

2 Appendix I: Biographical List of Principal Protagonists

Aguiar, Pedro de (OSA): Procurator for the Convent of San Agustín in Cuzco. Aguiar carried out the first official investigation into the death of Diego Ortiz and the cult in 1595. After recording the official testimonies, he stole the body of the martyr from the church in San Francisco de la Victoria and carried the relics back to Cuzco where they were installed ceremonially by the bishop Antonio de la Raya Navarrete.

Almagro, Diego de (the Younger): the son of Diego de Almagro. After his father's death he quickly became the leader of the Almagrist faction in the civil war between Spaniards in Peru. He was defeated in 1542 and executed at the battle of Chupas by the royal envoy and *oidor* Cristóbal Vaca de Castro.

Almagro, Diego de: Conquistador. Almagro, along with Francisco Pizarro and Hernando de Luque, was one of the original three partners of the exploratory expedition to the lands south of Panamá, devised in 1526. Progressively excluded by the Pizarro brothers from the spoils of conquest and unsuccessful in his attempts to conquer Chile, the antipathy between Almagro and the Pizarros degenerated into civil war. Almagro was defeated and executed by Hernando Pizarro in 1538 at the battle of Salinas.

Anaya, Atilano de: a citizen of Cuzco entrusted with the care of the estates of Beatriz Clara Coya (daughter of Sayri Tupac) after she was rescued from the Maldonado family. He acted as emissary to Titu Cusi Yupanqui (along with the Augustinian friars Juan de Vivero and Marcos García) and witnessed his baptism at Guarancalla in 1568. Given his connections to Titu Cusi, he was sent as emissary to Vilcabamba by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572 unaware that Titu Cusi had died. Anaya was seized by the captains and guards of Tupac Amaru as he entered the province and was killed.

Atahualpa Inca: (N.B. not to be confused with Atahualpa ruler of Tawantinsuyo). He is mentioned in Calancha's *Coronica* as one of Tupac Amaru's generals in Vilcabamba.

Atahualpa Inca: Son of Huayna Capac and a Quitan princess, Tupac Pacla, he was raised with the Quitan armies of the north as his father fought to extend and consolidate the northern borders of the Inca empire and subdue resisting ethnic groups such as the Cañari. On the death of his father and brother Ninan Cuyuchi (c.1525) from what was likely to be the first smallpox pandemic to sweep the continent, he waged a bitter civil war against his Cuzco-based half-brother Huascar for the right to rule the empire. The civil war devastated Tawantinsuyo but Atahualpa emerged victorious just as the Spaniards pushed inland in 1532. They met in Cajamarca where the Spaniards

treacherously seized Atahualpa and held him prisoner while they plundered the land. In the meantime Atahualpa continued the conflict with his brother and his brother's supporters by ordering his execution even while he was being held prisoner. Atahualpa, in turn, was killed by the Spanish in 1533 after a show trial.

Atoc Sopa: brother of Manco Inca and opponent to his rule in Cuzco. He was murdered at the behest of Manco by Diego de Almagro's lieutenants in 1535. Titu Cusi confused him with another brother and opponent of Manco, Pascac.

Atoc: According to Calancha, he was an Inca noble and one of Titu Cusi's captains and inner council. He was named by Calancha (and in the testimonies that he uses as a source) as an executioner of Diego Ortiz and is said to have been killed by other commanders (in a suicide pact) after the Inca defeat in 1572.

Aucalli, Diego: Inca noble, counsellor of Titu Cusi. He was responsible for embalming the body of Titu Cusi so, although a witness to the events surrounding the execution of Diego Ortiz, was not one of those considered responsible. He survived the invasion of Vilcabamba and later became Christian, serving as governor to the province. He had died prior to the investigations of 1595 in which he is mentioned by Alonso de la Cueva. According to Calancha, on witnessing the devastation of the province after Ortiz's execution he prophesied the destruction of Vilcabamba.

Augustinians (Order of Saint Augustine OSA): The first to arrive in Peru (1548) was fray Agustín de la Trinidad, to prepare for the arrival of more friars. He was joined in 1551 by twelve Augustinians (unnamed by Calancha) and a further two from Mexico, Juan Estacio and Juan de la Madalena. The second group arrived in 1557 and included: Cristóbal Badillo, Diego de Carvajal, Luis de Córdova, Hernando de la Cruz, Diego de Dueñas, Diego Gutiérrez, Diego Hernández, Luis López de Solís, Diego de Valverde, Andrés de Villareal, Juan de Vivero. The third group arrived 1559 and included: Melchor de Acosta, Hernando de Cantos, Francisco del Corral, Diego de Corrales, Diego Gutiérrez, Juan de Luque, Francisco Martínez de Viedma, Andrés de Santa María (returning as Provincial), Diego Ordóñez, Diego Ortiz, Pedro Ruiz, and Diego de Segovia.

Barzana, Alonso (SJ): Born in 1530 in Cuenca he took his final vows as a Jesuit priest in Lima 1576. He was a superb linguist and developed Quechua and Aymara grammars and catechisms for the purposes of evangelisation while working as a missionary in the Archdiocese of Lima. In 1572 he was present in Cuzco when the Inca Tupac Amaru was captured and was one of the team of priests involved in the catechesis of the Inca prior to his execution. Subsequently he worked as a missionary in Potosí, Julí and Paraguay. He died in Cuzco in 1597.

Beatriz Clara Coya: b. 1558. The daughter of Sayri Tupac and María Cusi Guarca. Her father Sayri Tupac, died in 1560 and when she was five she was sent to live in the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco. Her mother, who had been prevented from receiving her legitimate inheritance by Spaniards appointed to administer Sayri Tupac's estate, sought protection from the powerful Maldonado family headed by Arias Maldonado who, in turn, looked to appropriate Beatriz's rich estates. In the meantime, these estates (and Beatriz) were used as a bargaining chip in the official negotiations with Titu Cusi for the accords of Acobamba in 1565, in which Beatriz was promised in marriage to Titu Cusi's son Felipe Quispe Titu. In order to circumvent this, Beatriz was removed from the Convent and, aged only 8, was forcibly married to Arias Maldonado's younger brother, Cristóbal. Given that the marriage was illegal (due to Beatriz being a minor and due to the fact she had been betrothed in official peace negotiations to the son of Titu Cusi) Cristóbal raped her in a desperate and brutal attempt to 'consummate' the marriage. This nearly destroyed the fragile peace between Vilcabamba and the Spanish viceroyalty, and the Maldonados and their accomplices were arrested and tried for conspiracy to rebel. Beatriz's tragic story as a political pawn continued, however, as in 1572 she was given by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in betrothal to his captain of the guard, Martín García Oñez de Loyola, in reward for his role in capturing the Inca Tupac Amaru.

Betanzos, Juan de: Betanzos was not one of the original conquistadors but was present at the siege of Lima in 1536. He learned Quechua very quickly, especially with the assistance of his wife, the Inca princess, Angelina Añas Yupanqui, daughter of Huayna Capac, whom he married in 1542. As a result of his linguistic abilities and his connections with the Incaic nobility through his wife, in 1542 he was chosen by the governor of Peru, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, to act as interpreter and scribe in the survey of *quipucamayocs* or cord keepers who held the records of Inca history and tribute rolls. In 1551 he received a commission from the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza to write a chronicle of the Incas. In 1560 he was commissioned by the corregidor of Cuzco, Polo de Ondegardo, to take word of Sayri Tupac's death to Titu Cusi Yupanqui. On this mission he was accompanied by the mestizo secretary Martín Pando.

Camarco: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, one of the executioners of Diego Ortiz. He was seemingly killed by his fellow captains in what Calancha intimates was a mutual suicide pact. He should not be confused with Francisco de Camargo, one of the Spaniards who took part in the expeditionary force against Vilcabamba in 1572.

Canto, Juan del (OSA): One of the original twelve Augustinian friars that travelled to Peru between 1550 and 1551, he was elected diffinitor of the Province (responsible for the legislation of the Chapter and internal affairs of the Province) and prior of the community in Huamachuco in 1557 after which he transferred to the Augustinian missions of Alto Perú (present day Bolivia). He served another term as diffinitor

in 1566 and continued in the Bolivian missions based primarily in the convents of Chuquisaca (present day Sucre), Cochabamba and Moxotoro. According to the chronicle of Bernardo de Torres, he died in 1614 aged 113.³²⁴

Carlos Inca: son of Paullu Inca and nephew of Manco Inca. He was implicated in the ‘mestizo plot’ of 1566 led by the Maldonado brothers. Nevertheless, he survived the fall-out and continued to live in Cuzco as a wealthy noble.

Chalcuchima (also Challcochima): Chalcuchima was one of Huayna Capac’s and then Atahualpa’s generals of the northern army along with Quisquis and Rumiñavi. He was responsible for the repression of the Huanca people of Jauja who opposed Atahualpa in the civil war and who were hostile to Inca rule. After Atahualpa was taken prisoner in Cajamarca, he was apprehended by Hernando Pizarro in Jauja and brought back to Cajamarca where he witnessed the execution of Atahualpa. As the Spanish moved south towards Cuzco under constant attack by troops loyal to Atahualpa they began to suspect Chalcuchima of coordinating the attacks by communicating covertly with his co-generals. Manco Inca denounced him for sending messages to general Quisquis and provided proof of the exchange. The Spanish executed him by burning him at the stake in Jaquijahuana in 1533.

Charles I of Spain: Charles was born in 1500 in Ghent, Flanders and became the first Hapsburg monarch of Spain in 1516, and Holy Roman Emperor (Charles V) in 1519. He abdicated in 1556 and retired to Yuste where he died in 1558.

Chegue (also Cegne): Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. Calancha writes that he died by falling (jumping) from a cliff.

Cieza y León, Pedro de: Cieza y León was a contemporary of Juan de Betanzos. He reached the Americas in 1535 (via Cartagena de Indias) aged only 15. He participated in numerous expeditions of conquest in New Granada (present day Colombia and Ecuador) and was awarded an encomienda by the governor of Popayán, Sebastián de Benalcázar. In 1547, he joined the expedition of Pedro de la Gasca who had been sent by the crown to quell the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, and was named official chronicler of the Indies. Over the next three years he travelled extensively in the viceroyalty before he returned to Spain in 1551.

Condorpuri, Francisco: eye-witness to the torture and execution of Diego Ortiz.

³²⁴ Bernardo de Torres, *Crónica agustina* [1657], vol. 2, p. 487.

Contarhuacho: *curaca* (chieftain) of Huaylas, wife of Huayna Capac and mother of Quispe Sisa (Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui). In 1536, when Lima was under siege by Quiso Yupanqui, one of Manco Inca's generals, she responded to a request for help from her daughter by sending troops who fought alongside the Spanish and who were crucial in defeating Quiso Yupanqui thereby raising the siege.

Coruña y Gormaz, Agustín de la (OSA): Born in 1508, he was one of the first Augustinians to travel to the Americas, reaching Veracruz, New Spain (Mexico) in 1533. He returned to Spain in 1564 on a joint mission with Dominican friars to defend the rights of indigenous Americans at the Spanish court. There, he was named bishop of Popayan, and took possession of the diocese in 1566. He travelled to Peru to participate in the Second Council of Lima (1567-8). He was present in Cuzco at the condemnation and execution of Tupac Amaru in 1572, pleading in vain for his life to be spared. He is even said to have threatened the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo with divine punishment if he went ahead with the execution. Coruña died in 1590.

Cueva, Alonso de la: one of the soldiers on the Spanish expeditionary force that destroyed Vilcabamba in 1572, he married Juana Guerrero widow of Martín Pando and was one of the principal eye-witnesses in the investigations into the death of Diego Ortiz in 1595.

Cura Ocllo: Coya or queen and wife of Manco Inca. She witnessed the repeated humiliation of her husband by the Pizarro brothers (in particular, Gonzalo and Juan) and their faction in Cuzco during the years 1534-6, part of which was Gonzalo's insistence that she be wed to him. A charade was arranged by Manco in which Inguill, a noble woman was to disguise herself as Cura Ocllo. This failed to work and Cura Ocllo was taken by force. She escaped with Manco in 1536 and was instrumental in helping him avoid capture and continue his war against the Spanish after his siege of Cuzco failed in 1536. She was captured during Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into Vilcabamba in 1539 and fiercely resisted rape by fighting off the soldiers and then, finally, covering herself in faecal matter so that her would-be assailants would become nauseated if they came close. When it became clear that the expedition had failed, and when further attempts by Francisco Pizarro to negotiate Manco's surrender were rebuffed, in a rage Francisco Pizarro ordered Cura Ocllo's execution. In November of 1539 she was stripped, beaten and shot to death by Cañari allies of the Spanish. Her body was then floated down the Yucay river to the distraught Manco Inca in a brutal demonstration of power and frustration.

Curi Paucar (also Curipaucar): Inca noble and captain of Manco Inca. He became one of Titu Cusi's generals and was one of the staunchest opponents to peace with the Spanish. After Titu Cusi's death c.1571 he was involved in the execution of Diego Ortiz and Martín Pando and was in part responsible for the killing of Atilano de Anaya,

which led to the Spanish invasion of Vilcabamba in 1572. Calancha intimates he was killed in one of the bloody battles that were fought during the invasion but in actual fact he was captured, blamed as one of the principal aggressors in the conflict and sentenced to be hanged by the judge Dr Gabriel de Loarte, confidant of Francisco de Toledo. He was hanged in 1572.

Estacio, Juan (OSA): Juan Estacio was elected the first Augustinian Provincial of Perú in their first Chapter of 1551. The following year he travelled to Spain to seek royal and papal approval of the new Province and to recruit new friars. There, he was appointed bishop of Puebla but refused the appointment. He died in 1553.

Estete, Miguel de: was trained as a notary but travelled to Peru with Hernando de Soto as part of Francisco Pizarro's 1532 expedition aged approximately 25. He accompanied Hernando Pizarro on his ranging and plundering mission south and wrote a journal of his experiences. Rich from the spoils of conquest, he returned to Spain in 1534, and died c.1550.

Felipillo: was taken as a boy from a settlement somewhere south of Tumbes and close to Piura and returned with Pizarro's 1532 expedition as interpreter. Accounts do not agree whether he or the other indigenous boy Martín was the interpreter on the day Atahualpa was seized in Cajamarca. When the king of Spain's disapproval of the execution of Atahualpa became clear, Felipillo was made the scapegoat, blamed for having an affair with one of Atahualpa's wives and then concocting a story of how Atahualpa was plotting against the Spaniards. He accompanied Diego de Almagro's expedition to Chile but was accused of switching sides and fled Almagro's camp with Villa Oma, high priest of the Sun, and Manco Inca's most experienced advisor. He took refuge in a mountain fortress but was captured and executed in 1536.

García de Castro, Lope: was president of the Audiencia and royal governor of Peru 1564-69, after the viceroy Diego López de Zúñiga y Velasco died that same year. During this time he continued the negotiations with Titu Cusi in Vilcabamba, authorising the Accords of Acobamba of 1666. He died in Spain in 1576.

García Oñez (also Oñes) de Loyola, Martín: nephew of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (founder of the Society of Jesus). He was a soldier and knight of Alcántara (a sub-order of the knights of Calatrava), and captain of Francisco de Toledo's guard. He was one of the leaders of the expeditionary force sent against Vilcabamba, in 1572 and was in command of the contingent that captured Tupac Amaru. He led the captive Inca into Cuzco with a golden chain around his neck. As a reward for his services he was given a significant pension and was married to Beatriz Clara Coya, daughter of Sayri Tupac, thus receiving the wealth of her estates. He was appointed governor of Potosí

in 1579 and then Captain General of Chile in 1581 where he was killed in a general uprising by indigenous Mapuche in 1598.

García, Marcos (OSA): became an Augustinian in 1553 in Lima. He began his missionary work in the Cuzco region in 1566 and, in 1568, accompanied fray Juan de Vivero as emissaries to catechise and baptise the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui in fulfilment of the Accords of Acobamba. He remained in Vilcabamba where he maintained a fractious relationship with those he was trying to evangelise (including the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui) and was repeatedly reprimanded for using corporal punishment to castigate his child neophytes. He was joined by Diego Ortiz and accompanied Titu Cusi to the capital of the province. Shortly after, the two friars destroyed the shrine of Yurac Rumi, and Marcos García was expelled. According to Calancha, after Ortiz's death he was continually tormented in the convent of Cuzco for having fled the province and requested a transfer to Chuquisaca. He was drowned in a river while on his way to the convent. The year of his death is unknown.

Garcilaso de la Vega: was a chronicler known as the Inca Garcilaso. He was son of a Spanish conquistador (Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega y Vargas and an Inca princess, Palla Chimpu Ocllo, daughter of Tupac Huallpa). He moved to Spain in 1561 after the death of his father seeking recognition and advancement. There he wrote his most famous chronicles, *The Florida of the Inca (La Florida del Inca)* and *The Royal Commentaries of Peru (Comentarios reales de los Incas)*. He fought for the crown against the Moorish revolt in the Alpujarras mountains (1568-71) and died in Córdoba, Spain in 1616.

Gasca, Pedro de la: was a clergyman who acted as an inquisitorial commissioner in Valencia (c.1540) before Charles I appointed him royal envoy to Peru. He was sent to restore order after the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1544. From his arrival in Panama in 1546 he played a careful strategy of isolating Pizarro from his allies by persuading them through a combination of amnesties and threats. He left for Peru the following year with a force he had gathered in Panama. He continued his diplomatic offensive, nevertheless, and, by the time he faced the rebels in 1548 at the battle of Jaquijahuana, Pizarro's support was greatly diminished and the rebels were all but defeated. After the battle Gasca ordered Pizarro's execution. He returned to Spain in 1550 and was appointed bishop of Palencia and then Sigüenza where he died in 1567.

González de Cuenca, Gregorio: was appointed as *oidor* (judge) in the Royal Audiencia of Lima in 1554 and travelled to Peru with Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza arriving in 1556. In 1561 he was appointed *corregidor* of Cuzco in which office he engaged in vitriolic disputes with Titu Cusi Yupanqui regarding raids on Spanish encomiendas in the region and in the escape of indigenous Andeans from the encomiendas to Vilcabamba. He carried out a survey of the northern provinces

(Trujillo and Piura) in the latter half of the 1560s. He was named President of the Audiencia of Lima in 1574 and died that same year.

Gualpayucra (also Gualpa Yucra): Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. Calancha says that he died by falling from a cliff. This may well have been suicide after the Inca defeat to prevent capture or as a result of despair.

Guandopa: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. Calancha writes that he was killed by his fellow Inca nobles ('they killed each other') in some sort of suicide pact.

Guerrero, Juana: was wife of Martín Pando and eye-witness to martyrdom of Diego Ortiz. After her husband was killed and after the destruction of Vilcabamba, she married Alonso de la Cueva, one of the soldiers on the expeditionary force. Her testimony in the 1595 investigation was one of the most richly detailed.

Hernández Castillo, Luis: was a resident of the town of San Francisco de la Victoria. In 1595 the procurator of the Augustinian Convent of Cuzco, fray Pedro de Aguiar, commissioned him to steal the reliquary in which Ortiz's body was kept from the town's church. He handed the bones over in the dead of night and they were spirited away to Cuzco before the townsfolk realised they had been stolen.

Hualpa, Juan: Indian noble and Christian convert who, according to Calancha, incurred Titu Cusi's wrath by taking his son to be baptised without permission.

Huaman Titu: brother of Atahualpa Inca. Present at Cajamarca during Atahualpa's captivity he asked Pizarro's permission to return to Cuzco and was assassinated on the road south together with his brother Mayta Yupanqui. It is presumed that this was on Atahualpa's orders, or those of his generals.

Huascar Inca (also Guascar): was son of Huayna Capac and Araua Ocllo, and half-brother to Atahualpa and Manco. On the death of his father and his brother Ninan Cuyuchi c.1525 he was proclaimed ruler of Tawantinsuyo in Cuzco, but this was contested by his half-brother Atahualpa who had control of the northern armies. Huascar was defeated in a bitterly fought civil war, and Atahualpa was consolidating power just as the Spanish arrived in 1532. Huascar was executed on the orders of Atahualpa, even while Atahualpa was being held prisoner by Pizarro in Cajamarca.

Huayna Capac Inca: Son of Tupac Yupanqui Inca and father of Atahualpa, Huascar and Manco, Huayna Capac fought to extend Tawantinsuyo in the north. He devastated the populations of those societies that resisted him (including the Tallanes of the

northern coast) and became locked in a bitter struggle with the Cañari of Quito. He died c.1525 of what was likely the first smallpox pandemic to sweep the continent.

Huaypar (also Huaspar): brother of Manco Inca. He was sent in 1539 with his brother Inguill by Gonzalo Pizarro as an emissary into Vilcabamba to parley with the Inca. Furious at their treachery, Manco had both brothers immediately executed.

Hurtado de Arbieta, Martín: Spanish captain general of the expeditionary force that destroyed Vilcabamba in 1572 and later governor of the province post-annexation. He died in 1589.

Hurtado de Mendoza, Andrés, 3rd Marquis of Cañete: was appointed viceroy of Peru in 1555 and reached Lima in 1556. He met Sayri Tupac in Lima in 1560 shortly before his death. Hurtado de Mendoza died in September of that same year.

Inguill: brother of Manco. In 1539 he was sent with Huaypar, his brother, by Gonzalo Pizarro as an emissary to the Inca. Manco executed him for treachery.

Inguill: noble woman, servant of Manco and Cura Ocllo, disguised herself as Cura Ocllo to protect her from Gonzalo Pizarro and to save Manco's humiliation, but the ruse failed.

Inquill Coya: fiancée of Manco, she was kidnapped and raped by Juan Pizarro in 1534, while Manco was the puppet Inca of the Pizarro brothers in Cuzco. In 1535 she gave birth to Juan Pizarro's child, a daughter who was christened Francisca, but he refused to acknowledge her in his will.

Isabella of Portugal: married Charles I of Spain and became queen. She acted as regent in his absence from Spain and signed the licence of conquest granted to Francisco Pizarro and his partners (known as the *Capitulación de Toledo*) in 1529. She died in 1539.

Lachira: northern Tallán noble, executed by Pizarro in 1532 for allegedly conspiring against the Spanish.

Llacsá Chuqui, Angelina: second wife of Titu Cusi Yupanqui and key eye-witness to the events surrounding the death of Diego Ortiz.

Loarte, Dr Gabriel de: he was a Doctor of Law, and *oidor* (judge) of the Royal Audiencia of Panama who was appointed public prosecutor of Lima in 1568. He acted as advisor to Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and ordered the executions of the surviving Vilcabamba generals. He supported Toledo's order to execute the Inca Tupac Amaru

and prosecuted other members of the Inca royal family including the 15-year-old Felipe Quispe Titu, son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He then served as *Corregidor* of Cuzco before being appointed as President of the Royal Audiencia of Panama in 1573, where he died in 1576.

Loaysa, Jerónimo de: was a Dominican friar named bishop of Cartagena de Indias in 1537. In 1541 he was named bishop of Lima and took possession of the diocese in 1543. He quickly became mired in controversy with his fellow Dominicans for, amongst other things, accepting an *encomienda* and for advising against the implementation of the New Laws (1542) that dissolved *encomienda* privileges to protect indigenous Americans and to weaken the power of the *encomenderos*. This can be (and was) interpreted both as self-interest and sage advice, for, when the New Laws were implemented by the new viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela in 1544, a rebellion quickly broke out under Gonzalo Pizarro. Notwithstanding the controversy, in 1546 the diocese was raised to an archdiocese with Loaysa as its first archbishop. He presided over two ecclesiastical councils (1551-2, and 1567-8) aimed at standardising efforts to evangelise the indigenous peoples of Peru but also (in the second council) at restitution for those indigenous people harmed by the Spanish. He died in 1575.

López de Zúñiga y Velazco, Diego (Count of Nieva): Appointed viceroy of Peru, by Philip II in 1560, he reached Lima in 1561 whence he began negotiations with Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the new Sapa Inca. He was assassinated outside his palace in 1564.

Luque, Hernando de: priest who reached Panama in 1514 on an expedition led by Pedrarias Dávila. He taught in a school in Darién and was made parish priest of Panama. In 1525 he became the partner of Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro in their venture to explore and conquer the territories south of Panama. He was appointed bishop of Tumbes in the capitulations of Toledo (1529) but he died shortly after in 1532 before ever reaching his new diocese and without knowing that it had been destroyed by Atahualpa in the civil war with his brother.

Macora: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. Calancha made no mention of what became of him.

Maldonado, (Juan) Arias (also Juan Álvarez): encomendero of Calca, son of the conquistador Diego Maldonado, patron and lover (seemingly) of María Cusi Huaracay (Sayri Tupac's widow). He conspired to appropriate the estates of Beatriz Clara Coxa, daughter of María Cusi and Sayri Tupac (aged only 8 years old) by marrying her illegally to his younger brother in 1566. This resulted in the rape of Beatriz, the serious undermining of peace between the Spanish viceroyalty and Vilcabamba, and the arrest of the Maldonados and their accomplices for conspiracy to rebel. The

conspiracy was an apparent wider plot to lead a mestizo uprising against Spanish rule, at the same time linking with Titu Cusi's forces in Vilcabamba.

Maldonado, Cristóbal: son of the conquistador Diego Maldonado and younger brother of the encomendero Arias Maldonado. He was betrothed to the 8-year-old Beatriz Clara Coya in 1566 in an attempt to appropriate her wealth for the Maldonado family and brutally raped her after the ceremony in a perverse attempt to 'consummate' an already illegal marriage. He was arrested on the orders of the governor of Peru Lope García de Castro for conspiracy to rebel.

Maldonado, Diego: one of the first conquistadors of Peru, he was granted the encomienda of Andahuaylas and focussed his energies on wealth acquisition through indigenous tribute, but also business investments (land, farming and mining) and strategic alliances (with indigenous Andeans as well as Spaniards). Due to his having participated in tormenting Manco Inca while he was in Cuzco and due to its proximity to Vilcabamba, his encomienda of Andahuaylas was repeatedly attacked by Manco. In 1544, he reluctantly supported the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro but led a counter-revolt in Cuzco, which failed. As a result of his lack of support for their cause, he was tortured by the pizarrists and, in 1547, he defected to the royalist side. He died in 1570.

Manacotana: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. Calancha writes that he died after his hand was cut off, but does not specify whether this was during the fighting in Vilcabamba in 1572 or afterwards, perhaps as punishment, or in further conflict.

Manco Inca (also Manco Capac): was the younger brother of Atahualpa and Huascar. After Atahualpa ordered Huascar's execution and with potential rivals to the throne being hunted down and assassinated by Atahualpa's generals, Manco fled Cuzco to the Spanish in 1533. He denounced Atahualpa's general Chalcuchima for co-ordinating attacks on the Spanish which resulted in the general's execution. He also fought alongside Hernando de Soto against Atahualpa's forces as the Spanish moved towards Cuzco. After the death of his brother Tupac Huallpa, Francisco Pizarro recognised him as the legitimate ruler of the Inca empire, but the younger Pizarro brothers and their faction in Cuzco abused and humiliated him so severely that in 1536 he raised Tawantinsuyo in a massive general uprising against the Spanish. This failed, in part due to poor strategy, but also factionalism amongst the Inca elite and, crucially, Andean ethnic groups such as the Huanca, the Cañari, the Chachapoya, who detested Inca rule and fought alongside the Spanish. Manco retreated into the mountain fastness of Vilcabamba and engaged in guerrilla warfare. He naively welcomed almagrist dissidents into his province and paid for it with his life when, led by Diego Méndez, they murdered him in 1544.

Martín (also Martinillo and Don Martín): interpreter for the expedition of Francisco Pizarro in 1532. In 1529 he was taken by Pizarro back to Spain along with the Tallán boy Felipillo to learn Spanish in preparation for the successive expedition. It is not known where exactly he was from and documents are contradictory. Lockhart notes a distinctive difference in the way he was treated by the Spanish compared to Felipillo. He also notes that the two boys were rivals (even enemies) and speculates that this is because Felipillo was a Tallán and therefore culturally and ethnically non-Inca, and not noble, while Martín was culturally Quechua, and from a noble family. Some chronicles suggest that Martín was the interpreter during the initial meeting with Atahualpa in Cajamarca in 1532 although this is not known for certain. For a time, his trajectory was more fortunate than Felipillo's and after the conquest he became a citizen and encomendero of Lima. Nevertheless, his good fortune ended when he supported Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion in 1544. As a result, his property was confiscated, he was given 100 lashes in both Cuzco and Lima and was exiled to Panama but travelled to Spain to protest his treatment. He died shortly after reaching Seville.

Matienzo, Juan de: was a Spanish jurist born in 1520 who in 1559 was appointed *oidor* and President of the newly created Royal Audiencia of Charcas. He was a key negotiator in the peace talks with Titu Cusi in 1665-6 and subsequently worked with Polo de Ondegardo and the viceroy Francisco de Toledo on the legal justification for the Spanish conquest and governance of Peru.

Mayta Yupanqui: brother of Atahualpa. He was present in Cajamarca in 1532 during the time of Atahualpa's imprisonment, but was murdered along with another brother Huaman Titu on the road back to Cuzco, probably on the orders of Atahualpa.

Melchor Carlos Inca: son of Carlos Inca, grandson of Paullu Inca. He was born shortly after Francisco Toledo's arrival in Peru and was baptised in 1572, the same year as Vilcabamba was finally conquered. As a young man he became involved in various scandals in Cuzco and, in 1602, he sailed to Spain.

Melo, García de: royal treasurer and emissary to Vilcabamba of Viceroy Diego López de Zúñiga during the years 1562-3.

Méndez, Diego (also Gómez Pérez): conquistador who defended the Spanish in Cuzco during the siege of 1536. He was a supporter of Diego de Almagro against the Pizarro brothers and, after the defeat and execution of Almagro the Younger in 1542 he fled to Vilcabamba with other almagrist dissidents to seek asylum. Manco welcomed him but Méndez and his fellow dissidents assassinated him in 1544 in a sinister and botched attempt to return to official Spanish favour. They were immediately caught and executed.

Mendoza, Antonio de: was the first viceroy of New Spain 1535-51, and was viceroy of Peru between the years 1551 and 1552 when he died.

Meneses, Martín de: was encomendero of Guayqui and a captain of the Spanish expeditionary force against Vilcabamba in 1572.

Molina, Cristóbal de: was a Spanish cleric and chronicler most widely known for his *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* (*Account of the Fables and Rites of the Incas*) [c.1572-6]. In 1565, he was appointed priest to the indigenous hospital of Nuestra Señora de Socorro (Our Lady of Succour) in Cuzco and was present in the city during the trial and execution of Tupac Amaru. He was one of the clergy who catechised him during his imprisonment in an attempt to convert him to Christianity before he was killed.

Murúa, Martín de (OdeM): A Mercedarian friar and chronicler. Alongside Calancha, his work *La historia general de Perú* (*A General History of Peru*) is one of the principle sources for what we know about the the destruction of Vilcabamba and the execution of Tupac Amaru. He was present in the Andes from the 1580s to approximately 1611 when he returned to Spain with his manuscript. He was a contemporary and bitter rival of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Ninan Cuyuchi Inca: son of Huayna Capac, brother of Atahualpa, Huascar and Manco. According to Betanzos he was the designated heir of Huayna Capac but died suddenly c.1625 of the same fatal pandemic that killed his father (probably small-pox).

Núñez Vela, Blasco: appointed viceroy of Peru 1544 by Charles I, he was tasked with implementing the New Laws (1544) and ending the problematic institution of the encomienda. He did this notwithstanding advice to the contrary from dignataries already in Peru (such as bishop Jerónimo de Loaysa) and immediately provoked a rebellion of encomenderos set to lose their privileges led by Gonzalo Pizarro. He was expelled from Lima that same year and was defeated and killed at the battle of Añaquito in January 1546.

Oñate, Pedro de: conquistador and almagrist. He was sent by Diego de Almagro to Ollantaytambo to negotiate with Manco Inca after Manco rebelled in 1536. These negotiations failed but after Manco's young son Titu Cusi was captured in Rodrigo Orgóñez's attack on Vitcos in 1537, he was commanded to foster the boy in his household. His fair treatment of Titu Cusi and his family won him the trust and respect of Manco Inca. He fought alongside Gonzalo Pizarro as the Spaniards advanced into Charcas and Cochabamba, but was always a committed almagrist, and

fought alongside Diego de Almagro the Younger at the battle of Chupas in 1542. He was executed on their defeat.

Orenes, Miguel de (OdeM): was the first Mercedarian friar to reach Peru c.1535.

Orgóñez, Rodrigo: one of the first conquistadors of Peru. He fought with Almagro on his campaign in Chile (1535-6), and also led an excursion into Vilcabamba in 1537, surprising Manco Inca at his base in Vitcos. Manco escaped but his young son, Titu Cusi was captured and taken back to Cuzco along with other members of his family. Orgóñez fought alongside Almagro at the battle of Salinas in 1538, but was executed after their defeat.

Ortiz, Diego (OSA): He was born in Getafe, near Madrid and, as a youth, travelled to Seville where he joined the Augustinian order. He was one of the third group of Augustinian friars to reach Peru in 1559 where he was appointed to roles that included curate of Yanacache (1563) and, subsequently (according to Torres), superior of the Convent of Cuzco (although Calancha implies he refused positions of authority out of humility and was the sacristan in Cuzco). In the Provincial Chapter of 1566, he was appointed as the priest of Capinota and subsequently was chosen to join fray Marcos García in Vilcabamba in 1569 who was expelled some time the following year. When Titu Cusi died suddenly in 1571, Diego Ortiz was tortured and killed by Titu Cusi's military captains, apparently at the behest of his wife, doña Angelina Polanquilaco.

Oviedo, Gabriel de (OP): Prior of the Dominican convent in Cuzco he was sent as an ambassador to Vilcabamba by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in July 1571 to deliver the documents in which Philip II had ratified the Accords of Acobamba (1666). At this time the Spanish did not know that Titu Cusi had died, that Diego Ortiz had been killed and that Tupac Amaru's military council had closed the province. Nevertheless Oviedo was cautious in his approach. He sent ahead four indigenous emissaries who did not return, followed by two more, of which only one returned, seriously wounded. Oviedo decided that discretion was the better part of valour and returned to Cuzco in October 1571. Oviedo joined other Cuzco clergymen in the catechesis of Tupac Amaru during his imprisonment and was one of those who petitioned Toledo for mercy on Tupac Amaru's behalf.

Paloc: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. He was one of those said by Calancha to have participated in a suicide pact after their defeat in Vilcabamba, 1572.

Pando, Martín: mestizo scribe and interpreter, husband to Juana Guerrero. In 1560 he accompanied Juan de Betanzos on a mission to Vilcabamba to take word of Sayri Tupac's death to Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Titu Cusi persuaded him to stay in Vilcabamba

and act as his secretary and interpreter and, from that point on, he became a close confidant of the Inca, assisting with correspondence (both belligerent and conciliatory) and with the negotiations leading to the Accords of Acobamba. He denounced those in Cuzco allied to the Maldonado faction who were trying to undermine the treaty. He also played a major role in the redaction of Titu Cusi's *Relación* or *History* written to Philip II. When Titu Cusi fell ill suddenly in 1571, Pando was one of those who tried to cure him but to no avail. While Calancha accuses him of participating in Ortiz's death, this is not supported by the fact that Pando was also accused of poisoning the Inca and was executed.

Pascac: brother and opponent of Manco, was involved in a bitter dispute with him in Cuzco in 1535. Titu Cusi believed that his father had him murdered by followers of Diego de Almagro but, according to Hemming, Pascac was still alive as late as 1537. Hemming points to other sources that suggest that the murdered brother was Atoc Sopa.

Paucar Inca: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. He is said by Calancha to have died from a cliff-fall. The implication is that this was suicide.

Paullu Inca: half-brother of Manco Inca son of Huayna Capac and Añas Collque (daughter of the *curaca* of Huaylas). Never considered to be a threat by Manco Inca, he nonetheless sided with the Spaniards during the Great Rebellion of 1536, an act of treachery for which Manco never forgave him. He was a friend of Diego de Almagro, having campaigned with him in Chile and was even 'crowned' Inca by Almagro in 1537 after Almagro seized power in Cuzco from the Pizarro brothers. When it became clear that Almagro was going to lose the civil conflict, however, Paullu switched sides to the Pizarro faction and he subsequently prospered in Cuzco notwithstanding his falling prey to Spaniards who wished to appropriate his wealth or simply humiliate him. He died in 1549 of a sudden illness.

Pereyra, Antonio: encomendero of Combapata and a commander of the Spanish expeditionary force into Vilcabamba, 1572.

Philip II of Spain: born 1527 he became king of Spain on the abdication of his father Charles I in 1556. On his marriage to Mary Tudor of England, he became king of England in 1554 until her death in 1558. After a brief war of succession he was crowned king of Portugal in 1581. He died in 1598.

Pimentel, Luis: a captain of the expeditionary force into Vilcabamba, 1572.

Pizarro, Francisco: born c.1478 he travelled to the Americas in 1502 and became a citizen of Panama on its foundation in 1519. In 1526 he entered into an agreement with

his partners Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque to explore and conquer (if possible) lands to the south. In 1532 he made landfall in Tawantinsuyo for the second time, finding it devastated by civil war and pushed inland to Cajamarca where he met and seized the Inca ruler, Atahualpa. Made rich from the so-called ransom offered to Atahualpa's capturers, Pizarro presided over a mock-trial and had the ruler executed in 1533 before pressing on to Cuzco. He founded the Spanish municipality of Cuzco in 1534 and sent his brother Hernando to Spain to carry word of the conquest. In reward for his services he was made a Marquis. Leaving his other brothers Gonzalo and Juan in charge of Cuzco, he journeyed to the coast and founded the city of Lima in January 1535, naming it the City of Kings in honour of the three magi whose feast, the Epiphany, had just been celebrated. In his absence from Cuzco, however, the situation rapidly deteriorated until Manco Inca finally began his major uprising in the days before Easter of 1536. Pizarro fought against Quiso Yupanqui during the siege of Lima and his concubine, Quispe Sisa (known as doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui) played a crucial role in breaking the siege by appealing to her mother, the *curaca* of Huaylas for help. After his attempts to negotiate with Manco Inca were rebuffed he ordered the execution of his wife Cura Ocllo in 1539. Meanwhile, the ever-worsening relations between Pizarro, his brothers and Diego de Almagro, deteriorated into open conflict in 1537 when Almagro seized Cuzco from the brothers before being defeated and executed at the battle of Salinas in 1538. In revenge Almagro's supporters broke into his palace in Lima in 1541 and murdered him.

Pizarro, Gonzalo: the youngest of the Pizarro brothers. By his seizure of Cura Ocllo, Manco Inca's wife and his constant harassment and severe humiliation of the ruler he was largely responsible for causing Manco to rise up against the Spanish in 1536. After the siege of Cuzco failed, Gonzalo and his troops harried the Inca, fighting his Chíncha allies in Charcas and defeating his general Tiso Yupanqui. He then invaded Vilcabamba unsuccessfully in 1539 but in the process captured Manco Inca's wife, Cura Ocllo, who was brutally treated at first, held prisoner under better conditions but then executed on the orders of Francisco Pizarro. With the arrival of the first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela in 1544 and the proclamation of the New Laws dissolving the privileges of the *encomienda*, Gonzalo led a rebellion against the crown, killing the viceroy. He was defeated by Pedro de la Gasca in 1548 at the battle of Jaquijahuana and was executed.

Pizarro, Hernando de: brother of Francisco, he was responsible for the capture of Atahualpa's general Chalcuchima and also for the plundering of the temple of Pachacamac. He travelled to Spain in 1534 to carry news of the conquest (and the royal share of the plunder) to the court and was rewarded by being admitted to the Order of Santiago. He returned to Peru in 1535 to join his brothers just in time for the so-called Great Rebellion of Manco Inca. Once the siege of Cuzco had been lifted he took charge of the city but was imprisoned by Diego de Almagro when he seized it

for himself in 1537. After being released from prison, he returned with an army and defeated and executed Almagro at the battle of Salinas in 1538. The next year he journeyed to Spain with more treasure for king Charles I and to defend the Pizarros' poor record as governors of Peru but he was immediately imprisoned until 1561 for Almagro's murder. He died in 1578.

Pizarro, Juan: brother of Francisco Pizarro. His rapaciousness, along with that of his younger brother Gonzalo, could largely be considered responsible for the alienation (through severe and violent humiliation) of Manco Inca and the subsequent conflict that followed. He was killed in 1536 during the siege of Cuzco while trying to recapture the Inca fortress of Sacsahuaman.

Pizarro, Pedro de: cousin of Francisco. Only a teenager at the time of the 1532 expedition to Peru, he served his cousin as page before becoming a cavalryman in his own right. He fought in the campaigns against Manco Inca and also with Hernando Pizarro against Almagro at the battle of Salinas in 1538. Nevertheless, he refused to join Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion in 1544 and fought against him at Jaquijahuana in 1548. His family connections and name as a Pizarro meant that he fell under suspicion nonetheless. He wrote the *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru* in part to vindicate himself and completed the chronicle in 1571.

Quiso Yupanqui: One of Manco Inca's senior generals. In the so-called Great Rebellion of 1536 he was given the task of reconquering the central highlands from the Spanish. This he did successfully, massacring all the Spanish he and his force came up against Cuzco and Lima. This included the small Spanish population of Jauja and relief forces that Francisco Pizarro had sent inland from Lima. He laid siege to Lima, but in a crucial battle in which indigenous forces from Huaylas sent by the mother of Quispe Sisa (Pizarro's concubine) played an important part, Quiso Yupanqui was killed and the siege failed. His death was the beginning of the unravelling of the Manco Inca's attack on the Spaniards because with this, the Spaniards in Lima could now send relief forces to raise the siege of Cuzco.

Quispe Sisa: (also Doña Inés Huaylas Yupanqui): Only eighteen years old when she was given to Pizarro by Atahualpa in Cajamarca, Quispe Sisa bore him a daughter in 1534 (named Francisca) and a son in 1535 (whom he named Gonzalo). She played a significant role in the siege of Lima, petitioning her mother, Contarhuacho, the *curaca* (chieftain) of Huaylas to send a relief force. In 1538 he arranged for her to be married to Francisco de Ampuero by whom she had three more children.

Quispe Titu, Felipe: son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He was a pawn in the negotiations between Titu Cusi Yupanqui and the Spanish in the 1560s as the Spanish side suggested he might be married to his cousin Beatriz Clara Coya, daughter and heiress of Sayri

Tupac when they both came of age. Titu Cusi agreed to this as it would have meant that Sayri Tupac's estates would pass (via his daughter) into the hands of his own son. Part of the Spanish conditions were for him to be baptised (and he was by the priests Antonio de Vera and Francisco de Veredas in 1567), and for Titu Cusi to leave Vilcabamba. The actions of the Maldonado family, forcibly (and illegally) marrying Beatriz to Cristóbal Maldonado and his rape of her put paid to that part of the treaty: Titu Cusi never did leave Vilcabamba and Quispe Titu never married Beatriz. He was captured in 1572 along with Tupac Amaru and the rest of his family and was led to Cuzco by a silver chain around his neck. Aged only 15, he was accused and tried by Viceroy Toledo for various crimes he did not commit or at least could not be held responsible for and was exiled to Lima in 1573 where he died only six years later.

Quispe, Juan: Inca noble and resident of Vilcabamba. He was a Christian who was accused in the testimonies of having committed apostasy and having participated in the execution of Diego Ortiz. He was said to have struck the friar and as a result the arm that struck him withered as divine punishment.

Quisquis: One of Atahualpa's three generals. He was given the responsibility of securing Cuzco after Atahualpa won the civil war and was there when Atahualpa was captured in Cajamarca. He fought the Spanish as they pushed south but could not prevent them from entering Cuzco so he withdrew and, still fighting, moved his army north to try to join Rumiñavi in Quito. By the time he reached Quito, he discovered that it had already been occupied by the Spanish under Sebastián de Benalcázar. His commanders advised him to sue for peace and then mutinied when he refused. He was killed by a subordinate named Huaylpaycon in 1534.

Raya Navarrete, Antonio de la: was bishop of Cuzco between the years 1594 and 1606 when he died. He was responsible for ordering the investigation into the life and death of Diego Ortiz in 1595 and led the liturgical ceremony that installed Ortiz's relics in Cuzco after their theft from San Francisco de la Victoria by fray Pedro de Aguiar.

Reyes, Melchor de los (OP): was a Dominican friar sent as an emissary (together with Juan Sierra and Juan de Betanzos) to Vilcabamba by the viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza in 1557. He carried gifts from the viceroy and was empowered to negotiate in order to persuade Sayri Tupac to leave Vilcabamba. This embassy was successful as, once Sayri Tupac had come of age, he decided to come out of Vilcabamba and travel to Lima to negotiate directly with the viceroy. This he did in 1558.

Rimache Yupanqui, (also Rimache): Inca noble and captain of Manco Inca, Titu Cusi, and Tupac Amaru. He caught and executed Diego Méndez and the other almagrists after they assassinated Manco in 1544 and he was (as a result) one of the group of advisers strongly opposed to contact with or making concessions to the

Spanish. When Titu Cusi died in 1571, he participated in the torture and execution of Diego Ortiz. Calancha writes that in the invasion of Vilcabamba the following year he was captured by the Spanish and exiled to Lima ‘where he died raving’.

Rodríguez (de Figueroa), Diego: envoy to Titu Cusi from Cuzco in 1565. He carried gifts (of damask, crystals, pearls and jewellery, a mirror, and a book) to the Inca and was empowered to negotiate on behalf of the Spanish governor and President of the Audiencia of Lima, Lope García de Castro. As a result of this envoy, further talks were agreed and carried out between Titu Cusi, and a Spanish diplomatic mission (Juan de Matienzo, Rodríguez, García de Melo) that led to the Accords of Acobamba in 1566. He was duly appointed the first *corregidor* of Vilcabamba by García de Castro but did not take up his post as the Accords were never fully implemented.

Romero: A Spanish prospector who unwisely entered Vilcabamba in 1570 and petitioned the Inca Titu Cusi to allow him to hunt for gold. He was successful in both obtaining permission and in finding significant quantities of the precious metal. Titu Cusi knew that should word of this reach other Spaniards he would never be able to prevent an invasion and had Romero killed immediately.

Rumiñavi: One of Atahualpa’s three senior commanders he was responsible for imposing and maintaining Atahualpa’s rule in Quito and the northern provinces of Tawantinsuyo. While Atahualpa was held captive in Cajamarca and (conveniently) once the so-called ransom of Atahualpa had made the Spaniards rich, rumours reached Pizarro from the indigenous *curaca* (leader) of Cajamarca, who was allied with the Spanish that Rumiñavi was moving to rescue his ruler. These rumours form part of the justification of Atahualpa’s execution. After Atahualpa’s death in 1532, Rumiñavi killed Atahualpa’s sons, even going as far as to flay the eldest and use his skin as a drum. It is not known why he did this. In 1534 two rival Spanish invasion forces under Pedro de Alvarado and Sebastián de Benalcázar penetrated the northern territories and began to converge on Quito. A key battle was fought at Teocajas in May of that year in which the Spanish, (under Benalcázar), were finally victorious, primarily through the help of the Cañari, their indigenous allies and implacable enemies of the Incas. Nevertheless, the victory was indecisive and Rumiñavi’s forces fought a hard rear-guard action and attacked the Spanish repeatedly as they advanced on Quito. When it became inevitable that the Spanish would reach the city, Rumiñavi ordered its evacuation and burned it. After successive defeats Rumiñavi was finally captured towards the end of that same year and executed in Quito.

San Pedro, Juan de (OSA): one of the original twelve Augustinian ‘founders’ who arrived in Peru in 1551. He worked in the order’s first missions in Huamachuco and served as prior of the community there. He held numerous positions of responsibility

on repeated occasions, including that of Provincial 1557-9, 1567-71, 1587-91, Diffinitor, Procurator General, Visitor General and Prior of numerous convents. He died in 1593.

Sancho de la Hoz, Pedro: trained as a notary and most widely known for his written account of the conquest of Peru, Sancho de la Hoz acted as official secretary to Pizarro after Francisco de Jeréz's return to Spain in 1533 and therefore as clerk at Atahualpa's execution. He continued to act as Pizarro's secretary until 1535 when he left for Spain. By 1539 he had returned to Peru, having obtained a royal licence to explore (and conquer) the Pacific coast. This was a direct challenge to Pizarro's delegation of the task to Pedro de Valdivia but his lack of funds meant that his attempts to put together an expedition failed and he was even imprisoned in Lima for his debts. After reaching Chile, he became involved in numerous plots against Valdivia and was finally executed in December 1547.

Sayri Tupac Inca: son of Manco, brother of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He was considered by the Spanish to be the successor of Manco, after he was murdered in 1544 although Titu Cusi casts doubt on this in his own *History*. At any rate, the Spanish negotiated with Sayri Tupac as the Inca ruler in order to persuade him to submit to the overlordship of the Spanish monarch and to come out of Vilcabamba. Initially, Sayri Tupac deferred due to not having reached his majority and, therefore, was still subject to the regency of his senior commanders and advisors. A Spanish diplomatic embassy headed by Juan Sierra was allowed into Vilcabamba in 1557 and Sayri Tupac agreed to leave Vilcabamba and meet the viceroy, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza in Lima, which he did in 1560. In return for his submission to the Spanish monarch (now Philip II) he was granted extensive encomiendas and estates in Yucay and Oropesa. Nevertheless, he is said to have pulled a thread from the Hurtado de Mendoza's tablecloth and commented that the thread in comparison to the cloth was the equivalent of what he was being given by comparison to what had been taken from him. He was given catechesis by the Augustinian friar Juan de Vivero and was baptised by the bishop of Cuzco, Juan Solano that same year. He died in 1561, still in his early twenties. Given what had happened to his father, Titu Cusi strongly (and he later admitted, erroneously) suspected that his brother had also been assassinated by the Spanish.

Sierra (de Leguizamo), Juan: son of Beatriz Quispi Quispi, grandson of Huayna Capac was chosen, due to his family connections and facility in the Quechua language, to act as emissary of viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza in the negotiations with Sayri Tupac in 1557.

Sotelo, Gaspar (also Arias) de: Spanish captain on the expeditionary force against Vilcabamba, 1572.

Sotic: Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru. He was named as one of the executioners of Diego Ortiz. He was said, by Calancha, to have committed suicide along with other commanders of Vilcabamba after their defeat in 1572.

Soto, Hernando de (also Antonio de): he reached the Americas as a teenager in 1513-14 and rose to prominence as a man of ambition. Pizarro persuaded him to join with him on his final expedition to Peru (rather than set up a rival expedition) and alongside Hernando Pizarro, Soto acted as one of Francisco's most trusted captains. Notorious for his violence and bravado, he is famous for having insulted the Inca Atahualpa in his camp by moving his horse so close to the Inca's face that the horse's breath moved the threads of the royal fringe. Atahualpa refused to look at Soto or to speak to him. Notwithstanding this, the chronicles suggest that was one of the conquistadors most opposed to Atahualpa's execution as his own investigations suggested the rumours of a plot to free the Inca from captivity in Cajamarca were false. Nevertheless, his leadership and fighting abilities were invaluable to the Spaniards as they fought their way south to Cuzco in 1533. He was made Lieutenant-Governor of Cuzco late 1534-5, but, after he was overlooked by Pizarro to lead an expedition to Chile, he returned to Spain that same year arriving in 1536. In 1537 he obtained permission to lead an expedition to Florida, a venture that ended disastrously for all concerned (indigenous Americans and Spaniards alike) and he died in 1542 of a fever.

Sucte: indigenous Andean from the lowland tropical forests east of Vilcabamba, named by Calancha as the killer of Juan Tupa, one of the executioners of Diego Ortiz. He is said to have cut off his head at the throat and, somewhat surreally, Calancha adds that this was 'a great insult'.

Sulcayana, Gaspar (also Sullca Yanac, Gaspar): was an Inca noble and servant to Titu Cusi. When Titu Cusi fell suddenly and fatally ill in 1571, Sulcayana, along with Martín Pando are said to have administered first aid by beating an egg white with sulphur and giving it to the Inca to drink in order to staunch the bloody flux. The treatment failed and Titu Cusi died. Calancha makes no further mention of Sulcayana.

Tipso, Alonso: *curaca* [chieftain/noble] of San Juan de Lucuma and eyewitness to the torture of Diego Ortiz. He was named in various testimonies as having been present at the torture and execution of Diego Ortiz (1571). Nevertheless, in his own statement (in 1595) he denied having attacked the friar, saying that he encountered the priest being pulled along the road to Marcanay with a halter pushed through his mouth by his executioners whilst he was travelling between Vilcabamba and Vitcos. He claimed that he later heard that the friar had been killed. In the second investigation in 1599 he reiterated this and accused Juan Quispe of having been the one to strike the friar, arguing that his withered hand, a sure sign of divine punishment, was proof of this fact.

Tipso: Inca torturer and executioner of Diego Ortiz, who is named in the testimonies (and by Calancha) for throwing the priest to the ground and beating him with kicks and punches during his arrest.

Titu Cusi Yupanqui Inca (also Cusi Tito Quispe Yupanqui, Cusi Titu, Felipe Cusitito): was the son of Manco Inca. He was captured as a very young boy in a surprise attack on Vitcos by Rodrigo Orgóñez in 1537 and was given to the almagrist Pedro de Oñate to be fostered in Cuzco. He rejoined his father Manco shortly after, and was present when he was murdered by Diego Méndez and his fellow almagrists, even sustaining injuries in the same attack. He assumed control of Vilcabamba after Sayri Tupac agreed to leave the province and, especially after his brother's untimely death in 1561 continued a low-intensity guerrilla against the Spanish. The Spaniards opened negotiations with Titu Cusi in the mid-1560s and both sides agreed to the Accords of Acobamba in 1566. Titu Cusi received catechesis from the Augustinian friars Juan de Vivero and Marcos García and was (re)baptised in 1568. The full implementation of the Accords stalled, however and, with his death in 1571 the borders of the province were closed by his commanders, fray Diego Ortiz was killed and the subsequent killing of indigenous emissaries and the Spanish envoy Atilano de Anaya gave Viceroy Toledo the justification he needed to order the invasion of Vilcabamba.

Toledo, Francisco de: Viceroy of Peru 1569-81. He was appointed by Philip II with a mandate to bring Peru to order and put an end to the cycle of violent uprisings that were doing so much damage to the viceroyalty (and to Spanish rule in the region). He arrived in Peru 1569 and in 1570 began a general visitation in which he gathered information about the viceroyalty. At the same time he compiled a report on Inca history ostensibly providing weight to juridical arguments that argued that Inca rule was illegitimate. During this period (1570-72), he introduced far-reaching socio-economic and socio-political reforms, ordering the resettlement of indigenous communities in order to more easily christianise them and exploit their labour, in particular for the mining of silver and mercury. Not knowing that Titu Cusi had died in 1571, impatient with the slow progress of the implementation of the Accords of Acobamba, and anxious about the continuing threat that Vilcabamba was proving to the internal security of the viceroyalty (in particular through its potential to cut off communications between Cuzco and Lima and to harbour dissident Spaniards), Toledo made one final effort to persuade Titu Cusi to leave Vilcabamba and submit to Spanish rule. He declared war on the province in 1572 after his emissary Atilano de Anaya was killed. After the destruction of Vilcabamba, together with his confidant the judge Gabriel de Loarte, he organised a sham trial of the new Inca Tupac Amaru, in which he was swiftly condemned to death and executed, notwithstanding pleas for mercy from the Cuzco clergy and the bishop of Popayan, Agustín de la Coruña. Toledo then began to persecute the remainder of the Inca royal family and any perceived to have links with the Vilcabamba regime. In this, however, he became locked in a

jurisdictional dispute with the Audiencia of Charcas, and by the time he returned to Spain in 1581, accusations against him had risen to a crescendo and the disapproval of King Philip II of his tyrannical (and regicidal) methods was evident. Notwithstanding the fact that he had done Philip a great service by putting Spanish rule in Peru on a firm footing perhaps for the first time, the king ordered he leave the court and began an investigation into his financial affairs. He died a year later (1582) in relative penury and disgrace.

Trinidad, Agustín de la (OSA): was the first Augustinian to reach Peru c.1548. He was sent to prepare for the secure foundation of the order in the viceroyalty and the arrival of the first twelve ‘founders’ in 1551.

Tumi: was an Inca noble and captain of Titu Cusi, executioner of Diego Ortiz. He was said by Calancha to have participated in a suicide pact after the Inca defeat at Vilcabamba.

Tupa, Juan: was an Inca noble and one of Titu Cusi’s commanders. He participated in the torture and execution of Diego Ortiz and was said to have struck him with ‘a machete or an axe’. After the Inca defeat at Vilcabamba in 1572 he is reported to have fled into the lowland tropical forests where he was decapitated by a warrior named Sucte.

Tupac Amaru Inca: younger brother of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. He became ruler of Vilcabamba on the death of Titu Cusi Yupanqui in 1571. It is highly likely that he wished to continue following the careful diplomatic tightrope that Titu Cusi Yupanqui had walked for so long. Unfortunately, he did not have the luxury of time and could not consolidate his rule. Decisions were taken by his vehemently anti-Spanish commanders that precipitated the inevitable conflict with the Spanish viceroyalty. He was vilified by Calancha for his indecision in condemning Diego Ortiz to death but not ordering the manner of his death. Nevertheless, the same chronicler recounts his dignity and authority as he himself was condemned to die in Cuzco 1572. Tupac Amaru was led in a triumphal procession into Cuzco after his defeat in Vilcabamba and, despite expecting to be treated as a prince (albeit a captive) he was given a show-trial and condemned to death by Gabriel de Loarte and Francisco de Toledo—this notwithstanding the pleas for mercy (and even threats of divine punishment) from prominent clergy in Cuzco. Considerable pressure was put on him to convert before he died and he gave a remarkable speech just before his execution indicating the sincerity of his conversion. He was decapitated on 24 September 1572.

Tupac Huallpa Inca (also Tubalipa): brother of Atahualpa, Huascar and Manco. After the Spaniards captured Atahualpa in 1532 Tupac Huallpa fled to Cajamarca and placed himself under the Spaniards’ protection in order to escape inevitable death

at the hands of Atahualpa's generals who were hunting down potential rivals to Atahualpa. The chronicles report how terrified he was of his brother, refusing to leave his room, although arguably he might also have been afraid of the Spanish as well. After Atahualpa was killed he was hailed by the Spaniards as the new (puppet) Inca and journeyed with the Spanish as they pushed south to Cuzco. In Jauja, however, he died suddenly of an unknown illness. Atahualpa's general, Chalcuchima, was suspected of having poisoned him although it is more likely that he died of natural causes.

Vaca de Castro, Cristóbal de: in 1540 he was sent by Charles I as royal envoy to Peru. He reached the viceroyalty in 1541 and after the assassination of Francisco Pizarro made his way to Lima in order to take control of the Audiencia and impose royal authority on the viceroyalty. He began by persecuting the almagrists and defeated Diego de Almagro the Younger at the battle of Chupas in 1542, executing him along with numerous supporters. He then attempted to limit the Pizarro family's privileges and curb their worst excesses. At the same time he began to re-organise the social-economic structure of the viceroyalty. His organisational labours were left unfinished as he was replaced by the appointment of the first viceroy to Peru, Blasco Nuñez Vela in 1544 and was recalled to Spain where he was imprisoned and submitted to a lengthy investigation into whether he had exceeded his mandate and committed excesses in the pacification of Peru. He had to wait until 1556 before he was finally vindicated.

Valera, Ordoño de: was named captain of artillery in the Spanish expeditionary force to Vilcabamba, 1572.

Valverde, Vicente de (OP): a Dominican friar who accompanied Pizarro's expedition of conquest from the beginning through to its conclusion. He is perhaps most remembered as the initiator of the Spanish plan to capture Atahualpa unawares in Cajamarca (November 1532). He approached the unarmed Inca as he entered the main square on his litter and handed him a bible while preaching the fundamentals of the faith. In effect he was delivering the *requerimiento* or requirement, the juridical fiction that required those to whom it was delivered to accept the sovereignty of the King of Spain and permit evangelisation. Even though Valverde's words were interpreted by either Martinillo or Felipillo they were nonetheless incomprehensible to Atahualpa who threw the book to the ground. This was the signal for the Spanish to attack. Notwithstanding the ignominious role that Valverde played in this charade, while in Cuzco he conscientiously struggled to protect the indigenous Andeans from the abusive excesses of the conquistadors and was appointed as the first bishop of Cuzco and protector of the Indians in 1537/1538. He fled Cuzco during the civil wars between the pizarrists and the almagrists and, in a twist of fate, as he left Peru after the murder of Francisco Pizarro, was shipwrecked off the island of Puna in 1541. There the first protector of the Indians in Peru was attacked and possibly eaten by indigenous warriors.

Villa Oma (also Villac Umu): son of Huayna Capac and high priest of the Sun he was one of Manco's most senior and most forthright advisors and a military commander in his own right. He did not hesitate to reprimand both the Spaniards for their abuses after they took power in Cuzco in 1534 and Manco for his hesitation and weakness in not resisting the appalling treatment he was receiving. Nonetheless he accompanied Diego de Almagro on his campaign to conquer Chile but abandoned him to raise forces for what was to become known as the Great Rebellion of 1536-9. He rebuked Manco for his poor decision-making during the siege of Cuzco and, when that failed he took his forces south and continued to damage the Spanish and their indigenous allies until his final defeat in 1539. Even though he had just been taken prisoner, he vehemently protested at the killing of Cura Ocllo (Manco's wife). In response, Pizarro executed him by burning him alive.

Vivero, Juan de (OSA): Augustinian friar, one of the second group of twelve to arrive in Peru in 1557. He was selected by the viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza to take responsibility for the catechesis of the young Inca Sayri Tupac and his wife the following year. In 1559 he founded the Augustinian convent in Cuzco although the following year (1560) he was returned to Lima by the Provincial Chapter and chosen as superior and diffinitor of the convent in Lima. By 1563 he was back in Cuzco as diffinitor and prior and in 1568 he travelled with fray Marcos García into Vilcabamba to catechise and (re)baptise the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui in accordance with the Accords of Acobamba. He left Marcos García in Vilcabamba and returned to Cuzco where, in 1571 he became an advisor to the viceroy Francisco de Toledo. He was present in Cuzco when Tupac Amaru was condemned to death and was one of those clergy along with the bishop of Popayan Agustín de la Coruña. In 1575 he took up post as prior of Quito but shortly after was required to travel to Spain to lobby the king. When he reached Spain he was appointed bishop of Cartagena de Indias and then Charcas in quick succession but he died in Toledo in 1577 before he could take possession of his dioceses.

Xerez, Francisco de (also Jeréz, Francisco de): arrived in the Americas in as a teenager in 1514 having trained as a notary and accompanied Francisco Pizarro on both the failed expedition to Peru in 1524 and the expedition of conquest that pushed inland from Tumbes in 1532. He acted as Pizarro's secretary until 1533 when he left Peru in part due to an injury he had sustained in Cajamarca but also charged with taking the first full-length report of the expedition back to Spain.