

## Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Note on Translations</i>	<i>xi</i>
CHAPTER 1. Vilcabamba and the Fall of the Inca Empire	3
CHAPTER 2. Martín Hurtado de Arbieto and the Spanish Colonization of Vilcabamba	23
DOCUMENT 1. Martín de Murúa and the Fall of Vilcabamba	43
DOCUMENT 2. Baltasar de Ocampo Conejeros and the Province of Vilcabamba	109
DOCUMENT 3. Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa's Journey into Vilcabamba	151
DOCUMENT 4. Antonio Bautista de Salazar and the Fall of Vilcabamba	177
DOCUMENT 5. The Death, Interments, and Miracles of Fray Diego Ortiz	193
<i>References</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>227</i>

The 1572 Spanish raid into the Vilcabamba region of present-day Peru, resulting in the capture and execution of the last Inca, Tupac Amaru, marks a unique moment in Andean history. The Spaniards had successfully invaded the Andes forty years earlier, but the Vilcabamba region remained as the final bastion of indigenous resistance against European hegemony. Manco Inca, who first aided the Spaniards in occupying the imperial capital, Cuzco, and then rebelled against them, established a stump state in this mountainous region while he attempted to regain control of the realm. After Manco Inca's death, his sons (Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru) negotiated with the Spaniards while also leading indigenous resistance against them. For their part, the Spaniards sent diplomats, priests, and at times military expeditions into the Vilcabamba region in an effort to bring an end to the conflict and establish absolute control over the Andes. Then in 1572 Viceroy Francisco de Toledo declared a war of "fire and blood" against the Incas and launched a massive raid into the region. The last living son of Manco Inca, Tupac Amaru, was captured during this raid and subsequently executed in Cuzco; bringing an end to organized resistance to Spanish rule. This volume presents an overview of the major events that occurred in the Vilcabamba region during those final decades of Inca rule and English translations of several major documents that were produced during that period.<sup>1</sup> In organizing these materials we hope to

provide an enhanced narrative on the nature of European-American relations during this time of important cultural transformations.

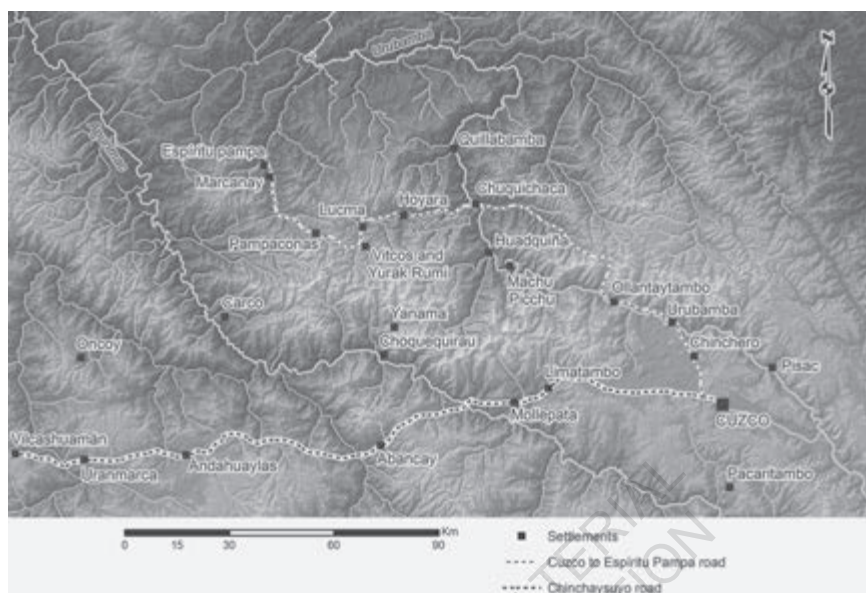
## MANCO INCA AND VILCABAMBA

Manco Inca first retreated down the Urubamba River into the vast, mountainous region of Vilcabamba after his unsuccessful 1536 siege of Cuzco.<sup>2</sup> The young Inca ruler must have viewed Vilcabamba as an impenetrable region where he could live while attempting to reorganize his loyalists against the Spaniards. The Incas had occupied the Vilcabamba area for at least two generations and had already constructed four major installations (Machu Picchu, Choquequirao, Vitcos, and Vilcabamba) and dozens of smaller settlements within the region.

To enter the Vilcabamba region, Manco Inca and his forces crossed the Chuquichaca Bridge, at the modern settlement of Chaulay, on the central road that leads to the town of Vitcos. After crossing the bridge, Manco Inca ordered it destroyed in hopes that this would prevent the Spaniards, who were in hot pursuit, from entering the region (figure 1.1). The Spanish raid into Vilcabamba had been ordered by Diego de Almagro and led by Rodrigo Ordóñez and Rui Díaz.<sup>3</sup> These Spaniards were supported by Manco Inca's half brother, Paullu (Topa) Inca, as well as a host of indigenous allies. This group was forced to stop for a few days at the river's edge as they rebuilt the bridge (Pizarro [1571] 1921: 365, [1571] 1986: 169). However, upon its reconstruction, the Spanish-led forces quickly traveled on horseback as far as Vitcos. No Spaniard had entered this region before, and what they found surely amazed them.

Near the center of the Vilcabamba region, on a high hill at the intersection of three different valleys, was the town of Vitcos. This sprawling town included an impressive central plaza, various elite dwellings, dozens of domestic clusters, and a large shrine complex (Bauer, Aráoz Silva, and Burr 2012). The settlement was also surrounded by large, well-watered terrace systems. However, by the time that the Spanish arrived in Vitcos, Manco Inca had fled into the dense forests of the surrounding mountains. Unable to capture the Inca, the Spanish troops returned to Cuzco with a large hoard of gold and silver taken from the town.

During this first raid into the Vilcabamba region, the Spaniards captured a son of Manco Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and two of the Inca's daughters. Titu Cusi Yupanqui was sent to live with Pedro de Oñate<sup>4</sup> in Cuzco and was well cared for (Titu Cusi Yupanqui [1570] 2005: 118). Within two years, however, Titu Cusi Yupanqui returned to live in Vilcabamba with his father and was



**FIGURE 1.1.** *The Vilcabamba region. Map by Gabriel E Cantarutti.*

there to witness his death in 1545. Years later, when he became ruler, Titu Cusi Yupanqui would negotiate with the Spaniards for an end to hostilities.

Manco Inca won a few encounters against the Spaniards during the early years of his exile from Cuzco. The most decisive occurred in 1538 near the town of Oncoy, in the province of Andahuaylas, where the Inca surrounded a contingent of Spaniards who had advanced too quickly and were caught, exhausted and isolated. Raids by Manco Inca over the Apurímac River were so frequent that the Spaniards were forced to build a new town, called San Juan de la Frontera de Huamanga (modern Ayacucho), along the trade route between Cuzco and Lima.

In 1539 Gonzalo Pizarro led the second Spanish raid into the Vilcabamba region. As in the first raid, by the time the Spaniards reached the town of Vitcos, Manco Inca had already fled into the mountains. This time, however, the Spaniards pushed on and followed the Inca road to the village of Pampaconas and then further into the lowlands. A battle took place at a small ridgetop settlement called Huayna Pucará,<sup>5</sup> about two days from the Inca town of Vilcabamba, in which several Spaniards and their indigenous allies were killed. Following this battle, Manco Inca again escaped into the forested mountains. Although Spanish forces stayed in the Vilcabamba

region for over two months, they were unable to learn the whereabouts of Manco Inca.<sup>6</sup>

It was during this raid, however, that Gonzalo Pizarro captured Manco Inca's principal wife, Cura Ocllo. As they pulled back from Vilcabamba, the Spaniards met Francisco Pizarro in Ollantaytambo. Frustrated by the failure of the expedition, Francisco Pizarro had Cura Ocllo tied to a stake and killed with arrows. News of this great cruelty even reached Bartolomé de Las Casas ([1552] 1992: 119), who, describing it in his book *The Devastation of the Indies*, wrote: "A few days ago . . . they took the queen, his wife, and against all justice and reason killed her, even though it is said that she was with child, for the sole reason to cause suffering to her husband."

Over the next five years, there was only sporadic contact between the Incas of Vilcabamba and the Spaniards. It may have been during this time that Manco Inca began to expand a small settlement, likewise called Vilcabamba, that the Incas had already established three to four days further down the eastern slope of the Andes. The Spaniards had, after all, invaded the Vilcabamba region two times within just a few years and both times had quickly reached Vitcos. It was clear to the Inca that additional arrangements had to be made further into the interior.

This was also a time of considerable confusion across the Spanish-held territories, as various factions fought for control of Peru. Francisco Pizarro was murdered in Lima in 1541 by supporters of Diego de Almagro, his original partner in the conquest, who had himself been killed three years earlier. Later, in 1546, Gonzalo Pizarro, one of Francisco Pizarro's half brothers, would lead the colonists in an uprising against the king of Spain and would even kill the newly appointed viceroy of Peru. This rebellion proved unsuccessful, and soon afterward Gonzalo Pizarro was captured and beheaded in Cuzco.

These revolts are of relevance to the history of Vilcabamba, since Manco Inca granted a small group of Spaniards who had fought on the losing side of an uprising, refuge in Vitcos (in 1544 or early 1545). Although well treated, the renegade Spaniards soon grew tired of life in exile and plotted to kill Manco Inca, hoping that this deed would win them favor with Spanish authorities when they left Vilcabamba. Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who witnessed the death of his father, describes the assassination:

. . . the said Spaniards were in my father's company in his own house in Vitcos, my father, they, and I were enjoying ourselves by playing a game of *herron*.<sup>7</sup>  
. . . When, in the course of the game, my father went to pick up the iron with which they were playing, they all fell upon him with daggers, knives and some

swords. . . . When I, still being very young, saw them treat my father this way, I tried to rush to his aid, but they angrily turned on me and threw at me my father's personal lance, which happened to be there, thus almost killing me as well. (Titu Cusi Yupanqui [1570] 2005: 126)

The traitorous Spaniards did murder the Inca, stabbing him in the plaza of Vitcos; however, they were all killed in turn before they could leave the province. As was customary among the Inca, the body of Manco Inca was preserved. Manco Inca's mummy remained in Vilcabamba until 1572, when the Spaniards stormed the city. It was then burned in Cuzco under the orders of Viceroy Toledo.

### SAYRI TUPAC AND THE RULE OF VILCABAMBA

With the death of Manco Inca (ca. 1544), a small contingent of Inca nobility continued to live in the Vilcabamba region, and the rule was passed down to his eldest son, Sayri Tupac, who was born just after the Spaniards first entered Cuzco (figure 1.2). Sayri Tupac first ruled with the aid of a regent but later took full control of the region.<sup>8</sup> After many meetings and years of prolonged negotiations, Sayri Tupac agreed to leave the Vilcabamba region and to reside in the wealthy *encomienda*<sup>9</sup> of Yucay, which included the former country estate of his grandfather, Huayna Capac.<sup>10</sup>

The *encomienda* of Yucay was located in what is now referred to as the Sacred Valley. It was the most recent of all the royal Inca estates in the Cuzco region, and Huayna Capac had built various amenities within it and improved its large tracts of terraces. The *encomienda* was also populated with a large number of resettled people, as many as 2,000, from across the empire who were dedicated to its maintenance (Covey and Amado González 2008: 21–22). Being one of the most productive estates in the Cuzco region, it was large enough to support Sayri Tupac and his descendants at a high lifestyle.

In October of 1557 Sayri Tupac left Vilcabamba with a large entourage and at great expense to travel to Lima to meet Viceroy Lope García de Castro. The Inca then returned to Cuzco, where he received a spectacular welcoming by the indigenous people, and took up residency in Yucay. Sayri Tupac and his sister/wife Cusi Huarca were baptized, and, as part of a previously signed treaty, dispensation was granted so that they could marry (figure 1.3). The departure of Sayri Tupac from Vilcabamba and the establishment of an accord between him and the Spaniards did not, however, bring much relief to the crown since Sayri Tupac died only a few years later (ca. 1560).<sup>11</sup>



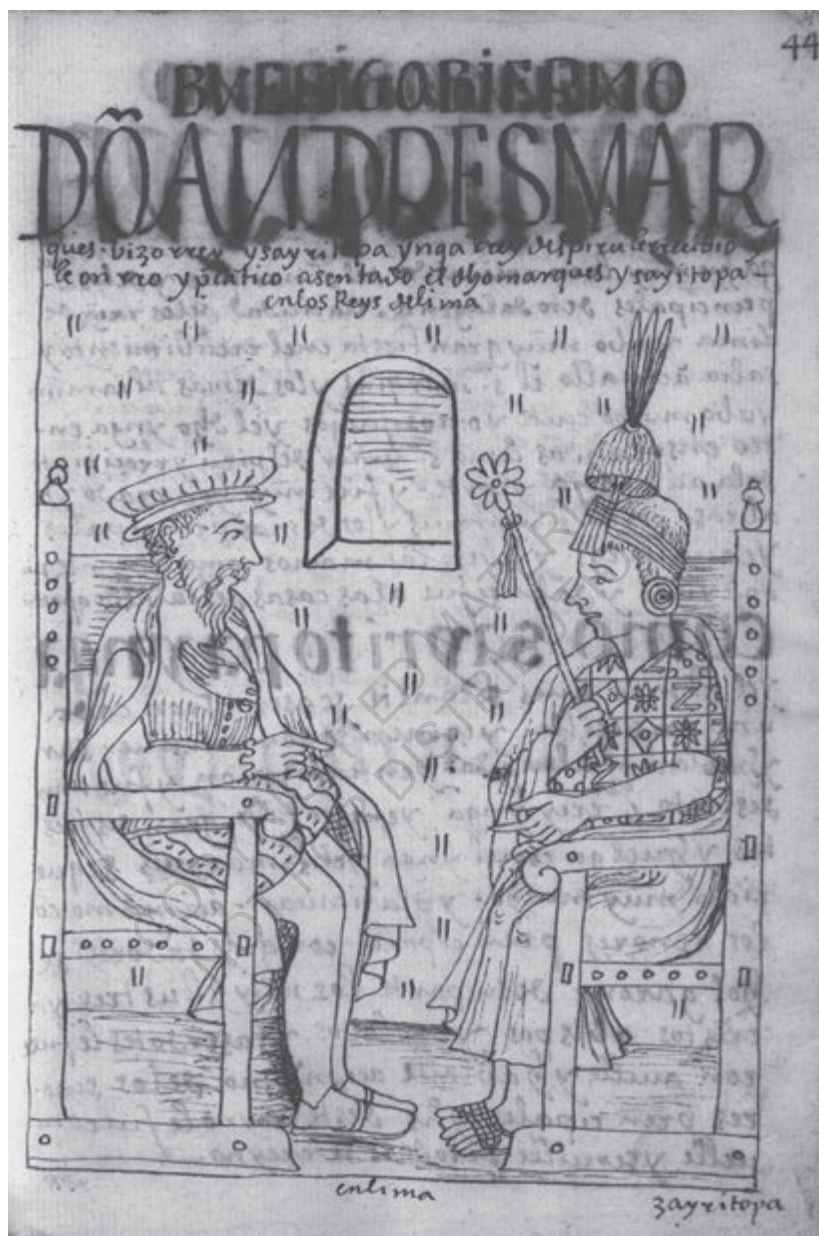


FIGURE 1.2. Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Third Marquis of Cañete, meeting with Sayri Tupac in Lima. Drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala ([ca. 1615] 1980, vol. 2: 420 [442]).

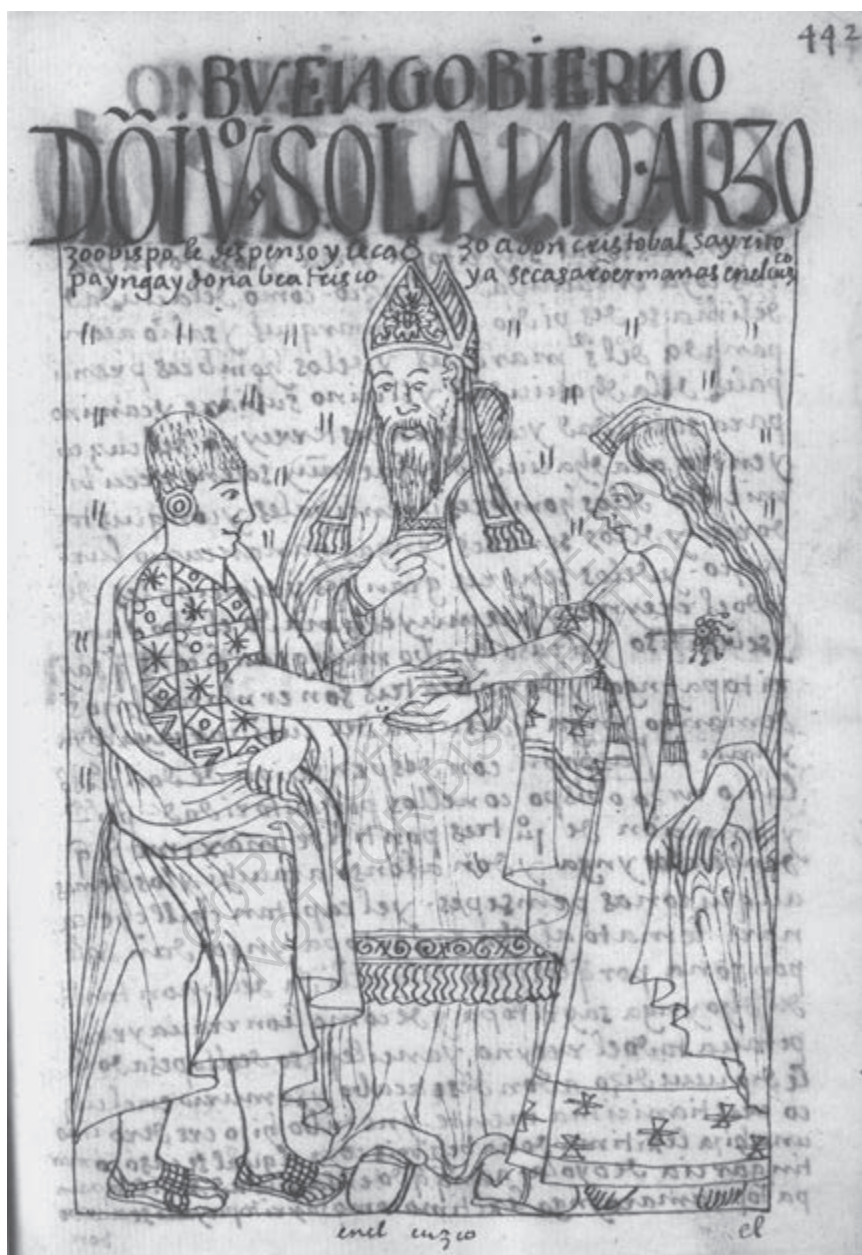


FIGURE 1.3. Don Juan Solano marrying Sayri Tupac and Cusi Huarca. Drawing by Guamán Poma de Ayala ([ca. 1615] 1980, vol. 2: 442 [444]).



## THE BRIEF RULE OF TITU CUSI YUPANQUI

The death of Sayri Tupac had major repercussions for the history of Vilcabamba. With the death of the Inca, the Yucay *encomienda* passed from Sayri Tupac to his only offspring, Beatriz Clara Coya. As she was a child at that time, a prominent citizen of Cuzco, Atilano de Anaya, was placed in charge of her holdings.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, with the death of Sayri Tupac the focus of independent, indigenous power turned once again toward Vilcabamba, where Manco Inca's second son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, still ruled.

Since the fate of Titu Cusi Yupanqui was not included in the extensive discussions held between the Spaniards and Sayri Tupac, negotiations between Vilcabamba and the crown had to begin anew. Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who was the corregidor of Cuzco at the time of Sayri Tupac's death, immediately sent an envoy into Vilcabamba to explain the circumstances of the Inca's death. Martín Pando, a mestizo,<sup>13</sup> and Juan de Betanzos, a Spaniard, both fluent Quechua speakers, agreed to go on the mission. While Betanzos returned to Cuzco after the mission, Pando stayed to serve as a secretary and advisor to Titu Cusi Yupanqui (Guillén Guillén [1977] 2005: 572–573).<sup>14</sup>

Over the next five years a series of meetings was arranged between various representatives of the crown and the Inca. García de Melo, the royal treasurer in Cuzco, made at least two separate trips into Vilcabamba to negotiate with the Inca on behalf of the viceroy.<sup>15</sup> An even more successful trip took place in April and May of 1565 by Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa (see document 3, this volume). When Rodríguez de Figueroa, who recorded his extraordinary journey into Vilcabamba in a detailed report, arrived at the bridge of Chuquichaca, he had to wait several days to establish contact with the Inca and gain permission to enter the region. When he did enter, Rodríguez de Figueroa crossed the river in a hanging basket supported by a rope, as the suspension bridge had been destroyed. Several days later, as he passed Vitcos, he saw the heads of the men who had killed Manco Inca many years before, still impaled on stakes.

Rodríguez de Figueroa met Titu Cusi Yupanqui in the remote village of Pampaconas. The meeting lasted several days and was extremely successful. In the end, the Inca agreed to meet with a number of high-ranking officials at the bridge of Chuquichaca to continue peace negotiations. The Chuquichaca Bridge meeting took place in June of 1565, with Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Rodríguez de Figueroa, Melo, and the powerful judge of the Audiencia of Charcas, Juan de Matienzo, all attending.<sup>16</sup> Although the negotiations were tense, with Titu Cusi Yupanqui and Matienzo meeting armed but alone, an outline of a settlement was drawn up and agreed upon (Guillén Guillén 1977a; Titu Cusi Yupanqui 1916a). Matienzo and his men then returned to Cuzco while Titu

Cusi Yupanqui and his forces returned to Vilcabamba. The Chuquichaca Bridge, which had been rebuilt for this meeting, was destroyed as each side left the negotiations.

In late August of 1566, under the orders of Viceroy Lope García de Castro, several Spaniards met with Titu Cusi Yupanqui to sign what has become known as the Treaty of Acobamba (Nowack 2004; Guillén Guillén 1977a, 1977b, 1981, [1977] 2005: 543–588). The Spaniards were represented by Melo, Rodríguez de Figueroa, and a priest named Francisco de las Veredas. The Inca himself attended, along with his two most important advisors, Yamqui Mayta and Rimachi Yupanqui, as well as Martín Pando (Guillén Guillén 1977a). Under the terms of this treaty, Titu Cusi Yupanqui conceded to Spanish rule and accepted a Spanish overseer (*corregidor*) for the Vilcabamba region. This position was filled by Rodríguez de Figueroa. The Acobamba treaty also specified that Titu Cusi Yupanqui was to become a Christian and that missionary work could begin in the Vilcabamba region. In turn, Titu Cusi Yupanqui was granted amnesty by the crown, and, equally important, arrangements were made to have his son, Quispe Titu, marry Beatriz Clara Coya; an arrangement that would give Titu Cusi Yupanqui access to the Yucay estate.

In response to these demands, priests were allowed to enter the Vilcabamba region in July 1567 to baptize Quispe Titu, the son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Witnesses to this event included Father Antonio de Vera, Father Francisco de las Veredas, Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa, and Diego de Olivares as well as Yamqui Mayta, Rimachi Yupanqui, Martín Pando and Chimbo Ocllo Coya, the mother of Quispe Titu (Guillén Guillén 1977a).

After the Spanish ratification of the Acobamba treaty, Titu Cusi Yupanqui showed no eagerness to leave the Vilcabamba region; nevertheless, he did continue to respect its obligations. For example, in 1568, Titu Cusi Yupanqui wrote to Father Juan de Vivero, the prior of the San Agustín Convent in Cuzco, inviting the Augustinians to enter the Vilcabamba region so that he, along with his principal wife, could be baptized. In response, Vivero, one of his friars, Marcos García, and two lay citizens of Cuzco journeyed to Vitcos and the nearby community of Huancacalle<sup>17</sup> (Hemming 1970; Titu Cusi Yupanqui [1570] 2005).<sup>18</sup> After the baptism, Fray García remained in the region to establish a mission while the others returned to Cuzco (Titu Cusi Yupanqui 1916a, 1916b, 1916c, [1570] 2005). About a year later, a second Augustinian, Diego Ortiz, received permission to join García in the Vilcabamba area. While Ortiz was generally tolerated by the indigenous communities, it seems that García, because of his harsher temperament, encountered various problems (Hemming 1970; Calancha [1638] 1981). Nevertheless, Ortiz and García were able to establish

churches in two separate villages, Huancacalle and Puquiura,<sup>19</sup> both of which are near Vitcos. They also occasionally made trips further into the interior to establish churches, raise crosses, and seek converts. Apparently, sometime in 1569, García grew tired of the missionary work in the region and attempted to return to Cuzco. However, the Inca sent a group of soldiers to force him to return.

In February of 1570, Titu Cusi Yupanqui agreed to take the two Augustinians to the town of Vilcabamba. The three- to four-day trip from Vitcos to Vilcabamba was made at the height of the rainy season, which added to the difficulties of the journey. While the priests were not allowed to enter the city proper, they stayed on its outskirts for about two weeks. On the eve of their departure, Titu Cusi Yupanqui dictated a long account of his life and that of his father's. This famous account was recorded by Martín Pando, who by that time had spent more than ten years in the Vilcabamba region working with the Inca.<sup>20</sup> Witnessed by the two priests, García and Ortiz, as well as various Inca captains, this account forms the core of most of what we know occurred in the Vilcabamba region from 1536 to 1570 (Titu Cusi Yupanqui [1570] 2005).

After signing Titu Cusi Yupanqui's account, the two priests left the town of Vilcabamba and traveled back to Puquiura. Soon after they arrived, the Augustinians gathered a group of followers and marched to the nearby shrine of Yurak Rumi (figure 1.4). Perhaps angered by what they believed to have been poor treatment in the town of Vilcabamba, they then covered the shrine with firewood and burned it to the ground.<sup>21</sup> In the wake of this provocative act, Titu Cusi Yupanqui had to travel to Puquiura to restore order. Marcos García was immediately expelled from the Vilcabamba region; however, Ortiz was allowed to remain.

## THE DEATH OF TITU CUSI YUPANQUI AND THE TRIALS OF DIEGO ORTIZ

Sometime after the burning of the Yurak Rumi shrine, Titu Cusi Yupanqui became sick while visiting the town of Vitcos.<sup>22</sup> That evening, Ortiz and Pando, who were both in the nearby town of Puquiura, were asked to come and see the Inca. Years later, several eyewitnesses reported that Pando had given the Inca something to drink, perhaps a whipped egg, to ease his stomach (Bauer et al. 2014). After the Inca's unexpected death the next morning, the two foreigners were accused of poisoning the Inca.<sup>23</sup> Pando was immediately killed; however, Ortiz was kept alive for about a week (see document 5, this volume).

Following the logic of his many sermons, the Inca loyalists demanded that Ortiz hold a mass and resurrect the dead Inca. After Ortiz had held the mass



**FIGURE 1.4.** *The shrine of Chuquipalta (now called Yurak Rumi). Photograph by Brian S. Bauer and Miriam Aráoz Silva.*

and announced that he did not have the power to bring the Inca back to life, the disappointed loyalists forced the priest to walk several days toward the town of Vilcabamba, where the successor to the kingship, Tupac Amaru, was residing. The group stopped at a small town called Marcanay,<sup>24</sup> within a day's walk of Vilcabamba, and sent word to the Inca that they were near. When Tupac Amaru denied the loyalists entrance to the city, Ortiz was killed with a blow to the head, and his body was buried feet up in a deep hole. Saltpeter and a colored *chicha* (a fermented drink made from maize) were offered over the grave. Parts of his habit were saved and made into *chuspas* (small coca bags). Furthermore, the earth from below where Ortiz said mass was dug up and thrown into a river to lessen any danger that he might still present.

Within a year of Ortiz's death, Spanish forces aided by native allies overran the Vilcabamba region and captured Tupac Amaru. Soon afterward, Ortiz's body was retrieved, and the Spaniards were surprised to see that, despite the tropical climate, it remained well preserved. The corpse was carried back to the newly established Spanish town of San Francisco de la Victoria de Vilcabamba. Under the direction of Martín Hurtado de Arbieto and the priest Diego López de Ayala, the body of Ortiz was paraded through the town and buried near the altar of the church. Almost immediately small miracles began to be associated with the corpse. Many years later, in 1595 and 1599–1600, the Augustinians supported investigations into the death of Ortiz, hoping that through his sufferings and miracles he would be recognized as a Christian martyr and be named as a saint (see document 5, this volume).

However, a review of the Ortiz case documents (Aparicio López 1989; Bauer et al. 2014) also indicates that the bones of Ortiz were stolen in 1595 by Fray Pedro de Aguiar as he completed his investigation into the death of

Ortiz. Apparently, Aguiar had requested that the bones of Ortiz be moved to the Augustinian monastery in Cuzco, and when the citizenry of Vilcabamba denied his request, Aguiar arranged for the church to be broken into and Ortiz's remains removed. Aguiar himself then received the stolen relics and carried them to Cuzco. The theft of Ortiz's bones from the Vilcabamba region caused considerable outrage among its citizens, especially since their removal was widely perceived to have caused the sudden return of mosquitoes to the region. In 1607, long after Ortiz's nomination for sainthood had come to an unsuccessful close, his remains were buried in the Augustinian convent in Cuzco near the main altar.

### THE FALL OF VILCABAMBA

With the death of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, communication between Vilcabamba and Cuzco suddenly stopped. Unaware of the dramatic events that had occurred in the region, the newly arrived viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, attempted to reestablish communication with the Inca. He first sent a group of men to enter the Vilcabamba area by crossing the Apurímac River. When they were barred from entering, Toledo sent Atilano de Anaya to the Urubamba River crossing to establish communication with the Inca. Anaya was a logical person to send on this mission, since he already knew the Vilcabamba region, having witnessed Titu Cusi Yupanqui's baptism in August of 1568, and served as caretaker for Beatriz Clara Coya. However, when Anaya crossed into the Vilcabamba region, he was killed by Inca loyalists.

The death of Anaya provided Viceroy Toledo with the justification to organize a massive raid into the Vilcabamba region with the aim of capturing Titu Cusi Yupanqui and bringing the region under the firm control of the crown. As Spanish troops, led by Martín Hurtado de Arbieta and aided by indigenous allies, crossed the Urubamba River, they must have learned that Titu Cusi Yupanqui was dead and that the title of Inca had passed to the third and last son of Manco Inca, Tupac Amaru.

Among Hurtado de Arbieta's troops were many men who were the sons of Spanish men and noble Andean women and who could trace their lineages back to rulers before the Spanish invasion. The aid of these mestizos was critical to the fall of Vilcabamba, and many personally benefited by the elimination of their cousins. Many members of the Cañari and Chachapoya ethnic groups were also among those who entered the Vilcabamba region. Later Toledo granted these groups a tax-exemption status because of the important role they had played in the fall of Vilcabamba.





**FIGURE 1.5.** *The site of Huayna Pucará (now called Tambo) is situated on top of a narrow ridge. Note the narrow curving trail along the slope of the ridge. Photograph by Brian S. Bauer and Miriam Aráoz Silva.*

Fighting a number of skirmishes, the Spaniards soon took the town of Vitcos and then pushed on to Pampaconas. There Hurtado de Arbieta's troops rested and were reinforced by those of Arias de Sotelo, who had entered the region via another route. The combined force then pushed on toward the town of Vilcabamba. As had occurred many years earlier at the time of Gonzalo Pizarro's raid into the region, the Incas took a stand at the hilltop site of Huayna Pucará (figure 1.5), hoping to ambush the Spaniards. This time, however, their position was revealed by an informant who may well have remembered, or had been told of, the battle that had occurred along that same trail in 1538.

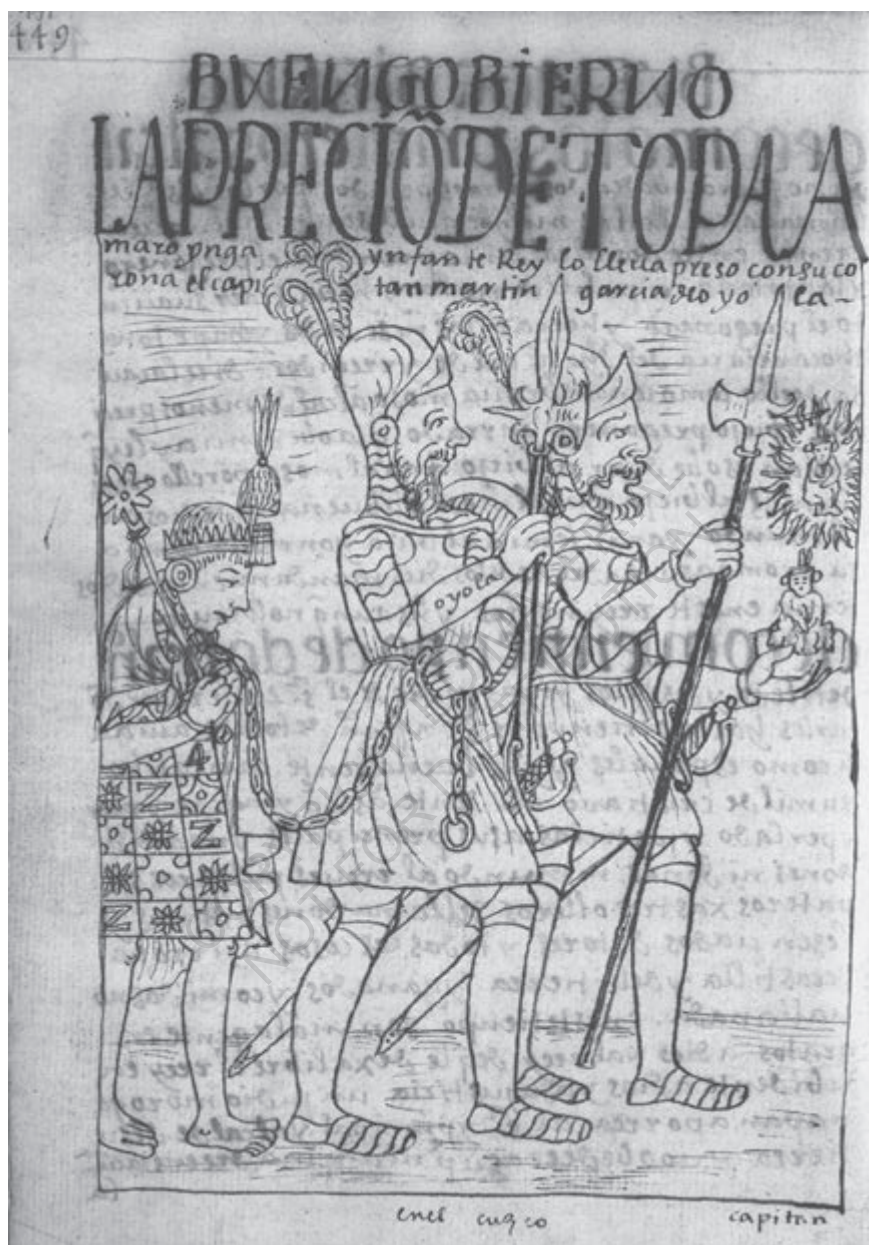
On 24 June 1572 several hundred Spaniards and their Andean allies stormed the last Inca stronghold of Vilcabamba.<sup>25</sup> One of the first to enter the town was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who planted a flag in the central plaza, claiming the town for Spain. However, as the Spaniards occupied the final capital of the Inca, they found it in ruins; still smoldering from fires lit the

night before.<sup>26</sup> The royal court and the townspeople had abandoned the settlement, set it on fire, and fled into the surrounding mountains in an attempt to escape the invaders. The inhabitants no doubt hoped that the Spaniards would soon leave the area, as they had under Gonzalo Pizarro when his troops eventually ran low on supplies.

Three days after taking the town of Vilcabamba, Hurtado de Arbieta wrote a short field report to Viceroy Toledo, detailing the events that had occurred since their entrance into Vilcabamba. News of the victory traveled fast, and only a few days later Toledo wrote a letter in which he named Hurtado de Arbieta the governor, captain general, and royal justice of the newly won region.<sup>27</sup> In a second letter, written the next day, Toledo detailed the extent of Hurtado de Arbieta's new powers. Both of the letters arrived in Vilcabamba a week later, and Hurtado de Arbieta immediately held a meeting in Vilcabamba's plaza on 8 August to announce his governorship of the region (Maúrtua 1906: 199–204, 218–219).<sup>28</sup>

The Spaniards occupied the settlement of Vilcabamba for about two months as they sent search parties in different directions looking for the leaders of the resistance. Within a short time, the Spaniards hunted down and captured most of the important members of the royal court. Then Martín García Oñaz de Loyola was selected to pursue Tupac Amaru and his uncle (Hualpa Yupanqui), who had escaped by fleeing down the Urubamba River toward the remote settlement of Momorí. When García Oñaz de Loyola reached Momorí, he learned that the Incas had left the river and were attempting to travel overland to the territory of the Pilcosuni. The next day, García Oñaz de Loyola captured Hualpa Yupanqui. Traveling with his pregnant wife, Tupac Amaru also moved slowly, and eventually García Oñaz de Loyola came upon the lone pair in a clearing in the jungle. The exhausted royal couple, not wishing to take their chances in this remote region, surrendered to the Spaniards.

Following the capture of Tupac Amaru, Hurtado de Arbieta and his forces left the scorched Inca city and moved with their prisoners toward Cuzco (figure 1.6). They stopped near the modern settlement of Hoyara to establish a new Spanish town that they named San Francisco de la Victoria de Vilcabamba. Hurtado de Arbieta then stayed in the Vilcabamba region while García Oñaz de Loyola returned to Cuzco with the prisoners (figure 1.7). Several of the leading Incas were killed on their arrival in Cuzco, while Tupac Amaru underwent a hasty trial. The last of Manco Inca's sons, Tupac Amaru was beheaded in the central plaza of Cuzco on the orders of Viceroy Toledo on 24 September 1572, just three days after arriving in Cuzco. That same day, as a reward for capturing Tupac Amaru, Toledo signed a decree



**FIGURE 1.6.** Martín García Oñaz de Loyola leading the captured Tupac Amaru. A second Spaniard holds the golden sun idol, Punchao (Daylight). Drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala ([ca. 1615] 1980, vol. 2: 449 [451]).

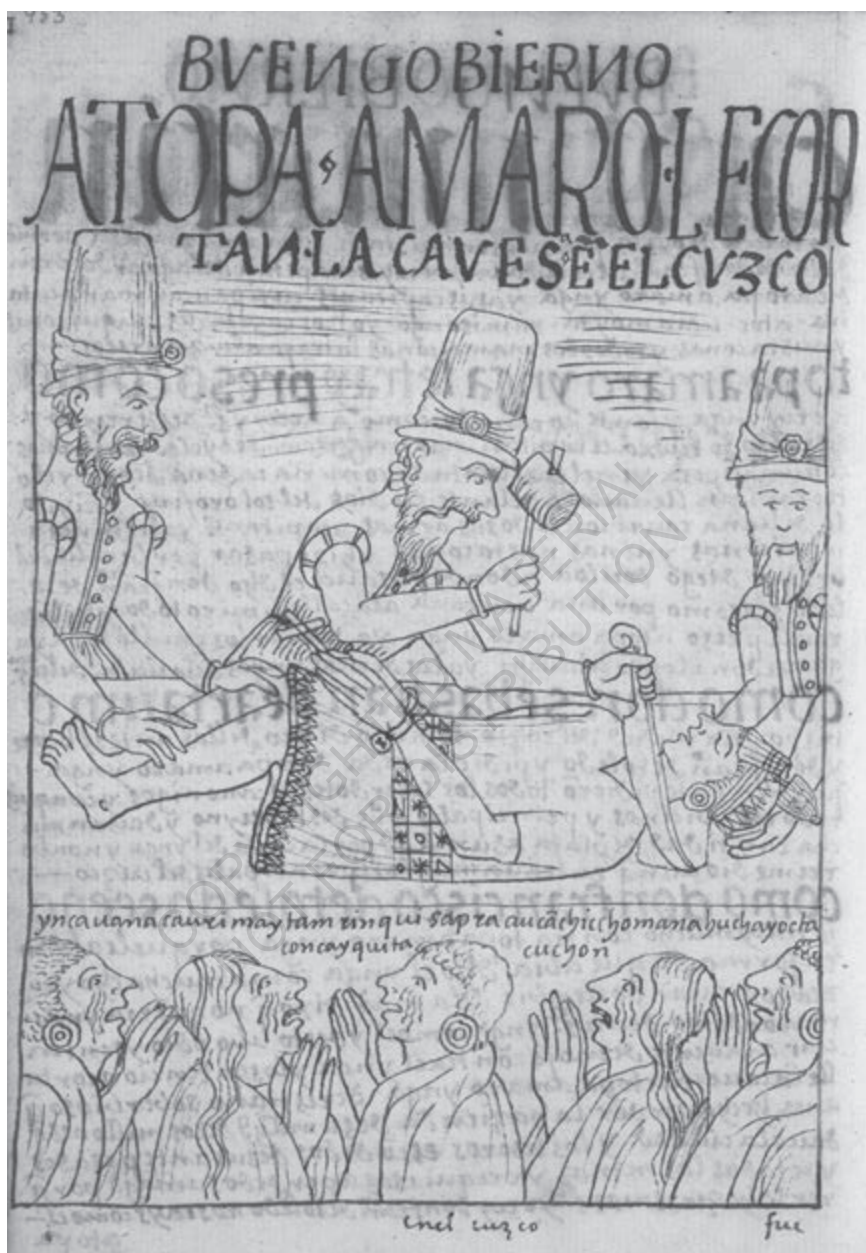


FIGURE 1.7. *The execution of Tupac Amaru. Drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala ([ca. 1615] 1980, vol. 2: 451 [453]).*



allowing García Oñaz de Loyola to marry Beatriz Clara Coya, the last of the noble Inca bloodline (Maúrtua 1906: 65–67). The marriage gave García Oñaz de Loyola access to the Yucay landholdings, which had been at the center of the peace negotiations with the Incas, and in many ways marks the end of independent indigenous rule in the Andes.

## NOTES

1. Parts of this introduction also appear in Bauer, Fonseca Santa Cruz, and Aráoz Silva (2015).

2. There are many insightful books describing the collapse of the Inca Empire from the arrival of the first Europeans to the invasion of Vilcabamba. The highest level of scholarship has been set by John Hemming (1970) in his book *The Conquest of the Incas*. Other important books and articles have been produced by Guillén Guillén (1994), Nowack (2004), Nowack and Julien (1999), and Lee (2000), to name a few.

3. Diego de Almagro was a partner, and later a rival, of Francisco Pizarro in the invasion of Peru. He was captured in the battle of Las Salinas, outside Cuzco, and soon executed under the orders of Hernando Pizarro in 1538. In 1541 loyalists to Diego de Almagro's son (Diego de Almagro, the younger) killed Francisco Pizarro. This revolt came to an end in 1542, when the son was defeated in the Battle of Chapas and subsequently executed.

4. Oñate died in 1542 during the failed revolt of Diego de Almagro (the younger).

5. Another battle took place at Huayna Pucará when the Spaniards entered the Vilcabamba region in 1572.

6. It is possible that the Spaniards visited the Inca town of Vilcabamba during this period.

7. A throwing game similar to horseshoes.

8. This little known Inca regent, named Atoc Supa, is mentioned by both Murúa and Titu Cusi Yupanqui ([1570] 2005: 125) as an adviser to Manco Inca. He is also mentioned in testimonies by Felipe Pomaunga and Francisco Condorpuri concerning the death of Diego Ortiz (Bauer et al. 2014).

9. *Encomiendas* were large landholdings given to Spaniards by the crown as rewards for their services. After 1548 many of these were reconfigured into smaller land units that were called *repartimientos*.

10. After the Spanish invasion, the Yucay *encomienda* was taken by Francisco Pizarro, and it was later passed down to his two sons. It was subsequently claimed by Francisco Hernández Girón; however, upon his death the Yucay *encomienda* returned to crown control. The crown then gave it to Sayri Tupac in return for his abdication.



11. Cusi Huarcaý survived her husband/brother for many years and was an important political voice in Cuzco.

12. Court cases and legal disputes over the Yucay estate lasted for generations (see Covey and Amado González 2008). Clara Coya's inheritance rights became the focus of the Acobamba treaty negotiations between Titu Cusi Yupanqui and the Spaniards (Nowack 2004; Guillén Guillén 1977a).

13. A child of European and Native American descent.

14. Juan de Betanzos was no doubt asked to go since he had played a critical role in convincing Sayri Tupac to leave Vilcabamba. Betanzos is also the well-known author of a chronicle titled *Narrative of the Incas* (Betanzos [1557] 1996). This work ends on the eve of Betanzos's departure for Vilcabamba.

15. These trips were complicated by the death of a viceroy and the need to restart the negotiations afterward (Hemming 1970: 291–292).

16. Several interesting documents have survived from this meeting (see Rodríguez de Figueroa [1565] 1910, [1565] 1913; Titu Cusi Yupanqui 1916a; Lohmann Villena 1941; Julien 2006).

17. Also spelled as Gurancalla and Arangalla.

18. Gonzalo Pérez de Vivero and Atilano de Anaya, who was at that time the guardian of Titu Cusi Yupanqui's niece Beatriz Clara Coya, also made the journey (Hemming 1970: 309).

19. Also spelled Puquihura.

20. Martín Pando was first sent to Vilcabamba in 1557, under the direction of Polo de Ondegardo (Guillén Guillén 1979). Both literate and fluent in Quechua, Pando continued to survive as the secretary to the Inca and as an important intermediate between the Incas of Vilcabamba and the Spaniards in Cuzco until his death in 1570. Long after the fall of Vilcabamba, Pando's wife, Juana Guerrero, provided information on the events that occurred in the town of Vilcabamba and the subsequent burning of the Yurak Rumi shrine (Bauer, Aráoz Silva, and Burr 2012; Bauer et al. 2014; Bauer, Fonseca Santa Cruz, and Aráoz Silva 2015).

21. Yurak Rumi, the largest and most important shrine of the Vilcabamba region, is less than an hour's walk from Puquihura. There is no doubt that the priests would have known about this prominent shrine long before their return from Vilcabamba. Thus, the burning of the shrine may have been motivated by the Augustinians' unsuccessful, and perhaps humiliating, trip to Vilcabamba. The burning of the shrine is recounted in Angelina Llacsá Chuqui's 25 January 1595 testimony (Bauer et al. 2014). For archaeological information on the destruction of Yurak Rumi, see Bauer, Aráoz Silva, and Burr (2012).

22. The settlement of Vitcos is located on a low ridge, and the village of Puquihura is situated at the base of the same ridge.

23. It is not surprising that the foreigners were suspected of poisoning the Inca. Titu Cusi Yupanqui's brother, Sayri Tupac, had mysteriously died while in Spanish-controlled Cuzco in 1560, and his father, Manco Inca, was assassinated by Spaniards in the town of Vitcos in 1544. Titu Cusi Yupanqui's grandfather, Atahualpa, had also been killed by the Spaniards in 1532.

24. Also written as Marcabay.

25. The Spanish entered the Inca city of Vilcabamba on the day of John the Baptist (24 June). Accordingly, San Juan was selected as the city's patron saint. He continues to be the patron saint of the modern settlement of Espíritu Pampa.

26. Currently the archaeological remains of the Inca town of Vilcabamba are called Espíritu Pampa.

27. For a comprehensive overview of postcolonial events in Vilcabamba, using many of the same documents that are reviewed in this work, see Regalado de Hurtado (1992).

28. Witnesses to this act included Juan de Ortega, Gaspar de Córdova Moreno, Juan Álvarez Maldonado, Antonio de Gatos, Simón Domínguez, Diego Galo, Luis Arias, Pedro de Orúe, and Father Diego Escudero (Maúrtua 1906: 219–220).