas. At the request of the viceroy, she had traveled to the jungle kingdom in 1557 and achieved something that no conquistador, royal official, or Inca nobleman had been able to accomplish: she successfully negotiated to bring the Inca Sayri Tupa out of his breakaway kingdom and back to Cuzco as a Christian subject of Philip II. Manco Inca's successor agreed to be baptized, taking the name Diego, and for doing so he received papal dispensation to marry his full sister, a revival of ancient Inca tradition (Figure 9.2).⁸⁴ Sayri Tupa agreed to relinquish the Inca claim to sovereignty in the Andes. He would not become the Inca emperor, or even the king of Peru, but instead would receive Huayna Capac's Yucay Valley estates and numerous towns in neighboring valleys as his *repartimiento*. After a ceremonial procession to Lima to offer his service to the viceroy, the Inca and his wife were carried into Cuzco in litters, where they were met by thousands of indigenous people who flocked to the city to see them.⁸⁵ The couple settled in Yucay and began to construct a palace, the remains of which still stand on the town plaza today (Figure 9.3). In 1558, they had a daughter, whom they baptized and named doña Beatriz Coya.

This promising return of the heir of Manco Inca proved to be fleeting. Just two years later, Sayri Tupa was dead. His body received a Christian burial in the chapel of the Dominican monastery, which stood atop the foundations of the ancient Coricancha temple.⁸⁶ The death of the Inca, who was in his early twenties at the time, inspired rumors of foul play. Several prominent Andean men had motives to kill Sayri Tupa, whose emergence threatened their own elite status. One was the Cañari lord don Francisco Chilche, who had for decades administered the Yucay Valley, enjoying great autonomy over

⁸⁴ Stirling (2003) and Hemming (1970) describe the return of Sayri Topa. Some sources state that his wife, doña María Cusi Huarca, was a daughter of Huascar, and thus his cousin. Philip II had already married two of his first cousins by this time, so such a match would not have been out of place among European nobles.

⁸⁵ Stirling (2003).

⁸⁶ Sayri Topa had worshiped there while receiving Christian instruction, and some muttered that when he knelt to pray, he was really giving reverence to the Sun and his Inca ancestors (Hemming 1970:297).



Figure 9.2. Don Diego Sayri Tupa and doña María Cusi Guarca are married (Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 442[444]/drawing 179.

thousands of retainer households and some of the best farmland in the Andes. Chilche had presided over a wave of Cañari migration into the valley and was known to keep retainers who served him and his family “off the books.” The return of Huayna Capac’s grandson to the valley could easily be seen as an impediment to the lordly privileges Chilche enjoyed. He was arrested for poisoning Sayri Tupa, although no trial was ever held.



Figure 9.3. Ruins of the palace of Sayri Tupa on the main plaza in Yucay.

As some accused Chilche of murder, others whispered that the Inca's own Cuzco relatives had killed him. The names of don Carlos Inca and don Alonso Titu Atache were whispered, though no action was taken against either man. As we have already seen, Carlos Inca inherited Paullu's estates, but not the royal *borla* insignia. As an important bridge between the Spanish and Inca elite in Cuzco, Carlos Inca might have seen his cousin's arrival as a threat to his status. Alonso Titu Atache was another cousin, a Spanish ally who frequently appeared as a witness in land disputes, claiming membership in multiple royal households.⁸⁷ In addition to these close relatives, members of the more traditional Inca families might also have held a grudge against Sayri Tupa. The year before his death, the Inca assembled his kinsmen in Cuzco and interrogated them about their religious practices. He sent a report to the archbishop of Lima, which might have included information about where the mummies and *huaca* statues of his Inca ancestors were hidden.⁸⁸ Soon after, the *corregidor* of Cuzco, Polo de Ondegardo, was able to discover and

⁸⁷ After the mummy of his grandfather Huayna Capac was confiscated, he petitioned the Crown to have its body of retainers granted to his service, since the mummy no longer needed them (Covey and Amado 2008).

⁸⁸ Hemming (1970:297–298). After Paullu gave up the royal mummies for burial, they were disinterred, and circulated secretly in Cuzco.

confiscate the mummies; this might have prompted a network of clandestine Inca ancestor worshipers to feel betrayed.

The death of Sayri Tupa unraveled the efforts of his powerful aunt, leaving Vilcabamba only partly emptied and the rich estates of Huayna Capac in the hands of a two-year-old girl. In 1563, not long after her father's unexpected death, a Dominican friar brought doña Beatriz Coya to the Santa Clara convent "to be raised and to learn proper manners (*buenas costumbres*) in that house."⁸⁹ The young girl was the only child of full Inca parentage to occupy the convent. Although her name conveyed the title of Coya, the girl was taken from her widowed mother, as a pawn to be played as the colonial status of the Incas was worked out.

Intensification

Sayri Tupa's agreement to recognize the authority of the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church set an important precedent in the debate over Inca sovereignty. Following the example of his Inca relatives in Cuzco, Huayna Capac's grandson renounced his claim to an empire in exchange for noble status and permission to live in a manner reminiscent of his imperial ancestors. This was an important step, given the ongoing debate over native sovereignty. Despite the practical resolution of the question of native self-rule in Peru, the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas continued to use the issue of Inca sovereignty to promote pro-native causes at court. He was aided in this effort by members of his order, such as Domingo de Santo Tomás, and some other religious men. Even if bringing back the Inca as the king of Peru was a dead issue, Las Casas and his allies continued to fight the deleterious effects of the *encomienda* system and other Spanish enterprises in the Andes. During the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Girón, Peru's *encomenderos* made a strong play to extend their grants in perpetuity, offering Charles V the sum of 7.6 million pesos to extend to them permanent titles and civil and administrative jurisdiction over native populations.⁹⁰ It was a hard offer to refuse outright. The Spanish crown was desperately short of funds, and

⁸⁹ Burns (1999:27). The year 1563 was also when the Council of Trent ordered more restrictive cloistering for Catholic convents, prohibiting those inside from going out without permission from the bishop.

⁹⁰ Hemming (1970:386). This would effectively make them like feudal lords, granting them powers far beyond what they enjoyed at that time.

Philip II was facing the first of several defaults on his massive sovereign debt, which occurred in 1557. A group of Andean *kurakas* met in Lima in 1559 and decided to give Santo Tomás and Las Casas the power to represent them in the negotiations, and to offer Philip II (who by that time was already facing his second bankruptcy) 100,000 ducats above whatever sum the *encomenderos* might put forward. In exchange, they proposed that the *encomienda* system be phased out in the coming generation, with immediate reforms to reduce tribute rates and enhance the power and privileges of local elites.⁹¹

Philip II weighed these offers and considered how best to prevent Spanish rebellions, sustain the conversion of the indigenous population, and increase the flow of precious metals and royal revenues from Peru. As a young prince, he had served as regent and overseen councils on Peru, and he understood the practical and philosophical issues at hand. Now that Manco Inca's heir had recognized Philip as the imperial successor of Huayna Capac, the Spanish king needed to establish a clearer sense of Inca precedent, both in terms of government and religion, to make an informed decision about what he should do as the sovereign lord of the Andes. He also needed to consider the extent to which Inca and other Andean lords should be treated as collaborating Christian nobles. The king sent a commission to Peru to address the question of *encomienda* grants, but he also consulted prominent Spaniards living there, ordering them to compile reports about the Inca past and the compatibility of Andean religion with Catholic instruction.⁹²

When asked to consider Philip's sovereign power over the Inca world, several writers described his predecessor, the Inca emperor, as a powerful monarch who controlled most property and resources and received labor service from his subjects. They argued that the Inca monopolies on mining and coca cultivation should devolve to the Spanish crown, as would the considerable resources dedicated to producing the things that were sacrificed to the *huacas*. This vision of Inca power supported arguments that Philip should assume broad powers, cutting out the *encomenderos*, who were exploiting his native subjects in unsustainable ways. In one report, Hernando de Santillán argued that the problem in the Andes was that too many Spaniards aspired to Inca status: "Each one of these *encomenderos* made himself an Inca, and thus they used . . . those *encomiendas* for all the rights, tributes, and services that

⁹¹ Hemming (1970:387).

⁹² Some of these reports originated in the early 1550s, when Philip was already overseeing many aspects of the royal government of the Andes.

that land made to the Inca, as well as those that they themselves added.” The *encomenderos* demanded that their tributaries build them palatial residences and give them precious metal and women. At the same time, the Andean *kurakas* and Spanish officials made also made claims on native labor and resources: “[I]n the time of the Inca, they gave tribute and service to only one lord . . . and now to many, who are the *encomendero* and the *cacique* or *kuraka*; to make and adorn the churches; the money that the bishops ask of them, to sustain and serve the clergy and priests that are in the parishes; to serve in the waystations and in what the *corregidores* give them to do.”⁹³

Some advocates of imperial consolidation blamed native lords for perpetrating corruption and exploitation, exploiting their role in linking *encomenderos* to Andean communities. According to Juan de Matienzo, “The tyranny of the *caciques* toward their Indians is well-known, because once they were freed from the oppression of the Incas, learning from them, each one made himself another Huayna Capac . . . what these *caciques* do to their Indians is encumber them and prevent them from having freedom, property, power, or understanding, so that they could complain.”⁹⁴ Ultimately, the most compelling argument for Philip II was that the Spanish crown needed to exert greater sovereign power in the Andes, sending more royal officials to prevent *encomenderos*, clergy, and *caciques* from appropriating royal privileges and resources once held by the Incas. Like the mighty Incas of old, Philip understood that he had to establish himself as a lord with no equal, reducing other would-be Incas to their rightful subject status.

Translating Andean Religion

Philip’s Spanish advisers agreed that Inca nobles and Andean *kurakas* were not the faithful Christian subjects they claimed to be. Despite the termination of many public Inca ceremonies, these writers believed that the continued worship of *huacas* was an Inca legacy that threatened the spread of Christian doctrine. Hernando de Santillán blamed Tupa Inca Yupanqui for establishing the diabolical pantheon of *huacas*, when he became the first Inca to visit the creator shrine at Pachacamac. The Inca ordered the construction of temples for four children of Pachacamac, “and from those *guacas* there were multiplied many more, for the Demon that speaks through them

⁹³ Santillán (1879: 57, 79 [1563 #60, 69]).

⁹⁴ Matienzo (1967:17 [1567 I:7]).



Figure 9.4. Early woodcut representing Andean *huaca* worship. From Pedro de Cieza de León (1553), *Parte Primera de la chronica del Peru*. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

made [the natives] believe that [the *huacas*] gave birth, and they made new houses and worship to those that they believed came forth from those *guacas*, and they held all of them to be their gods.”⁹⁵ The imperial dynasty Spain had supplanted in the Andes was thus responsible for the idolatry that still plagued Peru, and many Spaniards argued that the Christian Incas were not the allies needed to carry out the spiritual warfare that was necessary to conquer the Andes for Catholicism (Figure 9.4).

⁹⁵ Santillán (1879:33 [1563 #28]).

Like other missionaries committed to establishing the new Catholic orthodoxy in the rural Andes, the Augustinians of Huamachuco shared this negative characterization of Andean religion. As we have already seen, the Augustinians viewed the New World as a province long held by the Devil, a world in which *huacas* imitated the elements of Christianity to deceive the natives and enlist them in an ongoing supernatural war. The Augustinians, noting that the people of Huamachuco worshiped a tripartite creator, did not see in them fertile ground for translating doctrine but rather blasphemy inspired by the Devil, who was “the ape of God.”⁹⁶ They viewed the social practices of local villagers as diabolical parallels to Christian sacraments that could only be uprooted through intensive anti-idolatry campaigns and constant vigilance.

The Dominicans and their allies represented Inca religion and its implications for Andean conversion in a very different light. Bartolomé de Las Casas argued that Inca creator worship was positive evidence that indigenous people “had particular knowledge of the true God, maintaining belief that he had created the world and was its lord and governed it, and they came before him with their sacrifices, cult, and reverence.”⁹⁷ His representation of Inca people as rational and civilized undergirded arguments that native peoples understood fundamental spiritual truths and would be receptive to Christian doctrine when it was translated into their languages. Inca civilization established the conditions needed for successful conversion, and Las Casas continued to argue that the most effective way to spread Christianity in the Andes was with an Inca as king of Peru.

While the Augustinians used native interpreters to discover and demolish local shrines, the Dominicans worked to create resources so that the members of their order could develop the fluency they needed to persuade Andean people to follow a truer religion.⁹⁸ In 1560, Domingo de Santo Tomás published a Quechua grammar and lexicon, the earliest that survive today.⁹⁹ After fifteen years in Peru, Santo Tomás prepared the grammar so that he could teach and preach the gospel to native Andeans and so that

⁹⁶ *Primeros Agustinos* (1992:10 [16th c.]).

⁹⁷ Las Casas (1892:50–51 [1550s, chap. 7]).

⁹⁸ See Durston (2007) and Harrison (2014) on colonial Quechua and Catholic religion.

⁹⁹ Juan de Betanzos wrote in the 1550s that he had “just translated and compiled a book named Christian Doctrine, which covers Christian doctrine and two vocabularies, one of words and the other of notions, whole prayers, conversations, and confessionals” (1996:3 [1550s, prologue]). That work has not been discovered by scholars.

other religious men would find it easier to gain the language skills needed to carry out missionary work.¹⁰⁰ At the end of the grammar, the Dominican included a sermon translated into Quechua, which explained basic elements of Christian theology.

That sermon, as well as the broader language collected in the new lexicon, reflected an attitude toward native religion that was different from the spiritual warfare that the Augustinians described in Huamachuco. Santo Tomás defined verbs for worship (*mochani*), reverence (*congoryani*), religious fasting (*çacini*), and sin (*hochallicuni*). Indigenous people already understood basic religious tenets and their own sinful nature, but Santo Tomás did not associate that knowledge with demonic influence. The lexicon provided Quechua terms for the sacraments, including baptism (*xutiachini*), marriage (*-yacuni*), and voluntary confession (*hichuni*). These appeared with no diabolical connotation, promoting the impression that the translation of core Catholic values was relatively straightforward. Although different kinds of sorcery are mentioned in the dictionary—some of which were lethal—the men and women practicing them were not necessarily associated with *huacas* or formal community rituals.

Santo Tomás used the word *supay* to describe both angels and demons, depending on whether they were good or evil. A “good angel” was *alliqupay*, whereas a “bad angel” was *manaalliqupay*, literally a “not-good spirit.”¹⁰¹ This differs significantly from the Augustinian view of a spiritual war over the Andean sacred landscape, in which indigenous people apprehended only supernatural manifestations produced by evil forces. Although Santo Tomás promoted the direct translation of several important religious concepts, his dictionary used the Spanish word for God (*Dios*), defining “the living and true God” as *dios cauçac checcacac*. The Christian church represented another untranslatable concept, glossed in the Quechua part of the lexicon as “yglesia [iglesia], o dios paguacin [God’s house]” to distinguish it from the Andean *huaca* (“native temple”).¹⁰² Santo Tomás defined the Christian priest as *runa diospa cocuc* (person of God who makes sacrifice), contrasting this with the “priest of idols” (*homo*), a term also used for a male or female “sorcerer.” These non-translations would help Quechua speakers add to their own

¹⁰⁰ Santo Tomás *Grammática* (1560, prologue).

¹⁰¹ Santo Tomás used the word *ángel* when discussing benevolent assistants of God in a Quechua sermon at the end of his grammar, which also explains the origin of evil terrestrial spirits, explaining the Spanish word *diablo*.

¹⁰² The dictionary also defines “idol” as *guaca*.

vocabulary to comprehend key differences between their worldview and that of Christians.

As Spaniards developed resources for training new clergy to work in the Andean highlands, mutual mistranslations persisted. The Augustinian and Dominican representations of Andean religion show how the same vocabulary could simultaneously describe indigenous people as stubborn apostates worthy of harsh punishment, or as uninformed neophytes who simply needed patient and gentle guidance. Undoubtedly, the indigenous interpretation of thirty years of inconsistent Christian messages was also diverse, refracted through local sacred values, differences in social status, and personal contacts with Spaniards. A generation after Cajamarca, the only point of agreement was that the spread of Christian doctrine remained incomplete.

Return of the *Huacas*

As the Spaniards debated the state of indigenous Christianity in the Andes, many pointed to Vilcabamba as a bastion of Inca religious traditions. In his retreat from Cuzco in 1536, Manco Inca had carried off important *huacas* and royal mummies, and he was accompanied by imperial priests, including the *willaq umu* (Smoke-Teller) priest and the *mamakuna* priestesses of the Hatun Cancha cloister. After the retreat to Vilcabamba, Inca religion continued to represent a threat to Spanish rule, and in 1539, the bishop Vicente de Valverde argued that the *willaq umu*, “who is like the Pope in this land,” needed to be captured to ensure peace in the highlands.¹⁰³ After Manco Inca’s murder, in 1544, the Vilcabamba Incas gave their king a traditional funeral ceremony and fashioned a statue that held his hair and nail clippings. Years later, in 1557, when the chronicler Juan de Betanzos visited Vilcabamba on a diplomatic mission, he described the wild and rebellious region as a place where the Incas spent all their time carrying out fasts and sacrifices to their *huacas*, and “and celebrating all of the rest of the fiestas according to what was done in Cuzco in the time of the ancient Incas.”

¹⁰³ Valverde ([3/20/1539] in Porras 1959:326). The *willaq umu* accompanied Paullu on the Almagro expedition to Chile, but he abandoned the Spaniards at the time of Manco’s uprising, overseeing the occupation of Sacsayhuaman, and leading resistance actions in the Condesuyos region to the south of Cuzco.

When Philip II moved to consolidate royal control in Peru, many blamed the Vilcabamba Incas for the spiritual impediments they encountered in the Andean countryside. Around 1560, priests started to describe rural resistance to orthodox Catholicism as a widespread revitalization movement called Taki Onqoy (Sickness Dance), or Ayra.¹⁰⁴ Many of the practices associated with Taki Onqoy were the same ones the first Augustinians complained about in Huamachuco: the continued veneration of the *huacas* and local festive practices and customs paralleling Christian sacraments. Just as the Augustinians understood that the *huacas* required food and reverence, clergy who scrutinized local religions elsewhere in the Peruvian highlands heard a similar demand, couched in the Andean language of universal upheaval. Native people who had seen their most vital shrines desecrated and their cult images destroyed by priests and plunderers “believed that all the *huacas* of the kingdom that the Christians had demolished and burned had come back to life.” The resurrected *huacas* had aligned themselves with Pachacamac and Titicaca, the major creation shrines in the coastal and highland regions.¹⁰⁵ The *huacas* acknowledged the Christian victory under Pizarro, but they declared that “now the world had turned around, [so] God and the Spaniards would be defeated this time, and all the Spaniards [would] die, their cities would be flooded, and the sea would rise and drown them so that no memory would be left of them.”¹⁰⁶ Although no one was certain of the origin of this movement, many of the local ritual practices were considered to be Inca holdovers, and many Spaniards claimed, without proof, “that it was an invention of the sorcerers the Incas kept in Vilcabamba.”¹⁰⁷

By the mid-1560s, zealous clergy started to venture into the countryside to discover and punish practitioners of what they considered to be a false and rebellious cult. It is worth noting that this wave of anti-idolatry fervor was

¹⁰⁴ Huamanga *Información* (in Millones 1990:61 [1570 f. 2r]). In this discussion, I privilege information collected before 1572, when the Spaniards destroyed the Vilcabamba Inca kingdom. Sources written after that time made easy connections between highland apostasy and the holdout Incas, but those are troublingly self-serving.

¹⁰⁵ Molina (2011:85 [c. 1575, chap. 8]).

¹⁰⁶ Molina (2011:84 [c. 1575, chap. 8]). This turning-over reflects the concept of *pachakutiy*, whereas other sources associate the spiritual change as rotational (*mit'a*). In 1570, a questionnaire asked whether local people were teaching that “the turn [*mita*]” of God and the Christians was already at hand (Huamanga *Información* 1570 f. 4r).

¹⁰⁷ Molina (2011:84 [c. 1575, chap. 8]); cf. Diego Gavilán in Huamanga *Información* (in Millones 1990:72 [1570 f. 8v]); Albornoz (1989:193–194 [c. 1584]).

guided by the final sessions of the Council of Trent, which in 1563 established new doctrine on marriage and the proper treatment of sacred objects.¹⁰⁸ The twenty-fifth session of the council reconfirmed the supernatural power of Catholic saints and the veneration of their miraculous bodies. It declared that images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints should be produced and kept in churches, receiving veneration from the faithful. Bishops were to oversee the production and display of appropriate images and saintly relics, and to ensure that religious festivals did not devolve into drunkenness and displays of wealth. The council ordered that “no new miracles are to be acknowledged, or new relics recognized, unless the said bishop has taken cognizance and approval thereof.”¹⁰⁹ Although these regulations were drafted thousands of miles away from the Andes, they informed a growing fight against powerful bodies and objects that many considered to be the diabolical legacy of the Incas. Clergy intensified their efforts to seek out and destroy these enemy talismans, driving the Devil from Andean landscapes so that saintly power could colonize them.

The most notable idol hunter at this time was Cristóbal de Albornoz, who reportedly discovered more than 20,000 *huacas* in the central Andean highlands, where the local Chocorvo, Sora, and Lucana people “sacrificed gold and silver, and cloth, and livestock, and maize and beer, and other things” (Figure 9.5).¹¹⁰ The continued worship of local shrines was accompanied in places by the active rejection of Christianity, and some people traveled through native villages like itinerant preachers, “saying that they should not believe in God or his holy commandments, nor should they revere the crosses and [Christian] images, nor enter in the churches, nor confess to the clergy.”¹¹¹ The most powerful *huacas* from Inca times warned people to return to their

¹⁰⁸ The *Segundo Concilio Limense* (1567–1568) took place in this atmosphere, and it raised some questions about how sincerely indigenous people were converting. At festivals like Corpus Christi, some priests saw that “the Indians, pretending to make Christian celebrations, secretly [worship] their idols and [perform] other rituals (Vargas Ugarte 1951:352 [1567–1568 #95]). The Tridentine regulation of sacred images was part of a longer discourse over idolatry in the Americas (Johnson 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Council of Trent, Session 25 [1563], from the 1848 translation of J. Waterworth.

¹¹⁰ Diego Gavilán in Huamanga *Información* (in Millones 1990:72 [1570 f. 8v]). The story of Taki Onqoy grew in the telling. Whereas the witnesses in a 1570 proceeding identified a few ethnic groups and *repartimientos* (e.g., Millones 1990:93), a few years later Cristóbal de Molina (2011:84 [c. 1575, chap. 8]) said that the movement was active in Parinacochas and “in all the other provinces and cities of Chuquicaca, La Paz, Cuzco [*sic*], Huamanga, and even Lima and Arequipa.”

¹¹¹ Huamanga *Información* (in Millones 1990:63–64 [1570 f. 3v–4r]).



Figure 9.5. Seventeenth-century depiction of punishment of adherents of Taki Onqoy. The inspector, Cristóbal de Albornoz, is shown as an agent of the Inquisition punishing an Andean heretic (Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno compuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 675[689]/drawing 268.

service, because a day of reckoning was approaching, and those who failed to serve them would be punished.¹¹² If Spanish accounts of Taki Onqoy are accurate, the movement treated Christianity as an unwelcome parallel to the

¹¹² Gerónimo Martín in *Huamanga Información* (in Millones 1990:130 [1570 f. 43r-v]).

local sacred objects, acts of reverence, and religious practitioners who sustained the well-being of rural communities.

Spanish representations of Taki Onqoy as a messianic movement seem entangled with the two areas of concern that the Augustinian friars had voiced in Huamachuco years earlier: the public *huaca* worship carried out in community or regional festivals and the private maintenance of Andean social practices seen to conflict with Christian ones. Unlike the Augustinians, who saved their punishment for Andean shrines and sacred objects, Albornoz used his inspection campaigns for broader disciplinary purposes, with particular focus on native lords. Records of his visits to the Soras and Lucanas document the removal of women from the homes of caciques who allegedly kept multiple wives and concubines. During his visit, Albornoz took roughly 300 women from the households of nearly 100 indigenous caciques and other nobles. Although he imposed no punishment on the guilty men, Albornoz threatened most of them with lashes and fines for future infractions. In addition to confiscating women from the houses of native lords, Albornoz seized *huacas* that he claimed were kept by caciques, and he documented the discovery of large numbers of sacred objects of different sorts, which he burned publicly.¹¹³ Many caciques were publicly whipped and subjected to forced labor because of their association with the *huacas* or because they implicitly tolerated the cult practices of Taki Onqoy in their communities. Some were made to take part in public processions signaling their penitence. Albornoz sent others to Cuzco as prisoners, to be sentenced by church officials.¹¹⁴

In addition to punishing native elites accused of maintaining *huacas*, Albornoz apprehended nearly 100 local *huaca*-keepers and shamans. These were overwhelmingly lower status men and women whose Christian names indicate that they were baptized converts. Although the Inquisition was not yet formally established in Peru, the punishments for shamanic practice and traditional healing resembled the public humiliations carried out against heretics in Spain. In the Andean town of Morcolla, eleven men and ten women, all of them Christians, “were made to wear the *coroza* hat, and whipped and made to serve the church permanently . . . they would make

¹¹³ These included bezoar stones (*yllas*), images considered to enhance maize fertility (*mamasaras*), and numerous other objects, most of which probably did not come from the cacique’s house itself. Two caciques were accused of having disinterred their fathers’ bodies from the churchyard.

¹¹⁴ Baltasar de Hontiveros in Huamanga *Información* (in Millones 1990:75–76 [1570 f. 10v]).

their houses near it, and wear colored cross shapes, the men on their mantles and the women on their skirts.”¹¹⁵ In other towns, men and women had their heads shaved as part of the ceremony of penitence. These punishments were similar to those meted out to the handful of “preachers” and “masters” of the Taki Onqoy cult, a leadership of sixteen Christians that included only one woman. These leaders were also banished from their villages and sent to serve in the hospital in the nearest Spanish town. The roughly 1,000 followers of Taki Onqoy recorded in Albornoz’s visit had their heads shaved and were publicly whipped; they were assigned to hard labor, constructing new churches in several of the local villages. These apostates were almost all converted Christian commoners, and more than half of them were women.

Later writers would describe Taki Onqoy as a widespread religious resistance, but Albornoz reported finding no more than about 1,000 ordinary men and women who followed the exhortations of a very small number of sect leaders. Based on 1570s census data, less than 5 percent of the indigenous population participated in the movement in the places where the inspections took place.¹¹⁶ Even though some Spaniards played up the associations between the adherents of Taki Onqoy and the continued worship of the *huacas*, Albornoz punished the old *huaca* keepers much more harshly, and he made direct connections between the *huacas* and the caciques, who were rarely adherents of Taki Onqoy. Caciques were linked to the continued reverence of local shrines and sacred objects—the vestiges of Inca-era religion that the Spaniards had never confiscated or destroyed—whereas the followers of Taki Onqoy understood that human bodies were the vessels for the resurgent *huacas*. They spoke of “the resurrection of the *huacas*, saying that the *huacas* now were flying through the air, dried out and dying of hunger . . . They also [preached] that the time of the Incas was returning and that the *huacas* [were] no longer entering stones, clouds, and springs to speak, but [they were] now themselves entering the Indians and making them speak.”¹¹⁷ The strange performances of spirit possession that were recorded in association with Taki Onqoy must have unnerved the Spaniards, but it is clear that they

¹¹⁵ *Relación* ([1584] in Millones 1990:260). The *coroza* was a pointed hat that Inquisition officials forced heretics to wear as part of the *auto-da-fé*.

¹¹⁶ Cook (1975:260–264) numbers the Soras population at 15,159 in 1572, and Hatun Lucana and Laramati had 15,262 people. The *repartimiento* of Andamarca Lucanas and Apcara had a population of 11,700.

¹¹⁷ Molina (2011:85–86 [c. 1575, chap. 8]). This idea of the human-as-*huaca* reflects a syncretism of Andean and Christian supernatural thought.

were far more concerned with the power and influence that local indigenous leaders—caciques and *kurakas*—held in the fragile colonial system.

Confronting Vilcabamba

Whereas many Spaniards were content to describe the native lords as an obstacle to Spanish rule and the spread of Christianity, some claimed that the *kurakas* were actively preparing to mount an indigenous rebellion. In 1565, the new governor of Peru, Lope García de Castro, informed the Crown of ongoing fighting in Tucumán (Argentina), as well as indigenous rebellions among the Chiriguanaes of eastern Bolivia, and near Loja (Ecuador), where the newly founded town of Valladolid had been burned.¹¹⁸ Although those distant frontiers were more than six hundred miles (1,000 km) from Vilcabamba, the governor blamed Titu Cusi Yupanqui—the Inca ruler who took power in Vilcabamba after Sayri Tupa's departure—as the one responsible for the conflicts.

In the Jauja Valley, word spread that some local caciques were stockpiling weapons and supplies for a revolt that would erupt as the Spaniards were celebrating Holy Week. A local Spaniard who owned a textile mill claimed that angels had led him to a place where illicit weapons were being manufactured. After that discovery, one of his workers informed him that the native Andean lords from Chile to Quito were preparing to take up arms against God and king. The native forces summoned to destroy Peru's Spaniards outnumbered them by more than 400 to 1, and in the Jauja Valley alone they had stockpiled more than 30,000 pikes and clubs and 10,000 bows with their arrows, as well as countless halberds, swords, and other weapons.¹¹⁹

Although García de Castro wrote to the Crown that the Spaniards were "terrified" that a bloody rebellion could occur in an area that had formerly been at peace, the only hard evidence he could find was a cache of 500 pikes that had been confiscated near Jauja.¹²⁰ It is worth noting that the long, unwieldy pike was really a defensive weapon, used in formations to

¹¹⁸ Licenciado Castro ([9/23/1565] in *Gobernantes del Peru* 3:97–98).

¹¹⁹ *Testimonio* (in Odrizola 1872, 3:7).

¹²⁰ Castro ([3/6/1565] in *Gobernantes del Peru* 3:59) says that he was informed that 3,000 pikes were made. Later in the year, he wrote that he had sent a local *encomendero* to the valley, where 700 to 800 pikes were discovered (*Gobernantes del Peru* 3:99 [9/23/1565]). It is not clear whether these were fitted with metal points, or whether what was discovered was just a cache of wooden shafts.

repel cavalry and infantry assaults while providing cover for artillery. Pikes required large quantities of wood to produce, and they were difficult to transport and conceal, making them a questionable choice for launching a surprise attack on Spanish towns hundreds of miles away. The people of Jauja had been producing pikes for years, but not to fight the invaders. Rather, they did so at the order of Spaniards, who used them to fight against their rebellious compatriots.¹²¹

The paranoid warnings of local Spaniards contrast with the assessment of men who had more experience in the Andes, who saw no evidence of an imminent uprising. In 1565, Bartolomé de Las Casas dismissed the ability of the Vilcabamba Incas to threaten the Spaniards, noting that Pizarro had captured Atahualpa with a small force, and that in Peru there were now “ten or twelve thousand Spaniards, with three or four thousand horses, and arquebuses and all manner of weaponry.”¹²² The archbishop of Cuzco and several royal officials wrote to the Crown to say that the plot that the governor described had no basis in fact.¹²³ Jauja was many days’ walk from the nearest Spanish town, and the evidence that was eventually discovered suggests that any violence that was planned was much smaller in scale than was reported to the governor. Nevertheless, later writers would claim that many highland natives “were discovered with [weapons] almost in their hands” as part of an Inca-inspired attempt to drive out the Spaniards and restore the old empire.¹²⁴

As some Spaniards in Peru begged royal officials to take military action to prevent an Inca reconquest of the Andes, Bartolomé de Las Casas wrote his most polemic work in Spain. In 1565, he presented Philip II with a petition, arguing that the Spaniards had a duty to pay back the treasures, tribute, and natural resources taken from Inca lands since 1532, and that he should restore Titu Cusi Yupanqui as king of Peru. To those who said the lord of Vilcabamba was plotting rebellion and would stand in the way of Christian

¹²¹ Just before the unrest in their region, the lords of Jauja presented accounts of goods and services taken by the Spaniards, mentioning several instances where royal officials required the production of pikes beginning in the 1540s Spanish civil wars. In addition to huge quantities of food, supplies, and native labor, the royalist armies also required quantities of copper and lead, spare parts for crossbows, and labor for producing gunpowder (Espinoza Soriano 1971 [1558–1561]).

¹²² BNE, Ms. 3226 f. 226 (1565).

¹²³ Hemming (1970:502).

¹²⁴ Alborno (1989:194 [c. 1584]) also claims that the Taki Onqoy movement unfolded as the Vilcabamba Incas sought to undermine the spiritual order of the Andes after the suppression of this rebellion.

missionary work, Las Casas responded: “If only God would make the Turks and other infidel kings this disposed to receive the faith!”¹²⁵ After decades of arguing for native rights, the elderly Dominican took the extreme position that all Spaniards should be expelled from Peru, and that priests should deny absolution to all who profited from native labor and resources, except for parish priests ministering directly to the indigenous population.

Las Casas noted that Titu Cusi Yupanqui was already engaged in diplomatic efforts that would bring him into the Christian fold as a vassal of Philip II. When his brother Sayri Tupa left Vilcabamba to take his estates in the Yucay Valley, Titu Cusi opted to remain in Vilcabamba, where he ruled as king.¹²⁶ Spanish officials made repeated diplomatic efforts to bring Titu Cusi out of Vilcabamba, where he was expanding his Inca kingdom deeper into the lowlands. Understanding that Spaniards blamed the Vilcabamba Incas for inspiring idolatry and committing robberies and kidnappings, Titu Cusi wrote to Philip II, offering a new peace that would be forged through the marriage of his son, Quispe Titu, and doña Beatriz Coya, the daughter and sole heir of Sayri Tupa.¹²⁷ In exchange for that rich marriage alliance and other royal honors, the Inca expressed his willingness to convert to Christianity and recognize his vassalage to the Spanish crown.

When the judge Juan de Matienzo sent messages to Vilcabamba in 1565 to ascertain the truth about the rumored uprisings, Titu Cusi denied that he had a role in any plot and responded “that he was a Christian and desired the Gospel, and that his people should receive baptism.”¹²⁸ Matienzo journeyed to meet with the Inca for a three-hour diplomatic conversation. Titu Cusi behaved humbly toward the Spaniard, not wanting to sit in his presence, despite invitations to do so. He said that he wished to offer his obedience to the Spanish crown, and he tearfully related to Matienzo an account of his exile, “excusing himself for the assaults he had committed, because they had been done on account of the bad treatment that he and his father had received from the Spaniards.” Titu Cusi said he had renounced any further alliances with other native leaders, and he agreed to receive Augustinian friars and a

¹²⁵ BNE, Ms. 3226, f. 226 (1565).

¹²⁶ In fact, Titu Cusi claimed (1992:62–63 [1570 f. 55v–57]) that he was the rightful heir of Manco Inca and that he had sent his brother Sayri Tupa to the Spaniards because he did not wish to leave his kingdom.

¹²⁷ Licenciado Castro ([9/23/1565] in *Gobernantes del Peru* 3:98–99).

¹²⁸ Matienzo (1967:194 [1567 II:18]); cf. Rodríguez de Figueroa ([c. 1565] in Bauer Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016:153–175).

Spanish overseer in his kingdom as both sides worked toward a diplomatic solution that would bring Vilcabamba under the Spanish Crown. After receiving baptism, Titu Cusi took the Christian name Diego de Castro—a nod to the Spanish governor, whom he named as his legal representative—and his son was baptized as Felipe, after the Spanish king. The newly Christian lords would receive *encomienda* grants from the Crown, and Titu Cusi proposed to let his income accumulate for a few years so that he could settle in Cuzco or Huamanga in lordly style.

Conspiracies

Somehow, the fantastic rumors of the conspiracies of the Vilcabamba Incas overshadowed the actual plots that were taking place in Cuzco and other Spanish towns at the same time. Early in 1566, the governor García de Castro wrote to the Council of Indies about disturbances that were developing in Cuzco. The first involved the Inca princess doña Beatriz Coya. At the age of eight or nine—around the age that Inca governors selected girls to enter the Hatun Cancha complex to be trained by the *mamakuna*—the Inca princess was removed from the Santa Clara convent and brought to live with her mother in the household of Arias Maldonado, a Spaniard who had recently received the rich *repartimiento* formerly belonging to Hernando Pizarro.¹²⁹ The governor wrote to the Crown about his concerns “that she might marry his brother Cristóbal Maldonado, as it appears has occurred.”¹³⁰ The estate that Beatriz Coya had inherited from Sayri Tupa produced an annual income of up to 12,000 pesos, and a marriage with the Inca heiress would make any man extraordinarily wealthy.¹³¹ The governor seemed more concerned with the potential impediment to negotiations with Titu Cusi Yupanqui—who

¹²⁹ Lope García de Castro ([1/12/1566] in *GP* 3:155). Maldonado had come to Peru in the early 1550s, and was awarded the *repartimiento* for his services to the Crown during the rebellion of Francisco Hernández Girón (AGI Lima 567 L.8 f. 169v [9/21/1556]). Hernando Pizarro contested the reassignment of his grant, which was still being litigated in the 1560s.

¹³⁰ Lope García de Castro ([1/12/1566] in *GP* 3:155).

¹³¹ Records of *encomienda* rents from around this time indicate that this estate was one of the very largest in the Cuzco region (AGI Lima 110). Diego Maldonado held a grant from Pizarro that rented 12,150 pesos, and Antonio Vaca de Castro received 16,800 in rents.

had agreed to marry the young Coya to his son, don Felipe—than the well-being of a vulnerable child.

Cristóbal Maldonado was a man of violent reputation who was attempting to use the strategies of the older generation to build his wealth and power in Cuzco. He had already raped the daughter of a Lima merchant and married her secretly to avoid legal consequences.¹³² The viceroy feared that he had already forced himself on Beatriz Coya, with the aim of obtaining her estates. It was not the girl's welfare that he feared for, but her rich *repartimiento*, which if combined with that of his brother would make the Maldonados “so powerful that no one in Cuzco would be able to prevent them from doing anything.”¹³³ In Huamanga, Cristóbal Maldonado slashed another Spaniard in the face with a knife when the man claimed that peace with the Vilcabamba Incas would prevent Maldonado from marrying the Inca princess.

García de Castro was right to be wary of the transfer of Beatriz Coya. He later received a letter from the *corregidor* of Cuzco, warning that the Maldonado brothers had begun plotting an uprising there.¹³⁴ The two men were apprehended, but their fellow plotters tried to assemble a mob to rescue them from the authorities. The conspiracy led by the Maldonado brothers and several other like-minded men in Cuzco targeted a new and discontented male demographic: young men, especially those of mixed heritage, who saw themselves facing the loss of the privileges of their conquistador fathers. As the viceroy informed the Council of the Indies, Peru had changed substantially since the early days of the conquest. Most of the *encomienda* holders were old men—many had already died—and they had fathered large numbers of sons, many of them mixed-race mestizos and *mulatos* who had not been raised as good Christians or subjects of the Crown. Seeing their father's estates withheld from them, many of these men were attracted to those who wished to plot disorder, who had only to ask them: “Why do you tolerate that your fathers, having won this land, would go and leave their sons lost?”¹³⁵

The ongoing debate over the perpetuity of *encomiendas* generated fear and dissatisfaction among the younger generation, and men like Arias

¹³² Lope García de Castro ([1/12/1566] in *GP* 3:155).

¹³³ Lope García de Castro ([1/12/1566] in *GP* 3:156). The viceroy expressed particular regret that Cuzco had been transferred to the new Royal Audiencia of Charcas after it was formed in 1559. He had no jurisdiction over the situation.

¹³⁴ Lope García de Castro ([February 1567] in *GP* 3:229).

¹³⁵ Lope García de Castro ([4/2/1567] in *GP* 3:240).

Maldonado—who saw his *repartimiento* suspended—were eager to sweep aside the old *encomenderos* and royal officials and establish a new order. By making common cause with mixed-race men, a large and growing population that had no clear place in the “Indian” and “Spanish” worlds of colonial Peru, the criollo plotters believed that they had enough force to carry off their plan. Rather than raising an army to fight against the royal standard, they planned to assassinate key officials in Cuzco, Lima, and other Spanish towns. Don Carlos Inca, the son of Paullu Inca, was allegedly drawn into the conspiracy, tasked with raising the Andean population to take over the regional food supply.

The Maldonado plot was foiled after one of the conspirators confessed the plan to his priest, who revealed it to the authorities.¹³⁶ The Maldonados were arrested and exiled to Spain, where Cristóbal continued to make a legal claim to be the husband of doña Beatriz Coya. The failed uprising was one of several Spanish conspiracies discovered and suppressed at that time, and the governor García de Castro continued to express fear of the growing mixed-race population, arguing that “these mestizos and mulattoes are already so numerous and they grow in numbers every day, and are so ill-intentioned that it would be very well if Your Majesty would send an written order that none of them could carry arms.” He recommended that these dangerous men be excluded from the world of Spaniards: “They should dress as Indians and be placed among their mothers’ relatives . . . There are many of them who are better shots than Spaniards.”¹³⁷ The anxious tone from his viceroy must have alarmed Philip II, who was watching other parts of his empire attempt to pull away from his royal control.

God’s Poor Soldiers

As Spanish clergy began to battle the resurgent *huacas* for spiritual dominance in the Andes and royal officials worried about mixed-race men overturning the fragile colonial order, a new militant order was approaching the Inca world. In 1565, members of the Society of Jesus, known commonly as the Jesuits, elected Francisco de Borja (St. Francis Borgia) as the third Superior General of their militant order (Figure 9.6). Borja, the great-grandson of

¹³⁶ Hemming (1970:342–344) describes the plot and its outcome.

¹³⁷ Lope García de Castro ([9/2/1567] in *GP* 3:267).



Figure 9.6. San Francisco de Borja absorbing the power of Christ. From Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1644), *Vida del santo padre, y gran siervo de Dios el B. Francisco de Borja, tercero general de la Compañia de Iesus . . .* Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Pope Alexander VI, followed two other Spaniards as the head of the young order, which the Basque nobleman Ignatius of Loyola and six companions founded in Paris in 1534.¹³⁸ Following papal recognition in 1540, the Jesuits

¹³⁸ In the crypt of Montmartre, the men took vows of chastity and poverty, promising to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

went out as zealous “soldiers of God,” whose aim was to serve Christ directly through the Catholic Church, advancing a third age of Christian time that would bring Christ’s kingdom to the earth. Some saw the Jesuit defense of the true faith as positive evidence of the end times, going so far as to see Borja as the long-awaited “angelic pope” who would partner with the last emperor to defeat the Antichrist.¹³⁹ In 1550, an anonymous author dedicated a study of apocalyptic biblical texts to Borja, arguing that “the Holy Spirit prophesied that the universe had to be discovered in these last times in which we are, and the preaching of the Gospel that has to be done, and the damage and shortcoming of Christian spirit of this time, together with the happy and fortunate arrival of the Company of Jesus for its remedy.”¹⁴⁰ If the Council of Trent traced an orthodox path for individual Christians to reach the gates of Heaven, the Jesuits were committed to traveling to the farthest reaches of the earth to usher in the world’s last utopian age.

Borja was politically well-connected, having been the Duke of Gandía before he joined the order. He was a trusted man at the court of Charles V, so much so that he had been appointed to accompany the body of the Empress Isabella to her burial in Granada after her untimely death. Borja had served as a tutor to Philip II in his youth, and he retained close relations with the royal family after joining the Jesuits. Although the king had been reluctant to permit the Jesuits to operate in the Indies, Philip II reconsidered around the time of Borja’s election, inviting the first missionaries to travel to his American colonies.¹⁴¹ By 1567, the king had approved a plan to send twelve Jesuits to Lima to establish the order in Peru.¹⁴² They were to journey there with a new viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, as well as representatives of the Inquisition, which was also to be established in Lima to help reinforce the regulations delineated by the Council of Trent. Philip II hoped that the Inquisitor’s orthodoxy and the Jesuit’s zeal would combine to accomplish true conversion of native Andeans, whose way of life would be placed into a new order by his viceroy.

¹³⁹ Pastore (2016).

¹⁴⁰ BNE, Ms. 5874 [1550].

¹⁴¹ Agustín de Coruña, bishop of Popayán, received permission to bring Jesuits in 1565, and wrote to Borja, noting the central location of his city between the spheres of Peru and Mexico: “I hope in the Lord that all of the Order will extend its arms to both sides for the service of His divine Majesty” (April 8, 1565, in *MP I*:76).

¹⁴² Jerónimo Ruiz de Portillo (May 8, 1567, in *MP I*:128).

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The Spanish Pachacuti

Your Majesty cannot desert this land without sinning mortally in two regards: the first because the Spaniards would tyrannize it afterward if they were left in the land and there were no one who could maintain justice for the Indians; the other is that if the Spaniards should go, the Indians would fall away [from Christianity] afterward, returning to their ancient idolatries.

—Viceroy Lope García de Castro, 1567).¹

Despite the sovereign progress that Philip II made in the Inca world, the 1560s brought new anxieties over native conversion, as well as fears of Spanish, mestizo, and Inca conspiracies. The religious and political conquest of the Andes seemed especially vulnerable because of other crises that threatened to unravel Philip's empire. At home, royal finances continued to hamper the king's efforts to promote Spain as the defender of Catholicism. Bankers had begun to lend to the Spanish crown again after two previous defaults, but revenues were already running far short of expenditures, which would soon lead to a third royal bankruptcy in 1569. As these financial woes mounted, Philip experienced personal heartache as his mentally unstable son, don Carlos, became increasingly violent and enmeshed in conspiracies against him. The crown prince attempted to stab the Duke of Alba—Philip's most powerful adviser—and attacked John of Austria, the commander of Spain's Mediterranean fleet. In 1568, Philip was forced to arrest don Carlos and hold him in solitary confinement, where his untimely death six months later inspired dark rumors across Protestant Europe.²

The plotting and violence in Philip's own household was matched by millenarian stirrings in the south of Spain that year, as the Muslim converts

¹ Lope García de Castro ([1/4/1567] in *GP* 3:220).

² Parker (2014) describes the terrible year that Philip II experienced in 1568.

(*moriscos*) of Andalusia rose up against the Crown. For decades after the fall of Granada, the *moriscos* had been permitted to maintain many of their traditional cultural practices, but when those privileges expired, Philip decided to impose the new Catholic orthodoxy.³ Faced with cultural extinction, many *moriscos* embraced end-of-times prophecies and armed resistance. One of their priests uncovered an old prophecy, and he said that the celestial alignments indicated that it was about to be fulfilled. It said that the *moriscos* would regain their freedom, led by a young man of royal blood, a baptized Christian who would abandon his conversion to raise them up in rebellion.⁴

On Christmas Eve of 1568, the *moriscos* performed an ancient Andalusian coronation ceremony in the mountain village of Béznar. They set four flags in the earth, signifying the four corners of the world. They brought their chosen king into this sacred space, a young man named Hernando de Córdoba y Valór, who took the name of Abén Humeya. Dressed in a purple garment draped with a red, sash-like insignia, the new king made a prayer, prostrating himself toward Mecca. After the coronation, his people offered their respects, declaring Abén Humeya king of the lost realms of Granada and Córdoba. In the months that followed the coronation, *moriscos* killed local priests and Christians in nearly 200 villages. The uprising provoked an unsuccessful royal military response against Abén Humeya and the thousands of guerilla troops who followed him, and Philip II felt compelled to take the field in 1570.⁵

The apocalyptic reappearance of religious enemies in Spain coincided with Protestant actions elsewhere that rejected Spanish sovereignty and Catholic doctrine. In the Netherlands, famine conditions in 1566 stoked social unrest, which flared up as an orgy of Calvinist violence called

³ In 1526, the *moriscos* paid Charles V 80,000 ducats to suspend an anti-heresy edict that banned core cultural practices: speaking Arabic, wearing traditional Moorish dress, and observing *halal* dietary rules. The forty-year suspension lapsed at the end of 1566, and Philip II opted not to renew it.

⁴ This account of the coronation comes from Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's 1610 *Guerra de Granada* (1627:15–16), published at the time of the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain. Álvarez (2007) offers a view of the apocalyptic prophecies (*jófores*) of Iberian *moriscos* in the decades leading up to the rebellion.

⁵ Parker (2014:201–203). Abén Humeya was murdered by rivals, and his successor, Abén Aboo, was killed by his own men when Spanish troops overran the region in March 1571. Following the Spanish victory, large populations of *moriscos* were resettled outside Andalusía, and new towns of Christian colonists were settled in the region.



Figure 10.1. Anonymous representation of Protestants destroying demonic Catholic icons in the *Beeldenstorm*, 1566 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Object RP-P-OB-76.780).

the *Beeldenstorm* (“image-breaking”; Figure 10.1). Protestants attacked Catholic churches and destroyed saintly images, which the Council of Trent had recently affirmed as vessels for distributing miraculous powers to the Catholic faithful. A campaign of brutal Spanish repression under the Duke of Alba only escalated the religious strife, and a full-blown war erupted in 1568.⁶

As Philip fought Protestants and lapsed converts in Europe, he also faced new threats to his far-flung island territories, which required the frantic construction of ships to defend distant shores. An Ottoman naval buildup was underway in the eastern Mediterranean, threatening the Balearic Islands and the possessions of Spain’s Catholic allies. In the Caribbean, English privateers menaced Spanish ports and muscled their way into the Caribbean

⁶ Soen (2016).

slave trade.⁷ French Huguenots were building forts along the Florida coast, ignoring Spain's Catholic claims over the New World.

Imposing Catholic Rule in Peru

With so much of his empire teetering on the brink of ruin, Philip II understood that Peru must not be allowed go down the path of Mexico, where a colonist rebellion was spreading, leading to the arrest of the conquistador Hernán Cortés and the execution of many conspirators.⁸ If the mining districts of colonial Mexico and Peru fell, it was hard to imagine what would become of Philip's empire. As we have seen, things in Peru did not look promising at that time. In 1564, Peru's viceroy, Diego López de Zúñiga, was beaten to death on the streets of Lima by masked assailants, and his temporary successor wrote the king repeatedly to warn of conspiracies to assassinate royal officials and organize rebellions against the Crown. To ensure that Peru would not collapse in a new wave of bloodshed, Philip assembled a great council, the Junta Magna, and charged its members with developing a strategy to consolidate royal government in the Andes.⁹ The Junta Magna reviewed the most recent reports and debates regarding the former Inca world. It considered the appropriate response to the new conspiracies and religious resistance that were simmering in Peru as officials there attempted to phase in a greater degree of royal power.

To oversee the implementation of the new colonial policies, Philip appointed Francisco de Toledo, a cousin of the Duke of Alba, as his viceroy in Peru. The king gave Toledo secret instructions about how best to impose order on Spanish subjects living in the Andes. To serve his king and his church, Toledo set out to reform all wayward subjects of the Crown, establishing direct administrative links between royal officials and both Spanish and indigenous subjects. This meant reining in the excesses of indigenous *kurakas*, Spanish *encomenderos*, and parish priests who challenged royal authority in their pursuit of personal gain. Foremost among these were the Spaniards

⁷ See Parker (2002b) on the ongoing tensions between Philip II and England.

⁸ Parker (2014) provides an overview of this period from the perspective of Philip II's reign.

⁹ See Merluzzi (2014); cf. Julien (2007).

living in the Andes, who had a long history of open rebellion. It was imperative that the Andean highlands not fall into anarchy again. Rumors of the resistance of Titu Cusi Yupanqui and his Vilcabamba Incas also raised questions about whether native Andeans, who were recently conquered and new Christians, might be incited to rebel like the *moriscos* of Andalusia. To extend dominion over the last independent Incas, Philip II sent Toledo to fulfill the terms of the peace treaty that his former governor had negotiated with Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Toledo went to Peru prepared to face military resistance, bringing a guard of 200 infantry armed with pikes and firearms, foot soldiers who were accustomed to fighting in the *tercio* formations used in the great European battles of that time.¹⁰

Toledo's instructions also addressed the need to finish the religious conquest of the Andes and establish the Catholic orthodoxy outlined by the Council of Trent. In the fall of 1568, Pope Pius V wrote to Toledo to express his confidence that the new viceroy would see the spread of that "straight and true Christian faith, and win many souls for Christ." In addition to his complement of soldiers, Toledo went to Peru in the company of a host of religious men. There were representatives of the old mendicant orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians who were charged with building new monasteries and native schools wherever they could.¹¹ The new viceroy also brought officials to establish the Inquisition in Peru, to ensure that proper Catholic practices would prevail. The first delegation from the recently founded Jesuit order sailed with Toledo, whose personal entourage included Martín García de Loyola, the nephew of the Jesuit founder, St. Ignatius of Loyola.¹² Along with the host of religious men, the fleet carried a fragment of wood from Christ's cross, which showed miraculous qualities on the voyage. The Jesuits wrote from Peru that when the rudder of their ship broke, they lowered the reliquary containing the icon into the ocean in its place, and they were able to use it to navigate the ship across the Caribbean to the town of Santa Marta.¹³

¹⁰ Merluzzi (2014:109).

¹¹ AGI Patronato 189 R. 20 [1568].

¹² Bautista de Salazar (1867:215, 221 [(1596, chaps. 2, 6)].

¹³ *Testimonium* ([1569/1575] in *MP* 1:687–691).

Sovereign Approach

Toledo and his grand entourage sailed from the Spanish port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda on March 19, 1569. Passing through the Caribbean and Panama, they reached the former domains of the Incas six months later, landing at the run-down coastal port of Payta.¹⁴ The viceroy proceeded to San Miguel de Piura, Francisco Pizarro's first Spanish settlement in Peru. The visit did not inspire optimism. The town was virtually deserted and much of its native population had died or fled. Nevertheless, the viceroy stopped there to inspect the status of the surviving *encomiendas* before continuing south by land to the city of Trujillo, and then on to Lima. Toledo followed in the footsteps of his doomed predecessor, Blasco Núñez Vela, who had brought furious judgment to the coast during his short-lived attempt to impose the New Laws in Peru. Toledo chose a different performance as the king's representative, emphasizing rewards for faithful old conquistadores in the towns he visited. When Toledo reached Lima, he worked to establish control over civil and religious affairs, especially local priests and bishops. Carrying out his orders to consolidate the indigenous population of Peru, Toledo selected officials who could conduct a general inspection (*visita general*) across the Andes (discussed in greater detail in the next chapter).¹⁵ As he attended to the spatial reorganization of the Inca world, the viceroy also brought new order to the history of Spanish Peru. While in Lima he reviewed books and manuscripts written on the government of Peru and assembled all the chronicles about the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Inca world.¹⁶

¹⁴ Toledo ([3/1/1572], in *GP* 4:50) briefly describes the coastal journey, which Toledo took "with care to learn the difference in the government of the lowland natives of the coastal valleys, compared with that of the highlanders of this land."

¹⁵ Bautista de Salazar (1867 [1596, chaps. 10–19]). This chronicle describes Toledo's entry to Lima, first in a litter accompanied by his noble retainers, and then on horseback, accompanied by the gentlemen of the city. It is noteworthy that the indigenous participation that was seen in Cuzco did not take place in the entry to Lima. In fact, the author (chap. 14) says that the indigenous population of the city was so disordered that Toledo ordered a new town be established for them on a gridded plan, called Santiago del Cercado, which he placed under the authority of the Jesuits.

¹⁶ Toledo ([3/1/1572], in *GP* 4:50).

Recasting Peruvian Tyranny

As Toledo proceeded from Madrid toward Cuzco, his actions betrayed a changing attitude regarding the place of the Incas in the new colonial order. The viceroy's itinerary from northern Peru to the silver mines of Bolivia suggests an early emphasis on shoring up the administration of the Spanish population and the principal sources of royal revenues in the Andes. During the five-year journey, Toledo and his retinue passed through at least eight Spanish towns, potentially bringing the viceroy into contact with more than half of the Spaniards living legally in Peru at that time.¹⁷ Writing to the king years later, Toledo communicated his mistrust of the Spanish population, noting that the king had warned him that "there was little peace and great unrest . . . in that kingdom [of Peru], in almost every part."¹⁸

As he moved through the Spanish places scattered across the Andean landscape, the viceroy punished those who plotted against royal officials, and he rewarded loyal subjects who had stood against the tyranny of other Spaniards. Before departing from Lima on his journey to the Inca capital, Toledo distributed dozens of coastal *encomiendas* and grants of annual income to descendants of the earliest conquistadores. Many of those rewarded had been maimed or impoverished as they fought in royalist armies against the younger Diego de Almagro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco Hernández Girón, and other Spanish rebels. For example, the viceroy granted Rodrigo de Villalobos 300 pesos in native tribute income for his thirty-six years of service in the Andes, especially at the battle of Añaquito, where he fought alongside the ill-fated viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, coming away so severely wounded that he remained crippled in both hands from the tortures he received from Gonzalo Pizarro's supporters.¹⁹ Months later, Toledo awarded Garci Diez de San Miguel the *repartimiento* of Papres for fighting against Gonzalo Pizarro in the royalist loss at Huarina, where he was left for dead because of the severity of his wounds: two broken legs, a broken arm, five arquebus wounds and other injuries. When Gonzalo Pizarro's men found Diez

¹⁷ Based on rough census figures for Spaniards living in Peru (*Nota* 1571–1572); cf. López de Velasco (1894:458 [1574]), Toledo visited towns with European populations totaling 5,000 of an estimated 8,486 Spaniards living in Peru at that time. The largest of these settlements were Lima (2,500 Spaniards), Potosí (800), and Cuzco (500). By comparison, the indigenous tributary population that Toledo's *visita general* registered was still well over one million (see Cook 1981).

¹⁸ Toledo, *Memorial* (1867 [1582, chap. 8]).

¹⁹ Ulloa (1908:315). The grant was made on June 7, 1570.

de San Miguel's shattered body on the battlefield, they robbed him and took him prisoner.²⁰

It is not strange that Toledo repeatedly called the Spanish rebels tyrants when he made awards to loyal Spaniards. "Tyrant" was a common epithet, used by men seeking royal favor, to refer to the Spanish rebel leaders. What is interesting is how the viceroy's tone changed as he passed into the Andean highlands on his way toward Cuzco.²¹ Somewhere on the road from Huamanga to Cuzco, Toledo stopped calling outlaw Spaniards tyrants and began to refer to them as "rebels" and "traitors" instead.²² In their place, he began to refer to the Incas as the real "tyrants" in the Andes, a significant shift in thinking that reflects a hardening philosophical stance on indigenous sovereignty. Just months earlier, Toledo had written the king from Lima supporting a degree of native self-rule: "For many things it is necessary that the natives be governed through their caciques, *kurakas*, and *principales*, according to how the Incas kept them in their good government . . . they must be favored and protected in their *cacicazgos* [elite titles] and privileges, especially the Incas who remain, and the grandchildren of Huayna Capac, of which there are many."²³ When Toledo issued instructions to his regional inspectors before departing from Lima, he put this attitude into action, ordering the determination of Inca-era practices regarding tribute, office-holding, storage, cloth production, and the management of farming,

²⁰ Ulloa (1908:323–324).

²¹ The Archivo General de Indias (AGI) contains dozens of such references in the proofs of merits and services made after the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548. Almost all of these were for fighting in the Spanish civil wars in Peru, although there are a few references to other tyrants, such as the notorious Lope de Aguirre (e.g., AGI Patronato 155 N. 1 R. 11 [1562]), the self-styled "Wrath of God," whose quest for El Dorado was renowned for its violence against Spaniards.

²² Among the fifty-seven Toledan grants that Ulloa published in 1908, the last to refer to a Spaniard as a tyrant was made on January 8, 1571, about a month before the viceroy reached Cuzco. This might have been the first grant Toledo had made since entering the highlands and collecting testimony from indigenous witnesses. The chronicler Lizárraga (1907:483 [1595–1609, chap. 23]) says that Toledo heard in Huamanga that the Incas of Vilcabamba were a threat to Spaniards, and "he determined, to serve His Majesty better, to remove them, reform them and reduce them to the service of His Majesty for the robberies and deaths that they were causing in the distinct between Huamanga and Cuzco." It is worth noting that after his military incursions against the Incas and Chiriguanaes, Toledo returned to the rhetoric of Spanish tyranny in later *encomienda* grants.

²³ Toledo ([2/8/1570] in *GP* 3:344). The viceroy referred to the Inca in Vilcabamba as a "relic," but he said he would attempt to carry out the terms of the peace treaty.

fishing, and herding.²⁴ In Cuzco the following year, the viceroy amended those instructions, describing the Incas as “tyrants” as he inquired about their most objectionable religious practices. In a matter of months, the man charged with bringing a lasting peace with the Vilcabamba Incas rhetorically transformed the Incas from sovereign lords overseeing “good government” (*buen gobierno*) into lawless tyrants.²⁵

Overturning Inca Tyranny

This was an extreme reversal of opinion, from the pro-indigenous stance outlined by Las Casas and some other clergy to the arguments of their opponents. Las Casas had condemned the conquistadores as tyrants, which allowed him to argue that their behavior usurped and perverted Spanish sovereignty. Las Casas’s argument was appealing to Charles V—not only was he not culpable for the brutal acts committed against native Andeans, but those acts reflected offenses against him as the rightful ruler in Peru. With Philip’s accession, the emphasis on stronger royal control in Peru directed the rhetoric on tyranny at the Incas, treating them as obstacles to Spanish sovereignty. A forceful voice from this latter group was Juan de Matienzo, a prominent newcomer to the Andes whom Toledo named to head the general inspection of the province of La Plata before he left Lima in 1570.²⁶ Matienzo had played a prominent role in the negotiations with Titu Cusi Yupanqui, which led to the treaty that Toledo was sent to fulfill. In the years that followed these diplomatic efforts, Matienzo drafted a treatise on the government of Peru (*Gobierno del Perú*), advocating the royal administrative consolidation of the Andes. In it, he articulated the argument regarding Inca tyranny that Toledo adopted on his journey toward Cuzco. Matienzo believed that the greatest unresolved threat to civic order came not from abusive Spaniards but from indigenous Andean elites. Matienzo argued that while punishing Spanish rebels, royal officials had not condemned the actions of native lords, who, he said, were greater thieves than the worst Spaniards. They had also failed to

²⁴ Toledo (1924 [1571]).

²⁵ Parker (2002b: 196–197) notes that the charge of tyranny was developed in Philip II’s correspondence over Elizabeth I’s occupation of the English throne.

²⁶ Presta (2008) offers a recent overview of Matienzo’s life and writings. He arrived in the Andes around 1560, moving to the newly organized Audiencia of Charcas to serve as a leading official. Toledo’s instructions for the *visita general* (1924:124 [1571]) name Matienzo as the lead *visitador* in La Plata, the vast region surrounding Sucre, Bolivia.

establish a colonial government to end the “great tyranny” of the *kurakas* and liberate their poor subjects from servitude and oppression.²⁷

To drive this point home, Matienzo portrayed the Inca empire as God’s punishment for the demonically inspired religious practices of Andean peoples. For their sins, God had permitted the Incas to oppress their subjects until the arrival of the Spaniards and the miraculous victory of Francisco Pizarro.²⁸ To Matienzo, the Incas met the philosophical definition of the word “tyrant,” from the legendary time of Manco Capac to the last dark days of Atahualpa: “[T]hey were tyrants, and not natural lords, since the one that is called ‘tyrant’ treasonously takes and occupies a foreign land through force or trickery, as these Incas did.”²⁹ As proof that the Incas hoarded resources and overworked their subjects, Matienzo cited their monuments and infrastructure, and he referred to accounts of human sacrifice and the violent acts that had accompanied the Inca civil war to demonstrate their “great cruelty.” Because of these and other suspicious and lawless deeds, Matienzo argued, the Incas had forfeited their sovereign rights as natural lords, so that “this Kingdom of Peru was justly won, and His Majesty has a very just title.”³⁰

Matienzo said that God had guided Columbus to the hidden lands of the New World so that Christianity and political order could bring the natives out of their barbarian ways. The voyages of Columbus were not the only miraculous evidence that Spanish achievements reflected divine will. Matienzo also described the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca and the conquests of Cortés and Pizarro as miracles. He believed that it was God’s desire that Pizarro travel to Peru to liberate Inca subjects and their native lords from tyranny and oppression, even though Andean people did not request, or even welcome, the overthrow of their world. The Spanish victories at Cajamarca and Cuzco were evidence of this divine favor. With just 150 Spaniards, Pizarro “defeated and subjugated the tyrant Atahualpa and so many millions of Indians who

²⁷ Matienzo (1967:3 [1567, prologue]). He claimed (1967:13 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 2]) that any conquistador excesses were a thing of the distant past: “[I]f the captains and soldiers went too far in the manner or conquest, they will have paid for it already.”

²⁸ Matienzo (1967:6–7 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 1]).

²⁹ Matienzo (1967:7 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 1]); Lohmann Villena (1967:7), the modern editor of the chronicle, notes that this argument derives from Aristotle’s *Ethics*.

³⁰ Matienzo (1967:11 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 2]). This argument regarding “just war” reflects the philosophical debate over Spanish imperial expansion. Matienzo (bk. 1, chap. 4) deploys a racist caricature of indigenous Andeans, arguing that they were “born to serve” and that Spaniards needed to keep them occupied with hard work to prevent them from backsliding from Christian civilization.

came with him.” In the siege of Cuzco, 100 poorly armed Spaniards had defeated an army of 30,000 Incas. Matienzo asked his readers: “Who could make such a stand without the aid of Heaven?”³¹

In 1567, Matienzo believed the miracle of Peru was slipping away, threatened by the legacy of Inca tyranny. In the absence of their conquered masters, the *kurakas* presumed to live like Incas, and Matienzo warned that “if we do not make some remedy here in the *Audiencias*, the Indians will be as oppressed as in the time of the Incas.”³² Matienzo claimed that native elites kept their people from interacting with Spaniards, while exploiting them economically and flouting church doctrine by keeping more than one woman. These native elites needed to be reformed, but perhaps more importantly, Matienzo believed that royal officials needed to take control over all the ill-gotten resources once claimed by the tyrannical Incas: their terraced fields, coca plantations, herds, and mines. It is easy to see the appeal of such arguments to a viceroy intent on establishing order and sending the riches of the Andes back to Spain for his king’s wars in defense of the Catholic faith.

Overturning Inca Government

As Francisco de Toledo came around to Matienzo’s opinion that Inca government and customs were not a precedent for indigenous rule, but rather a legal basis for royal consolidation, he began to collect evidence to support taking actions against the Incas living in Vilcabamba and Cuzco. On his journey to Cuzco, the viceroy began to gather testimony from elderly *kurakas* living in the highland regions through which he was traveling, seeking out the oldest and most knowledgeable that he could find.³³ The first interview took place in Jauja over four days in late November 1570. Six Wanka witnesses were charged with testifying to “the origin and issue of the tyranny of the Incas of this kingdom, and the true fact that before and after this tyranny there were no natural lords in this land.”³⁴ Toledo summoned

³¹ Matienzo (1967:6–7 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 1]).

³² Matienzo (1967:22–23 [1567, bk. 1, chap. 7]).

³³ Toledo ([3/1/1572] in Levillier 1940:3). Almost all of these men were Christian and of noble status, and the average age of the men interviewed before Toledo reached Cuzco was eighty-one years.

³⁴ Toledo ([11/20/1570] in Levillier 1940:14). In such a proceeding, Christian indigenous elites swore to the truth of the statements—often very leading ones—made to them in a questionnaire. Paradoxically, it was this same legal status that the viceroy assailed when he pruned and destroyed indigenous legal archives in Jauja.

the men individually to hear a survey containing fifteen questions that prompted them to confirm that their ancestors had lived in decentralized societies (*behetrías*) before the Inca conquest, led only by military captains who possessed no sovereignty. They were asked which Inca had first come to rule them, and “whether they received him as lord and gave him obedience, or [whether] he conquered them tyrannically with wars, killings, and other oppression.”³⁵ The final questions probed the origin of local cacique titles, asserting that the Incas created and maintained these offices, which were not an ancient local custom.

Toledo repeated this proceeding in the Spanish town of Huamanga the following month, interviewing two elderly caciques from the Asto and Sora groups using the same questionnaire. Overall, these early witnesses affirmed aspects of Toledo’s argument regarding local sovereignty. Wanka witnesses identified their conqueror as Tupa Inca Yupanqui, who moved into the central highlands when his father Pachacuti was an old man. Men from the Soras and Astos recalled that Pachacuti had conquered their ancestors before delegating command to his sons. These early witnesses presented a truncated account of dynastic succession, identifying Pachacuti as the son of the ancestral founder, Manco Capac.³⁶

Using these statements, Toledo drafted a second questionnaire identifying Tupa Inca Yupanqui as the first conqueror and the innovator of the imperial hierarchy and its *kuraka* titles, which replaced the informal war leaders called *sinchi*.³⁷ In the early weeks of 1571, Toledo administered the new survey four times in villages and way stations along the Inca road to Cuzco. Elite men from the Parinacocha and Chanca groups largely reconfirmed Toledo’s assertion that the Inca order had expanded coercively, and not long before the arrival of the Spaniards.

After Toledo’s retinue crossed the Apurímac River and entered the former Inca heartland, witnesses from the Inca nobility began to contribute to the viceroy’s growing body of evidence. At Limatambo, an Inca man named don Cristóbal Cusiguaman testified that Pachacuti had been the first conqueror, but he agreed that the Incas had created new administrative positions when they organized provinces. He confirmed that Inca subjects surrendered out of fear, “because they had heard that the Inca destroyed those who did not,

³⁵ Toledo ([11/20/1570] in Levillier 1940:16).

³⁶ E.g., Toledo ([11/20/1570] in Levillier 1940:19–21).

³⁷ Toledo ([1571] in Levillier 1940:47–48).

and of those whom he conquered through armed force, he did not leave any alive.”³⁸ The last interview took place at Jaquijahuana, the final Inca way station on the road to Cuzco. On February 10, 1571, a grandson of Tupa Inca Yupanqui named don Juan Sona responded to the new questionnaire. The elderly Inca testified that Pachacuti had conquered Cuzco and the outlying region as far as the Soras, and that he created the *kuraka* hierarchy before delegating command to Tupa Inca Yupanqui.³⁹

The Loyal City of Cuzco

Around the time that don Juan Sona was testifying about the conquests of his imperial ancestors, the people of Cuzco excitedly went forth from their city to welcome Francisco de Toledo and his retinue of servants, gentlemen, and soldiers as they completed their regal progress from Lima. On the road to the Jaquijahuana Valley, where Manco Inca forged his ill-fated alliance with Francisco Pizarro almost forty years earlier, the Spanish and Inca residents of the city built a lodging where the viceroy could rest, an appropriate spot “to receive him and kiss his hands and give him food . . . that was splendid, exotic, and costly.” When the king’s stand-in had been well-fed, Spaniards from the city council asked him to take his place on a nearby promontory to watch the formal procession of his loyal subjects. The leading Spaniards rode below in pairs, “roughly 100 cavalry, wearing cochineal-red robes, bearing lances and leather shields, with their trumpets and kettledrums.” After their ceremonial entry, the riders staged a mock battle for the viceroy.

When they finished this display of military brio, the Spaniards rode out in a wing formation, making room for the festivities of the indigenous population, who were possessed by an equal zeal. “An abundant host of [native people] came down from hill and plain in front of the viewing place. The Incas came at the front, followed by the provinces of the four *suylus*, each with its own flag and many-colored pennants.” Reproducing the flowing-together of the now-lost parts of the ancient Inca realm, the Andean nobles came wearing gold and silver plates on their chests, cuffs of precious metal, and distinctive headdresses made with rich featherwork. The Spaniards were

³⁸ Toledo ([1571] in Levillier 1940:55).

³⁹ Toledo ([1571] in Levillier 1940:61–64). Don Juan Sona was one of the early allies of the Spanish in Cuzco, and was baptized with Paullu in the 1540s, becoming one of the first native *alcaldes* of Cuzco. See Covey and Amado (2008:365) for published references.

impressed by the way these adornments glimmered in the warm sunlight. Passing before the viceroy, each group made a traditional Andean sign of reverence and a short speech bidding him welcome. They then performed traditional dances as they exited the viewing space. After all the native groups had passed before the viceroy, there was a second mock battle, this one modeled after the old Andean *pukllay*. At the end of the performance, the people of Cuzco returned to their city with the viceroy's enthusiastic thanks. Toledo told them that his master, Philip II, would have been greatly pleased to be present, "for he would have seen how that city had such distinguished vassals."⁴⁰

The following day, the threat of seasonal rains could not dampen the mood of a joyful throng as it escorted the royal visitors into the city. On the way, the procession passed landmarks that recalled the upheaval of the Inca order. The native escort came out as far as the place where Atahualpa's troops captured Huascar, and they passed locations still remembered for the skirmishes between Pizarro's men and the Quito general Quisquis when the Spaniards first came to Cuzco. It took Toledo three days to cover the final few miles and enter the city, where the indigenous population again performed as wealthy and loyal subjects of the Crown. A member of the viceroy's retinue recalled the splendor of their display. The Inca nobles led in the performance of dances and praise songs, attired in costumes that celebrated their status as colonial elites: some wore fine mantles of traditional cloth (*cumpi*) woven by skilled Inca-era artisans, while others chose silk shirts ornamented with gold and silver. At the Spanish archway that marked the entry to the city, they gave the viceroy a fine chestnut horse with rich trappings. When asked if he would swear to protect the city, Toledo demurred, telling the crowd, "I will do and carry out what seems to be the service of God and of the King our lord."⁴¹

⁴⁰ This account was written several years after the fact by Antonio Bautista de Salazar (1867:251–252 [1596, chap. 22]), who traveled in Toledo's company that day. The *pukllay* was a scripted confrontation between complementary groups, probably either the two Inca moieties (Hanan Cuzco and Hurin Cuzco) or the Incas and the representatives of the *suylus*. Such events typically had a known outcome, where one group always prevailed against the other. See Morris and Covey (2003) on mock battles in Inca plaza spaces.

⁴¹ Bautista de Salazar (1867:252–254 [1596, chap. 22]). For comparison, see Osorio (2006:767–770) on Toledo's arrival in Lima.

The Case against the Incas

Toledo's oath differed from the promise he had made when entering other Spanish cities in Peru. He arrived in Cuzco armed with what he considered reliable testimony that Inca sovereignty did not extend beyond the Cuzco region, or for more than a century into the past. As it turned out, the viceroy was just beginning to mount his case for treating the Incas as tyrants. In the weeks that followed his arrival, Toledo summoned more than forty old men living across the Cuzco region to respond to his second questionnaire. These new witnesses were mostly non-Inca caciques, some of whose ancestors were resettled to the capital region to serve imperial households, one of the coercive actions that Juan de Matienzo had cited as evidence of Inca tyranny. Toledo's Inca witnesses were mostly non-royal, and those who specified their ancestry claimed descent from the earliest rulers in the dynasty.⁴² No one was summoned to represent the lineages of the later Incas, who built and ruled the empire.

The first witnesses appeared in Cuzco as an unknown Spaniard from Toledo's retinue was already completing a philosophical treatise attacking Inca sovereignty.⁴³ On March 16, 1571, a short manuscript was sent from the Yucay Valley to the viceroy, who had it copied and dispatched to Spain along with his other reports on Inca rule. Even though more than 200 Andean men had yet to give testimony about the Incas, the *Parecer de Yucay* made a conclusive argument regarding the rights of the Inca dynasty and the Andean caciques. The unknown author claimed that the Incas "were such recent tyrants . . . that no one can be ignorant of it." Neither they nor the caciques had sovereign rights, so Philip II was the only legitimate lord and king, and he could rule in the Andes "without taking into account the Inca or his laws."⁴⁴ This argument turned on its head decades of Spanish

⁴² One man, don Diego Chicomayta, claimed descent from Manco Capac, and two others belonged to the Hurin Cuzco moiety. Descendants of the fourth and fifth Incas (don Felipe Uscamayta and don Gonzalo Guacangui) also appeared.

⁴³ *Parecer de Yucay* (1995:1571). The editor of this edition, Pérez Fernández (1995:68ff.), identifies several candidates for authorship (he favors García de Toledo, a cousin of the viceroy), noting that the text was copied and edited by several people shortly after it was completed, and other additions were made in Spain in the late 1570s and 1580s.

⁴⁴ *Parecer de Yucay* (1995:138, 147 [1571]). The original manuscript also argues that pro-indigenous priests—the most prominent being Bartolomé de Las Casas—had damaged Spanish sovereignty and Catholicism by arguing that the Incas and Andean caciques held rightful dominion over their people.

policy, and it had implications for imperial rule far beyond the Andes, since the question of “Inca dominion, and that which His Majesty has in these realms . . . constitutes the basis of everything good and bad in the Indies.” If Inca lords were tyrants without rights, so, too, were all “Indian” leaders across the Americas.

As scribes in Cuzco produced copies of this bold argument for Spanish colonial intensification, surviving members of the Pizarro expedition completed new memoirs of Spanish actions in the Andes, an indicator that the viceroy was still concerned about the uneasy state of Peru’s Spanish population.⁴⁵ On Toledo’s orders, the conquistador Pedro Pizarro finished a lengthy chronicle, in February of 1571, which he addressed to Philip II, declaring himself to be a loyal subject. The date of completion—and the fact that the history describes the Spanish rebellions of the younger Almagro, Gonzalo Pizarro, Sebastián de Castilla, and Francisco Hernández Girón—suggests that Pizarro’s account was commissioned to support Toledo’s original vision of Peruvian history as a struggle against Spanish tyrants.⁴⁶ By contrast, the elderly conquistador Diego de Trujillo finished a much shorter eyewitness account in Cuzco in early April 1571, also in response to Toledo’s orders. This version of the conquest focused only on the progress of the Pizarro expedition from Panama to Cuzco, where the narrative ends abruptly.⁴⁷ By the time Trujillo’s story was being put to paper, the viceroy was showing less interest in the crimes of Spaniards.

The collection of Spanish accounts of conquest and civil war paralleled the ongoing effort to compile indigenous testimonies of Inca tyranny. This continued in Yucay and Cuzco from March to September of 1571. As with earlier proceedings, the viceroy preferred to assemble elderly witnesses from provincial groups, men whose fathers and grandfathers had been brought by Pachacuti, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, and Huayna Capac to serve on their Cuzco estates.⁴⁸ One of them was don Francisco Chilche, the elderly Cañari leader

⁴⁵ Bautista de Salazar (1867:262–263 [1596, chap. 25]) noted that Toledo summoned the surviving men of the Pizarro expedition to give accounts before they expired, as he was eager to establish the facts surrounding the discovery of Peru, as well as the civil wars among Spaniards.

⁴⁶ Indeed, Pizarro (1978:261 [1571, chap. 38]) describes the actions of Hernández Girón and other rebel Spaniards as tyranny, noting that since the suppression of that rebellion there had been a few plots to threaten the social order.

⁴⁷ Trujillo (1985 [1571]).

⁴⁸ The forty-five men selected in these proceedings mostly came from the highlands of Chinchaysuyu—Wankas, Chupaychus, Soras, and Cañaris—and many were *kurakas* of their groups (Toledo [3/19-7/2/1571] in Levillier 1940:99–121).

in Yucay who had been accused of murdering the Inca Sayri Tupa a decade earlier. It is hardly surprising that these witnesses chose not to challenge the viceroy's historical assertions in favor of their former Inca lords. A few descendants of Inca emperors testified in this proceeding, although they were all residents of rural communities from the Cuzco region, rather than the city itself.

As he accumulated indigenous evidence that the Incas and their provincial lords were short-lived tyrants, Toledo also collected accounts of customs and religious practices that would invalidate native Andean sovereignty. On the same day that the last witnesses appeared in Yucay to testify about Toledo's revised questionnaire on Inca expansion, witnesses began to respond to a new survey that contained nineteen questions about Inca religion. The new inquiry addressed burial practices, worship of sacred objects, and child sacrifice, as well as the tolerance of cannibalism and male homosexuality. Elsewhere in the Americas, Spaniards treated human sacrifice, homosexuality, and cannibalism as mortal sins that voided the human rights of those who practiced them.⁴⁹

The inquest regarding Inca religion and morality wrapped up in Cuzco in early September 1571. By that time, Toledo had summoned more than 200 elderly men to testify, systematically directing indigenous testimony to challenge the antiquity and geographic scope of Inca imperial sovereignty. The viceroy concluded that Inca emperors and their hierarchy of Andean *kurakas* had no legitimate right to rule native people. To be safe, he also gathered evidence of Inca moral shortcomings that subverted any remaining sovereign claims. Inca men from royal families were not invited to comment on the proceedings until hundreds of their former subjects had had their say. When the Inca noblemen were interviewed, they did not understand that their imperial ancestors were on trial. The questions that they were asked to comment on seemed to be matters of harmless historical curiosity about Inca practices before Christianity arrived in the Andes. The questionnaire to which most royal Incas testified contained neutral wording, emphasizing the power and wealth of Inca mummies and *huacas*, and the ways that Inca rulers used labor tribute to keep native people occupied, "as the best means of governing them."⁵⁰ The Inca nobles who were eventually summoned to

⁴⁹ Garza Carvajal (2003).

⁵⁰ Toledo's ([11/20/1570] in Levillier 1940:15) second questionnaire undermined the legitimacy of local caciques, inquiring "whether the villages selected their military captains, recognizing in them the virtue of bravery and wisdom, or whether those same

testify probably understood Toledo's questions to be a formal chronicling of their ancestors' good government, but the Spaniards in the viceroy's retinue had already reached a diametrically opposed conclusion, which they had sent to Spain to influence future policy decisions. Their minds were already made up about Inca tyranny by the time they started interviewing witnesses in Cuzco, and they continued to expand and hone their allegations of Inca tyranny as native testimony accumulated.⁵¹

Corporate Histories

Inca noblemen living in Cuzco did not necessarily feel anxious to be excluded as Toledo's inquiry moved forward in 1571. As Spanish interpreters rounded up old men who served on royal estates or as soldiers and officials of Inca emperors, descendants of the those rulers might already have been participating in their own historical interviews, recounting the life histories of their royal ancestors.⁵² The viceroy had commissioned Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, a royal cosmographer traveling with his entourage, to assemble a history of the Inca dynasty. Sarmiento de Gamboa was an unusual choice for this work, given his previous brush with church officials. In 1564, he was convicted of possessing magical ink—supposedly used to write love notes that no woman could resist—and three possibly enchanted rings, adorned with Chaldean characters and astrological signs.⁵³ Sarmiento de Gamboa

[captains] tyrannized those towns." The inquest in Yucay and Cuzco the following year ([6/2-9/5/1571] in Levillier 1940:124-125) inquired about governing practices of the Incas in those positive terms, soliciting evidence that native Andeans were naturally lazy, fearful, and inclined to be subjects.

⁵¹ Bautista de Salazar (1867:262-263 [1596, chap. 25]) wrote after the fact that Toledo used oral histories to verify that the Incas were "tyrants and not true lords, as was understood up to that point." Nevertheless, the *Parecer de Yucay* was completed before more than 100 men appeared to testify, and before the collection of any Inca oral histories.

⁵² Francisco de Toledo wrote shortly after his arrival in Cuzco ([3/25/1571], in *GP* 3:443), that "I ordered to take down the description of the descent and genealogy of these Incas," suggesting that the inquiry was already underway.

⁵³ AHN, Inquisition 1650 Exp. 1, f. 5r-5v [1574]. Sarmiento testified that soon after he came to Lima in the late 1560s, he learned from a native Andean woman named Payba—a servant in the house of the viceroy Conde de Nieva—how to make an ink that would force a woman to desire the person using it. When asked about the rings, he said the Chaldean characters were sacred astrological signs, and that the smith who forged them did not make any strange movements that suggested that a spell was put on them.

was an experienced mariner who participated in the discovery of the Solomon Islands in 1567, and his experience with navigation probably convinced Toledo to bring him along from Lima to make a comprehensive geographical description of Peru.⁵⁴ Nothing in his background recommended him as a chronicler of the native past.

In Cuzco, Sarmiento de Gamboa labored to produce a three-part chronicle that would place the Incas into a Catholic world history and situate Peru in a modern geographic context. The first part would present a natural history of the Andes, which would presumably update the medieval cosmography that continued to be published in Spanish histories. Sarmiento de Gamboa designed the second part to discuss Andean creation myths before moving on to chronicle the “terrible and ancient tyranny of the Capac Incas” up to the time of Huascar’s death. He intended to trace the Spanish discovery, conquest, and colonization of Peru in the third part of the history.⁵⁵ The cosmographer’s ambitious goals were curtailed by the accelerated tempo of Toledo’s assault on Inca sovereignty, and he only completed the second part of his chronicle.⁵⁶

The 1572 Inca history was the first to merge the Andean past into the same biblical and classical myths that informed the Christian calculation of universal time.⁵⁷ Identifying the “West Indies” as lying near Plato’s Atlantis, Sarmiento de Gamboa said that these formerly unknown lands lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules. After presenting classical accounts of the peopling of Iberia, Sarmiento de Gamboa laid out the Christian ages of the world, claiming that the “Atlantic Island” was settled by Atlas, a grandson of Noah

Sarmiento said that he had received permission to keep the rings from Francisco de la Cruz, a Dominican who was later burned at the stake in Lima for heresy.

⁵⁴ Bauer and Decoster (2007:3–7).

⁵⁵ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:44–45 [1572, chap. 1]). The focus on Spanish officials in the colonial narrative would shift attention from rebellions to the establishment of good government.

⁵⁶ The abbreviated chronicle of Peru still contains a few chapters on world geography, in which Sarmiento de Gamboa stated that there were five parts to the world—the three continents known to the ancients (Africa, Asia, and Europe), an undiscovered land called Catigara, and the “Atlantic Island,” which was known as the Indies (chap. 2).

⁵⁷ The chronicler uses the Christian ages to calculate the early ages of time leading to the human settlement of the Andes. In discussing the Inca dynasty, he included accession dates for Inca rulers that he correlated with the reigns of popes and Iberian kings. This chronicle places the emergence of Manco Capac in the sixth century, so that Inca history tracks from the Visigothic era.

who reached it by way of the Iberian Peninsula. After many ages, cataclysm struck the descendants of the original Atlanteans: “[B]y divine permission, and perhaps owing to their sins, it happened that a great and continuous earthquake, with an unceasing deluge, perpetual by day and night, opened the earth and swallowed up those warlike and ambitious Atlantic men.” The Indies survived the destruction of Atlantis by earthquake and flood, peopled by the descendants of Atlas, but hidden from the peoples of the Old World. Sarmiento de Gamboa believed that the native population of the Andes descended from these ancient “Atlantics,” whose ancestors were the Mesopotamians and Chaldeans who first peopled the world.⁵⁸

The chronicler contrasted these claims, which he considered to be believable and true history, with the “fables and extravagances” that Inca men recounted about the origin and “tyrannical rule” of their ancestors. As did other Spanish writers of that time, he felt confident rejecting stories that conflicted with Biblical accounts and chronologies, distancing himself from the truth value of Andean creation stories. When he moved from creation to the account of the Inca dynasty, however, Sarmiento de Gamboa made it clear that he considered his dynastic history to be historically accurate. Even though the Incas lacked writing, he said that they systematically passed on oral histories and had specialists who preserved detailed narratives using *kipus* (knotted cord records) and painted boards. Sarmiento de Gamboa assembled a dynastic account that he considered completely sound by interviewing older men, whom he believed to be reliable witnesses. He cross-checked their conflicting testimonies, and then assembled a separate group of Christian Inca men to hear the revised manuscript read before a magistrate, swearing to its accuracy.⁵⁹ The resulting chronicle presented a degree of detail for early interactions in the Cuzco region that exceeded that of previous chronicles, although the author’s goal of exposing Inca tyranny colored the narrative from start to finish.

Not knowing the tone that Sarmiento de Gamboa was inserting into their dynastic history, Cuzco’s leading Incas must have felt good about their position, which seemed to be improving as they courted the viceroy’s favor and worked to convince him that they were loyal subjects and good Christians. When don Carlos Inca’s mestizo son Melchior Carlos was born in Cuzco, in 1571, Toledo agreed to be his godfather; He held the baby at the baptismal

⁵⁸ Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906 [1572, chaps. 4–5]).

⁵⁹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572, chap. 9]).

font in a ceremony that took place in the chapel of San Cristóbal, the church that Paullu Inca built next to his Collcampata palace after he had converted to Christianity. The ceremony took place in front of Cuzco's leading Incas and Spaniards on January 6, 1572, a day when Catholics celebrated the adoration of the Magi. Each of Cuzco's communities celebrated in its own manner after the ceremony: the Spaniards held bullfights and mock cavalry battles; the Inca population of the Cuzco region gathered in the city with "presents and other things that they brought to don Melchor in recognition that he was the great-grandson of Huayna Capac."⁶⁰ Those who were present recalled that the viceroy recognized the child as a legitimate patrilineal descendant of the last undisputed Inca emperor.⁶¹

Even as he built personal relationships with the Inca nobility, Toledo oversaw the inquests that were collecting anti-Inca testimony. Shortly after becoming godfather to Huayna Capac's great-grandson, the viceroy ordered the preparation of a final questionnaire that discredited the legitimacy of the entire Inca dynasty. During the first weeks of 1572, as Sarmiento de Gamboa was completing his history, Toledo summoned the men representing the groups who had supposedly lived in Cuzco before the first Inca ancestors arrived, who were then displaced and subjugated by the newcomers. A new set of questions confirmed that those groups had lacked "good government" before Inca times, and that Manco Capac and other Incas "conquered them tyrannically and by force of arms, and seized the lands of the Indians who were settled on the site of this city of Cuzco, killing them and making wars and bad treatment." The witnesses were asked pointedly to chronicle Inca abuses, and to confirm that their ancestors had served the Incas against their will and had always "wished, as oppressed people, to be free from this tyranny." Over several weeks, men who identified as Sahuasiray, Antasaya, Gualla, and descendants of Ayar Oche came forward in groups to testify to the antiquity of Inca oppression.⁶²

⁶⁰ BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga*, f. 18v. Witnesses recalled bringing food to his parents (f. 176v), and participating in celebrations in Carlos Inca's palace, as well as in the central plaza of Cuzco (f. 108).

⁶¹ Many Spaniards, including Juan Álvarez Maldonado and Pedro Arias de Saavedra, attested to this (BNE, *Ascendencia de Juan Carlos Inga*, f. 43-43v, 61v). Oviedo (in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016 [1610]) produced a detailed account of the ceremony around the time Melchor Carlos Inca was assembling documents to shore up his Inca status in Spain.

⁶² Toledo ([1/4-2/27/1572] in Levillier 1940:182-195). Bauer (1998:43-45) notes that other non-royal groups in Cuzco shared elements of the Inca ancestral migration myth

In early 1572, groups of Inca men gathered on behalf of their royal lineages, to ratify Sarmiento de Gamboa's history and approve a new set of painted genealogical records that Toledo had commissioned. These performances involved the assembly of a united body of Inca men who jointly represented all descendants of the dynasty. They were the vestiges of a conquered nobility, a collective group of "Incas" who could be contrasted with Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the Inca king who remained unvanquished in the jungles of Vilcabamba. Who were these "corporate" Incas? For one thing, they were exclusively men—neither Toledo nor Sarmiento de Gamboa interviewed Inca women to reconstruct their narratives, even though some of the last surviving daughters of Huayna Capac challenged the resulting accounts.⁶³ As Christian subjects of Philip II, these men also represented a new generation of Incas, one that was increasingly defined by European succession practices, including primogeniture and legitimacy through marriage. Whereas Toledo and Sarmiento de Gamboa preferred to call the oldest living witnesses during their earlier inquests, many of the Inca men who affirmed the accuracy of the new history and genealogy had no personal knowledge of preconquest times. More than twenty of Sarmiento de Gamboa's witnesses were born in 1532 or later, as were a dozen of the men who attested to the accuracy of the genealogy painted on Toledo's cloth panels. These men must have thought that they were shoring up their own noble status, helping to protect their privileges relative to other indigenous Andeans, who were to be lumped together under the tributary racial status of "Indians." As it turned out, the viceroy took the information they supplied and fit it into a narrative excusing Philip II from future consideration of the noble status of Andean lords.

Documents detailing the confirmation of the two Inca histories suggest that the viceroy and his people hid their intentions from the Inca noblemen

and participated in the ritual management of the valley's shrines. The witnesses brought in for the final Toledan inquest claimed descent from people and groups in the migration story who were tricked, conquered, or displaced by the Hurin Cuzco rulers. Even though the viceroy ordered that the oldest men of these groups be summoned to testify, more than half had been born after the death of Huayna Capac.

⁶³ As Hemming (1970:415–416) notes, Sayri Tupa's widow, María Cusi Huaracay, objected to the elevation of descendants of Paullu over those of Manco Inca. She took her complaint directly to the viceroy, who told her that it was because "don Carlos and his father served the King, and your father [Manco Inca] and brother [Titu Cusi Yupanqui] have been usurpers."

as they appropriated their unique historical voice. The interpreter who summarized Sarmiento de Gamboa's history told the assembled Incas that the viceroy wished to have a written account of Inca origins, and the deeds of Inca rulers in the past. He wanted to know "which areas obeyed each [Inca], and which of them was the first to leave Cuzco to rule other lands, and how Tupa Inca Yupanqui and after him Huayna Capac and Huascar, his son and grandson, became lords of all Peru by force of arms."⁶⁴ As stated, this goal seemed compatible with Inca aims at royal self-representation, even though it contained the rhetorical weapons of the philosophical argument against indigenous sovereignty and Inca right. Likewise, the inspection of the painted cloths seemed to present Inca origin myths, genealogies, and dynastic histories as matters of a neutral cultural interest when the Spanish project was explained to the assembled Incas. But when the same cloths were shown to four old conquistadores a few days later, the witnesses discussed Inca tyranny and expansion through unprovoked military assaults.⁶⁵ As we have already seen, arguments about tyranny permeate other documents being assembled at the same time and place. With the ratification of the dynastic Inca history completed, Toledo seems to have felt satisfied that he had fully argued a case for stripping indigenous Andeans of their sovereignty.

The Passion of the Last Inca

Eight months after his arrival in Cuzco, Toledo finally turned serious attention to Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the Inca ruler of Vilcabamba who anxiously awaited the fulfillment of the treaty he had signed with royal officials in 1566.⁶⁶ In a letter sent from Yucay on October 16, 1571, Toledo chastised the Inca for not coming to see him when he was traveling to Cuzco or in the city after he had arrived there. The viceroy was eager to meet the Inca king of Vilcabamba in person so that Titu Cusi Yupanqui could "recognize what

⁶⁴ In Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007:210).

⁶⁵ Ruiz de Navamuel (1882 [1572]). Those Spaniards were the same ones who participated in one of Toledo's last inquests regarding Inca conquests (Toledo [2/22/1572] in Levillier 1940:196–204).

⁶⁶ When he learned in 1569 that Lope García de Castro was being replaced by a new viceroy, the Christian lord who now called himself don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui expressed concern that harm might come to him, as had happened in the past when there a shuffling of royal officials ([May 24, 1569] in Temple 1949–1950:625–627).

you owe to the service of God and the Majesty of the King, my lord, fulfilling the paternal obligation that I owe you by virtue of the faith that you hold.”⁶⁷ Toledo wrote that he had already attempted to send two Spaniards with letters from Philip II and himself, but that there had been no response after they had handed them off to indigenous couriers to take downriver by raft into the jungle realm. The viceroy demanded that the Inca respond to his new letter and come out to demonstrate his obedience. The power to summon one’s subject would have been familiar to an Inca, although in this instance the Inca lord would answer the call as a Christian vassal of Philip II.

The silence from Vilcabamba was unsettling, especially in light of the encouraging diplomatic advances of recent years. After working out his treaty with the Spanish governor, Titu Cusi Yupanqui had allowed priests to enter his kingdom in 1567, and several Spaniards witnessed the baptism of his son Quispe Titu, who became don Felipe, in honor of the Spanish king. The following year, the Inca wrote to invite Augustinian friars into Vilcabamba, where they baptized the ruling couple and began to teach Christian doctrine to Inca subjects there. The Augustinians built two village churches and ventured into the jungle lowlands, where they erected crosses in local settlements and sought out new converts. By the time Francisco de Toledo departed for Spain, the Inca had already written to the Jesuits to invite them to send missionaries among his lowland subjects, an opportunity to spread Christianity eastward toward Brazil, thereby opening “a greater gateway than has been open up to now for the conversion of infinite souls.”⁶⁸ It is likely that the Inca had received some news of Francisco de Toledo’s advance through Peru, and in early 1570 he summoned the Augustinian friars to his capital, where he dictated an account of his life that put his own claims regarding Inca sovereignty on paper.⁶⁹ In that account, don Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui identified himself as a Christian Inca, the natural lord of Peru, and an aggrieved sovereign who wished to petition Philip II for relief from the suffering caused “because His Majesty and his vassals have taken possession of the land that belonged to my ancestors.”⁷⁰ Although many in his court had not embraced Christianity and thus acquired the legal rights

⁶⁷ The letter is reproduced in Bautista de Salazar (1867:266–267 [1596, chap. 26]).

⁶⁸ The author, Diego de Bracamonte, wrote from Lima ([1569] in *MP* 1:261) that the Inca and several of his captains had converted.

⁶⁹ Bauer and colleagues (2016:10ff.) offer a concise overview of these developments in a volume that contains several key documents on the fall of the Vilcabamba kingdom.

⁷⁰ Titu Cusi Yupanqui (2006:5 [1570]).

that conversion conferred, the Inca gave no indication that his part in the diplomatic conversation was a ruse.

We now know the reason that Titu Cusi Yupanqui did not come out to meet Toledo, or even respond to his letters. He was dead, felled by a sudden illness that, once again, unraveled years of negotiations between Vilcabamba and Spanish Peru. It is not clear when this tragic death occurred, and much of what is recorded about these events was extracted from Inca testimony recorded years after the fact. Shortly after witnessing the dictation of the Inca's life history, the Augustinian friars in Vilcabamba ventured out of the capital to destroy a local *huaca* called Yurak Rumi. That act stoked the anger of those who had not yet converted to Christianity, and Titu Cusi Yupanqui responded by expelling one of the friars from his kingdom as he worked to smooth over the tensions among his people.⁷¹ The Inca appears to have fallen ill sometime after that, and after the two Spaniards who resided in Vilcabamba failed to cure him—or restore his dead body to life—the Vilcabamba Incas killed both of them.⁷² These deaths remained unknown in Spanish Peru. No messages were sent out from Vilcabamba, and Inca soldiers posted at the frontiers prepared themselves for war, not expecting that Titu Cusi Yupanqui's peace treaty could be salvaged at that point.

In early March of 1572, Francisco de Toledo sent Tilano de Anaya, a Spaniard who was well-known to the native nobility, to carry new messages to the Inca in Vilcabamba. Having completed his case against the Incas, the viceroy was busily preparing a huge body of administrative papers to be sent to Philip II. These documents addressed ongoing concerns regarding the security and administration of the Spanish population living across the south-central Andes. In Cuzco, an Augustinian priest had recently preached from the pulpit against new taxation, declaring that “if kings wished to impose new rights and sales taxes, that the Spanish citizens (*vecinos*) could

⁷¹ Bauer, Cruz, and Silva (2015) have produced an excellent volume on the archaeology of Vilcabamba, which includes their investigations at the *huaca* at Yurak Rumi. Their work at Titu Cusi Yupanqui's capital shows how the Vilcabamba Incas conserved important elements of the Inca style, while also introducing Spanish elements, including clay roof tiles and new kinds of metal tools.

⁷² Reconstructing the deaths of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, his Spanish secretary Martín Pando, and the Augustinian Diego Ortiz is extremely problematic, although Hemming (1970:505) places it around the time Toledo arrived in the Cuzco region (March 1571). A proceeding after the destruction of Vilcabamba collected eyewitness verification of the narrative, which grew over time as it was incorporated into the literature of Catholic martyrdom published in the seventeenth century (e.g., Calancha 1639).

defend themselves against it with weapons in their hands.” On the southern frontiers, the menace of warlike “Chiriguana” tribes threatened Spaniards from Tucumán to Potosí to Santa Cruz, making it difficult to establish civil and religious order. Spanish conspiracies in Charcas threatened the tenuous colonial administration established there, and the religious orders currently in the Andes were not making good headway in their missionary work. Spaniards going out to make new conquests were enslaving indigenous people and comporting themselves as tyrants.⁷³

As he described the unsettled issues related to Spaniards in the southlands, the viceroy seemed to treat the Inca situation as resolved. Toledo noted that his Inca historical materials should set the king’s mind at ease regarding Spanish sovereign claims in the Andes and elsewhere. Not only were the Incas tyrants, but their line was “totally finished, and [there have not] survived any, other than cross-cousins and bastards, based on the mode and order of succession that they had.”⁷⁴ The Incas of Cuzco had no legitimate claim to whatever sovereignty might survive from their ancestors, and were merely the tail-end of a fallen dynasty that deserved no special treatment. Toledo told the king that he had sent the painted Inca genealogy to Spain as proof that he was under no obligation to favor the Incas of Cuzco as descendants of native lords.⁷⁵ Philip II had been generous with the Cuzco Incas, granting titles, estates, and other privileges, but Toledo encouraged him not to feel obliged to do so in the future.

Within weeks of writing to his king to announce that the problem of Inca sovereignty was resolved, the viceroy wrote again, using a much more forceful and urgent tone. Toledo informed the king that he was now at war with Vilcabamba and planned to destroy the Inca line immediately. His sudden change in rhetoric and strategy came after news reached Cuzco that the Vilcabamba Incas had killed Tilano de Anaya when he crossed over the frontier bridge into Vilcabamba to deliver the viceroy’s messages.⁷⁶ Toledo

⁷³ Toledo (1867:9–10 [1572VIII]); Toledo [3/1/1572] in *GP* IV:3, 14; Toledo [3/1/1572] in *GP* IV:88–90).

⁷⁴ Toledo ([3/1/1572] in *GP* IV:54–55). This contradicts witness testimony that Toledo recognized his godson Melchor Carlos Inca as a legitimate descendant of Huayna Capac. It is important to note that Toledo took pains to describe the surviving descendants of Atahualpa in Quito (pp. 55–56) and the Incas of Vilcabamba (Toledo [1572] in *GP* IV:294) as royal descendants who were excluded from the painted cloths prepared in Cuzco.

⁷⁵ Toledo ([3/1/1572] in *GP* IV:54–55).

⁷⁶ Anaya witnessed Titu Cusi Yupanqui’s baptism in Vilcabamba, and he served as the legal representative of Beatriz Coya, the heir of Sayri Tupa who was supposed to marry

took the news of the murder—the first Spaniard known to be killed by the Vilcabamba Incas in eight years or more—as sufficient cause for a just war. As he prepared to invade Vilcabamba, the viceroy wrote to Philip II that it had been dangerous to allow Titu Cusi Yupanqui to remain unchallenged in his lowland kingdom. With God’s support, Toledo said that he intended to strip the name “Inca” from that province, and to populate the region with Spaniards. Of equal importance, he planned to take action against the Incas of Cuzco, whom he considered to be traitors. He planned to banish them from their ancestral land, “to divide them up and make them colonists in another place where they have neither power nor authority.”⁷⁷

Within days, Toledo sent the largest force he could muster into Vilcabamba, including the troops attached to his retinue, the Spanish citizens of Cuzco, the friendly Cañari and Chachapoya troops that lived in Cuzco, and many other Andean leaders from the region.⁷⁸ Toledo wrote on May 8 that he hoped that the war with Titu Cusi Yupanqui would turn out well, “and that his punishment will be a noteworthy remedy and an example for the natives of this land . . . especially among the Incas whose root and lair is in this city [of Cuzco].” He claimed that the conquest of Vilcabamba would add a new province to Philip’s Peruvian realm, subduing a hotbed where Spaniards, *mestizos*, and native Andeans hatched plots against the Crown.⁷⁹

In declaring just war against the Inca in Vilcabamba, Toledo unleashed the fighting men who traveled with him, who had been waiting for three years for the opportunity to earn a reward for service to the Crown.⁸⁰ The viceroy

the prince Quispe Titu (Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016:14). Years later, Bautista de Salazar (1867 [1596, chap. 27]) wrote an account of Anaya’s death and the subsequent invasion of Vilcabamba, but during the campaign many details remained uncertain.

⁷⁷ Toledo ([1572] in *GP* 4:355 [1572]). The term *mitima* reflects Toledo’s play on the Quechua word for an Inca labor colonist—an ironic choice of words, given that Toledo proposed to subject the Incas to a practice denounced as tyrannical when they implemented it among their Andean subjects.

⁷⁸ The news of the impending invasion reached Lima on April 26, 1572, that Toledo “has determined to remove the Inca by force of arms” (Ramírez de Cartagena, in *GP* VII:110).

⁷⁹ Toledo ([1572] in *GP* IV:363).

⁸⁰ In Lima, Toledo acknowledged (in Lohmann Villena 1986:41–42 [1570]) that the gentlemen, pikemen, and artillery in his company were “poor and needy” and he ordered them protected against their debts and the seizure of property. During the 1567 conspiracy of the Maldonado brothers, underpaid lancers considered joining the plot against royal officials (García de Castro [1567] in *GP* 3:229–239).

placed his troops under the command of Martín García de Loyola, offering a rich prize—1,000 pesos in annual rents, granted for two generations—to the Spaniard who seized the Inca.⁸¹ The forces sent from Cuzco entered Vilcabamba, pressing forward at great cost against a determined Inca resistance. Loyola's troops faced fierce hand-to-hand combat at Coyaochaca, where they lost five Spanish captains and a large number of indigenous auxiliaries. At the fortress of Huayna Pucara, they found the defenses redoubled, with don Felipe Quispe Titu, the son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, commanding the Inca forces.⁸² The invaders scaled the high cliffs and took the fort, gaining access to the Vilcabamba realm as Inca soldiers burned their fallen center and fled into the jungle.⁸³

Although some of the Spaniards turned to plunder the last Inca capital, Loyola pressed his men forward in pursuit of the Inca and the viceroy's promised reward. Moving deeper into the lowlands, the Spaniards overtook the fleeing Incas at Panquies, where they seized several children and grandchildren of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, as well as the powerful captain Curi Paucar.⁸⁴ By this time, the Spaniards must have learned of the death of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and they shifted the focus of their search to his brother Tupa Amaru and other Inca leaders who remained at large. The pursuit aimed to clear the entire Vilcabamba region of Inca captains and nobles, and Tupa Amaru became increasingly valuable quarry as the Spaniards apprehended other prominent Incas.

⁸¹ Toledo ([10/21/1572] in *GP* 4:510).

⁸² This account draws primarily from Loyola's petition for royal favors after the campaign (AGI, Patronato 118 R. 9 [1572]). There are numerous detailed secondary descriptions of the invasion, including Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti (2016), Hemming (1970), and Julien (2007).

⁸³ As they plundered Vilcabamba, the Spaniards found *huacas*, precious metal, cloth, and the embalmed bodies of two Incas that were left behind in the retreat (Toledo [1572] in *GP* 4:436). Writing the same day that he had Tupa Amaru and other Incas beheaded in Cuzco, Francisco de Toledo also claimed that they had found European cloth there—the evidence of the banditry of Manco Inca—as well as gifts that Spanish viceroys had sent during the many failed negotiations to bring the Vilcabamba kingdom to a peaceful end.

⁸⁴ Toledo (10/4/1572, in Martín Rubio 2005:97–98) listed more than two dozen Inca women and children captured in Vilcabamba, whom he ordered taken to Lima to prepare for their expulsion from Peru. Almost all of the young children of Titu Cusi, Tupa Amaru, and Quispe Titu had been baptized and carried noble titles, but most of their mothers and nurses had not. Don Felipe Quispe Titu was the only adult Inca man included in this group.

Loyola's forces headed into the Manaries area, chasing Tupa Amaru and his general, Gualpa Yupanqui. The Spaniards abandoned their horses and took five balsa rafts down the dangerous rapids, losing their supplies when their boats capsized. With their quarry at hand, Loyola and his men were able to recruit local allies, who helped them to locate and capture Gualpa Yupanqui, who informed them of Tupa Amaru's whereabouts. Despite their desperate condition, "walking on foot, shoeless, and without food or supplies," Loyola and his men finally caught up with the man whom they now called the Inca, apprehending him and placing him in irons for the long journey back to Cuzco.

In the city, Francisco de Toledo moved quickly on his plan to extinguish the Inca dynasty. The viceroy gathered testimony that the Cuzco Incas had long conspired with Vilcabamba to undermine him, declaring that there was evidence of a plot and rebellion "that would be sufficient to punish all of the Incas that involved themselves in it, although if they should all be guilty, there will about 300 [of them]."⁸⁵ He arrested don Carlos Inca and several others, seized their properties and *encomiendas*, and punished many of them with a death sentence.⁸⁶ The viceroy confiscated Carlos Inca's Collcampata palace and converted it into a fortified prison.⁸⁷ Just as Atahualpa's captains had done forty years earlier, Toledo made it clear to the Incas that he planned to destroy Cuzco and uproot them from their ancestral landscape. He stripped the Inca nobility of its tributary exemptions and ordered the resettlement of the indigenous population of Cuzco.⁸⁸

As Toledo waited for the prisoners from Vilcabamba to reach Cuzco, he began to plan a public display that would show Andean people that the Incas were finished forever. His soldiers wrote back from Vilcabamba that Titu

⁸⁵ Toledo ([1572] in *GP* 4:366). The accusations of the Cuzco Inca plot were leveled at the same time Toledo sent troops to Vilcabamba.

⁸⁶ The Audiencia of Lima wrote (4/18/1573, in Levillier 1924:187) that Cuzco's *corregidor* "proceeded against don Carlos . . . and against others of his lineage, saying that they had plotted with the Inca [in Vilcabamba] and advised him against the service of Your Majesty."

⁸⁷ Arguing that Cuzco was "the heart of the Inca tyrants" (in López de Arrieta 1899:357) Toledo claimed in a 1578 letter that the seizure of the palace was part of his responsibility to provide security across Peru. He received permission from Philip II to convert the structure, although the king ordered that "no one should touch the worked masonry that was in the ancient site where the Incas made that fortress" (pp. 357–358).

⁸⁸ Inca protests can be accessed in documents in Aparicio Vega, *La Revolución del Cuzco de 1814*.

Cusi Yupanqui had died, and that in place of one Inca there were now two princes—don Felipe Quispe Titu and Tupa Amaru—who led the Inca resistance, “committing many crimes and carrying out murders and robberies on Indians and Spaniards.”⁸⁹ The viceroy held both men responsible for the murders of the Spaniards in Vilcabamba, and of Tilano de Anaya and his native companions. By the time the Inca prisoners were dragged into Cuzco bound in chains, however, Toledo had altered the script of his Inca passion play significantly, placing Tupa Amaru alone in the tragic central role.⁹⁰ Even though he led the military defense of Vilcabamba against the Spaniards and their allies, don Felipe Quispe Titu would join the Cuzco Incas in exile, whereas his uncrowned uncle would be treated as the last defeated Inca in the royal line.

Months after he expressed a desire to punish Titu Cusi Yupanqui in a way that would linger in the memories of Incas and other Andeans, Toledo presided over an extraordinary performance.⁹¹ As the victorious Spaniards returned from Vilcabamba, the viceroy ordered those in the city of Cuzco be on the alert because of the supposed conspiracy against him. On September 21, 1572, the entire city of Cuzco was summoned by the town council as the procession reached the triumphal arch where the citizens of Cuzco had greeted the viceroy the previous year.⁹² The soldiers halted and arranged their heroic entry into the city: “[E]ach one brought some notable captive from those that had been taken. One with an [Inca] captain, another with another one . . . The last was the captain Loyola with the Inca Tupa Amaru, held fast with a golden chain around his neck.” (Figure 10.2). They marched into Cuzco, passing the house where Toledo was lodged, and the viceroy watched the procession from an upper-storey window, from which

⁸⁹ Documents assembled by the Conde del Villar ([1589] in *GP* 11:259) include a title written by Francisco de Toledo on July 30, 1572.

⁹⁰ In a document from October 4, 1572, Toledo stated that Tupa Amaru “had succeeded in the government and tyranny [of Vilcabamba] through the death of Titu Cusi” (in Martín Rubio 2005:97). It is significant that Toledo captured at least four sons of Titu Cusi Yupanqui whose Christian names suggests that they had been baptized. Several of the mothers of these children also had Christian names.

⁹¹ It is not unreasonable to see the spectacle of Tupa Amaru’s execution as a deliberately choreographed drama. The Jesuits who traveled with Toledo engaged in performances to teach Christian doctrine, and in July of 1572, they had staged a play for Toledo, who enjoyed it (Luis López [10/12/1572] in *MP* 1:491).

⁹² Osorio (2006:780–790) describes the symbolism of this archway for the arrival of the viceroy.



Figure 10.2. Procession of Martín García de Loyola with his captive Tupa Amaru and the Punchao idol (Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615). *El primer nueva corónica [y buen gobierno conpuesto por Don Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, señor y príncipe]*, GKS 2232 folio, Royal Danish Library, p. 449[451]/drawing 181.

he could not be seen.⁹³ The leading Incas had been made to wear the royal *borla* insignia on their heads, and as they passed the viceroy's residence, Loyola

⁹³ This eyewitness (Bautista de Salazar 1867:278 [1596, chap. 30]) was written nearly twenty-five years after the event, and its particulars should be taken with caution. The execution of Tupa Amaru had become a famous historical moment by that time the moment when the Inca dynasty ended—and numerous authors prepared contradictory accounts in the early 1600s, e.g., Calancha (1639); Garcilaso de la Vega (1609); Guaman

demanded that they remove them or touch them as a sign of respect.⁹⁴ The captured royal mummies and *huacas* were part of the procession of defeated Incas into the city of Cuzco.⁹⁵

The prisoners were taken to don Carlos Inca's Collcampata palace, which was now occupied by Toledo's troops as a fortress. Over the next two days Tupa Amaru was subjected to Spanish law and Christian doctrine as a defeated pagan tyrant. For the purposes of the performance at hand, the Spaniards treated Tupa Amaru as the Inca of Vilcabamba, instead of don Felipe Quispe Titu, who was well-established as Titu Cusi Yupanqui's son and heir in the Spanish records of negotiations with Vilcabamba.⁹⁶ This improvisation might have come about because Tupa Amaru was the last noble Inca to be captured in Vilcabamba. Also, he remained unbaptized, so his defeat and conversion could be memorialized as the moment when Spanish Catholicism finally vanquished Inca tyranny and apostasy.⁹⁷

Gabriel de Loarte, the *corregidor* of Cuzco, presided over a quick trial in which Tupa Amaru and his military captains were held responsible for the death of Tilano de Anaya, and of the other Spaniards who were now known to have died in Vilcabamba after the demise of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. We do not know exactly what transpired in those proceedings, but if Toledo's overall rhetoric around this time reflects the criminal case, it is likely that Tupa Amaru was made to stand for the entire litany of Inca crimes since Manco Inca's reconquest campaign had failed in 1536. These offenses accompanied claims that the Vilcabamba kingdom was a den of idolatry that threatened

Poma de Ayala (1980 [c. 1615]); Murúa (2001 [c. 1613]); and Oviedo [1610], in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti (2016).

⁹⁴ Ocampo (chap. 85, in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016:91)

⁹⁵ Toledo [10/21/1572] in *GPIV*:343.

⁹⁶ Although Titu Cusi Yupanqui had written years earlier to say that Tupa Amaru was the legitimate successor to Sayri Tupa, and it was common in the pre-conquest Andes for adult brothers to succeed a dead ruler, Toledo's insistence on law and legitimacy would seem to demand that Felipe Quispe Titu be treated as lord.

⁹⁷ Spaniards who described the Vilcabamba campaign shortly after it transpired do not allege that Tupa Amaru was ever crowned or received as Inca in Vilcabamba. Instead, there is an inconsistent attachment of "Inca" to his name. Martín García de Loyola's questionnaire, administered just ten days after Tupa Amaru's execution, referred to the leadership of Vilcabamba as "Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca and his brother Tupa Amaru" (10/3/1572, in *JLPB* 7:25 [1906]). Some witnesses never call him Inca in their testimony. Nevertheless, Toledo described the justice he carried out against "the general Gualpa Yupanqui, together with the Inca Tupa Amaro" (9/25/1572, in *JLPB* 7:65 [1906]).

Spanish missionary activities in Peru. As an defiant pagan, Tupa Amaru represented the statues and royal mummies that had been confiscated in the invasion. The man held as the last Inca was found guilty of capital offenses and sentenced to be executed.

Having forfeited his life, Tupa Amaru passed into the second act of Toledo's drama. He would die, but he could still redeem his soul if he would submit himself to the teachings of the Catholic Church. During the two days he was held in the fortified palace, Tupa Amaru received instruction from several religious men, including a Jesuit named Barzana, who was fluent in Quechua. The condemned Inca was baptized and received a Christian name. The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega says that Tupa Amaru chose the name Felipe, after the Spanish king, and immediately asked to be sent to Spain to meet his lord and have his case heard. Garcilaso de la Vega and several other chroniclers claimed that the members of Cuzco's religious orders begged for the death sentence to be commuted, as Toledo had done for some of the other convicted Incas. It was within his power as viceroy to show mercy on behalf of the king he represented. But on the third day that Tupa Amaru was held in the imperial seat of his ancestors, the viceroy ordered his immediate execution, and summoned the people of Cuzco to witness the event.

The doomed Inca was escorted from the Collcampata palace and down through the streets of Cuzco to the central plaza. In one version, he was surrounded by his priests and a company of 400 Cañari warriors, the bitter rivals of the Incas, who had fought alongside the Spaniards loyally in Vilcabamba.⁹⁸ Garcilaso de la Vega offers a more poignant, and defiant, portrayal. Tupa Amaru rode to his death on a mule, his hands bound and a noose hanging from his neck. A crier went ahead of the prisoner, declaring that he would die for his tyranny and treason against the Spanish crown. The prince did not understand Spanish and asked the priests who accompanied him what the man was saying. When they told him that they were killing him "because he was *awka* [rebel] against the King, his Lord," Tupa Amaru summoned the crier and demanded that he stop shouting, because what he said was a lie: "I have not committed treason, nor have I thought to do so, as everyone knows. Say that they kill me because the Viceroy wishes it, and not

⁹⁸ Ocampo ([1610] in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016) makes this claim. It is worth noting that Toledo rewarded several Cañaris with three generations of tributary exemption for their roles in the Vilcabamba campaign.

for my crimes, for I have done nothing against him, nor against the king of Castile.”⁹⁹

Whether or not he spoke out in this way, Tupa Amaru finally reached the plaza, not as a peerless emperor riding in his litter, but as a pathetic captive going to his death. He mounted a platform that had been constructed for the purpose, and in the space where generations of Incas held court over their Andean empire, an Inca once again faced a throng of more than 10,000 Incas and other native people.¹⁰⁰ They had not come to see him confer with the image of the Sun, or to toast his mummified ancestors with rivers of maize beer. They had not gathered to hear him pass judgment on noble criminals or to sanctify sacrifices that would be offered to *huacas* across the Andes. They had assembled in Cuzco’s central plaza to watch him die.

The noise from the crowd was deafening—weeping, indignant shouting, hoarse appeals to the viceroy—but the Inca made one dramatic gesture, and all fell silent. The defining moment of Toledo’s performance is the one that is the most obscure to us centuries later. We know that Tupa Amaru was beheaded on that platform on September 24, 1572, and that his head was mounted on a pike and left in the plaza. But the power of that moment inspired authors in later years to insert other details that can neither be confirmed nor reconciled across sources. An Augustinian friar, writing about the martyrdom of the priest Diego Ortiz at the hands of the Vilcabamba Incas, said that Tupa Amaru told his Cuzco kin that he deserved to die, and that he wished to do so as a Christian.¹⁰¹ A Dominican wrote that he died demanding to know why his life was being taken after he had converted to Christianity.¹⁰² In another version, Tupa Amaru claimed that he was about to die because his mother had cursed him.¹⁰³

A member of Toledo’s retinue put a long speech in the mouth of the sacrificial Inca in which he renounced the religion of his ancestors as a cynical con: “Apus [lords], who are here from all four *suyus*, know that I am a Christian and they have baptized me, and I want to die in God’s law, and

⁹⁹ Garcilaso de la Vega *Historia* (pt. 2, bk. 8, chap. 19). The word *awka* appears in the earliest Quechua dictionary (Santo Tomás 1560) as “tyrant,” and was understood to be a rebellious warrior who forfeited the right to humane treatment.

¹⁰⁰ Toledo ([10/21/1572] in *GP* IV:343) estimated the crowd at between 10,000 and 12,000. Other chroniclers make much larger estimates that are less credible.

¹⁰¹ Calancha (1639).

¹⁰² Lizárraga (1907 [c. 1595–1607, pt. 2, chap. 23]).

¹⁰³ Ocampo ([1610], in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016).

I must die. And everything that we have said up to this moment, my Inca ancestors and I, that you should worship the Sun, Punchau, and the *huacas*—idols, rocks, rivers, mountains, and *vilcas* [spirit forces]—it is all a falsehood and lie.”¹⁰⁴ This version claims that Tupa Amaru died embracing Christian doctrine, which affirms the general description of the event that Toledo himself wrote about a month afterward. The viceroy told Philip II that the last Inca made a confession on the platform that was “the most fortunate thing that he could offer for the conversion of these people.”¹⁰⁵

Whatever was said at the center of the Inca universe that day, those who were there agreed that it left an impression. Although a Jesuit eyewitness to the execution described it as “a great edification for this city,” others interpreted the production differently.¹⁰⁶ The royal audience in Lima complained that Tupa Amaru’s beheading was done “with such a display and show that it has placed in the imagination of the descendants of the Inca that [Toledo] presumes to make an end to them, from which both Indians and Spaniards have been made uneasy.”¹⁰⁷ Although most of Toledo’s actions against the Cuzco Incas would eventually be reversed, these were indeed his intentions at that time.

This uneasiness in the crowd that watched Tupa Amaru die was palpable, and it did not subside after the execution. The head of the Inca was mounted on a pike for public display, but Toledo later informed the king that it had to be taken down after just two days. The idolatry of the Incas was so entrenched, he said, that the native population had begun to worship the Inca head in ways that would require harsh punishment.¹⁰⁸ Toledo had no desire for a severed head to become a *huaca* and spark a new rebellion. Years later, it was claimed that the veneration of Tupa Amaru’s head was the result of a miracle: rather than putrefy, the head had shown saintly qualities, growing more beautiful each day until a prominent mestizo informed the viceroy of the veneration it was receiving.¹⁰⁹ When this public lesson created more reverence than fear, Toledo returned the head of the fallen Inca to its body, and Tupa Amaru was laid to rest next to his brother don Diego Sayri Tupa, in the

¹⁰⁴ Bautista de Salazar (1867 [1596]).

¹⁰⁵ Toledo ([10/21/1572], in *GP* 4:343).

¹⁰⁶ López ([10/12/1572] in *MP* 1:491 [1954]).

¹⁰⁷ Audiencia de Lima ([1/27/1573], in *GP* 7:144).

¹⁰⁸ Toledo ([10/21/1572] in *GP* 3:343).

¹⁰⁹ Ocampo ([1610] in Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti 2016).

Dominican monastery in Cuzco, in a chapel built atop the ruins of the Inca sun temple.¹¹⁰

With don Carlos Inca, don Felipe Quispe Titu, and other Christian Inca noblemen dispossessed, condemned, and exiled, Toledo took a final exceptional step to ensure that the Inca dynasty would never rise from its ashes. Writing to Philip II on the day of Tupa Amaru's execution, Toledo said that, "Having made such an exemplary punishment . . . of the rebel Incas, and aspiring to leave no trace of them in this Kingdom, it seemed agreeable to me that the innocent relic that remains, that young daughter of Sayri Tupa . . . was ready to grow up." That "innocent relic" was doña Beatriz Coya, a girl whose estates were among the largest in Peru. Consulting with the abbess of the Santa Clara convent, where Beatriz had been cloistered for the past seven years, Toledo inquired whether the girl would choose to become a nun, or would marry a man of his choosing. That man would not be don Felipe Quispe Titu, Beatriz's cousin and her designated husband according to the terms of the 1566 treaty with Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

On hearing her choices, Beatriz choose marriage over the cloister. The viceroy removed her from the convent and presented her to Martín García de Loyola. In one symbolic act, Toledo proposed to reward Loyola for his role in the conquest of Vilcabamba "and the capture of the heads that mattered most," while also ensuring that no other man could attempt to build an estate or sow dissent through marriage to the young Coya (Figure 10.3).¹¹¹ Loyola agreed to the marriage, "even though she was an Indian and of their aspect." He would later describe this commitment as "not the least important service that I gave to Your Majesty."¹¹² Although he stood to gain access to Beatriz Coya's rich estates, Loyola nevertheless petitioned for his own rents and rewards for his service in Vilcabamba. He even requested permission to add Tupa Amaru's head to his family crest.¹¹³

Toledo had choreographed the final stage of his Inca drama in the weeks before Tupa Amaru reached Cuzco. As the prisoners from Vilabamba approached Cuzco, the viceroy had announced his plan to leave the city, and he gave orders to resolve the debts incurred by the fighting men in his retinue. The viceroy would continue to the southern frontier, which

¹¹⁰ A 1645 document describes these burials (see Martín Rubio 2005:99–104).

¹¹¹ Toledo (9/24/1572 in *JLPB* 7:66 [1906]). The viceroy stated that he intended that Beatriz Coya move to Spain after her marriage.

¹¹² AGI Patronato 118 R. 9 [1572].

¹¹³ AGI Lima 199 N.7 [1572]. The request to use the Inca's head was denied.



Figure 10.3. Depiction of the marriage of Beatriz Coya and Martín García de Loyola (*left*). The Inca ancestors are in the background on the left, and the Jesuit saints Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Borgia preside over the ceremony. From the Jesuit church in Cuzco. Used with permission from the Museo de Arte de Lima. Photograph: Daniel Giannoni.

he had originally planned to reach during the first year of his visit to the Andean highlands. Toledo was already thinking about leaving Peru. In early March 1572—just before he heard the news of Tilano de Anaya’s murder—the viceroy had requested permission from Philip II to return to Spain, saying that his mission in Peru was nearly complete. After his destruction of Vilcabamba, Toledo again said he would soon leave the Andes, referring to the services he had made to God and king “in cleaning up this land from the

idolatries that were preserved in it.” Christian life could now thrive, and all native Andeans would see the benefit of his war against Vilcabamba and the *las Inca*.¹¹⁴

Relics for Solomon’s Temple

For Toledo, the devastation of Vilcabamba helped lead to a turning point in Spain’s imperial fortunes, and for the prospects of extending a Catholic realm. When he wrote the Philip II to describe the conquest of the last Inca kingdom and the capture of its royal mummies and idols, the viceroy placed them alongside other propitious events that signaled Spain’s resurgence, including the victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto and the birth of the prince Fernando. Toledo thought that Philip’s Catholic empire was back on firm footing: “It is fitting to give thanks to our Lord that your Majesty has recovered from such ruin and downfall of Christianity.”¹¹⁵ Having survived the threats of the late 1560s, Philip’s imperial prospects once more seemed bright, another reminder to Spaniards that their God would allow the faithful to be tested but would not abandon them.

When Toledo dispatched his praises for the Christian zeal of his king, he also sent objects that symbolized the vanquished Inca Empire, whose cult and idolatrous laws stretched across the Andean world.¹¹⁶ Among the pieces that joined Philip’s collections were a dozen “idol” effigies of powerful Andean ancestors, numerous gold and silver figures of human and animal form, and several magical healing stones. Toledo also sent examples of cups, grinding stones, and other paraphernalia used to feed and speak to the *huacas*. These supernatural objects accompanied markers of Inca imperial power: painted gourds adorned with silver, “from which the Incas drank”; a decorated wooden stool, “the seat on which the Incas gave title to their *kurakas*”; two wool *borlas*, which Toledo had told the king “was the insignia with which

¹¹⁴ Toledo ([October 1572] in *GP* 4:504).

¹¹⁵ Toledo ([October 1572] in *GP* IV:503). The Holy League’s decisive naval victory at Lepanto halted westward Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean.

¹¹⁶ In a letter to the king, the viceroy noted (Toledo [October 1572] in *GP* 4:504–505) that he continued to carry around the golden Punchao idol with him as he made his way into the southern Inca provinces: “[O]ther objects were found with it and in the house of the Sun, and with the embalmed bodies with which they worshipped and made their sacrifices of innocent [children]. I also have [these] to bring to Your Majesty, which I believe Your Majesty would enjoy.”

they crown the Incas"; and a finely woven mantle with multicolored designs that represented "the arms of the provinces that the Inca possessed."¹¹⁷ In his description of the capture of Vilcabamba, Toledo emphasized the seizure of the royal mummies and important sacred objects like the Punchao statue, and it is clear that he sent along pieces that he knew Philip II might curate as material evidence of his political and religious victories in Peru.

Rather than trample these spoils as an Inca emperor would have done a century earlier, Philip had the diabolical vessels placed in his treasure house (the Casa del Tesoro) in Madrid, where he kept the crown jewels, paintings by Hieronymus Bosch and Titian, and curiosities from around the world.¹¹⁸ The assemblage that accumulated in Madrid contrasted with other supernatural treasures that Philip was zealously hoarding at the Escorial, a palace that combined elements of the monastery, convent, and royal crypt, which was still under construction as Spaniards destroyed or confiscated the last Inca palaces of Cuzco and Vilcabamba. The Escorial was designed to be a replica of Solomon's temple, a fittingly powerful place for Philip, who claimed the title of King of Jerusalem.

Philip received the powerful Inca objects from Peru around the time he began actively collecting Christian relics, assembling an unprecedented repository of saintly power to sustain the miraculous recovery of his Catholic empire. As his rebellious Protestant subjects destroyed icons in the Netherlands and his priests and officials battled Andean *huacas*, the Spanish king was busy accumulating some 7,500 vestiges of saintly bodies and related materials.¹¹⁹ An account written shortly after Philip's death in 1598 describes highlights from the collection. There were dozens of objects that served as material evidence of Christ's crucifixion, all housed in ornate reliquaries. There were pieces of Jesus's clothing, a hair from his head or beard, splinters from his cross, almost a dozen thorns from his crown, a piece of the rope that had bound his hand, and fragments of the nails that had pierced his hands and feet.¹²⁰ Alongside these markers of Christ's great sacrifice, Philip also acquired hair and scraps of clothing said to have belonged to Mary.

The larger part of the collection comprised fragments of holy bodies, vestiges of nearly every saint recognized by the Catholic Church. Many of

¹¹⁷ Julien (1999:87–89). Among Toledo's possessions at the time of his death were two additional *borla* insignias, among other examples of fine Inca textiles (Julien 1999:86).

¹¹⁸ Julien (1999:63).

¹¹⁹ Lazure (2007:61).

¹²⁰ José de Sigüenza (1881:468–489 [Discurso XVI]).

these pieces had been appropriated from churches and convents, and at one point Philip laid out an unsuccessful argument that the body of Santiago should be transferred from Compostela to the Escorial, which the king said was a more secure and fitting resting place.¹²¹ Over time, Philip invested vast resources in acquiring these relics, and he built a collection that he knew intimately. He even had holy bones laid on parts of his body that were ailing. The miraculous powers of these saintly bodies helped to sustain the king in the last years of his life, as he continued the attempt to build God's kingdom on earth. Taken by many to be a messianic figure during his reign, Philip attained almost immortal status in the powerful surroundings of the Escorial palace. A chaplain who collected testimony from those who were present at his death would later conclude that "we can now count His Majesty as a saint."¹²²

¹²¹ Lazure (2007:84–85).

¹²² Translated from a quote by fray Antonio Cercera de la Torre, in Parker (2002:8).

II

Overturning Andean Landscapes

A great number of Indians [are] scattered across all parts of the kingdom. They are already old, and most are baptized [as] great sorcerers. And the word of God has entered to them so little that they are dogmatizers against our Holy Catholic faith and favoring their idolatries and cults of the demons . . . The Devil answers and threatens them so that they will not believe or accept things that the friars and priests tell them, so that they hide the ancient mines and the treasures, because if these do not appear, then the Christians will leave the land and they will remain free and lords, and they will turn back to their idols and huacas.

—Francisco de Toledo, 1571¹

As Francisco de Toledo rode out from the former Inca capital after the execution of Tupa Amaru, he viewed the broken Andean terrain as a symbol of his struggles to move forward as a Christian knight, “falling and rising up again like the land . . . we go through these mountains and deserts to finish this pilgrimage.”² Leaving Cuzco in October 1572, the viceroy believed that he had ended the power of the Incas in that city forever, and he turned southward on the road to Collasuyu to resume his grand plan to establish colonial administration and proper Catholic practice among all of Philip II’s subjects in Peru.³ Toledo understood that the destruction of Vilcabamba was only a small part of the project. Andean landscapes still presented significant obstacles to political

¹ Toledo ([3/25/1571] in *GP* 3:509).

² Toledo ([10/20/1572] in *GP* 4:341). Merluzzi (2014) offers a valuable overview on Toledo’s administrative program.

³ Even before the conflict with Vilcabamba, Toledo wrote to Philip II ([3/1/1572] in *GP* 4:51): “God permitting, I think to go up this year to the expedition to the cities . . . that still remain for me [to visit]: La Plata, Arequipa, Chucuito, and Potosí.”

and economic control, and the remote mountains and deserts impeded conversion. Toledo saw the high grasslands, rocky canyons, and steep mountainsides as places where a scattered and divided native population could hide from Catholic priests and royal officials. There were a thousand remote spots in which shamans and local lords could preserve their worship of *huacas* and ancestors.⁴ Despite the zeal of the Catholic friars and priests, there were not enough true believers to convert and teach a dispersed and resistant population.

Toledo's concern about lingering demonic influences on the Andean landscape paralleled his more mundane goal of establishing a more transparent royal administration that would generate additional revenue for Philip II, who had defaulted on his sovereign debts in 1569 and would do so again in 1575. The flow of Peruvian silver to the Spanish crown could be moderately increased through adjustments to the taxes and tributes the indigenous and Spanish populations paid, but Toledo understood that royal control over the land itself would have an even greater impact. Increasing production and yield at Porco, Potosí, and other silver mines was a central aim of Toledo's visit to Spanish towns in the south-central Andes. As we will see, the viceroy encouraged Philip II to make a more ambitious sovereign claim to rural landscapes, where native resettlement would allow royal officials to measure, sell, and title lands that had been understood to be communally held since Inca times.

The labor and lands of native Andeans would serve as the foundation for Toledo's colonial administration, so the viceroy found it useful to entangle his political and religious missions, arguing that the policies needed to grow Spanish political economy were also vital for teaching Christian doctrine to the people of the Inca world. Traditional Andean religions offered multiple domains where traditional ceremonies and sacrifices could provide a pretext for extending Spanish control. The mountains and rivers of the Andes could be made to yield silver and gold, and Toledo argued that he could increase royal holdings by taking over mines that in Inca times were dedicated to most powerful *huacas*, as well as the Sun, the creator Viracocha, and the Inca (Figure 11.1).⁵ The back-breaking labor needed to sustain these mines would be coerced from Andean highlanders, who would also be made to offer themselves as wage laborers for other Spanish enterprises. Toledo and

⁴ Toledo (1867:13 [1582]).

⁵ Toledo ([1571] in *GP* III:449). See Betancor (2017) on Spain's philosophical understanding of the metaphysical significance of mining.



Figure 11.1. Martín de Murúa's (c. 1616) depiction of the Inca and the Potosí mountain dominated by the Pillars of Hercules, which carry the royal motto *plus ultra*. From the Galvin Manuscript of the Murúa chronicle.

other Spaniards argued that this sort of hard labor was necessary to keep “Indians” from becoming distracted from Christian life and returning to their pagan vices and idolatry.⁶ Forcing native populations to abandon their scattered villages and settle in planned towns would direct their religious life away from their local *huacas* and ancestral landmarks, and it would also make

⁶ E.g., Ortega de Melgosa ([4/20/1561] in GP 2:533).

it easier for Spaniards to access native labor, and to take possession of productive rural lands.

This chapter uses the Toledan attempts to conquer Andean landscapes—the mines, productive farmland, and the sacred places that helped native communities to make sense of time and space—to describe why it took Spanish colonial rule and missionary work so long to penetrate rural areas. The Spanish interest in mines existed from the earliest days of the conquest, accompanied over time by the subtle invasions of Old World plants and animals into the farming practices and foodways of native Andeans. The transformative role that royal officials began to play—converting staple goods into income paid to loyal subjects—helped to build commodity markets in Peru, although administrative practices reinforced indigenous control over rural lands until Toledo’s time as viceroy. Toledo built on decades-long processes that were transforming Andean landscapes, but he rejected the Inca precedents that had driven land tenure for forty years in colonial Peru. A generation later, Philip II would declare his absolute sovereignty over even the humblest parts of the Andean world.

Race-Making and Mine Labor

Gold was the metal that drove the first Spanish conquistadores into unknown parts of the Americas. Sources of gold were of primary importance in the early years of Spanish exploration, and when Francisco Pizarro went to colonize Peru, his royal contract discussed how gold mines near new Spanish towns would be taxed.⁷ Before entering the Andes to confront Atahualpa, Pizarro had already received “a sample of mined gold” from friendly lords near San Miguel, and although he pressed inland in search of a royal ransom, he was soon back on the coast seeking a more sustainable flow of riches.⁸ Gold continued to be an obsession for the conquistadores, and when easily plundered pieces of Inca treasure became more scarce, Pizarro and a few other men began to force their native allies and black slaves underground to mine for gold.⁹

⁷ AGI Indiferente 415 L.1 f. 121 [1529].

⁸ Gaspar de Espinosa ([10/21/1532] in *GP* 2:12). When Pizarro visited the Moche Valley to settle Trujillo, in 1535, he noted the presence of rich gold mines in the area ([1/1/1535] in *GP* 1:6).

⁹ There were many sources of gold in the eastern lowlands, where Spaniards, such as Gonzalo Pizarro, would lead disastrous expeditions in search of El Dorado.

Over time, however, silver proved to be the metal of choice for running an empire. The conquistadores learned from their Inca allies that there were rich silver mines at Porco, which lay well to the south of Cuzco, in Diego de Almagro's territory. Tupa Inca Yupanqui was reportedly the first Inca to enter the area to take silver and gold from the mines there, and Huayna Capac intensified mining during his inspection of the region.¹⁰ Following Almagro's death, Paullu Inca traveled to the region with Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, an expedition that discovered new mines and established the towns of Charcas (La Plata) and Arequipa.¹¹ Although the men of Almagro's party returned from their Chilean expedition with little plunder, the discovery of mines made these settlements desirable locations to hold an *encomienda*, and the Almagrists complained when Pizarro settled new towns with his own family and allies. By the time Cristóbal Vaca de Castro reached Cuzco in 1542, the Pizarro brothers were already wealthy from mining, and they did not always report their profits and pay the share they owed the Crown.

Vaca de Castro altered the course of Andean mining when he confiscated a silver mine belonging to Francisco Pizarro in Charcas and began to increase production to pay off debts that Pizarro owed the Crown. For labor, Vaca de Castro relied on native Andeans from royally administered populations, a practice that the viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela saw as causing unprecedented suffering and the deaths of large numbers of people sent to the mines.¹² This did not sit well with Charles V, and he ordered Núñez Vela to punish Spaniards who used the natives on their *encomiendas* for mining. Nevertheless, it raised the question of where the labor would come from to mine and transport silver. In his fatal tenure as viceroy, Núñez Vela focused on relieving the tributary native Andean population of uncompensated labors, because they were the subjects and spiritual charges of Charles V. The viceroy argued that slaves constituted a viable alternative to the use of Spanish vassals as a source of unfree workers. These could be provided by

¹⁰ Betanzos (1996 [1550s, pt. I, chap. 36]); Berthelot (1986).

¹¹ Cristóbal Vaca de Castro ([11/24/1542] in *GP* 1:73) noted that the towns were founded "because of the abundance of mines that are in those two provinces."

¹² Núñez Vela ([2/15/1544] in *GP* 1:89). The viceroy accused Vaca de Castro of enriching himself from mining during his short time as the self-appointed governor. Years later, Lope García de Castro ([10/1/1566] in *GP* III:200–201) wrote: "It was that they were forced to go, and they made them work day and night, and gave them such bad food that it made them all die."

amplifying the transatlantic traffic in enslaved “blacks,” as well as by declaring just wars against frontier groups like the Chiriguanaes, using their alleged hostility and savage customs as a justification for enslavement.

By the early 1550s, mining was an important part of the colonial economy, as Inca mines were brought back into production and new mines were discovered throughout the Andes.¹³ The most famous mine was Potosí, a mountain that the Spaniards claimed was miraculously revealed to them by God.¹⁴ As royal officials began to understand the rich potential of Potosí, they reconsidered their scruples about using indigenous labor, especially when the Crown moved to restrict the enslavement of native Andeans. The president of Lima’s royal audience, Pedro de la Gasca, chose not to strictly enforce the royal prohibition on tributary labor in the mines after he defeated Gonzalo Pizarro’s rebellion in 1548. Despite the widespread food shortages and epidemic disease that threatened the recovery of native populations after the Spanish civil wars, Gasca thought that 10 percent of tributary natives could be sent to Potosí to increase its rich output.¹⁵ The chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León noted the immediate impact, reporting that between 1548 and 1551 royal income from the mines topped three million ducats. He noted the historical significance of that figure: “more than the Spaniards got from Atahuallpa, and more than was found in the city of Cuzco when it was first occupied.”¹⁶

Gasca’s changing attitude toward Andean workers was based on his observation that black slaves did not fare well in the cold, high-elevation environment of Potosí; this is an indication that Spaniards had systematically begun working people of African heritage to death in the mines.¹⁷ The distinction between “black” slaves and “Indian” tributaries—and the conviction that these racialized labor groups belonged in different climates and were suited for different kinds of labor—reflects the decades of race-making that accompanied Spanish expansion in the Americas and the rapid growth

¹³ Pedro de la Gasca said there were so many new mines that it was expected that silver would soon come to have little value in Peru ([5/2/1549] in *GP* 1:181). There were new mines in Huamanga, Cuzco, and the Collao, and gold had been discovered in Tucumán, beyond Charcas (Pedro de la Gasca [7/15/1549] in *GP* 1:198).

¹⁴ Despite this claim, Abbott and Wolfe (2003) identified pollution from smelting activities in lake sediments dating as early as 1000 CE, indicating mining activities since pre-Inca times.

¹⁵ Pedro de la Gasca ([9/25/1548] in *GP* 1:124; [1/28/1549] in *GP* 1:152).

¹⁶ In Staller and Stross (2013:79).

¹⁷ Pedro de la Gasca ([5/2/1549] in *GP* 1:190).

of the transatlantic slave trade. In Peru, highland Andean populations found that they could resist certain kinds of tributary labor by arguing that service outside their “natural environment” (*naturaleza*) was inherently harmful to them. Being sent to cultivate coca leaf in the hot, humid lowlands caused them to become sick and die, just as labor in frigid mountaintop mines would. By 1550, the Spaniards were beginning to think in terms of highland and lowland domains in Peru as they tried to argue for configurations of enslaved and tributary labor that would build the colonial economy. Royal officials actively promoted the large-scale import of African slaves for coastal plantation labor, as well as for mining in the humid lowlands, “where the blacks do good work.”¹⁸ For example, as he was negotiating with Sayri Tupa to leave Vilcabamba, the Marqués de Cañete asked Philip II for permission to import 2,000 black slaves to the gold mines of Chachapoyas and other lowland areas.¹⁹ The sheer scale of this request indicates the cruel reality of the working conditions there, and helps to explain why hundreds of enslaved Africans fought for freedom alongside Francisco Hernández Girón during his rebellion. The constant need to import slaves reflects high mortality rates, as well as the fact that many slaves escaped and found refuge in the countryside, stoking Spanish fears of a black Peru. In 1563, the Conde de Nieva argued against increasing the number of African slaves in the highland mines, claiming that there were already more blacks than Spaniards in the Andes.²⁰

As officials argued that enslaved Afro-Peruvians were best suited for lowland toil, they embraced the policy that highland Andeans not be sent to work in climates that were different from where they lived. Pedro de la Gasca tried to stop the *encomenderos* of Cuzco from taking their tributary populations from their homes and “natural environment” to labor in the Potosí silver mines. Prominent Spaniards immediately resisted the restriction of this profitable practice.²¹ When Philip II came to power and had to confront Spain’s unsustainable debts, viceroys in Peru were still trying to find a way to incorporate indigenous labor in the mines and coca plantations, arguing that service in “local” mines could be humane and sustainable.²² By

¹⁸ Marqués de Cañete ([9/15/1556] in *GP* 1:291).

¹⁹ Marqués de Cañete ([12/8/1557] in *GP* 1:317).

²⁰ [8/31/1563] in *GP* 1:529.

²¹ Pedro de la Gasca ([9/21/1549] in *GP* 1:227). Toledo ([11/30/1573] in *GP* 5:255) later noted that there were 1,000 *yanacunas* from Cuzco working full-time at Potosí when he arrived, but he did not remove them “because these are the masters with whom the other Indians come to be useful.”

²² Marqués de Cañete ([9/15/1556] in *GP* 1:291).

the 1560s, their tone had become more coldly realistic and openly racialized. In 1561, the Conde de Nieva sent an additional 1,500 Andean workers to Porco and Potosí to increase production, and he argued that the Crown should reverse its ban on involuntary service in the mines.²³ The viceroy observed that the small Spanish population living in Peru “would die from hunger before taking a pick in hand,” and he expressed his fear of African slaves. He concluded that there was no choice but to use Andean labor, “and no one would think to believe that they would go to work voluntarily, because by nature they are all lazy.”²⁴

Like his father, Philip II initially resisted the large-scale use of compulsory mine service, even as his viceroys warned him that the mines served as the economic foundation for Spanish Peru. Without mine revenues, “all the Spaniards would leave the land, because they would not have what they need to maintain themselves, or for trade goods to come.”²⁵ By the mid-1560s, there was widespread agreement that the mines were vital for the continued Spanish occupation of the Andes, and mining labor became a central theme in debates over Spanish sovereignty and indigenous rights. Pro-native writers like Bartolomé de Las Casas viewed the cessation of mining as an important step in returning Peru to Inca rule, whereas proponents of Spanish imperial growth argued that Philip II had a responsibility to keep Potosí’s silver flowing toward Catholic projects. As Philip’s finances weakened and the empire teetered, he sent Francisco de Toledo to determine a course of action that would increase the production of revenue while balancing his moral obligations as a Catholic king with those he had toward his Andean subjects. Ensuring humane treatment for his subjects required good policies that would be carried out consistently, but those practices needed to

²³ Conde de Nieva ([5/4/1562] in *GP* 1:454).

²⁴ Conde de Nieva ([8/31/1563] in *GP* 1:529). Philip II adopted this argument in his instructions to Francisco de Toledo (Cole 1985:5). Juan de Matienzo’s influential *Gobierno del Perú* articulated a comparable three-race vision for the Andes, with the “Indian” population needing to be worked hard to keep them from lapsing into ritual drinking and idolatry. See Bethencourt (2013) for a broader perspective on race-making in Western history.

²⁵ Lope García de Castro ([1/12/1566] in *GP* 3:152). He continued, saying that “the second business from which many in this kingdom make their living is the coca that they carry to sell at the mines . . . if this second business were to cease, so would the mines.” Spaniards understood coca use to be an impediment to evangelical work, but they made sure that it was widely available and cheap for indigenous porters and miners (Covey n.d.).

sustain Spanish enterprises in the Andes, so that the king would have the funds he needed to face his Protestant and Muslim enemies in Europe and the Mediterranean.

Commensal Invaders

The impressive mining profits that began to flow out of the Spanish colony in Peru paralleled a more subtle form of colonization that was transforming Andean landscapes. Plants, animals, and microbes from the Old World were entering the Andes for the first time, brought by conquistadores and colonists. The infectious diseases that had ravaged Pizarro's early expeditions had raced ahead of the conquistadores, spreading across the Andes and shaking the foundations of the Inca Empire before the Spaniards arrived with their horses and attack dogs. As new Spanish towns were settled in Peru, the colonists soon brought wheat, cattle, and pigs to the Pacific coast. They began to establish cash crops like sugar, olives, and grapes soon after, and there were prospects of handsome profits for those who could find the right arrangements of soil, climate, water, and labor.

The process of transplanting Old World agriculture to the Andes took time, and not just because of the environmental differences with the tropical Americas, where other Spanish colonization was taking place. In the devastating upheaval of the Spanish civil wars in Peru, many of the advances made to establish Old World plants and animals were undone. For years, rival Spanish forces roamed the rural Andes, plundering local supplies and leaving indigenous communities short of food and vulnerable to disease. After defeating Gonzalo Pizarro, Pedro de la Gasca noted the ruin of the countryside, although he also gave an account of the growing herds of European animals in Lima. Pigs and chickens, which reproduce quickly, were already common and affordable, although cattle and European sheep were still costly.²⁶ European livestock were still being introduced into many highland areas in the 1550s, and Old World animals fetched exorbitant prices in Potosí and other remote mining centers.²⁷

²⁶ Pedro de la Gasca ([5/2/1549] in *GP* 1:182–183). There were 4,000 cattle in the city's territory (cost: 70–80 *castellanos*), as well as 8,000 goats (12–13 *castellanos*), 300 sheep (35 *castellanos*), 14,000 pigs (11–12 pesos), and abundant chickens (1 ducat).

²⁷ See Covey (n.d.) for a review of changing foodways in early colonial Cuzco.

Spaniards saw the introduction of their food and drink as essential to their Christian conquest of the Andes, an important way to separate themselves from “Indians.”²⁸ They also viewed the domestic production of familiar Iberian crops in that light. Spanish writers described Andean lands as extremely fertile, so that Spanish seeds would produce abundant crops and plants of miraculous size. In 1539, Cuzco’s bishop, Vicente de Valverde, wrote that wheat and barley were already under cultivation, with extraordinary results: “I saw a tuft from a single grain of wheat, which produced 360 stalks with their spikes, and the grains on the spikes [were] so large that they broke the sheaths and fell out of them.” A decade later, Francisco López de Gómara reported that “the livestock multiply in like manner: a goat gives birth to five young . . . and if it had not been for the civil wars, there would already be infinite numbers of mares, sheep, cows, donkeys, and mules.”²⁹ As an old man, the mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega claimed that the first endives and spinach cultivated in Lima grew so tall that a man could barely reach up to touch the shoots. Horses could not ride through the thickets of garden vegetables, and other crops grew abundantly, reaching “monstrous size.”³⁰ There was a heroic and even competitive air to the introduction of Old World domesticates and technologies, which many Spaniards pursued as a royal service that might be rewarded.

Garcilaso de la Vega was a young man in Cuzco when the civil wars died down and European plants and animals began to appear on lands that just decades earlier had been the property of Inca emperors. Around 1550, he went with a group of other Spanish and mestizo boys from Cuzco to watch a Spaniard yoke his oxen to a plough for the first time. The Incas of the city gathered to see one of their irrigated terrace plots worked in this way, fascinated by the spectacle of a Spaniard driving exotic beasts on their lands. Though they were impressed, the Incas of Cuzco also murmured that the Spaniards tilled the land this way because they were too lazy to do the work themselves. By that time, Spaniards who owned garden plots had instructed their Andean servants to plant Old World fruits, vegetables, herbs, and even flowers. The warm, irrigated Yucay Valley—the former estate of Huayna Capac and Francisco Pizarro—became a sought-after place, where Cuzco’s leading Spaniards and Incas maintained gardens and orchards.

²⁸ Earle (2012); Covey (n.d.).

²⁹ López de Gómara (1884:278 [1552]).

³⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega (1966:602 [1609, bk. 9, chap. 29]).

Garcilaso de la Vega recalled the first appearance of Iberian foods as a significant event, as foods from a world away arrived in Cuzco and were distributed through the social networks of the leading Spaniards. When a friend of his father's sent the first grapes to the city, grown on lands lying to the south, the chronicler was sent as an "ambassador," with two indigenous pages, to carry bowls of fruit to the houses of his father's friends and allies. Around that time, the royal treasurer García de Melo sent three stalks of asparagus to the house, which became the centerpiece for a dinner party. The chronicler's father invited seven or eight of his closest friends into his chambers, where he grilled the asparagus over a brazier. He broke apart two of the stalks with his fingers and divided them among the guests, who dressed the tiny pieces with oil and vinegar and nibbled at them "as if it had been the phoenix bird." Asking his guests' forgiveness, Garcilaso de la Vega's father ate the third stalk himself, and the chronicler recalled that he was not invited to taste the Spanish delicacy, even though he waited on the men at the table.³¹ Stories like these demonstrate how quickly the values of different plants and animals changed from symbolically charged tools for alliance-building to abundant markers of Spanish identity.

Although slave labor sustained many of the large estates of colonial Peru, especially on the coast, indigenous Andeans were responsible for introducing foreign plants and animals onto their own productive landscapes. Spaniards did not understand the region's unpredictable seasons and variable soils, and they were largely content to leave the oversight of agrarian production to the local elites. Tribute records from the late 1540s ordered that many Andean communities raise chickens, pigs, and wheat for their *encomenderos*, alongside more familiar local plants and animals. These were taken directly to the Spaniard's house, and it was only in the 1550s that a market for these goods began to develop. There were significant price fluctuations at this time, in part because of agrarian disruptions caused by the last major Spanish rebellion, and in part because speculators flooded some production areas. Royal accounting records in Cuzco reveal spikes in the prices of maize, wheat, and coca leaf until the early 1560s.³² As increasing stability and the booming

³¹ Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609, bk. 9, chaps. 25, 29, 30]). Spaniards also continued to consume Andean foods, some of which (e.g., the potato) circulated into the subsistence economies and cuisines of Europe and elsewhere. Crosby (1972) provides a classic overview of this "Columbian exchange."

³² As Covey (n.d., table 3) notes, maize sold for 1.6 pesos per bushel in 1549–1551, a price that rose to 2.3 in 1561–1562 and dropped to 1.0–1.5 in the Toledan *tasas*. Wheat cost 2.1–3.2 pesos per bushel in 1554–1557, dropping to 2.0 in 1561–1562, and to 1.0–1.5

mining economy made commodity agriculture more attractive, Spaniards sought lands and labor that could generate profits. This was important for new colonists who did not hold *encomiendas*, but it was a surprisingly difficult process that required the cooperation of indigenous noblemen.

Lands without Measure

A generation after the first Spaniards had arrived in Cuzco, almost all lands in the former Inca heartland remained in the hands of native people. Royal officials allocated Andean labor through *encomienda* grants, but land itself remained the property of tributary communities, and the Spaniards could not easily measure or alienate it. Those fortunate enough to hold an *encomienda*—less than a quarter of all Spaniards living in Peru in the mid-1550s—were able to live richly, relying on local *kurakas* to manage the production and delivery of tribute to their homes. The growing population that had no *encomienda*, which included thousands of poor soldiers who flocked to Peru to fight in the civil wars, faced more limited access to land and labor. This is one reason the Spaniards were willing to rebel against royal attempts to curtail indigenous slavery and uncompensated services.³³

In Cuzco, almost all Spaniards were eager to acquire productive lands that they could pass on to their heirs, and the legal means of doing so depended on interpretations of Inca-era land tenure.³⁴ One way to acquire quality farmland was to purchase it from indigenous nobles looking to sell plots

in the early 1570s. Coca leaf reached 5.3 pesos per basket (*cesto*) in 1554–1557, dropping dramatically, to 2.0–3.3 in 1561–1562, and to 1.0–1.8 in the Toledan records. When Francisco de Toledo issued more standard tribute levies (*tasas*) across Peru a decade later, he fixed the market value of tribute commodities at significantly lower levels. See Moore (2010) on the broader role of commodity production in European capitalism at this time. See Assadourian (1992) and Stern (1993) for other perspectives on the emergence of commodity markets in the colonial Andes.

³³ Archival documents on the Cuzco region (AGI Lima 110) detail the situation around this time. The Crown managed numerous *repartimientos*, especially in coca-producing areas, and paid incomes to several dozen Spaniards, Inca nobles, Catholic entities, and royal officials.

³⁴ Charles V had ordered Francisco Pizarro in 1534 to provide Spanish settlers in Peru with land for house plots (*solares*) and units of different sizes for cavalry (*caballería*) and foot soldiers (*peonía*) (Solano 1996:108 [1534]), but by the end of the Spanish civil wars in Peru, few of the original conquistadores were left.

that they declared to have owned since Inca times. Noble men and women in the Inca heartland successfully claimed named plots of land as their personal property, and some chose to sell it to Spaniards. For example, in 1554, an *encomendero* named Pedro de Orúe purchased a plot called Guanauquia in the Jaquijahuana Valley near Cuzco. The sellers were don Cristóbal Toca Sunouiro and don Francisco Alas Nasqui Atau, the caciques of a rural Inca village called Sanco. Forty years after the purchase, Orúe's heirs were not certain how large the plot was, or what it was used for. They could only generally describe the boundaries of their field.³⁵

A second way for Spaniards to obtain land legally in the mid-1500s was to determine that it had been ownerless since Inca times, either because the Inca owner was no longer living, or because the land had formerly belonged to the Sun or other *huacas*.³⁶ This could not be accomplished without the testimony of indigenous elites, whose noble status and Christian identity granted them the unique authority to establish land tenure precedents during legal proceedings. Spanish attempts to appropriate fertile valley-bottom fields and irrigated terraces did not go unchallenged, and lawsuits often pitted the testimony of Inca noblemen against that of local caciques, whose communities tried to defend their access or control. One example of this took place in 1555, when the chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega's father was the *corregidor* of Cuzco. A Spaniard named Martín de Meneses went before the municipal council to request vacant lands that the Inca Huascar had developed in the neighboring Sacred Valley. When officials collected testimony in the field, a local cacique named don Diego confirmed that those lands had never been cultivated until Huascar brought in tributary labor from the provinces to move the course of the river. After this, "they made the terraced field and from then on maize was sown there for the Inca." After the fall of the Incas, he said, the provincial laborers returned to their homes, and the fields lay vacant. The Inca lord of the nearby town of Calca challenged this account, stating that the lands belonged to his people, a claim that Spanish officials ultimately rejected.³⁷

³⁵ AGI Escribanía 506A [1594] f. 48.

³⁶ In this latter case, there seems to be an association between Inca religious lands and reallocation to Catholic religious orders.

³⁷ María Rostworowski (1962, Manuscrito 1) published parts of this case. The complete document (AGN Causas Civiles L.4 C.26 [1559]) includes a much broader set of witnesses, including elderly Inca men, prominent caciques, and several Spaniards. The witness don Diego had previously been in the *encomienda* of Francisco Hernández Girón, which became part of Beatriz Coya's estate. The Calca natives and their cacique don



Figure 11.2. Rural lands near Maras, where Spaniards were claiming “vacant” Inca lands during the 1550s.

Other proceedings of this sort took place during the late 1550s, when Cuzco’s municipal council was transferring large expanses of fertile farmland to influential Spaniards. Near the end of 1557, a group of men gathered in a muddy wheat field near the town of Maras to work out the fine points of Inca history on the rural landscape (Figure 11.2). The local *encomendero*, Pedro de Orúe, had presented a petition to the city council on December 16 of that year, requesting 100 *fanegadas* of rain-fed farmlands that his *encomienda* workers had been planting with wheat for eight years.³⁸ He claimed that the field had once belonged to the emperor Tupa Inca Yupanqui, but said that it had not been farmed for more than forty years.³⁹ The council sent

Diego Ataurimache were in the *encomienda* of Hernando Pizarro, which was soon taken from him and given to Arias Maldonado.

³⁸ The *fanegada* was a rough unit of measure, the area that could be sown with a bushel of a given seed.

³⁹ AGI Escribanía 506A f. 113. A copy of the original proceeding appears in documents presented by Orúe’s heirs to fight against the family’s lands near Maras being taken as part of the Marquisate of Oropesa, a fief that Philip III granted to Ana María Loyola y Coya, the daughter of Beatriz Coya and Martín García de Loyola. Although Orúe called

a neighboring Spaniard, Alonso de Loayza, and the royal treasurer, García de Melo, to visit the lands and interview the local population about their tenure there. Don Joan, the *principal* of Maras, appeared before them and testified through an interpreter that the lands called Tiobamba had indeed belonged to Tupa Inca Yupanqui, who had had retainers (*yanakuna*) from his country palace at Chinchero cultivate maize for him there. When asked how the lands had been used since the conquest, don Joan said that the Spaniards had brought their oxen onto the plain to plough the land and sow wheat, but that no one other than Orúe had worked those lands.⁴⁰ In addition to don Joan, the Spaniards summoned several other indigenous men to determine the history of Tiobamba. Don Felipe, the Inca cacique of Urquillos, was a Christian and could therefore swear to the truth of his recollections, but several unbaptized informants also appeared and gave testimony. The city council found that the lands of Tiobamba were vacant, and Pedro de Orúe was permitted to take possession of them shortly afterward.⁴¹

The continuing relevance of Inca land tenure preserved the power of older elite men in different ways. A few prominent leaders—such as the Cañari cacique don Francisco Chilche and the Inca don Alonso Titu Atauche—appeared in numerous Spanish land proceedings, suggesting that they had built relationships with the Spaniards and were understood to be knowledgeable and cooperative witnesses. Other caciques appeared incidentally in proceedings involving lands near their villages. These men clearly represented their personal and community interests, but they could also advocate for positions that favored their *encomenderos*, by extension benefiting themselves. An example of this occurred in 1566 on some hillside lands to the east of Maras. Alonso de Loaysa, whose *encomienda* population lived in nearby communities, requested title to 100 *fanegadas* of vacant lands, presenting two of his tributary Ayarmacaca caciques as witnesses. The men testified in the field that “they have on that hillside of Siquillapata up to 38 *topos* of land, on which they used to cultivate maize in the time of the Incas.” Even though

Tiobamba a “piece” (*pedazo*) of land, its size would have been about 700 acres by the standards used at the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰ AGI Escribanía 506A., f. 114–114v.

⁴¹ Orúe made a second petition for nearby lands in early 1558, making the same claims about the vacancy of the lands of Chungarbamba, Totobamba, Guamantiana, Mapanacho, Caquia, and Quillilibamba. The Spaniards who took local testimony interviewed Inca nobles, as well as local Andean men, most of whom had no Christian name.

they had not worked those lands since Inca times, the Ayarmacas requested permission to farm there. Once the municipal council granted the lands to Loaysa, he let them have the 38 *topos*, and left it to them to set up the appropriate boundary markers.⁴² The *encomendero* increased his landholdings, and his laborers also gained access to highly productive valley-bottom lands located next to his.

Andean elites participated in colonial legal processes as more than just auxiliaries of estate-building Spaniards. Christian lords produced wills, bought and sold property, and helped to protect community resources by giving sworn testimony describing Inca-era possession of clearly bounded and named lands. By the time Philip II convened the Junta Magna to review his policies for governing Peru, there were well-established precedents regarding native landholding rights, which seem to have had royal support. In 1567, the king sent a letter to the leading Spaniards of Cuzco regarding several small plots of rain-fed farmland in the uplands to the west of the city. A community of non-royal Incas called Equeco had petitioned the Crown through their Inca *encomendera*, doña Beatriz Coya, presenting a claim to have possessed “some lands called Pumacallanga, Ccoquisieta, and Siquipuyqyo, which the Incas, lords of these kingdoms, gave them.” The people of Equeco claimed their lands, not on the basis of their current service to Huayna Capac’s great-granddaughter, but rather through their ancient status as vassals of her imperial ancestors. After the conquest, Spaniards and other indigenous people entered the lands to cultivate them without a title, and the Cuzco city council designated the lands as vacant. The case might have been of special interest to the king, since the lands in question were part of the estate that doña Beatriz Coya would bring to her marriage with her cousin don Felipe Quispi Titu, a key bargaining chip in the negotiations to bring Titu Cusi Yupanqui out of Vilcabamba. The king sent clear instructions to his Peruvian officials: “[W]e order that you do not disturb [the Equecos] . . . and neither take nor distribute their lands, nor make any grievance with them over it.”⁴³ This was done, reinforcing the ownership of the contested plots and setting a precedent for future legal proceedings.

⁴² AGN Titulos de Propiedad, L.1, C.3 f. 11-13v [1566].

⁴³ Títulos de Equecco Chacan [1567] f. 5-5v. These were part of the estate that Beatriz Coya inherited from her father, Sayri Tupa.

Reducing Unruly Landscapes

As Spaniards reached beyond their towns to grasp at the resources of the Inca landscape, they contributed to “a world of lawsuits,” in which multiple parties presented convincing testimony that their ancestors had owned or worked the same plot of land.⁴⁴ The early land disputes in rural Cuzco demonstrated an inconvenient fact for the Spaniards: legal precedent favored the continuity of Inca-era practices, which focused on named plots that only indigenous elites knew how to trace out and measure. Well into the 1560s, the indigenous *topo* remained the main unit of land measurement, a size unit that might have reflected the amount of land needed to feed a household in Inca times.⁴⁵ Agrarian potential would have varied from field to field, and it was hard to translate the *topo* into the Iberian *fanegada*, which was also initially a variable unit of land.⁴⁶ Spanish officials legally approved indigenous delimitations of named plots in *topo* units, while the legal theorists of the early 1560s tended to refer to lands as fields (*chacaras*) without reference to any units.⁴⁷ Polo de Ondegardo, a prominent official in Cuzco at that time, advocated using old Inca men, who understood Inca law and customs, to carry out land measurements. Spaniards could assemble the *kurakas* and old men of each village, trace the limits of named fields, and clearly mark their boundaries. Such proceedings occurred in a piecemeal fashion, but a formal Inca-directed land survey was never implemented.⁴⁸

Andean elite men were still guarding the economic secrets of the rural landscape when Francisco de Toledo reached Peru in 1569. Philip II had instructed his new viceroy to resettle native populations to promote their

⁴⁴ Ondegardo (1917:155 [c. 1564]).

⁴⁵ Rostworowski (1978) follows Garcilaso de la Vega, but it should be noted that the earliest uses of the term *topo* are as a unit of distance rather than area. Land measurements in *topos* do not show up in the archival records from the Cuzco region until the second half of the sixteenth century. The *fanegada* appears in several Cuzco-area documents from the late 1550s onward (e.g., Burns 1999:49–50; Rostworowski 1962). In 1560, an Inca witness named Gualpa Rimache testified that a 10-*topo* maize plot called Colcabamba was the equivalent of 12 *fanegadas* (AGN, Derecho Indígena, L.31, C.614 f. 29v–30v [1560]).

⁴⁶ It should be noted that this problem of measurement was widespread across Spain’s diverse realms.

⁴⁷ For example, AGN Causas Cíviles L.13 C.66, f. 16v–17v [1567]. Polo de Ondegardo (1940 [1561]), Hernando de Santillán (1879 [1563]), and Juan de Matienzo (1967 [1567]) all describe lands as *chacaras*, although Matienzo mentions the term *topo* as an undefined appropriate measure for indigenous lands.

⁴⁸ Ondegardo (1917:155 [c. 1564]).

spiritual and social well-being, and during his residency in Lima, Toledo organized a general inspection of Andean populations.⁴⁹ At that time, he weighed his royal instructions alongside the opinions of leading Spaniards in Peru, and he advocated an administrative framework that would preserve elements of the Inca imperial order. The visit was intended to collect population counts and assign clear tribute demands that corresponded to the kinds of lands where native Andeans lived. The new tribute rates also specified the amount that priests, royal officials, and *encomenderos* would receive from the total sum delivered by each *repartimiento*. To determine how resettlement might be conducted alongside the census tabulation and tax levy, Toledo relocated the indigenous population of Lima into a planned neighborhood called the Cercado de Santiago, which he placed under the authority of the newly arrived Jesuits.⁵⁰

When he entered the Andean highlands in October 1570, Toledo was still working out the details for reducing dispersed native settlements into communities that would be easier to govern. Although he had sent inspectors from Lima to begin the process of consolidating royal control over indigenous populations, the viceroy finally gained a firsthand measure of the land and the challenges he faced in organizing native labor to squeeze new revenue from it. In Toledo's eyes, earlier Spanish claims of Andean fertility were overblown: "[T]he [economic] base of the land is meager, since the greater part of it is barren, [consisting] of sandy deserts and steep mountains and frigid lands." The viceroy was already convinced of the natural laziness of native Andeans, a trait that the race-making supporters of Spanish empire attributed to all "Indian" people. In the mountain valleys where agriculture was possible, Toledo saw that good farmland was limited, but he claimed that a lack of perseverance kept available lands out of cultivation.⁵¹ From an agrarian perspective, his challenge was to bring more arable lands under direct Spanish control, and to coerce Andean people to work harder on them. Anyone who has traversed the Andes would appreciate the viceroy's growing sense of how immense and broken the mountains were, and how well they could hide people, resources, and ritual practices. The landscape and its powerful places quickly came to occupy a spot on Toledo's growing list of tyrannical enemies.

⁴⁹ Merluzzi (2014:253).

⁵⁰ García Hurtado de Mendoza ([12/27/1590] in *MP* 4:645).

⁵¹ Toledo ([3/1/1572] in *GP* 4:44).

The viceroy soon encountered another impediment to his consolidation scheme. His route into the highlands followed the old Inca road through the Lima uplands of Huarochirí, where he personally supervised the resettlement of the local indigenous population. This proceeding seems to have proceeded with limited native resistance, but after Toledo crossed over the Andean passes, he entered a more actively contested landscape, where carefully documented precedents threatened his intended reforms. Arriving in the Jauja Valley, Toledo encountered an indigenous population that had assembled to challenge his remaking of their world. After decades as loyal Spanish subjects, the *kurakas* of the Wanka people appeared before the viceroy, armed not with weapons, but with legal documents that they had compiled over the years to defend their lands and privileges. Presented with decades of conflicting local decrees and precedents, the viceroy cut through the tangle of unresolved claims. He ordered the Wankas to collect all their legal records pertaining to land tenure and present them to him. After looking them over, Toledo determined that many of the claims were frivolous. He had them thrown onto a fire, and ordered the Wankas to cease producing legal records. As the Wanka elite watched their carefully constructed legal histories burn, they must have understood that their status as Christian subjects might no longer protect their Inca-era privileges. As we saw in chapter 10, Toledo was already taking steps to attack Inca precedent and exclude native communities from direct access to the Spanish legal system.

After a few preliminary attempts to resettle native populations and establish a new basis for land and labor practices, Toledo articulated his ambitious plan to move more than a million native Andeans to planned towns, where they could quickly be transformed into communities of Christian Indians. While still on the road from Lima to Cuzco in 1570, the viceroy declared that the resettlement of the native population was essential “for the good government of these kingdoms, the well-being and conservation of their natives, and so that with the greatest convenience they can be indoctrinated and taught the things of our holy Catholic faith, natural law, and good social practices.”⁵² This concentration of native populations, or *reducción*, involved the forced resettlement of rural communities into new Spanish-style towns that were built on a grid pattern, with a Catholic church in the center

⁵² Toledo ([12/11/1570] in *Disposiciones gubernativas para el virreinato del Perú*, 1:65).



Figure 11.3. View of the modern town of Huarcocondo, a *reducción* settlement located seventeen miles (27 km) to the northwest of Cuzco.

(Figure 11.3).⁵³ Some limited efforts at this sort of resettlement had been attempted before the 1570s, but Toledo proposed the wholesale movement of the scattered native population.⁵⁴ He issued clear instructions to guide the resettlement process across Peru, although these were not implemented consistently, and resettlement was still underway when his tenure as viceroy ended.⁵⁵

⁵³ See Mumford (2012) for a recent overview of the Toledan resettlement. Wernke (2015) offers a detailed archaeological case study on how the *reducciones* altered a landscape already changed by Inca rule and early Spanish evangelical efforts.

⁵⁴ Damián de la Bandera conducted resettlement in the Yucay Valley when it was reallocated to Sayri Tupa (Villanueva Urteaga 1970), which helped to separate the laboring population of his *repartimiento* from the private properties that other Incas and Spaniards owned in the valley. Juan de Matienzo (1967 [1567]) advocated for the establishment of gridded indigenous towns that would have municipal governments structured like those of Spaniards.

⁵⁵ Toledo ([1569–1570] in *Disposiciones gubernativas*, 1:33–36). In 1580, Toledo wrote ([5/30/1580] in *Disposiciones gubernativas*, 2:415) that his inspectors had announced the new towns and designated their sites, but that the process of construction and resettlement was incomplete.

Toledo's rhetoric of spiritual liberation through physical labor fit neatly within the context of the broader Spanish anxieties that native control over the Andean countryside impeded efforts at colonizing and converting Peru. For one thing, *encomienda* grants left significant power in the hands of local *kurakas*, a group that Toledo blamed for hiding indigenous labor and resisting Christian indoctrination. Spaniards were also actively keeping native laborers in remote places where they could not be easily converted. In the early 1570s, there were 800 Spaniards living in Cuzco, but this number included only sixty-three *encomenderos*, who were responsible for the religious instruction of an estimated tributary population of 77,000 households.⁵⁶ As other Spaniards acquired farmland and pastures, they placed slaves or *yanacona* retainers on them, making little effort to force Christian doctrine on them, despite Church ordinances requiring that they do so. With so many native people scattered across such difficult terrain, and few religious men to minister to them, Toledo viewed the "old Incas" who knew the secrets of the landscape—as a productive and ritual place—as his direct enemies. They preserved Inca-era rituals and encouraged their subjects to venerate their ancestors and the *huacas* that marked local landscapes. Priests, Toledo noted, visited so rarely that the local people could not retain what they were taught: "[T]hey were like parrots, with no spiritual foundation or roots, no intelligence about Christian doctrine or what it was to pray."⁵⁷

One of the places that Toledo personally resettled after he had reached Cuzco was the *repartimiento* of doña Beatriz Coya, which he awarded to Martín García de Loyola after the two were married. On October 21, 1572—just weeks after executing Tupa Amaru in Cuzco—the viceroy granted the estates of doña Beatriz Coya to her husband to reward him for capturing her uncle in Vilcabamba. The *repartimiento* was one of the richest in Peru, and it included five communities in the Jaquijahuana Valley, which were resettled in a town called Nuestra Señora del Valle de Anta.⁵⁸ The population of the new *reducción* town included the people of Equeco, who had recently defended their land boundaries by documenting their Inca-era practices. Another six Jaquijahuana Valley towns serving Beatriz Coya were sent to live in San Nicolás de Zurite, while in the Sacred Valley eight towns

⁵⁶ López de Velasco (1894:477 [1574]). Several of the Cuzco *encomenderos* listed in the Toledan *tasas* were of Inca descent, including Beatriz Coya and Carlos Inca.

⁵⁷ Toledo (1867:13 [1582]).

⁵⁸ Covey and Amado (2008 [1572 f. 443v-445v]). Toledo had already left Cuzco and wrote from Checacupe, in the upper Vilcanota Valley.

were moved to live together in Pisac. The Yucay Valley and nearby towns like Maras had been resettled in 1558, when the former estate of Huayna Capac and Francisco Pizarro was granted to Sayri Tupa, and those communities were not altered.⁵⁹

The reduction of doña Beatriz Coya's *repartimiento* exposes the many flaws in the design and execution of the viceroy's scheme to transform wayward Incas into disciplined Christian "Indians."⁶⁰ Her tributary communities near Cuzco reflected a rich array of Inca heartland groups, including ethnic Incas, local farmers and herders, and retainers (*yanakuna*) who had been resettled on royal estates in Inca times. In the Yucay Valley, the reclassification of the retainer population attempted to create "Indian" communities from households hailing from dozens of Inca provinces.⁶¹ Individuals from the same town had different ethnic identities, and some men and women enjoyed tribute exemptions and other privileges. The new Christian towns threw these diverse populations together, and the process of resettlement often produced internal divides based on the place of origin of the different groups forced to live together. In many instances, widely dispersed groups of farmers and herders were sent to live alongside the populations of established towns. The different ancestral groups (*ayllus*) living in the new towns tended to retain access to their old lands, even though Toledo had intended to implement a wholesale redistribution of lands to detach people from familiar ritual places and landmarks signaling the migrations of their first ancestors. For example, when the Equecos were moved into the same *reducción* town where the people of Anta already lived, they were not given productive valley-bottom maize lands, but instead continued to farm the ancestral hillside tuber plots they had successfully defended in 1567. Inca legacies remained powerful on local landscapes, and many of the resettled groups continued to be in daily contact with their old *huacas*, whom they supplicated for help as they produced food and reproduced their culture and community.

Something that is not obvious from Toledo's resettlement of doña Beatriz Coya's *repartimiento* is that tributary units could cut across multiple towns. Some towns to the west of Cuzco were exclusively occupied by households serving doña Beatriz Coya, whereas others were split between multiple

⁵⁹ Villanueva Urteaga (1970) published details of the 1558 resettlement.

⁶⁰ Covey and Quave (2017) discuss this variation in greater detail.

⁶¹ Covey and Elson (2007).

repartimientos. For example, everyone in Santiago de Oropesa (Yucay), where the Cañari leader don Francisco Chilche was a leading cacique, served in the *repartimiento* of Beatriz Coya, but her tributaries in the nearby town of San Francisco de Maras had neighbors who served Pedro de Orúe and other *encomenderos*. While multiple Inca-era groups were supposed to function as a single community for purposes of municipal government and church life, their landholding and tribute were managed through *repartimientos* that might include groups living in several other towns in a region. Some *repartimientos* had very large populations spread across a diverse set of farming and herding resources, making them more resilient. Others were small and reliant on a restricted set of lands to make a living and pay their annual tributes.⁶²

Toledo's efforts to make Andean landscapes easier for Spaniards to understand and exploit extended to the new tribute assignments (*tasas*) that were introduced as widespread resettlement took place across the highlands. These levies acknowledged Andean diversity, but in a way that promoted specific commodities within a tributary ecology. The crops that were commonly prescribed as tribute in the Cuzco region included maize, wheat, and potatoes, which had become cash crops grown across a range of elevations and microenvironments. These crops satisfied Spanish values as plants used to make, or take the place of, bread. In contrast, the *tasas* excluded other important Andean crops, including quinoa, tarwi, and oca.⁶³ In areas with large swaths of high grassland, herd animals were included as a category of tribute. Coca leaf was the principal crop for the *tasas* of warm and humid lowland valleys. These categories of tribute in kind constituted a great simplification of Andean ecology for Spanish administrators, and they required the populations of *repartimientos* to produce surpluses that favored distinct land categories and labor practices. As tributary communities were pressed into prescribed patterns of commodity production, Spaniards who held lands nearby were intent on having low-cost access to indigenous labor to produce the same crops.⁶⁴

⁶² This variation can be seen in other documented cases of reduction, including the Condesuyo region (Ulloa 1908) and Huamanga (Toledo [12/11/1570] in *Disposiciones gubernativas*, 1:65–68). Small *repartimientos* were probably more vulnerable to changes in population size, since population counts and tribute levies were not regularly reassessed, as Toledo had ordered (Covey, Childs, and Kippen 2011).

⁶³ See Covey (n.d.).

⁶⁴ In some areas, productive labor was needed year-round, and landowners relied on retainers, whom they called *yanaconas* in imitation of the servant population of Inca royal households. Hundreds of *yanaconas* worked the gardens, orchards, and maize lands of the

The *tasas* promoted new agrarian practices by narrowing tributary categories and demanding large annual payments in silver. Most groups obtained silver by selling additional staple goods, and by sending their men, women, and children to perform wage labor in Spanish fields, homes, workshops, and mines. As noted already, Toledo adopted the racialized logic of his predecessors, arguing that Andean people were naturally lazy and needed to be assigned constant labor to keep new Christians from sliding back into their old ways. Even though the viceroy called such a policy tyranny when the Incas used it, he ordered that one-seventh of the population be made available to work for Spaniards, a practice that he placed under the rubric of *mita*, in imitation of Inca practices. Toledo ordered that Andean workers be paid—a policy that royal officials had struggled to implement for decades—and he consulted with Cuzco’s municipal council to design a pay scale for different classes of work by children, adults, and the elderly.⁶⁵ Even assuming that the Spaniards paid their workers as ordered, every peso of wage labor that could contribute to paying a group’s *tasa* was offset by the disruption to local labor networks.

Although he introduced a system of rotational service that seemed to have an Inca basis, Toledo ordered that participation rates for the *mita* be calculated from the census figures compiled by his general inspection. Inca-era population counts were to be rejected, not only for the *mita* but also for determining tribute rates and land allocations. The viceroy argued that ancient precedents would harm groups whose populations had dropped since Inca times, while growing towns would end up evading their fair share of tribute.⁶⁶ The new ordinance seems strange in light of the broad decline of Andean population levels since the conquest. After all, the Spaniards had no

Yucay Valley (Covey and Amado 2008; Covey and Elson 2007), but they were also prevalent in herding areas near Cuzco. The large-scale production of wheat in places like Maras involved a few labor-intensive periods that conflicted with the agrarian schedules of nearby indigenous populations (see Covey and Quave 2017).

⁶⁵ The Cuzco uprising of Francisco Hernández Girón was partly driven by the order by the Audiencia of Lima in 1552 that abolished uncompensated personal services (Someda 2005:108; see AGI Justicia 475 [1562] f. 55–55v; [1553] f. 61). Toledo (1867:110–112 [1572 *Título XXIX*]) ordered a wage of 6 *tomines* for day laborers, and annual wages for laborers (12 pesos), herders (8 pesos), and domestic workers (12 pesos). Long-term workers were to receive clothing and some food assistance, too. Children serving in households were only to be given food and clothing, and elderly porters and gardeners would receive half the wage of workers aged 16 to 50.

⁶⁶ Toledo (1867:214 [1574 *Ordenanza XXIX*]).

independent way of determining Inca-era population sizes, and the caciques had no incentive to inflate numbers, thereby increasing their tribute levels and *mita* participation. The new rule makes more sense in light of Toledo's efforts to appropriate indigenous lands for Spanish use. In another ordinance, the viceroy ordered that the principle of equal taxation of indigenous subjects be extended to landholding. Arguing that demographic changes had led to unequal access to land, Toledo ordered the allocation of all lands of Andean tribute payers, noting that groups who saw their lands transferred to others might resist the move, claiming to have possessed them since Inca times. To inscribe these changes on the land itself, the viceroy ordered that old boundary markers be cast down and replaced with new ones, after which local officials could ignore indigenous lawsuits and disputes over land.⁶⁷ Toledo was unable to accomplish this overhaul of rural landholding while he was viceroy, but he managed to weaken existing precedents that respected communal land tenure as established by the Incas.

In his efforts to bring new order to the Andean landscape and its people, Toledo changed where indigenous people lived and how they worked, making the flow of tribute much easier for royal officials to supervise. Resettlement promoted a more commodity-based agricultural system and increased the flow of labor to mining and related enterprises, such as coca production, helping to boost the Crown's revenues over the years that followed. Toledo's new ordinances also helped officials to collect more taxes and fees, as well as large fines for those found to have violated the new rules. For example, local officials who reallocated the possessions of native *repartimientos* could be fined 1,000 pesos, roughly the equivalent of a year's royal income from a thousand households. The money flowing from ordinary Andean farmers and herders represented only a small percentage of the silver that reached Spain, but the new system made it easier to redirect native labor toward much more profitable ventures, especially mining.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Toledo (1867:215–216 [1574 *Ordenanza XXX*]).

⁶⁸ López de Velasco (1894:458 [1574]) gives a figure of approximately 300,000 tributary natives in the Audiencia de Lima around the time of Toledo's visit, "without the many who are hidden from the accounts and *tasas*." This would translate to about 300,000 pesos to the Crown annually, but the *encomenderos* did not always hand over all the funds. In 1572, Francisco de Toledo fined Pedro de Orúe for withholding tributes from his Maras *encomienda*, forcing him to sell a mill that he owned (AGN *Títulos de Propiedad*, L.7 C.139 [1630]).

Transforming the Mines

The Toledan overturning of early colonial settlement patterns and tributary practices occurred as the viceroy put Spanish towns in order and attended to reforms that would make mining more profitable. After he burned the legal documents that the Wankas presented to him in Jauja, Toledo continued to Huamanga, the first Spanish community on his highland inspection. As he developed and implemented an ambitious plan to transform the lives of native Andeans, Toledo also reorganized the Spanish population of Huamanga, giving special attention to the intensification of mercury mining, which would pay out handsome revenues to the Crown. The newly discovered method of mercury amalgamation made it possible to increase the amount of silver extracted from mined ore, although mercury's toxicity inflicted a horrible cost on the health of those forced to live and work around it. Toledo established a small settlement at Huancavelica to expand a mining industry that dated to pre-Inca times, a mine that became infamous over the centuries for its human toll and environmental devastation.⁶⁹

Although Toledo stopped in Cuzco for almost two years to attack and destroy lingering claims of Inca sovereignty, he never lost sight of what lay ahead when he journeyed to the Spanish towns in the great mining district of La Plata. As his scribes collected testimonies on Inca tyranny, Toledo ordered a demonstration of mercury amalgamation in Cuzco, which showed encouraging prospects for future silver production. But the viceroy understood that without sturdy bodies to enter the mountains and haul out the ore, no technological miracle could save Spanish imperial finances. To ensure a steady flow of low-wage labor at the mines, Toledo used his philosophical defense of Spanish sovereignty to concoct an arrangement that would resolve the labor problem in the Crown's favor.⁷⁰ He argued that the Incas had drawn rotations of labor tribute (*mit'a* or *mita*) from subject communities "to aid their armies when they went to tyrannize the land." Because Philip II was the legitimate sovereign in the Andes, Toledo argued that he "could relate the present government to the one the Incas had," as long as it did not

⁶⁹ Brown (2001); Robins (2011).

⁷⁰ While the viceroy was in Lima in 1570, he issued an opinion that compulsory indigenous labor could be used at the mine; and during the time Toledo was in Huamanga, Polo de Ondegardo described a rotational system that he had devised for doing so (Cole 1985:6–7).

contradict Christian principles.⁷¹ The viceroy announced that he would use the wage-labor rotation that he called *mita* to require thousands of highland households to serve in distant mines.⁷² For the sake of their moral arguments, Spaniards claimed that the labor rotation was humane, since it paid indigenous workers a nominal wage and drew on highlanders who could work in their “natural environment” under the oversight of royal officials. In fact, many tributary families had to travel hundreds of miles to the barren mining landscapes, and it is hard to believe that any Spaniard who actually saw the horrors of the mining *mita* in practice could believe such assertions.

As he resumed his progress toward the mines in late 1572, Toledo encountered fresh evidence to reinforce his conviction that the Andean countryside was still under the sway of demonic forces.⁷³ At Chucuito, a town on the shore of Lake Titicaca, the viceroy discovered 16,000 “infidel souls” amid a population that had been under direct royal administration for decades. He identified another 3,000 nonbelievers at the former Inca center of Paria, many of them young children whose parents had not presented them for baptism.⁷⁴ Toledo reached Potosí early in 1573 and endeavored to collect and send Philip II samples of ore from the mines, as well as examples of the local *huacas* that were still worshipped.⁷⁵ On the high mountain landscape where the silver was extracted, the viceroy found widespread idolatry. There were reportedly shamans—Toledo called them “sorcerer-preachers”—who encouraged the native population to keep worshiping their old shrines and sacred objects and to hide the smaller icons in their houses, fields, and mines. Among these were Inca-era *huacas* associated with health and the fertility of herds and maize fields. In addition to these ancient practices, some shamans embraced new technologies for their apostasies, carrying printing molds with them with which to mass-produce demonic images that they falsely claimed the Spaniards used in their religious observances.⁷⁶

As Toledo traversed a landscape of stubborn idolatry, he also confronted the reality that the silver-bearing mines were considered powerful entities

⁷¹ Toledo ([1574] in *GP* 5:343).

⁷² Documents on the Toledan *mita* can be found in Toledo (1867 [1574]). Juan de Matienzo (1967 [1567]) had recommended using the *mita* to sustain coca production, which he saw as essential to the maintenance of the silver mines, and thus Spanish rule itself.

⁷³ See Brosseder (2014:55–62) on Toledo’s actions against so-called sorcerers.

⁷⁴ Toledo ([6/3/1573] in *GP* 5:120).

⁷⁵ Toledo ([6/3/1573] in *GP* 5:127).

⁷⁶ Toledo ([6/3/1573] in *GP* 5:128).

by indigenous peoples living across the south-central Andes. Porco and other metal-bearing mountains in the area had long been worshiped as *huacas*, and the Incas had revered several of the nearby snow-capped peaks before the arrival of the Spaniards.⁷⁷ Inca emperors left offerings and built shrines on the summits of these powerful places, and the ordinary people tasked with the dangerous work going into the earth to extract ore also relied on supernatural objects to keep them safe and to ensure success.⁷⁸ As native Andeans adapted some elements of Christian doctrine into their ongoing reverence for natural forces, Toledo saw the continuing effects of Inca tyranny.

Santiago among the Savages

From Potosí, Toledo proceeded to La Plata, the city that oversaw the rich mining district. He intended to establish new ordinances for the silver mines and to bring justice to Spanish plotters who kept fears of a new rebellion alive in Peru. The viceroy also came prepared—legally, at least—to launch a just war against the “Chiriguanaes,” a group of lowland societies who lived along the frontiers where Spaniards were extending their settlements and mines. The Chiriguanaes had been treated as a menace since Inca times, and as Spaniards moved into the region, they accused them of encroaching on the territories of tributary Andean communities, carrying off large numbers of people in terrifying night raids. Supposedly, the Chiriguanaes used their captives as slaves, but as Spaniards became more fearful of the threat, Juan de Matienzo, an official in La Plata, claimed that they also cannibalized the peaceful Spanish vassals they carried off to the lowlands. The Spaniards of La Plata feared the Chiriguanaes as a superior military force, but they also saw them as rivals for the bodies of the native Andeans who lived closest to the mines.

Allegations of cannibalism opened the door to wage just war against the Chiriguanaes and to enslave them, or at least drive them off so that local populations would be more stable and could be used to work the mines.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Staller and Stross (2013:77).

⁷⁸ Albornoz (1989 [1584]) notes that miners worshiped unusual pieces of ore as the female progenitor (*mama*) of the mine.

⁷⁹ Matienzo (1967 [1567, pt. II, chap. 9]). If such arguments were accepted, the labor shortage at the mines could be resolved by taking Chiriguana slaves and sending them to Potosí, which was within their “natural” domain.

During his long stay in Cuzco, Toledo assembled evidence against these frontier peoples at the same time he was setting his historical trap for the Incas. The viceroy spent the summer and fall of 1571 in the Yucay Valley, collecting testimony regarding native “savagery” and conditions on the southern frontier. When asked about cannibalism, one group of highland witnesses said “that they knew and saw that the Indians of the Andes ate human flesh, and likewise they heard tales about the Chiriguanaes and Chunchos, and that when there was a guilty person, the Incas would cast them to those Indians . . . so they might eat them.”⁸⁰ Another group testified that they had heard from Spaniards that these groups still practiced cannibalism.⁸¹

As dozens of native elites from the Inca heartland linked the Chiriguanaes with cannibalism, a delegation of Spaniards from La Plata appeared in Yucay in October 1571, where they gave testimony in response to a questionnaire that alleged that many Chiriguanaes were in rebellion against the Spanish Crown and the Catholic faith, threatening Spaniards in Potosí and elsewhere and enslaving indigenous people who were Spanish vassals. One question asked whether witnesses knew that “their principal food and meat is of those peaceful Indians.”⁸² The six Spaniards who testified in Yucay recited a litany of violence and damages justifying war. The Chiriguanaes had burned a Spanish settlement and killed all who could not escape, including a priest. It was well-known that they cannibalized their prisoners, and they were known to fatten up their captives before consuming them at public feasts and everyday meals.⁸³ Calling them tyrants and usurpers—the same rhetoric he had sharpened against the Incas—Toledo concluded that the Chiriguanaes should be attacked in order to protect the flow of labor to the mines.⁸⁴

When Toledo and his retinue reached La Plata (modern Sucre, Bolivia) in the summer of 1573, native leaders came to the city to make alliances against the Chiriguanaes.⁸⁵ In response, the Chiriguanaes sent their own leaders to parley with the viceroy in the hopes of avoiding an all-out war. While they were in the city, something remarkable occurred: three Chiriguana men

⁸⁰ Toledo ([1571] in Levillier 1940:142).

⁸¹ Toledo ([1571] in Levillier 1940:148).

⁸² AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1571]:26.

⁸³ AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1571]:27–51.

⁸⁴ E.g., Toledo ([3/1/1572] in *GP* 4:90, 98–100).

⁸⁵ For example, the Yuracares, “idolaters” who had fled Inca tyranny, came to greet the viceroy, who contrasted their false religion with the Chiriguanaes, “who have no idolatry or religious cult, nor ever observed natural law” (Toledo [11/30/1573] in *GP* 5:202–203).

from a mountainous region to the east arrived in the city. This in itself was unremarkable, because native leaders had been coming and going from La Plata. What made these men different was that they carried large crosses on their backs, and they brought news of a miraculous event with potential implications for the lowland invasion the viceroy was contemplating.⁸⁶

Coming before the viceroy, the three men testified that two years earlier, in the lowland town of Zaypurú, a strange youth had appeared, “beautiful and resplendent like a heavenly thing . . . beardless and with long black hair, and wearing a white vestment of native design.” As he entered the village, the young man held a small cross of yellow metal in his hand. He was preceded by a much larger cross (1.5 *varas*, or nearly five feet high) that floated in front of him wherever he went. The strange youth told the people that he had come down from Heaven, sent by Jesus to convert them and convince them to give up their savage ways. He was called Santiago, and many native people took him to be a saint.⁸⁷ Santiago ordered the people of Zaypurú to build a house for him, which he called a “church,” and he placed the large cross in the plaza in front of it, where the local people immediately began to offer it reverence. The youth preached a message of Christian civilization, saying that Jesus wanted him to persuade the natives to believe in God, who had created them, and to cease their wars with the Spaniards and other peoples. They were to give up cannibalism and plural marriages, replacing these abominations with good conduct based on the law of reason.⁸⁸

The account of Santiago’s ministry in Zaypurú challenged the testimony that Toledo had collected in Cuzco two years earlier. The three men with crosses said that the indigenous saint had convinced many people to give up cannibalism. When some skeptics decided to kill and eat a young man, they were immediately struck dead. This was just one miracle performed by the Chiriguana Santiago. He also healed a slave boy who had been bitten by a viper, and he cured many sick people by passing his small cross over them.

⁸⁶ AGI Patronato 235 R. 1:3 [1571].

⁸⁷ These details come from an account that Toledo wrote to García de Mosquera, a Spanish interpreter whom he sent into Chiriguana country to ascertain the truth of the story (AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1573] 5–6). As Alberdi Vallejo (2017) observes, this native Santiago stands in contrast with the bearded and armed patron saint of Spain, who commonly appeared in the heat of battle to destroy enemies of Christ. The bishop Reginaldo de Lizárraga (1908:144–145 [c. 1595–1609, chap. 27]) identified this Santiago as an angel who convinced the native people to give up their vices and to send to Francisco de Toledo asking for priests to teach them Christian doctrine.

⁸⁸ AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1573]:5–6.

He even brought an end to hunger, giving them three magical squash seeds to plant in a field next to their village. When the villagers returned to the field the next day, they found such an abundance of squash “that even though there were many people, there was [food] for all, and that in picking one, another immediately grew.” After transforming the community of Zaypurú into a land of peace and plenty, Santiago departed for Heaven once more. The local people “saw him ascend on high, saying that he would give an account to his father Jesus of what he had said and preached, and he would return to come down to them with a great clamor.”⁸⁹

Having heard the claims of the men with crosses, Toledo called a group of local officials and priests to his bedchamber to share the report with them. As the fantastic account was read, the men looked at one other, some of them chuckling to see that the viceroy believed “the fiction of these people-eaters” to be a true account of a miracle. But no doubts entered Toledo’s mind, and the viceroy and the people of his household all accepted it as true.⁹⁰ The report inspired a vigorous debate, in part because of the implications of the miraculous conversion for Spanish policy in the region. Skeptics argued that the Chiriguanaes did not respect natural law and that they could not have renounced all the barbaric practices documented by the Spaniards.⁹¹ Their apocalypse came not from Heaven, but from Toledo himself. As one priest argued, “[T]hey know that Your Excellency made war against the Inca, brought him out from the lowlands where he was, brought him to Cuzco, and carried out justice against him; and they fear Your Excellency is about to do the same to them.”⁹² In the face of this uncertainty, Toledo ordered that Chiriguana testimonies be collected. As the Spaniards in La Plata contemplated an invasion, some Chiriguana witnesses interpreted the appearance of Santiago as evidence of coming doom. One local cacique said that the saint had appeared to turn the people from vicious ways, but that because of their

⁸⁹ AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1573]:6–7.

⁹⁰ Lizárraga (1908:146 [c. 1595–1609, chap. 28]) was a doubter, recalling that “as [Toledo] went on reading the report, and seeing the credit that he gave to these people-eaters—more brute than man—it ate away at my insides and I wished I had authority to say what I felt, with a measure of anger.” He believed the reports actually referred to a Carmelite priest who had spent time among the Chiriguanaes, and whose prayers had dramatically ended a drought, leading to native conversions.

⁹¹ Lizárraga (1908:148–149 [c. 1595–1609, chap.28]) went even farther, stating that it was inconceivable that Christ would reveal such a great truth to unenlightened barbarians.

⁹² Lizárraga (1908:148–149 [c. 1595–1609, chap. 28, p. 149]).

“not believing what he told them, great harm would come to them . . . they would be disciplined by Jesus, and by His hand the Spaniards would punish them.”⁹³

Toledo ordered the Chiriguana leaders who had come to La Plata to remain in the city while he awaited the results of the inquiries. Uncertain of what might become of them in Spanish custody, several attempted to flee during a nighttime storm, allegedly killing their Spanish guards in the process. The murders occurred when Toledo was still weighing whether to send priests or soldiers into Chiriguana lands, and the deaths convinced him to lead Spanish forces there himself. He would conquer the resistant Chiriguanaes and then proceed to Santa Cruz, where he would judge and punish the Spanish rebel don Diego de Mendoza.⁹⁴ Toledo announced an all-out war, confirming with religious authorities that it would be acceptable to enslave the Chiriguanaes taken in the campaign, a potential boon for all Spaniards who had interests at the mines. The viceroy left La Plata with some 400 Spaniards, hoping to attract native allies on the journey toward Santa Cruz. As Spanish cavalry approached local villages, however, the population fled into the mountains with its food supplies, sometimes returning to skirmish with the invaders. Soon the Spaniards were left “with more hunger than food,” and the viceroy, who had fallen ill, reluctantly abandoned the campaign and ordered his men to retreat to Peru.⁹⁵ Walking beside their horses, which had also fallen ill, the Spaniards returned with great difficulty from Chiriguana lands, counting themselves fortunate not to have encountered their enemies on the way.

Sovereign Titles

When Francisco de Toledo’s term as viceroy ended, in 1580, he could claim a degree of success in reducing the status of the Inca nobility and establishing Philip II as the sovereign of the former Inca Empire. The execution of Tupa Amaru helped to establish a consensus among Spaniards that the line of Inca kings was at an end. Still, the Spaniards had failed to defeat and enslave the Chiriguanaes and were struggling to colonize Vilcabamba and the lowland

⁹³ AGI Patronato 235 R. 1 [1573]:15.

⁹⁴ Lizárraga (1908:151–152 [c. 1595–1609, chap. 31]).

⁹⁵ Lizárraga (1908:153–155 [c. 1595–1609, chaps. 33–35]).

domain that Titu Cusi Yupanqui had ruled as Inca. Despite these and other setbacks at the margins of the old Inca world, the viceroy's new mining ordinances boosted royal revenues. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the flow of silver from the Americas would be roughly ten times what it had been at the time of the Pizarro expedition.⁹⁶ Not only did the Spaniards pay the Crown one-fifth of what they recovered, but Toledo's expansion of mercury mining also led to large payments from miners who used the new amalgamation process to extract silver more effectively.⁹⁷

A significant proportion of the new revenue came from Potosí, which became a boom town after Toledo's *mita* began to send thousands of tributary households to the mine each year. Manipulating the logic of Inca administration, Toledo transformed the lives of those and other indigenous households, a major step in the European conquest of Andean landscapes. Toledo must have recognized the compromises that accompanied the implementation of his grand resettlement strategy, and he still feared the religious influence of the older generation of native Andeans, who clung to the demonic forces of their Inca landscapes. The viceroy thought that the elderly "dogmatizers" would die out and leave younger generations of good Christians, but these hopes would prove to be unfounded in the decades that followed.

Things were not as settled in Peru as Toledo might have liked to think. His *mita* labor rotations and new tribute levies inspired resistance, often in the form of lawsuits aimed at blunting the effect of the new ordinances. For example, in Maras, the town where Pedro de Orúe and doña Beatriz Coya both had native tributaries, the local caciques joined together in 1575 to file a legal protest to the *mita*, which they said drew too much labor from the town's different residential groups.⁹⁸ Although royal officials ordered the indigenous population to furnish workers to sow, harvest, and process wheat on the extensive Spanish plantations surrounding Maras, repeated court cases indicate that native leaders strategically resisted these demands.⁹⁹ Toledo instructed officials to ignore such lawsuits, dismissing the continued use of Inca precedents that had informed policy in the previous decades.

⁹⁶ Elliott (1990, table 4).

⁹⁷ Toledo (1867:27 [1582]) wrote to the Crown that "rents" on mercury at Potosí had doubled, to 400,000 pesos annually, under his tenure. That figure was more than five times the value of the revenue coming to the Crown from more than 200 *repartimientos* across the Cuzco region (see Cook 1975).

⁹⁸ ARC, Archivo de Colegio de Educandas L. 2. 1568–1722.

⁹⁹ E.g., AGN, Superior Gobierno, L. 2, C. 34 [1613 f. 1].

Philip II was not convinced that native affairs were so neatly resolved, and as soon as he had sent Martín Enríquez de Almanza to replace Toledo as viceroy, the king wrote to say that he had learned that the native Andeans were not governed by Spanish laws, “but rather by the ones of those realms, being a diverse republic and a government, from which it follows that they learned to bring lawsuits.”¹⁰⁰ Local customs had not been extinguished, and the king informed his new viceroy that it was necessary to understand the practices and customs that local people across the Andes had followed before their conversion. A decade after the dramatic conquest of Vilcabamba, Enríquez de Almanza opened an inquiry into Inca legal practices, a nineteen-item questionnaire that he administered to several prominent Spaniards in Cuzco.¹⁰¹

Questions about Inca sovereignty no longer fueled a debate over the place of Inca nobles in colonial Peru, but they were still relevant for determining the extent of the authority of the Spanish Crown as the legitimate successor to the Inca dynasty. In the years after Toledo’s changes, Philip II aspired to a more intensive degree of surveillance and control throughout his empire, which ultimately led to questions about the landscapes where his officials might extract value from indigenous subjects. The king desired to have a more complete geographic knowledge of his American colonies, and in the late 1570s, he ordered a series of geographic reports, or *relaciones geográficas*, to be produced in Mexico and Guatemala. When Toledo was replaced by Enríquez de Almanza, who had previously served as viceroy in Mexico, it was understood that a similar set of reports would be collected in the Andes, an undertaking that occurred in the mid-1580s.¹⁰²

The Peruvian *relaciones geográficas* collected information using a template prepared by Philip II, who, a decade after Toledo’s execution of Tupa Amaru, was still concerned with issues of Inca sovereignty. Local informants described their native regions, including conditions before and after Inca conquest. They were prompted to describe how agricultural production and religious practices had changed since the arrival of the Spaniards. Some of

¹⁰⁰ Philip II ([8/23/1580] in *GP* 9:268–269).

¹⁰¹ These included the royal treasurer García de Melo, as well as Damián de la Bandera, Cristóbal de Molina, Alonso de Mesa, and Bartolomé de Porras.

¹⁰² The *relación geográfica* of the Jauja region (Vega 1881:79 [1582]) began, in 1582, “to carry out the command of his excellency, the lord don Martín Enríquez, viceroy of the kingdoms of Peru . . . based on the template that His Majesty sent for it.” The viceroy died in 1583, and his successor had many of the other reports prepared around 1586.

the questions emphasized the same kinds of sovereignty issues that Toledo had elicited from his informants: whether there were rulers before the Incas, and what manner of warfare had been used to conquer new subjects. But other parts of the questionnaire reflect an interest in demographic change under the Spaniards, as well as the potential for economic intensification in rural areas. For example, in Huamanga, where the Toledan census recorded approximately 35,000 indigenous people, half the number who had lived there in Inca times, the new report said that the population had continued to dwindle “because they have to travel to distant lands of different climates, to the mercury mines of Huancavelica, which does them significant damage.”¹⁰³ That report noted that the Toledan resettlement program had also contributed to indigenous population losses. In many cases people had abandoned the new *reducción* towns, returning to the villages where they lived before, or fleeing to live in other areas.

The Andean *relaciones geográficas* recorded accounts of Inca-era conditions and the current prospects for farming, mining and other activities. Reports also occasionally inquired about local religious practices that in Toledo’s time would have fallen under the rubric of sorcery. In Jauja, local informants said that they had worshiped as the Incas commanded: “[T]hey ordered them to sacrifice boys and girls and llamas and guinea pigs and human figures made of gold and silver, and shell and other things.” They claimed to have given up those practices when they converted to Catholicism, since the priests and friars who taught them also confiscated and destroyed their *huacas*.¹⁰⁴ Reports noted the new Catholic parishes that had been organized in indigenous towns, underscoring the progress toward conversion and the establishment of saintly power in rural areas. For example, in the Huamanga area, a local town called Todos Santos became a pilgrimage destination after an image of the Virgin of Candelaria became known for performing miracles. Native Andeans began to carry icon to the mercury mines at Huancavelica whenever there were collapses and accidents.¹⁰⁵ Although the saints would never completely drive the *huacas* from the Andean highlands, their miraculous powers were becoming more apparent, a growing constellation of powerful Catholic landmarks that overlapped with traditional sacred places in unpredictable ways.

¹⁰³ Ribera and Cháves y de Guevara (1881:110 [1586]).

¹⁰⁴ Vega (1881:85 [1582]).

¹⁰⁵ Ribera and Cháves y de Guevara (1881:143 [1586]).

The *relaciones geográficas* generally treated Inca religion as something that imperial rulers forced on ordinary Andean people, who now were becoming good Christians where they had settled in new communities. At a political level, however, the reports rehabilitated Inca sovereignty to a certain degree, moving away from the Toledan rhetoric of tyranny to represent the now-defunct dynasty as a benchmark for Spanish royal administration. This depiction was not intended to enhance the standing of Inca men in Cuzco, who now performed the role of a group of conquered indigenous nobles. Rather, it emphasized the legitimate succession of Philip II as ruler over the Andes. Inca-era precedents could be promoted as a point of comparison with Spanish administrative policies, which were supposed to be more generous and sustainable.

Downward Spirals

Of course, colonial governance did not treat indigenous Andeans generously or rule them in a sustainable manner. The forced resettlements dislocated entire native Andean communities from their ancestral landscapes and familiar *huacas*, a policy that was much more disruptive and extensive than that of establishing Inca labor colonies, which typically moved only a small percentage of the local population to state settlements. It undercut the hidden powers of local *kurakas*, reducing the space between Catholic officials and ordinary parishioners whose everyday lives could be observed and corrected more readily. The gridded streets of the new towns were intended to civilize and order native populations, but they were also designed to re-center religious life around the Catholic powers of hundreds of patron saints whose images occupied the new churches built across Peru. These saints would conform to the orthodox standards of the Council of Trent, establishing a spiritual army that could finally combat the diabolical *huacas* for control of Andean souls.

Toledo's "reforms" succeeded in generating unprecedented revenues for Philip II, but there were short- and long-term costs. Surviving documents make it clear that resettlements did not adhere strictly to the viceroy's instructions, so that the new *reducciones* did not produce comparable communities across the Andes. The failure to establish new towns and new patterns of land tenure meant that many indigenous towns were not well-integrated, and the former communities that were reduced into one town often still

worked the same lands as before, in the service of the same *encomendero*. The new demands of the *mita* quickly placed pressures on many native groups, who found the labor schedules of Spaniards to conflict with their own local agrarian cycles and networks of reciprocal labor. In many places, local caciques resorted to foot-dragging and other ploys to avoid delivering *mita* labor from their groups. These tactics probably persisted in part because the interests of *encomenderos* were aligned more with their tributary laborers than with the Spaniards and religious orders that wanted access to temporary workers through the *mita*.

Over time, the relentless extraction of labor from tributary communities compromised the resilience of local food production practices. Overworked and underfed populations were more susceptible to illness, and epidemics swept across the Andes repeatedly, with disastrous effects. In 1589, an outbreak of smallpox posed such a threat to Cuzco that the city council ordered that the suspension bridges across the major rivers be cut so that travelers from stricken areas could not enter.¹⁰⁶ Census counts from rural Cuzco indicate that tributary populations dropped by almost half during the generation that followed the Toledan resettlement program and the introduction of the *mita*.¹⁰⁷ Some of the population decline can be blamed on disease and lower birth rates, but the flight of families from tributary communities also removed significant numbers of native Andeans to places where wage labor seemed to offer more security. In the *reducción* towns, many groups gravitated back to where they possessed farmlands, turning their backs on their patron saints to live permanently in the lands of their ancestors.

Claiming Inca Lands

In the last decade of his life, Philip II needed Peruvian silver wherever he could find it, which led him to pronounce new sovereign claims over lands in the Americas. Francisco de Toledo's administrative intensification helped to double Spanish imports of treasure by the 1590s, but the king still faced a solvency crisis that grew out of his outsized spending habits.¹⁰⁸ Ballooning

¹⁰⁶ Dobyns (1963).

¹⁰⁷ Cook (1981); Covey, Childs, and Kippen (2011).

¹⁰⁸ Elliott (1990, table 4) reproduces Hamilton's (1929) decadal chart of imports of treasure from 1503–1660. "Public" imports during the 1530s were calculated to be 356,649 pesos annually, a figure that grew to 1,989,668 in the 1570s. The estimates for the 1580s

military costs were a major drain on royal finances, even as Spain's emphasis shifted from confrontations with Muslim powers in the Mediterranean to the suppression of Protestantism. As the war for independence in the Netherlands dragged on, Philip became entangled with England, where he had once been king through his marriage to Mary I. When Protestants executed another Mary—the Catholic queen of Scotland—in 1586 for her part in an assassination plot against Elizabeth I, Philip ordered the construction of a mighty fleet to attack his one-time sister-in-law. He sent his ships against England, expecting that God's hand would bring good weather and a decisive Catholic victory.¹⁰⁹ When his Armada was sunk, in 1588, Philip lost the equivalent of two years of royal revenues.¹¹⁰ Anxious to avoid yet another painful default on his debts, Philip increased taxes across Spain, and sent his officials hat in hand to Peru and elsewhere, begging his colonial subjects to help replace more than 10 million ducats that had gone into outfitting the lost fleet. Even though Peru was experiencing a period of plague and shortage, the king was able to raise nearly one-and-a-half million ducats in 1589, although this figure seemed pathetic when compared to his 85 million ducat foreign debt.¹¹¹ To obtain even more money from his colonies, Philip II abandoned earlier policies and precedents. In 1591, he declared that he owned all lands in the Americas, and was the sole authority that could make grants:

(3,118,763 pesos per year) and 1590s (4,199,533 pesos per year) represent the high-water mark for Spanish colonial extraction, and imports dropped precipitously in the following fifty years, falling to 569,080 pesos per year in the 1650s. Philip's subjects in the Americas were not the only ones pressed for their money—in Spain several new taxes were levied at this time.

¹⁰⁹ Parker (2002:208) notes Philip's "tendency to adopt over-ambitious goals, to expect divine intervention, and to eschew contingency plans." At the time, Philip was King of Portugal, a title he inherited in 1581. In Catholic eyes, this made him the king of the entire world, enhancing a messianic identity that had developed by the late 1540s, when, Parker says, Charles V and Philip II traveled through Europe performing in tableaux vivants as David and Solomon (p. 181).

¹¹⁰ Drelichman and Voth (2014:84). Conflict with England presented costs and liabilities in the Americas, especially as Francis Drake and other privateers demonstrated the naval threat to Spanish coastal cities in the late 1570s and looted Santo Domingo. The English described the defeat of the Armada as a miracle showing God's support for the English against Spanish idolatry (Scully 2003).

¹¹¹ Parker (2002:178–179).

Because we have succeeded completely in the lordship over the Indies, and those vacant soils and lands that were not conceded—by our predecessors the royal kings, or by us, or in our name—pertain to our patrimony and royal crown, it follows that all the land which is held without just and true titles should be restored to us.¹¹²

In Peru, this meant potentially reversing decades of municipal land grants, like the ones that Pedro de Orúe had used to build his family estates around Maras. The new policy had even more ominous implications for indigenous Andeans, who had successfully defended lands and other resources using Inca-era precedents. The viceroy Francisco de Toledo attacked this *status quo ante* in his 1570s administrative overhaul, but this was the first concrete step toward a colonial approach to Andean landscapes in which royal officials directly monitored the landholding rights of Spaniards and indigenous populations.

Within a few years, Philip II ordered the systematic inspection of land titles across Peru, a process called the *composición de tierras*. Throughout the Andes, inspectors visited private landholders to inform them that they needed to present their land titles and pay a fee to have them reviewed and confirmed. In Maras, the Orúe family furnished paperwork documenting almost forty years of land acquisitions, which had built an extensive estate across the warm flatlands to the south of the Yucay Valley. The land inspectors titled these lands without complication, but they adopted a more heavy-handed stance when they visited nearby indigenous communities. In San Nicolás de Zurite, a town with a large population serving doña Beatriz Coya, the royal visitor assembled the native residents and declared that their king was the true owner of lands they had held since Inca times: “His Majesty, as king and so powerful and pious a lord, commanded that they be given and have distributed to them lands for their sustenance, to pay the tax and tribute that they owe, and for other things that were appropriate.”¹¹³ A generation after the Toledan *reducciones*, Philip II finally broke with Inca precedent and declared that native Andeans were not the owners of their ancestral lands, but rather vassals who would have use rights in order to pay tribute to their rightful sovereign.

This appropriation did not inspire an indigenous uprising. Inspectors visited local communities and measured out lands deemed suitable to the local

¹¹² *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* (1841 [11/1/1591, bk. 4, title 12, law 14]).

¹¹³ Alonso Maldonado de Torres ([1595] in Covey and Quave 2017).

population's needs. They then sold "surplus" lands to Spaniards or to anyone else who could purchase them. Most unsold lands were returned to tributary communities, where they remained royal property that could easily be taken away in the future. The sale of indigenous lands helped to build the "Spanish" part of Peru in a perverse economic game of cat-and-mouse. Prior to the transfer, Spaniards had argued that local Andean populations had declined and were leaving large areas of productive land underworked. Once they purchased indigenous lands that were auctioned off after the titling process, however, they pressed local officials to compel the nearby towns to provide the labor to work their new estates. In the Maras area, the Orúe family, the Jesuits, and several other Spaniards all acquired landholdings that were vastly larger than those of the native townspeople.¹¹⁴

Philip II's claim over all land in the Andes—and across the Americas—reflects a century-long sovereign journey for Spanish monarchs. Isabella and Ferdinand claimed dominion over half the globe through a papal decree that entrusted them with the conversion of native souls. Charles V confronted the limitations of that spiritual grant. As Protestants challenged his temporal powers in Europe, the devastation that his Spanish subjects wrought on his "Indian" vassals raised questions about the obligations that Catholic rulers had toward their subjects. Philip II used the Incas as the test case for translating philosophical debates over indigenous rights into colonial policies and racial discourses. The declaration of absolute ownership of land reflects the emergence of a more modern logic for state sovereignty: the claim to govern everything lying within a territory, rather than the sharing of a God-given bond between lord and vassal. It would be easy to place these philosophical and political developments alongside the scientific and technological advances of the late 1500s, to anticipate the dawning of our own era of enlightened civilization. But only if we ignore the persistence of intense religious belief and the apocalyptic worldviews that came into being alongside these "rational" modes of thought.

¹¹⁴ Covey and Quave (2017).

I 2

Transcendent Inca

Philip II died in the Escorial palace on September 13, 1598, surrounded by his saintly relics. The king had governed the former Inca world since his teenage years, and his death shared many of the elements of a good death that Inca nobles remembered for their own ancestors. Like Pachacuti, whose sovereign successor he claimed to be, Philip spent his last mortal days planning for his demise, even designing a coffin that would look like that of his father, who now lay in repose in the crypt of the Escorial. When the king knew that his time had come, he had his assembled councilors and priests give him a crucifix that had belonged to Charles V, which he held in one hand. In his other hand he held a candle dedicated to the Virgin of Montserrat. The archbishop of Toledo read from St. John's account of Christ's Passion while other clergy prayed around the body of their dying king. Philip spoke his last words—an expression of his Catholic faith—and expired at sunrise, as the day's first mass began to be sung in the Escorial's chapel.¹ The event blurred the lines between royalty and divinity. Those present noted the king's saintly status, as well as his resemblance to God.²

As the momentous sixteenth century ended, faith and prophecy were still shaping European minds. The saintly passing of Philip II began the reign of Philip III, who soon became associated with the apocalyptic legend of the Last World Emperor that was attached to his father and grandfather.³ In Protestant England, King James II would soon authorize the translation of the Christian Bible. But in 1597, his book *Daemonologie* was in wide

¹ Kamen (1997:315).

² Vargas-Hidalgo (1995). Within a few years, Covarrubias Orosco (1610, part I, chap. 36) compared the Escorial—now Philip's tomb—with Babylonian temples and the pyramids of Egypt, calling it a "miracle, rare to the world" (see Parker 2002:173).

³ Magnier (1999–2002) notes that this was retrospective, following Philip III's expulsion of Muslim converts (*moriscos*) from Spain in 1603.

circulation, a treatise intended to provide instruction to combat the “feareful abounding at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaves of the divell [Devil], the Witches or enchanterers.”⁴ Terrified European Christians still executed witches and worried about black magic, demonic possession, and monstrous figures like werewolves and vampires.

The dawning seventeenth century intensified this cultural dissonance, as conflicting religious beliefs became entangled with emerging scientific frameworks, state policies, and modes of thought. It was the century of Descartes, Hobbes, and Locke, when Western philosophers began to distance themselves from theology; but it was also the time when the Puritan Separatists—or Pilgrims, as they are known in the origin story of the United States—brought their radical religion to the Americas. As we will see, Spanish Catholics were already there, celebrating the spread of new saints, martyrs, and miracles. During the 1600s, as mercantilist networks grew, theories of individual liberty coexisted with the expansion of race-based slavery, setting the stage for eighteenth-century theories of political economy, as well as the independence movements that would rock European empires. The advance of technology across this conflicted landscape brought us the telescope, the slide rule, the pendulum clock, and the newspaper.

The Literary Inca

Philip III came to power when the last living witnesses of the Inca world were passing away. The authoritative testimony of Christian Inca noblemen faded out, leaving a space for new claims about the Incas and the Spanish conquest of Peru. As the last of the old Inca generation died, a few Christian indigenous writers began to produce their own chronicles, placing the stories that they had heard from their elders into the theological context of their own era. Despite the loosening of royal censorship after Philip II’s death, only one of these Inca chronicles was published at the time: the *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (1609), by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, a humanistic project that played up the civilized nature of his Inca ancestors and remained the authoritative Andean chronicle for two centuries. Meanwhile, Spanish chroniclers compiled new histories using unpublished manuscripts written in the mid-1500s, and some of the religious men posted in the Andes penned

⁴ King James (1603:A2).

accounts of “secret” Inca histories recounted to them by men who possessed Inca *kipu* records.⁵

As these voices emerged to tell the Inca story, new genres of European literature were also emerging, which became creative places for representing the twilight of the Inca dynasty. In Spain, the Incas made cameo appearances in a wide range of literary forms. They were the villains in martyrdom accounts that reminded Spaniards of the sacrifices that the religious orders were making to convert distant corners of the world.⁶ As a defunct dynasty, the Incas served as a lesson of the fleeting nature of non-Christian power, and the eternal punishment awaiting those who died without having converted.⁷ In addition to these moral lessons, the “Inca” also played a bit part in a comedic trilogy about the Pizarro family by Tirso de Molina (1626–1631). Inca government offered precedents for consideration in the juridical writings of Juan de Solórzano Pereira. Factoids about Inca religion, government, and dress spread into other European languages, where they helped to illustrate the growing Protestant indictment of the Spanish Black Legend. Bits of information about the Incas were copied into global compilations of history and culture, as well as into the predecessors of modern encyclopedias. Represented as “Indians,” the Incas were used to help illustrate the divide between the expanding western powers and the societies that were being overturned and marginalized (Figure 12.1). The contradictory narratives about the Inca apocalypse that accumulated in the sixteenth century were taken up into new discourses, in ways that have carried forward into modern thought.

⁵ The royal chronicler Herrera y Tordesillas (1615) excerpted Cieza de León’s unpublished Inca history, and Gregorio García (1607) used Betanzos’s manuscript. The Jesuits Blas Valera and Giovanni Anello Oliva (1631) produced alternative Inca histories, and Fernando de Montesinos (c. 1644) claimed to have discovered an unknown Peruvian king list that stretched back thousands of years.

⁶ E.g., Calancha (1639).

⁷ Calancha (1639) placed the end of the dynasty in 1572, with the death of Tupa Amaru, estimated that the Incas had reigned for 500 years, a span he said that God granted to other pagan dynasties in world history. A decade later, Fernando de Avendaño published a series of sermons in which he used the Inca era (*inca pacha*) to furnish examples of human sin, false beliefs, mortality, and punishment. To encourage native Andeans to reflect on their own deaths, he asked (1648:97, pt. I, sermon 8), “How can you live so carelessly, as if you would not die? The Incas all died: the kings died, the rich and the poor.” Elsewhere (114v, pt. I, sermon 9) he asked, “How many Incas have gone to Hell? All of them. How many Coyas? All of them. How many Ñustas [Inca princesses]? All of them.”



Figure 12.1. Representation of Atahualpa as an uncivilized Indian, from a 1728 edition of the chronicle of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1615). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

Cuzco at the Turn of the New Century

But what became of the Incas of Cuzco when their ancestral story was absorbed into western literature? By the time of Philip II's death, global economics and imperial rule had transformed the former Inca world in significant ways. Potosí was the largest city in the Andes, with a population that rivaled the leading urban centers of Spain. Silver mining was a central

part of the Spanish imperial economy, and production was near peak levels.⁸ Because Potosí was located at more than 13,000 feet (4000 m) above sea level, virtually all food and labor had to be brought in from lower-elevation areas, including the former Inca heartland. The Cuzco region, once the destination for the surpluses of the Inca Empire, now sent massive volumes of basic commodities to Potosí, enriching large landholders, who could access the labor necessary for large-scale production. In 1597, about 600,000 sheep from Cuzco went to the mines, creating meat shortages across the former Inca heartland. Large quantities of wheat and maize were also probably sent to Potosí, where they could fetch top prices.⁹

Francisco de Toledo's plan to make Andean people abandon their Inca-era shrines and ceremonies remained far from complete, however, which is apparent in the flow of another Cuzco-produced commodity to the Bolivian mines: coca leaf. Spanish priests and officials pointed to coca use as a lingering form of idolatry that hindered Christian conversion, but they took steps to ensure that the leaf was widely available to the Andean population at low prices. Cuzco's extensive coca plantations sent 680 metric tons of the leaf to Potosí in 1610, which native miners consumed to reduce their pain and exhaustion from laboring underground for days on end.¹⁰ Chewing coca sustained miners through brutal shifts that weakened them and made them susceptible to illness, and they continued to offer it to the old *huacas* that helped them to discover ore and protected them in the dangerous below-ground world. Spanish officials, knowing that they were making a major compromise to their spiritual mission in Peru, nonetheless declared that if they took away the native Andeans' coca, they would no longer travel to Potosí and other mines, and the economy of colonial Peru would collapse.¹¹

Along with agricultural goods, many Cuzco-area communities sent workers to the mines as part of the *mita* imposed by Toledo a generation earlier. The high mortality rates and low wages at the mine affected the farming and herding communities that were subject to mining service, and by the early 1600s, there were noticeable drops in the tributary population.

⁸ Elliott (1990: table 4) says that more than 25 million ducats reached royal officials in Seville from 1591–1600, more than ten times the amount received during the 1530s, when Pizarro captured and ransomed Atahualpa. By the 1650s, this income had declined to less than four million ducats.

⁹ Stern (1995:73).

¹⁰ Robins (2011).

¹¹ Matienzo (1967 [1567, part 1, chap. 44]).

Communities that were not subject to mining rotations were still required to send *mita* workers for planting and harvesting the vast wheat and barley plantations that individual Spaniards and the Catholic religious orders held in the countryside.¹² These estates proliferated over time, steadily undermining Inca-era land tenure by moving native populations off ancestral landscapes and overworking Andean communities, who sought their own miracles of survival in a world that was increasingly occupied by Catholic saints and shrines.

The successful conversion of Cuzco from an imperial heartland to a pacified province depended in no small part on the enthusiastic service of the Inca nobility. The Incas of Cuzco had long displayed an eagerness to be seen as faithful Christians, although their early displays preserved vestiges of their old religion that troubled Church officials.¹³ As we have seen, Cuzco's first Corpus Christi procession in the mid-1550s had a distinct Inca flavor, which persisted even as noble Incas acted the part of good Christians. In their 1570 Corpus Christi procession, a Jesuit observer noted that the Inca nobility performed a "most unusual" dance accompanied by their own praise song to Christ. When Spanish officials asked the origin of the piece, the Incas said that they had taken the old prayers they once offered to the Sun and their royal ancestors, mixing them with the Catholic doctrine they had heard to create a new performance that honored Jesus.¹⁴ Inca noblemen would continue to choreograph a unique place for themselves in the Corpus Christi ceremony throughout the colonial period, marching in the garb of their imperial ancestors to celebrate the triumph of Christianity.¹⁵

After Francisco de Toledo's momentous visit to Cuzco, Inca nobles continued to make public displays of Christian zeal as they forged closer associations with the Jesuits who had arrived in Peru with the viceroy. This included dismantling their ancestral monuments to help build new churches for their spiritual allies. When the Jesuits began to construct their church on Cuzco's central plaza in the late 1570s, the order successfully petitioned

¹² Covey and Quave (2017). Local documents indicate that *yanacona* retainers tended to be the source of labor for more intensive valley-bottom agriculture, as well as herding.

¹³ The Second Lima Council ordered that special care be taken during the Corpus Christi ceremony so that "the Indians, pretending to make Christian festivals, should not secretly worship their idols and make other rites, as has happened" (Vargas Ugarte 1951:252 [1567–1568 #95]).

¹⁴ Juan Gómez ([1571] in *MP* 1:423).

¹⁵ Dean (1999) describes the Inca performances in the Corpus Christi procession.

the Crown to take stones from the ruins of the abandoned Inca religious complex of Sacsayhuaman.¹⁶ After Philip II granted the Jesuit request, the native population of Cuzco enthusiastically came to assist them with the project. José de Acosta reported that the Incas joined together in their lineages to organize work parties for the Jesuits. Dressed in their best garments and wearing their finest featherwork and jewelry, they came singing through Cuzco's streets, crying out to their friends and relatives, "Come, brothers, and we will bring stone to build the house of the Lord."¹⁷ The descendants of emperors dug through the remains of ancient Inca buildings to prepare the foundation and carried stone from other Inca structures around the city to raise the walls. In Cuzco, whose monuments had been built by Inca subjects to mark their subordination and to preserve the claims of imperial majesty, the Christian Incas eagerly worked to dismantle their imperial memories, and helped to build new ones as faithful subjects.¹⁸

By the end of the sixteenth century, Cuzco's Incas had distinguished and their faith through good deeds in their old capital. Their patronage raised new chapels in the city, and they established a confraternity, or *cofradía*, which cared for an image of the Child Christ (Figure 12.2). According to a Jesuit writer, members of that new *cofradía* were known for their edifying charity work, which included feeding large numbers of poor people every Sunday. The Jesuit said that the Incas prayed the Rosary, attended Mass regularly, and brought people to confession. Their Christian example had helped to eliminate traditional superstitions and idolatry across the region surrounding Cuzco, and when priests and friars preached against the old *huacas*, the Incas showed great shame about the beliefs of their ancestors.¹⁹ By the time the last living witnesses of the Inca world died, the descendants of emperors had helped to convert Cuzco into a cosmopolitan city whose leading citizens believed strongly that their city—the head of the kingdom of Peru—had special fidelity to Cross and Crown. The spiritual conquest of Cuzco was a significant advance, considering the Inca capital's former concentration of *huacas* and ritual specialists.²⁰

¹⁶ Francisco de Porres ([11/23/1577] in *MP* 2:323).

¹⁷ José de Acosta ([4/11/1579] in *MP* 2:617).

¹⁸ All was not perfect in the Inca-Jesuit relationship. Carlos Inca wrote to the Crown to protest the confiscation of his palace and lands by Francisco de Toledo, who gave at least some of them to the Jesuits (Philip II [5/1/1581] in *MP* 3:2).

¹⁹ Gregorio de Cisneros ([1/20/1599] in *MP* 6:642–643).

²⁰ For example, Polo de Ondegardo, in *Confessionario* (1585:16, chap. 15).



Figure 12.2. Image of Jesus as an Inca child, by an anonymous indigenous painter of the Cuzco school, eighteenth century. The noble Incas of Cuzco established a *cofradía* to care for a statue of the child Christ, which they sometimes dressed as an Inca. Used with permission from the Museo de Arte de Lima. Photograph: Daniel Giannoni.

Jesuit Alliances

The death of Philip II raised questions in Cuzco about whether the new king, Philip III, would preserve the special status of the Inca nobility. Lest they be viewed with suspicion, the Incas of Cuzco used their strong connections

to the Jesuits as an excuse to write the new king, to show him that they were not only good subjects but also good Christians. In a letter in 1601, a group describing themselves as the “grandsons of the eleven Incas, the natural lords who were in this kingdom of Peru” wrote to Philip III, praising the work that the Jesuits were doing in Cuzco. They had brought countless people to Catholic conversion and guided them away from superstitions and their idolatrous worship “of the Sun and Moon and other creatures and *huacas*, so that they worship only the true God.”²¹ On the basis of this service, the Incas asked their new king to send more Jesuits, so that they could establish a school for the sons of caciques, a request that was granted soon after.²²

These expressions of piety and royal ancestry were part of an Inca charm offensive aimed at safeguarding privileges that had come under attack a generation earlier, during the Toledan era. After the death of Philip II, the leading Inca men in Cuzco acted to ensure that their new king knew who they were. In 1603, they produced a new painted record of the living descendants of Inca kings, which they sent to their relatives in Spain.²³ Unlike Francisco de Toledo’s painted cloths, this account of Inca nobility was produced by the Incas for their own purposes, identifying 567 noble Incas living in Cuzco who were of royal descent through the male line.²⁴ The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega was one of the Iberian Incas who received the new genealogical record: “[T]hey asked us in the name of all [the Cuzco Incas] if we could ask his Majesty if he would be served to exempt them from the tributes that they pay, and from other vexations that they suffer along with the other common Indians.”²⁵ When he received the new genealogical information from his Cuzco relatives, Garcilaso de la Vega sent the painted cloth along to

²¹ Curacas and Incas Principales [2/1/1601] (*MP* 7:20 [1601]).

²² Philip III ([11/21/1603] in *MP* 8:443). In 1575 Toledo ordered the foundation of the *colegio de caciques* in Cuzco, in order to distance indigenous noblemen from their parents and encourage proper Christian practice. It was finally built in the early 1600s under the viceroy Francisco de Borja y Aragón—the grandson of St. Francis Borgia—and run by the Jesuits.

²³ See Mangan (2016); De la Puente Luna (2018).

²⁴ This adherence to Spanish descent denied the genealogical importance of Inca women, for the purpose of excluding “the sons of the Spaniards and conquistadors” who traced Inca descent through their maternal lines and wished to call themselves Incas (Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia* (bk. IX, chap. 40). See De la Puente Luna (2018) and Garrett (2005) on the colonial Incas.

²⁵ Garcilaso de la Vega (*Historia*, bk. IV, chap. 40). De la Puente Luna (2018) chronicles the actions of the Incas at court in Spain.

don Melchor Carlos Inca and don Alonso de Mesa, men of Inca descent who lived at court.

Don Melchor Carlos Inca was the great-grandson of Huayna Capac, and he had lived in Spain for a few years, sent there after he was drawn into Spanish conspiracies in Cuzco. The heir of don Carlos Inca and his noble Spanish wife, doña María de Esquivel, he inherited rich *encomiendas* and property in Cuzco and other places when his father died in 1582. Although he fathered several illegitimate children with an Inca woman of noble birth, the young man married a Spanish woman, the descendant of conquistadores.²⁶ Over time, the Inca heir had fallen in with a bad crowd, and Peru's viceroy wrote to Philip III, worried that he spent his time and money supporting poor soldiers "who might be better described as wastrels and lost men, who accompany him and provoke him to make trouble."²⁷ When his Spanish father-in-law was arrested for conspiracy in 1601, there were rumors that Melchor Carlos Inca had been part of the plot.²⁸ To keep him out of trouble and avoid future Spanish threats to royal officials, the descendant of Huayna Capac was sent to Spain, where he was made a knight of Santiago and given a rich income to sustain him in comfort there for the rest of his life.²⁹ The man many considered to be the last Inca died in rich exile in 1610.

That year, some 30,000 native people gathered in Cuzco to celebrate the news of the beatification of Ignatius de Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.³⁰ The festivities showed that the Inca nobility still held a place of prominence in the city, even if they could no longer claim a great empire. For more than a week, the eight indigenous Inca parishes of the Cuzco area marched from their churches to the Jesuit church on Cuzco's central plaza. On one day, the descendants of Hanan Cuzco came dressed in their regalia. On another, the parish of Santiago arrived singing and dancing, rejoicing "the way they used to in the time of the Inca Huayna Capac." When they reached the Jesuit church, the Inca confraternity of Jesus brought out an image of the Christ child, who was clothed in an Inca garment.

²⁶ Hemming (1970:462–463).

²⁷ Velasco (1926:193 [1599]).

²⁸ Murúa (2001 [c. 1613, bk. 1, chap. 85]).

²⁹ Although Hemming (1970:466) describes him as a "pathetic" figure, he possessed an impressive income, had a house with nearly a dozen servants, and was able to comport himself as a nobleman.

³⁰ *Relación de las Fiestas* (1610).

After weeks of celebrations, the descendants of the eleven Incas led an elaborate procession into Cuzco. The Incas came dressed in the finest traditional cloth and carrying scepters and the insignias of their royal houses. They were accompanied by lords who shaded them with plumed parasols, and they rode slowly into the city in brightly colored, feather-clad litters, borne on the shoulders of an indigenous crowd. The men playing long-dead emperors sat impassively in their full majesty, and when they passed the place where the city's Spanish officials and gentlemen were gathering, they acknowledged them with only a slight nod. For their part, the Spaniards doffed their hats in a sign of respect that seemed appropriate to all. After the arrival of the vanquished dynasty in its ancient capital, Inca men reproduced elements of their old dynastic histories, recounting the conquests of each of their ancestors and performing mock battles of Inca conquests at the distant frontiers of Quito and Chile.³¹

The Last Coya

Like the Inca title, the line of Coyas also became entwined with the Spanish nobility, although it established a legacy that would last until the final years of colonial rule in Peru. Inca women lost their power and historical voice as Spanish rule was established in the Andes, but there were still powerful Coyas who claimed a place that was denied to other women. For example, in 1586, Manco Inca's daughter, doña María Cusi Guarca Coya, wrote to Peru's viceroy, the Conde del Villar, to describe mercury, silver, and gold mines in Vilcabamba, which she said belonged to her ancestors.³² Spanish efforts to colonize Manco Inca's defeated realm made little progress after 1572, and the region was wasting away because the Spaniards found themselves unable to re-establish with the dominion that the Incas held over the lowland tribes. Inca mines were considered royal patrimony, and the Coya submitted her account of lowland mines with a business proposition: that she be given the license to manage the mines, along with her cousin, don Jorge Fernández de Mesa, and other relatives. She also proposed leading an expedition of discovery in Vilcabamba, to reveal the riches that her ancestors had enjoyed

³¹ There is no mention of Inca women taking part in the performances, a stark contrast with the Inca ceremonies that took place in the same plaza up to 1550.

³² Conde del Villar ([February 12, 1587] in *GPX*:230).

there, placing them at the service of Philip II as he fought against Protestants in Europe: “I will enter the land personally . . . bringing to peace all the natives of six provinces that have not yet [submitted].”³³ This was not the first instance of a powerful Inca woman promising service to the Crown, but the offer was rejected this time, a sign of how far women’s status had been brought down under Spanish rule. In the years that followed, the Spanish men entrusted with the governorship of Vilcabamba managed to generate little of the power and riches that the Coya offered.³⁴

A few years after doña María Cusi Guarcay Coya offered to push the Spanish frontier eastward in Vilcabamba, her daughter, doña Beatriz Coya, set out for the southernmost territories of the old empire. In 1592, the Coya traveled to Chile with her Spanish husband, Martín García de Loyola, along with a company of soldiers and Jesuits. Loyola had been named governor of Chile and sent to the southern frontiers in an attempt to end decades of determined native resistance to Spanish territorial expansion.³⁵ Loyola, the man known for capturing Tupa Amaru in 1572, went to confront the Araucanians, the name the Spaniards gave to the native groups that had for decades burned their colonial settlements and destroyed invading armies.³⁶ Although he was short of fighting men, the new governor took an aggressive approach to his post, building forts in contested territories, and establishing one as a town that he named Santa Cruz de Coya, after his Inca wife.

The new Spanish incursions did not go unchallenged, and Loyola found himself chasing Araucanian raiding parties that threatened his vulnerable colonial settlements. Two days before Christmas in 1598, Loyola led a company of approximately fifty Spaniards into the Curalaba Valley in central Chile. As the long summer day stretched into evening, the riders halted for the night along the river, pitching their tents and putting their horses out to pasture. There was good reason to be vigilant, but the Spaniards posted only a few sentries, who fell asleep as their doom approached.³⁷ A group of at least 150 Mapuche fighters from the nearby Purén Valley received word of the passing

³³ Conde del Villar ([December 26, 1586] in *GP* 10:235).

³⁴ See Bauer, Halac-Higashimori, and Cantarutti (2016) for several key documents on Vilcabamba.

³⁵ Córdoba y Figueroa (1862:163 [early 18th c. bk. 1, chap. 17]).

³⁶ The fiercest fighting seemed to have died down by the late 1560s, when Alonso de Ercilla published his epic poem *La Araucana* (1569), which celebrated the Spanish victory.

³⁷ This account of the “Disaster of Curalaba” draws on González de Nájera’s account of Chile (1889 [1607, *Relación* 5, chap. 1]), although there are others, including Serrano’s (1926 [1599]), who says that 300 mounted indigenous horsemen attacked the company



Figure 12.3. Diego de Ocaña's (1605) representation of the death of Martín García de Loyola. Note that the Mapuche and Spanish men are similarly mounted and dressed.

Spaniards, and the warriors were already making their way quietly toward the camp.

Although Spaniards described native warriors as bandits who preyed on travelers on the road between Spanish towns, the armed men coming toward the Spanish governor represented a long-simmering indigenous resistance that was about to explode into outright war. Ascertaining that their enemies were completely unprepared, the Mapuches resolved to attack, and fell silently and suddenly on the sleeping men in the tents. In the largest tent, Martín García de Loyola met death “by a thousand wounds” as he scrambled to dress and face the assault (Figure 12.3).³⁸ After their victory, the native peoples of the southern frontier rose up together to fight the Spanish

in the morning, killing the Spaniards and 200 retainers who were with them. See Zavala (2014) for a recent overview of the region.

³⁸ González de Nájera notes the rumor that he was led naked and bound to Mapuche territory, where they killed him in a great public celebration. Diego de Ocaña (1605), depicts his death as a fight on horseback with a treacherous retainer (*yana*).

invaders and drive them from the land. The Mapuches removed Loyola's head from his corpse and bore it throughout their territory as a standard to unite their people.³⁹ The skull of the man who had brought the Inca Tupa Amaru to his beheading in Cuzco was used as a ceremonial drinking cup for more than forty years, until it was recovered by the Spaniards during peace negotiations.⁴⁰

The indigenous war of reconquest spread quickly across Chile, taking the scattered Spanish population by surprise. After decades of relative calm, many were convinced that the natives living within the frontiers were good Christians "as loyal and civilized as the Incas of Cuzco."⁴¹ Over the months that followed, however, Spanish towns across Chile fell one by one, and the viceroy Luis de Velasco sent for Loyola's widow, doña Beatriz Coya, who had escaped from the town of La Concepción not long before it was attacked. The Inca princess undertook the dangerous journey to Lima with her young daughter, Ana María de Loyola y Coya. They settled among their Inca kin after their arrival, while arrangements were made for their future. The viceroy recommended sending both to Spain, where they could enjoy the huge incomes from their Cuzco estates.⁴² Before this plan could be put into effect, doña Beatriz Coya fell ill and died on March 21, 1600. She was buried in the Dominican convent in Lima.⁴³

After the passing of the great-great-granddaughter of the powerful empress Mama Ocllo, Peru's viceroy wrote to Philip III to recommend that doña Beatriz Coya's orphaned daughter be sent from Lima to live in Spain.⁴⁴ Doña Ana María de Loyola y Coya was a rich heiress whose powerful

³⁹ By 1600, indigenous forces had sacked the city of Valdivia, and had burned several other Spanish settlements, killing hundreds of men and carrying off women and children (e.g., AGI Patronato 228, R.3 [1600]; 228, R.10 [1600]; 228 R.18 [1600]). González de Nájera said that after the governor's death, there was "a widespread rebellion, the start of the greatest losses that the Spaniards had in Chile . . . they razed the cities of Valdivia, the Imperial, the Villarica, Orosno, and that of the Infantes de Angel. Those savage barbarians [made] in them such cruelties, damage, and bloodshed that had never before been seen in any *entrada*."

⁴⁰ Hemming (1970).

⁴¹ Serrano (1926:143 [1599]). He blamed the uprising on Martín García de Loyola, who ignored the counsel of more experienced Spaniards and settled a fort in Lumaco, where eighteen Spaniards had been killed earlier.

⁴² Velasco (1926:192 [1599]).

⁴³ Temple (1950) and Lamana (1999) review documents related to her will.

⁴⁴ Velasco (1926:192–193 [1599]).

ancestry included revered Jesuits and Inca emperors, and there were fears that she might be used as a pawn in Cuzco, the way her mother had been.

The young Coya arrived at court the year after her second cousin, don Melchor Carlos Inca, and she was admitted into the innermost noble circle. Philip III had the girl placed in the house of don Juan de Borja y Castro, the Conde de Mayalde y de Ficalho. Doña Ana María lived with the family for several years, until 1611, when the king selected a husband for the eighteen-year-old: Juan Enríquez de Borja y Almansa, the nephew of her foster father and a nobleman who traced his descent through the Borgia line, to St. Francis Borgia and Pope Alexander VI.⁴⁵ When the two were married, the houses of Inca emperors and Jesuit saints became even more enmeshed.

The year before her marriage, doña Ana María saw a favorable outcome from a long legal battle that her parents had launched against the Crown over retainer labor in the Yucay Valley. After the marriage of doña Beatriz Coya and her husband, the couple held the grant over the valley's tributary population, which included hundreds of colonial-era servants, called *yanaconas*, who had been reclassified as tributary laborers. The couple argued that several hundred other households in the valley had been Inca servants and should also have been part of their grant. They sued the Crown, and legal proceedings had been ongoing since the 1570s.⁴⁶

When the judgment finally came back in doña Ana María's favor, she sued the Crown for a generation of tributes that had not been paid to her parents' estate. In response, Philip III granted her the Yucay Valley as a noble fief, making her the first Marquesa de Oropesa, one of the rare feudal titles ever granted in the Americas. Although this was a remarkable concession to a descendant of Inca royalty, it draws attention to what had been lost. The vast empire and personal estates of Huayna Capac had shrunk to a small feudal realm, and the last Coya was now recognized by a Spanish title. The Marquesa traveled to Peru in 1615 with her husband and his cousin Francisco de Borja y Aragón, who had just been named viceroy of Peru. She spent several years in Lima before journeying for the first time to the lands of her ancestors. She settled in Yucay with her husband and lived there until 1627, when the couple returned to Spain.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Hemming (1970:464).

⁴⁶ Covey and Elson (2007).

⁴⁷ Hemming (1970:470–471).

Peruvian Saints and Inca Heretics

When doña Ana María returned to Lima as the Marquesa de Oropesa, the city had changed significantly since her first arrival as a girl. In 1600, Lima was just emerging from a generation of spiritual warfare, during which an array of Catholic figures had fought to establish the orthodox practices dictated by the Council of Trent. Even the arrival of zealous reinforcements—the Jesuits and officials from the Inquisition—had failed to bring a quick end to the mixing of magical practices and prophecy among the European, Andean, and African populations of the city. Soon after reaching Lima, in 1569, Inquisition officials began to take action against those who were secretly practicing Judaism, Protestantism, and African healing and divining rituals.⁴⁸ The officials targeted practices of “witchcraft” and “sorcery” that mixed together among Lima’s diverse lower classes, and the city was a place of scandalous rumor and public religious punishment.⁴⁹

During its first decade in Peru, the Inquisition in Lima also confronted the apocalyptic prophecies that cropped up when the viceroy Francisco de Toledo reached Peru and set in motion his grand plan to impose a new colonial order. In 1569, a Spanish girl named doña María Pizarro began to see visions of saints and demons, and she claimed that the archangel Gabriel visited her, offering glimpses of the future.⁵⁰ She was eventually tried by the Inquisition, as was her lead exorcist—and the father of her two illicit children—Luis López, a Jesuit who was caught in possession of subversive documents denouncing Francisco de Toledo’s actions and challenging Philip II’s right to rule in the Indies.⁵¹ Inquisition officials arrested another of María Pizarro’s exorcists, Francisco de la Cruz, a prominent Dominican friar who was “reputed to be a saint.”⁵² While attending to the girl, the Dominican received his own revelation from the archangel Gabriel: angels would soon destroy Europe with fire; the papacy would be transferred to Lima; and Grabiélico, the illegitimate son of de la Cruz and his mistress doña

⁴⁸ Garofalo (2006); Schwartz (2008).

⁴⁹ For accounts of these processes in the seventeenth century, see Hampe-Martínez (1996); Silverblatt (2004).

⁵⁰ Pastore (2016:68).

⁵¹ Brosseder (2014:64–65); Pastore (2016). After attempting to exorcise a horde of black demons that harried María Pizarro, López went to Cuzco, where he witnessed Toledo’s execution of the Inca Tupa Amaru.

⁵² From a 1572 letter quoted in (Toribio Medina 1887:57).

Leonor de Valenzuela, would become the heir of Solomon, charged with reforming and remaking the Old World.⁵³ After a seven-year trial in Lima, the Dominican was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1578.

Four years after that execution, the spiritual tide began to change for the city. A new archbishop, Toribio de Mogrovejo, arrived in the viceregal capital, and convened a third Lima council to address religious reform.⁵⁴ Despite the threat coming from heretical Christians among the Spanish population, Church officials once again singled out indigenous Andean shamans as a demonic plague threatening Christian progress. They determined “that these old sorcerers should be gathered in one place, and imprisoned there so that they should not . . . infect the rest of the Indians.”⁵⁵ When the council concluded its deliberations in 1583, it published the results using Lima’s newly established printing press, producing new texts to guide priests as Inquisition officials worked to censor and confiscate inappropriate literature that was in circulation.⁵⁶ Even as Mogrovejo and other Church officials tried to improve Catholic doctrine and Christian living in Lima, they continued to view the unconquered *huacas* of the remote highlands as an ongoing threat to their mission.

The arrival of Mogrovejo, a reforming holy man who would one day become a Catholic saint, occurred at a time when Lima’s shaky foundation was plain in both a literal and spiritual sense. A wave of powerful earthquakes rocked the city in 1581 and 1584, flattening the adobe houses and churches of the indigenous and Spanish populations. A third earthquake struck on the morning of July 9, 1586, ripping apart irrigation canals, opening up ancient *huacas*, and creating a tsunami that tossed boats onto land as the ocean reached inland as far as the Dominican monastery. It was considered a miracle that the cataclysm only killed a few dozen people, a sign of God’s merciful judgment.⁵⁷ The Conde de Villar, Peru’s viceroy, wrote to Philip II that although earthquakes were a common natural phenomenon in the Andes, “it seems

⁵³ Vivanco-Roca Rey (2006:28–29). The proceeding against de la Cruz can be found at AHN Inquisición 1650, Exp. 1.

⁵⁴ Vargas Ugarte (1951). The Second Lima Council took place in the late 1560s, in the wake of the anti-idolatri campaigns that stoked fears of the Taki Onqoy movement.

⁵⁵ Vargas Ugarte (1951:340 [1583 Cap. 43]).

⁵⁶ The first books were a guide to Christian doctrine (1584), a confessional (1585), and a catechism (1585) for priests working with native populations, which followed the ordinances of the Third Lima Council. A new Quechua grammar and lexicon appeared the following year (Toribio Medina 1904).

⁵⁷ Conde de Villar ([November 3, 1586] in *GP* 10:171–181).

that it was the punishment that Our Lord wished to mete out for the sins of those who live there.”⁵⁸ As royal officials surveyed the damage, estimated at two million ducats, the religious men and women of the city displayed great Christian spirit to heal and rebuild the community. To thank God for sparing the lives of Lima’s people, the viceroy ordered a new religious procession between the Franciscan monastery and the heavily damaged cathedral, creating a new brotherhood (*cofradía*) to organize it every year, and writing to the pope to request that the celebration be treated as a jubilee.⁵⁹

The exemplary zeal of religious men and women in Lima after the 1586 earthquake hinted at the dawning of a new saintly era for the city. Indeed, a future saint, St. Toribius of Mogrovejo presided over the city’s cathedral. A Spanish girl named Isabel Flores de Oliva—the future St. Rose of Lima—was born just weeks before the earthquake. The archbishop eventually confirmed the girl, who became known for her asceticism, bouts of religious ecstasy, and service to Lima’s poor. Mogrovejo confirmed another future saint, an Afro-Peruvian boy named Juan Martín de Porres Velázquez, who was born in 1579 and grew up among Lima’s poor. As a member of the Dominican order, he served as a healer whose miraculous powers offered a saintly contrast to the diabolical work of Andean shamans and Afro-Peruvian conjurers that went on secretly in the city.⁶⁰ Francisco Solano (St. Francis Solanus) reached Peru in 1589 and eventually settled into a ministry in Lima after achieving miraculous conversions and mass baptisms among the Araucanians.⁶¹ A few years before doña Beatriz Coya and her daughter arrived in Lima, an image of Christ that had hung in the indigenous parish, Santiago del Cercado, became associated with miracles, and Mogrovejo moved it to Lima’s cathedral.⁶²

Lima’s spiritual transformation took place during a new era for Catholicism, which followed a generation of efforts to implement the new doctrine coming out of the Council of Trent. As the Reformation spread in Europe and the Catholic Church devised its doctrinal response, there had been a hiatus of nearly seventy years in the canonization of new saints.⁶³ In 1588, the recognition of new saints resumed, ushering in a boom of new

⁵⁸ Conde de Villar ([November 3, 1586] in *GP* 10:172).

⁵⁹ Conde de Villar ([November 3, 1586] in *GP* 10:180).

⁶⁰ See Cussen (2014). St. Martin de Porres was canonized in 1962.

⁶¹ Oré (1998 [1613]).

⁶² Marqués de Cañete ([1593] in *GP* 13:101).

⁶³ Burke (1984) notes that canonizations essentially stopped between 1523 and 1588.

canonizations that stretched well into the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ This development reflects the increasing papal control over the process of recognizing saints, a response to local acts to venerate men and women who were known for their blameless lives, and who were associated with miracles. In Lima, St. Martin of Porres was renowned for his miraculous cures. St. Francis Solanus prayed so fervently that his body floated in mid-air. St. Rose of Lima had the gift of prophecy, and had once prayed so powerfully that she drove off Dutch corsairs who were threatening Lima.⁶⁵ After their deaths, the bodies and personal effects of these powerful Christians continued to perform miracles.⁶⁶

The Jesuit relationship with the Inca nobility in Cuzco contrasted with the persistent fears of idolatry and heresy in Lima and other parts of the Andes. The viceregal capital continued to be a nexus of the saintly and the sacrilegious. Even as miracles accumulated in Lima, Inquisition officials continued to apprehend and punish those who resisted orthodox Catholicism. With the patriarchal displacement of women's power in the Andes, it is not surprising that many female ritual practitioners—among them honored midwives and healers—were denounced as witches. The men of the Church actively pursued them from the late 1500s into the mid-1600s. Campaigns against the *huacas* included witch-hunts that targeted women's independence and unsanctioned ritual power in ways that were deeply familiar in Europe. Inquisition officials arrested women of all racial statuses.⁶⁷ The diversity of these accused witches reflects ritual practices derived from multiple religious sources: Catholic, Jewish, *morisca*, and Inca. Documents from witchcraft trials occasionally note that the accused invoked the Inca and the Coya in their ritual incantations.⁶⁸ In some instances, women prayed to the Inca king as a figure from Peru's pagan antiquity, but at least one practitioner called to the Christian mestizo don Melchor Carlos Inca in her prayers.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ In 1588, a Spaniard, Diego de Alcalá, was canonized as Philip II prepared to send his Armada against England. He had been a missionary to the Canary Islands in the 1400s, and his relics, which were considered holy, had miraculously healed Philip II's son don Carlo (Villalon 1997).

⁶⁵ Mazzotti (2009:386). Cussen (2005) explores the link between beatification and extirpation in colonial Peru.

⁶⁶ For example, Córdoba y Salinas (1643) chronicles the miracles of St. Francis Solanus, as part of a push for canonization on the part of Lima's creole population that began immediately after his death.

⁶⁷ Silverblatt (2004:166); cf. Hampe-Martínez (1996).

⁶⁸ Silverblatt (2004:174–179).

⁶⁹ Silverblatt (2004:176–177).

After Melchor Carlos Inca died in Spain in 1610, many in Peru came to view this “last Inca king” as a supernatural figure.

As they punished healers and mediums in the city, Lima’s religious leaders renewed their efforts to drive idolatry from Andean landscapes. They sent inspectors out into the surrounding highlands to destroy *huacas*, arrest sorcerers and witches, and root out rituals that were deeply embedded in local cultural practices.⁷⁰ The growing extirpation movement did not blame Inca elites for highland idolatry the way Francisco de Toledo had when he enacted his massive resettlement program. Nevertheless, there is evidence that many of the forbidden practices under attack were considered “Inca.” Accused witches were found in possession of artifacts from Inca times, and their rituals used sacraments known from that lost empire: coca leaf, maize beer, guinea pigs, and Andean herbs. Even the bones of the unbaptized dead could be used to conjure up powerful aid.⁷¹ Alongside these everyday markers of Andean indigenous life, some sacred objects received reverence because they were considered relics of the Inca era. Jesuit writers told of finding unusual rocks clothed in Inca-style textiles and associated with ceremonial weapons, and one extirpator discovered the mummified remains of a local *kuraka*, still wearing fine garments given to him by the Inca emperor.⁷² Indigenous people continued to revere Inca ruins as *huacas*, leading religious officials to propose dismantling fine masonry platforms that still stood in abandoned imperial centers.⁷³

Angels and demons still fought over human bodies across the Andean highlands, but priests and friars celebrated new miracles that signaled the power of Christian relics over the old Andean supernatural forces (Figure 12.4). Even though the Gospel had not reached all indigenous peoples, Spaniards reported discovering signs of ancient Christian power in the Andean highlands. In the silver mines of Cajatambo, indigenous miners found an iron nail thought to have come from Christ’s cross.⁷⁴ In the Titicaca Basin, a priest discovered that the native population was venerating a cross that he believed was placed beneath the Inca temples by one of Christ’s original disciples. During a volcanic eruption near Arequipa, a Spaniard found a large

⁷⁰ There is a huge literature describing these extirpations, including Duviols (2008), MacCormack (1991), and Mills (1997).

⁷¹ Silverblatt (2004).

⁷² In *MP* 7:76, 734; Arriaga (1621, chap. 1).

⁷³ Albornoz (1989 [1584]).

⁷⁴ Dávalos y Figueroa (1602: f. 165v Col. 36).



Figure 12.4. Image of the Jesuit martyr Antonio López holding a poisoned cup given to him by enemies of the faith in Peru. From Matthias Tanner (1675), *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans in Europea, Africa, Asia, et America*. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

yellow tunic and a leather sandal that many believed were garments of that apostle.⁷⁵ Elsewhere, native Andeans began to pray to the Virgin during natural disasters, and there were reports that she was responsible for miraculous

⁷⁵ Dávalos y Figueroa (1602: f. 164–165v Col. 36); cf. Ramos Gavilán (1621, pt. I, chaps. 9–11).

rescues from floodwaters and landslides.⁷⁶ The sanctuary of the Virgin of Copacabana emerged as a particularly powerful shrine, a place where noble Incas fashioned cult images and led the way in transforming their old imperial creation pilgrimage into a place of Catholic worship.⁷⁷

1650

The Christian transformation of Inca Cuzco seemed to be complete well before 1650, the time Christopher Columbus had prophesied that biblical prophecy would be fulfilled, and Christ would return. But that year saw cataclysmic events that were reminiscent of both biblical scourges, as well as the disasters that signaled the turning over of the Andean universe. The summer monsoon of 1650 brought unprecedented downpours, “so that for six months it never stopped raining.”⁷⁸ Floodwaters scoured the fertile floors of the river valleys, and landslides peeled away the hillsides as the saturated earth lost its grip on the steep mountain slopes. The waters were beginning to subside when a more devastating force struck the former Inca capital. On a Thursday afternoon at the end of March, just before Easter, the earth began to shake violently in Cuzco, sending the population running into the plazas and streets, confused and terrified.⁷⁹ The main tremors, which seemed to last for several minutes, leveled every church and monastery in the city, throwing down the repurposed Inca masonry that the indigenous population had raised up decades earlier in performances of Christian fervor. Most of Cuzco’s houses were damaged beyond repair, and after the initial shock subsided, the city remained in turmoil: “[T]he men went about through the streets like madmen—and the women without their veils—searching for their women and children, brothers [seeking] their sisters, friends [searching] for their own, with such shouts and howls that it seemed like Judgment Day” (Figure 12.5).⁸⁰

⁷⁶ E.g., Calancha (1639, bk. IV, chap. 15).

⁷⁷ Ramos Gavilán (1621). Even by 1598, Oré (f. 33) said that the image of the Virgin was associated with “great miracles.”

⁷⁸ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:1).

⁷⁹ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:1). Villanueva Urteaga (1970) has published the eyewitness documentation of the earthquake. Recent secondary studies include Schreffler (2010) and Stanfield-Mazzi (2007).

⁸⁰ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:1).



Figure 12.5. An anonymous painting in the Cathedral of Cuzco, depicting central Cuzco during the 1650 earthquake. Used with permission from the Museo de Arte de Lima.

As Cuzco's people surveyed the damage, their Catholic leaders mounted a series of religious processions through the devastated city, trying to appease God's wrath. Priests, friars, and nuns recovered their sacred and miraculous objects from the rubble, assembling them in the central plaza as night fell. They remained there until morning, lit by candles, as the population streamed steadily past, wearing whatever garments they had fled their homes in. "They were there preaching through the night, and as the speaker begged for mercy, there were so many tears, wails, and sobs that it seemed that the world was ending."⁸¹

Dawn came, clear and calm, but it brought more fear and confusion as aftershocks began to strike the city, causing many to think that God intended to finish off the city as a punishment for their sins. Returning their religious

⁸¹ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:2).

icons to the ruined churches and convents, the people of Cuzco set up altars in the city plazas, where they performed great acts of contrition, calling out to God to beg for mercy. Standing and kneeling in the open, they desperately confessed their sins, “inspiring horror and terror in the hardest of hearts.”⁸²

These spontaneous performances continued into the next day, but so did the aftershocks, which continued to damage the cathedral to the point where the town councils decided to carry out another procession of the Holy Sacrament through the ruined city. Among the thousand religious men who joined it were the Mercedarians, who went forth “with bare feet and heads, covered in ashes, with ropes tied around their throats, gags on their tongues, burdened with chains.” Their leader bore an image of Christ in one hand and a human skull in another. The other religious orders produced their own grim spectacles: a leading Franciscan appeared with a crown of thorns set on his forehead. The head of Cuzco’s Franciscans, Juan de Herrera, joined the procession almost completely naked and bound by a rope held by one of his novices, as he walked the city, shouting, “This is the justice our Lord God demands be done to this evil man, for through his sins has come the ruin of this City.”⁸³ The sky clouded over, and as darkness descended once more, the earth continued its shaking.

The tremors continued in the days that followed—more than 120 in the first week after the main quake—and the terrified populace moved into the plazas, where they constructed tents and other temporary shelters. Weeks later, a papal official wrote from Cuzco that “to live in this city is to die.” News trickled in from the countryside of similar devastation in indigenous communities. Calamity and ruin were spread for miles around around the city, and it was said that not a house or church remained standing.⁸⁴ The tremors continued day and night, and news of natural devastation arrived daily from the countryside: “[T]he earth is opened up, the mountains broken off; great numbers of people and animals are buried; volcanoes of fire, stone, sand, and colored and malodorous water spew forth; the roads are blocked and the rivers dammed.”⁸⁵ Despite a modest body count in Cuzco, the economic prospects for the region were sobering, and the aftershocks continued to strike.

⁸² *Relación del Temblor* (1651:2).

⁸³ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:3).

⁸⁴ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:4).

⁸⁵ *Relación del Temblor* (1651:4).

Cuzco's deliverance came months later, after an untold number of deaths from disease, disrupted rural food supplies, and exposure to the elements. Accounts of what transpired vary, reflecting a century of legendary retellings of the earthquake and its aftermath. After enduring five months of aftershocks in the ruins of their once-great city, the residents of Cuzco finally received the mercy they begged for. Earlier processions with sacred objects had failed to still the shaking earth, but finally a large statue of the crucified Christ—an object shrouded in legend—was discovered undamaged in the cathedral and taken through the city at the head of yet another procession.⁸⁶ As the statue passed through Cuzco, the tremors finally ceased. The Spanish elite of Cuzco formed a new confraternity to care for the icon, called Lord of the Earthquakes (*Señor de los Temblores*). Christ did not return in 1650, but instead revealed an avatar that shared the same supernatural essence of the most powerful brother in the Inca myth of ancestral origins.⁸⁷ Cuzco was not destroyed, and its houses and churches were eventually rebuilt, although the Inca nobility receded even further from their ancient glory as the new colonial city rose.

⁸⁶ Stanfield-Mazzi (2013) describes some of the stories surrounding the statue, noting that recent conservation work concluded that the object was of indigenous fabrication, from the time of Francisco de Toledo.

⁸⁷ The ancestor called Ayar Oche caused landslides with his sling until his brothers walled him up in their origin cave, where he still shook the earth. It is worth noting that in the decades following the earthquake indigenous people discovered other avatars of the crucified Christ, organizing pilgrimages to them and creating Quechua songs and hymns for their worship (see Durston 2010; Sallnow 1987).

Postscript

The Unconquered Inca

The supernatural drama surrounding the 1650 earthquake brings the story of the Inca apocalypse in Cuzco to a close. The status of the Inca nobility in the city continued to fade over almost two more centuries of Spanish colonial rule, but they remained faithful subjects and good Christians to the very end. Cuzco stood with the Crown during the 1780 revolution led by the *kuraka* Tupac Amaru II, for which the city received the title “Most Faithful” (*Fidelísima*) and all the privileges that Lima held as the capital of Peru.¹ As the final war of independence began a few decades later, Cuzco’s Incas resisted the revolutionary call once more. After Lima fell to the army of José de San Martín in 1821, the last viceroy, José de La Serna e Hinojosa, fled into the Andes at the head of what remained of the royalist army. He eventually made his way to Cuzco and took up residence. On June 8, 1824, as a patriot army under the liberator Simón Bolívar was approaching, the Inca noblemen of the city made an unusual request of the viceroy. With the last vestiges of colonial Peru at risk of imminent destruction, they asked permission to celebrate the feast day of Santiago with the same kind of ancestral performances that took place to make the beatification of St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1610.² The Incas were among the very last loyal Spanish subjects in the Americas.

The fidelity of Inca men in Cuzco contrasts with the power of “the Inca” to galvanize resistance to Spanish rule in the Andes. As Inca sovereignty passed over to the Spanish crown and the last Inca and Coya were absorbed into the Spanish nobility, the royal title still inspired the belief that an Inca

¹ Letter from the viceroy of Peru (AGI Lima 668, N.44, Carta 37 [March 16, 1784]).

² Garrett (2005:1).

might transform the Andes again. Legends circulated about unconquered Inca realms deep in the equatorial jungles of South America, and in 1595 Sir Walter Raleigh launched an unsuccessful expedition to the Guayana region of Venezuela to reach a gold-rich Inca realm. Raleigh claimed that he would contact an Inca city called Manoa, and that in doing so he would be fulfilling ancient prophecies of English liberation from Spanish oppression.³ In 1620, a mestizo named Diego Ramírez Carlos led a priest into the Bolivian lowland plains in search of a group of Incas who wished to receive Christianity. The priest began to have doubts when his guide claimed to be the son of don Melchor Carlos Inca. Elsewhere, prophetic visions of an Inca restoration persisted, and there were even rumors that St. Rose of Lima and St. Francis Solanus, the Catholic saints who once ministered in Lima, had foretold the Inca return.⁴

The Inca mantle continued to be seductive for revolutionaries, prophets, and charlatans who rallied the Andean uplands against Spanish law and Christian order.⁵ In 1656, an Andalusian named Pedro Bohorques installed himself in the Tucumán region of Argentina, calling himself Huallpa Inca and claiming to be the Inca emperor of an Amazonian realm called Paititi. He told the locals that he had left his crown and riches behind, so that he could come to them and help them to throw off Spanish tyranny, enabling him to reclaim Peru as his rightful throne.⁶ Whether or not they believed he was really a descendant of the Incas, the people of the Calchaquí Valley saw Huallpa Inca as someone to rally around to fight outside rule, and they rose up with him in 1659, attacking Spanish towns in Tucuman before Bohorques was finally defeated and taken prisoner.

It would be easy to dismiss Huallpa Inca as just a phony “last” Inca, an imposter who coasted on the fumes of the imperial legacy to enrich himself

³ Raleigh (2006:219): “[T]here was found among the prophecies in Peru (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the loss of the said empire, that from Inglatierra [England] those Ingas should be again in time to come restored and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors.”

⁴ Lorandi (2005:24); Cahill (2000:101–102).

⁵ Flores Galindo (2010) traces the thread of “Inca” resistance and utopian fervor through colonial times and up to the Shining Path movement, which was still raging in the central Andean highlands when he wrote.

⁶ Lozano (1875 [early 1700s, bk. 5, chap. 2]). Lorandi (2005) notes discrepancies between this account and other sources. Silverblatt (2004:181) notes the belief that he was Melchor Carlos Inca.

in a distant frontier where no Inca king had been seen in almost two centuries. But with the demographic recovery of Andean populations in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came other revived Incas who promised to drive out the Spaniards and restore the ancient ways.⁷ The final century of Spanish rule saw a series of native independence movements, several of them led by new Incas. Juan Santos Atahualpa embraced a messianic Inca identity to lead a rebellion in the jungles of the eastern Andean slope from 1742 until his death in around 1755.⁸ Pushing back against a new tide of missionary encroachment in the lowlands, his movement defeated Spanish forces repeatedly, occupied mission sites, and drew a diverse following that numbered in the thousands.

In Cuzco, other men promoted their Inca ancestry in pursuit of a richer prize: title to the Yucay Valley marquisate that Philip III had awarded to doña Ana María Loyola y Coya. This feudal estate became vacant and reverted to the crown in 1741, after the fifth marquesa died childless in Spain. The following year, a man named Juan de Bustamante Carlos Inca presented a claim to the title and estate.⁹ After a lengthy review, the Council of the Indies rejected the petition in 1747, but it awarded the claimant a gentleman's title and generous pension, on the condition that he never return to Peru.¹⁰ In making its determination, the council ordered the viceroy to update the state of knowledge of the Inca nobility: the genealogical paintings that Inca noblemen had sent to Spain in 1603. Working secretly to avoid discord, the viceroy was charged with determining "how many [Incas] there are, where they live, and what privileges they enjoy."¹¹ Inca identity gained new relevance, and exaggerated accounts of the favors granted to Bustamante spurred other indigenous nobles to document their genealogies in the hopes of receiving similar treatment.

Bustamante's ancestral claim through the line of Paullu Inca ultimately failed to secure the Yucay Valley for him, and two other men stepped forward to claim the estate by tracing their lineages from the Vilcabamba Incas. Diego Felipe de Betancur and José Gabriel Condorcanqui both alleged descent

⁷ Pease (1977:28).

⁸ De la Torre López (2004:23) provides an overview of this movement, noting that Juan Santos Atahualpa "says he is an Inca of Cuzco." According to Stern (1987:43), he claimed descent from Atahualpa, the warlord captured and executed at Cajamarca.

⁹ Cahill (2013).

¹⁰ Cahill (2013:263).

¹¹ Cahill (2013:264), my translation.

from the doomed Inca Tupa Amaru, through an illegitimate daughter who married the cacique of Surimana, a town in the uplands to the southeast of Cuzco.¹² Neither man was successful in this claim. After Condorcanqui failed to achieve the recognition and honors he sought from the Spanish crown, he pursued a course that many other would-be Incas had followed before him. Taking the name Tupac Amaru II, he assumed a leading role in an indigenous rebellion that spread through the Andean highlands in 1780 and afterward.¹³ As noted above, that movement failed, in part because the Incas of Cuzco remained loyal to the crown.

The unsuccessful resurrection of an Inca lord in the Marquesado of Oropesa coincided with the broader adoption of the Inca. By the time of Peru's war of independence, Spanish-Peruvian leaders in Lima were already promoting the Inca Empire as a symbol of national sovereignty that justified their fight for an independent Peru.¹⁴ As we have seen, Peruvian independence opened up the former lands of the Inca Empire, which became a place for Western scientists and historians to seek collections and pronounce the superiority of their modern civilizations.

That discourse has continued to broaden since the mid-1800s, and the Incas have come to be treated as the patrimony of all humanity. The discovery of Machu Picchu made headlines around the world, and in 1983 Machu Picchu and the historic center of Cuzco were inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Three million visitors now flock to Cuzco each year from around the world, to see the old Inca capital and visit Machu Picchu, announced as one of the "New 7 Wonders of the World" in 2007. Raised to a global scale, the Incas inspire less dramatic acts—an adventure vacation, perhaps, or a deep dive into a book like this—but the apocalyptic changes that transformed their world still offer fresh lessons for people making a place in the world today.

¹² Rowe (1982) reviews these genealogical claims. Covey and Amado (2008) have published a large body of the documentation assembled as part of the Betancur claim.

¹³ See Stavig (1999); Walker (2014).

¹⁴ See Earle (2007); cf. Méndez (1996) for the years after independence.

Glossary

- adelantado (Spanish, Sp).** A Spanish title given to an individual advancing royal service, including new explorations or conquests.
- alférez real (Sp).** Royal standard bearer, a title granted to Christian Incas in Cuzco during Spanish colonial rule.
- alguacil mayor (Sp).** Chief constable of a Spanish jurisdiction.
- aqllawasi (Quechua, Q).** “House of the Chosen,” an Inca cloister that trained girls to weave, brew, and prepare food in the imperial style.
- Audiencia real (Sp).** Royal Audience, an administrative body created to govern in the Americas, consisting of a viceroy and several judges (*oidores*).
- awka runa (Q).** The “enemy people” of Guaman Poma de Ayala’s fourth age of humanity.
- ayllu (Q).** An extended family, local community, or group that pools subsistence labor in the Andean highlands.
- behetría (Sp).** A Spanish legal term for societies that lacked hereditary rulers.
- borla (Q).** The royal Inca insignia. It was a wool circle worn around the head, with a fringe that dangled on the forehead almost to the level of the eyes.
- bull (Latin).** A public decree issued by a pope.
- cabildo (Sp).** Town council in a Spanish community.
- cacicazgo (Sp).** The domain of a cacique.
- cacique (Taino).** A Caribbean term for a chief or local lord. The Spanish spread this term to other parts of the Americas, including Peru, where they used the term to refer to local elites in native *encomiendas*. The term is often used interchangeably with the Quechua administrative term *kuraka*.
- chacara (Q).** An agricultural field.
- chicha (Taino).** Maize beer. This term was brought to Peru by the Spaniards and used in place of the Quechua term, *aqha*.
- chullpa (Q).** A mortuary tower in the Andean highlands. The best known date to the Late Intermediate Period (1000–1400 CE) in the south-central Andes.

- cofradía (Sp).** A Catholic brotherhood organized for the care of a religious festival or icon.
- composición de tierras (Sp).** The titling process initiated by Philip II after he had declared ownership of all land in the Americas. Indigenous communities received individual allotments of land for subsistence needs and tribute payment; “excess” lands were auctioned by royal officials.
- conquistador (Sp).** A general term for Spaniards fighting in the Americas to conquer native societies and take plunder.
- converso (Sp).** A Jewish convert to Christianity in Spain.
- convivencia (Sp).** The “living together” seen in early Muslim Spain, where Christian and Jewish populations enjoyed a degree of religious tolerance.
- corregidor (Sp).** A local Spanish administrative official, overseeing a division called a *corregimiento*.
- Coya (Q).** The title of the Inca empress.
- encomendero/encomendera (Sp).** The trustee granted a body of Native American laborers, theoretically in exchange for teaching them Christian doctrine.
- encomienda (Sp).** A religious trust whereby a Christian trustee received labor from a grant of Native Americans, for which the trustee was supposed to provide Christian instruction.
- hacienda (Sp).** A colonial estate.
- Hanan Cuzco (Q).** “Upper Cuzco,” a group of six royal Inca lineages, descended from the later rulers, who built the empire.
- huaca (Q).** A term for supernatural things in the Andes, which could be places or objects representing them. Spaniards used the term to describe those portable objects, as well as the ancient pyramids found on the Pacific coast.
- Haucaypata (Q).** The central plaza of Cuzco.
- huari runa (Q).** People of Guaman Poma de Ayala’s second age of humanity.
- Hurin Cuzco (Q).** “Lower Cuzco,” a group of four to five of the earliest Inca lineages, descended from the founding Inca, Manco Capac.
- Inca (Q).** The title of emperor in the Inca Empire. Also refers to the people of Cuzco and their empire.
- kamayuq (Q).** An Inca artisan, one who “possesses the essence” of a particular activity, like weaving. Local Inca officials were called *llaqtakamayuq*, “the one who personifies the village.”
- kipu (Q).** Inca knotted cords, used to record numerical accounts. Some kipu were used as memory aids for recalling Inca oral histories.

- kuraka (Q).** An Inca official in the provincial decimal hierarchy. This position continued into the colonial period, when the word became interchangeable with *cacique* in the Andes.
- mamakuna (Q).** “Mothers” who served as priestesses in Inca temples, as well as administrators of the *aqllawasi* institution.
- mestizo/mestiza (Sp).** Men or women of mixed racial status, typically children of Spaniards and Native Americans.
- mita (Q/Sp).** A system of rotational labor devised by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo to provide indigenous wage labor for Spaniards. Native groups had to provide one-seventh of their population for the *mita*, the best-known service being mining work.
- mit’a (Q).** Andean rotational labor, where different members of an *ayllu* give turns of service to group projects.
- mitmaquna (Q).** Inca colonists, resettled from their native lands to places where they could work on imperial fields or construction projects.
- morisco/morisca (Sp).** A Muslim convert in Spain.
- naturaleza (Sp).** “Natural environment,” the belief that different human groups developed to live in specific climates.
- pacha (Q).** Andean concept of space–time. At its smallest conceptualization, it means “soil”; at its largest, “universe.”
- pachakutiy (Q).** Literally, “the one who turns over a new universal cycle.” This could refer to agricultural work to harrow or prepare soil, or to the cataclysmic upheaval of Andean universal eras. The Inca Pachacuti took it as his nickname.
- paqarimuq runa (Q).** The “emerging people,” those of humanity’s first age, according to the indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.
- policía (Sp).** Spanish concept of orderly living.
- principal (Sp).** A local elite serving within a *repartimiento* or *encomienda*.
- protector de naturales (Sp).** A Spanish official charged with overseeing the well-being of the indigenous population, including its legal complaints.
- pukara (Q).** Andean hilltop fortress. Many of these were constructed in the last years of the Late Intermediate Period (1000–1400 CE).
- pukllay (Q).** An Andean “game” involving mock fighting.
- purucaya (Q).** The Inca royal funeral ceremony, typically held a year after the death of an Inca or Coya.
- Purun runa (Q).** The “Wild People” of Guaman Poma de Ayala’s third age of humanity.

- pururauca (Q).** Stones that were believed to have come to life, animated by the Andean creator to fight with Pachacuti against the Chanca invasion of Cuzco.
- relación geográfica (Sp).** A “geographic report” produced in the 1580s to inform Philip II about his American realms.
- repartimiento (Sp).** A Spanish division or grant of native tribute payers. The term is often used interchangeably with *encomienda*, although they are not exact equivalents.
- Reconquista (Sp).** The Spanish “Reconquest” of Iberia, built on the crusading belief that the centuries-long Muslim occupation was short-lived and illegitimate.
- reducción (Sp).** A planned native town in Peru, which “reduced” the dispersed population into orderly communities that could be administered and converted more easily.
- regidor (Sp).** A member of a municipal council in a Spanish town.
- sinchi (Q).** A temporary war leader in the Andean highlands.
- suyu (Q).** A division of lands, including areas to be cultivated in a community, as well as Inca provinces.
- taifa (Arabic).** An emirate or small polity in Iberia following the disintegration of the imperial provinces and Caliphate of Córdoba.
- tambo (Q).** An Inca way station on the royal road.
- tasa (Sp).** A Spanish tax levy, specifying tribute to be paid each year.
- tawantinsuyu (Q).** “The Unity of the Four Parts,” a concept of total ecological and political control in the Andean world. Often used as the indigenous name for the Inca Empire.
- tercio (Sp).** Habsburg infantry division.
- Viracocha (Q).** The highland Andean creator. The creator Viracocha also had assistants, called *viracochas*, a term that became attached to Pizarro and his conquistadores.
- willaq umu (Q).** “Smoke-Teller,” an important Inca priest.
- yanacona (Sp/Q).** The Spanish word for retainer or lifelong servant, taken from the Quechua *yana*.
- yanakuna (Q).** Inca retainers, typically taken by a ruler from a resistant provincial region and brought to the Cuzco region to labor permanently on a royal estate as a member of the royal household.

References

Archival and Publication Abbreviations

AGI: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
AGN: Archivo General de la Nación, Lima
AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional
ARC: Archivo Regional del Cusco
BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
GP: *Gobernantes del Perú*
MP: *Monumenta Peruana*
RGS: Archivo General de Simancas
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