

Great Lives from History

**The Renaissance &
Early Modern Era**

1454 - 1600

ANNE ASKEW

English writer and martyr

Askew documented her experiences as a Protestant accused of heresy in England, writing about the court proceedings, interrogations, and torture that led to her execution. Her Examinations are singular, for no other female martyr of the Henrician or Marian periods in Tudor England recorded her own trial and torture.

BORN: c. 1521; Lincolnshire, England

DIED: July 16, 1546; Smithfield, England

ALSO KNOWN AS: Anne Ayscough; Anne Kyme; Anne Ascue

AREAS OF ACHIEVEMENT: Literature, religion and theology, church reform

EARLY LIFE

Anne Askew, born into a wealthy Lincolnshire family, was the daughter of Elizabeth Wrottesley and Sir William Askew. Her father, knighted by Henry VIII in 1513, served as a courtier, the high sheriff of Lincolnshire and a member of Parliament. Though the breadth of her education is unknown, Askew's extensive knowledge of Scripture and striking aptitude for oratory suggest she received some academic instruction.

Askew was compelled by her father to marry Thomas Kyme of Friskney, the fiancé of her late sister Martha, by whom she had two children. Askew's Protestantism, however, troubled her Catholic husband, who forced her from their home after she slighted local priests. Askew sought to divorce her unreformed spouse. Unable to persuade John Longland, the bishop of Lincoln, to grant her a divorce, Askew probably appealed to the Court of Chancery in London, where her petition was apparently denied.

LIFE'S WORK

On her arrival in London, Askew became involved with Protestant reformers associated with Catherine Parr, the sixth wife of Henry VIII. Though Henry VIII had broken with the Roman Catholic Church and formed the Church of England in 1534 to secure a divorce from his first wife, he remained a practicing Catholic until his death. During his reign, reformers were viewed with suspicion and sanctioned for violating the Act of Six Articles (1539), which encoded Catholic doctrine. Suspected of denying Christ's real presence in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, Askew was repeatedly arrested for heresy under the first of the six articles.

While imprisoned at Newgate and the Tower of London in March, 1545, and June, 1546, Askew found herself re-

lentlessly interrogated about her beliefs. During her final imprisonment, she was illegally tortured on the rack when she refused to implicate others who shared her faith, particularly those noblewomen in Catherine Parr's circle. Angered at her silence, Thomas Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, and Sir Richard Rich, a chancery officer and future lord chancellor, racked Askew with their bare hands. Askew was condemned to death on June 28, 1546. On July 16, 1546, she was brought to Smithfield for her execution, carried because her tortured, broken body prevented her from walking. Askew refused a final opportunity to recant and to receive the king's pardon, and was burned at the stake in the company of three fellow reformers.

Askew composed a detailed account of her two interrogations, *The First Examinacyon of Anne Askewe* (1546) and *The Lattre Examinacyon of Anne Askewe* (1547), better known collectively as *Examinations*. Protestant reformers often recorded the substance of their interrogations to reveal their ability to challenge, with divine aid, the orthodox doctrine of their Catholic inquisitors. Askew, unlike male reformers subjected to questioning, had to defend herself not only as an accused heretic but also as a woman. Her interrogators asserted that she, as a woman, should neither defy ecclesiastical authority nor openly discuss Scripture, an activity prohibited by the Act for Advancement of True Religion (1543).

Despite the restrictions placed on Renaissance women, Askew found within herself a source of authority. Her *Examinations* reveal her confidence in her ability to read, interpret, and expound Scripture without the assistance of church officials. She thereby dodged the authority of the priests whom she rejected as mediators between herself and God. Throughout her *Examinations*, Askew confidently cites Scripture to support her doctrinal claims and to condemn the beliefs and conduct of her accusers. When she wishes to remain silent on a subject, however, she reminds her questioners, with understated irony, that "it was against St. Paul's learning, that . . . a woman, should interpret the scriptures, specially where so many wise learned men were."

Askew's confidence in her being an agent of spiritual truth is transparent in the lines of a ballad she wrote during her imprisonment, the last words in *Examinations*: "The Ballad Which Anne Askew Made and Sang When She Was in Newgate." In this ballad, Askew assumed, through simile, a masculine military identity. She was an "armed knight appointed to the field" and as such, was

A SUMMARY OF THE CONDEMNATION AND TORTURE OF ANNE ASKEW

They said to me there, that I was a heretic and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion. I answered that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. . . . Then would they need to know, if I would deny the sacrament to by Christ's body and blood: I said, yes. . . . And as for that you call your God, is but a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof let it lie in the box but 3 months, and it will be moldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded, that it cannot be God. . . . Then they said [after more interrogation], there were of the counsel that did maintain me. And I said, no. Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies nor gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time. And because I lay still and did not cry, my lord Chancelor and master [Sir Richard] Rich, took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh [nearly] dead.

Source: Excerpted from Askew's account of her trial and torture, published posthumously by John Bale as *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (1546, 1547), in *The Renaissance in Europe: An Anthology*, edited by Peter Elmer, Nick Webb, and Roberta Wood (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 257, 260. (Rendered into modern English by Desiree Dreeuws.)

free to offer a critique of the unjust power structure that imprisons innocent followers of Christ. Askew self-assuredly engaged in a battle with the world, shielded only by her reformed faith, and concluded with a prayer of forgiveness for her enemies.

Askew's *Examinations* and Newgate ballad were published in 1546 and 1547 by the playwright and Protestant propagandist John Bale, later bishop of Ossory. Bale claimed to have access to Askew's handwritten account of her examinations, although no original manuscript is extant. Bale has been criticized for his copious, invasive commentary, which reshapes and disrupts Askew's narrative to advance his religious ideals. Nevertheless, by locating Askew within the broader narrative of Protestant history, he also helps present a Renaissance woman's authoritative public voice. The historian John Foxe later included Askew's *Examinations*, without Bale's commentary, in his martyrology *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes* (1563; better known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*). Though his subtler editorial intervention has been seen as less troubling, Foxe also manipulated her text to produce an unblemished Protestant martyr. Therefore, Askew's autobiographical voice—her textual identity—has been shaped by her male editors, and it remains, as she wished, partially hidden from view.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Examinations* and ballad of Askew stand as a testi-

mony to the significant role played by women in the transition from Catholicism to Protestantism in Renaissance England. Traditionally called to silence and obedience, women during this time period were granted a degree of spiritual agency and authority by the reformed religion, which championed the priesthood of all believers, regardless of gender.

Askew's writings are one of the earliest extant examples of an Englishwoman's vocal opposition to ecclesiastical and civic authority. The *Examinations*, as edited by John Bale and John Foxe, endorse the female adoption of the traditionally masculine role of scriptural interpreter and guide and also reestablish women as active agents in religious history.

—Holly Faith Nelson

FURTHER READING

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Betteridge, Thomas. "Anne Askew, John Bale, and Protestant History." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring, 1997): 265-284. An examination of the expression of modern subjectivity in Askew's writings, partially undermined by the attempt of Renaissance editors to reduce Askew to a martyr in Protestant history.

Coles, Kimberly Anne. "The Death of the Author (And the Appropriation of Her Text): The Case of Anne Askew's *Examinations*." *Modern Philology* 99, no. 4 (2002): 515-539. A comparison of the editorial practices of John Bale and John Foxe.

_____. "Reproductive Rites: Anne Askew and the Female Body as Witness in the *Acts and Monuments*." In *Consuming Narratives: Gender and Monstrous Appetite in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Liz Herbert McAvoy and Teresa Walters. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002. An analysis of

Askew's interior self-fashioning and denial of bodily experience, and her "re-embodiment" in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs (Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes)*.

Kemp, Theresa D. "Translating (Anne) Askew: The Textual Remains of a Sixteenth-Century Heretic and Saint." *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (Winter, 1999): 1021-1045. An examination of Askew's textual body as a site on which Henrician conservatives and Protestant reformists dispute religion and politics.

Kesselring, Krista. "Representations of Women in Tudor Historiography: John Bale and the Rhetoric of Exemplarity." *Renaissance and Reformation* 22, no. 2 (1998): 41-61. A defense of Bale's editions of the *Examinations*, which render Askew a public exemplary agent worthy of imitation.

Mazzola, Elizabeth. "Expert Witnesses and Secret Subjects: Anne Askew's *Examinations* and Renaissance

Self-Incrimination." In *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, edited by Carol Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. A psychoanalytic (Freudian) reading of Askew's *Examinations*, which explores Askew's identity as a subject of secret knowledge.

Travitsky, Betty, ed. *The Paradise of Women: Writings by Englishwomen of the Renaissance*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981. A collection of noteworthy excerpts from Askew's works, accompanied by a detailed analysis of Askew's strategies of resistance.

SEE ALSO: Thomas Cromwell; Henry VIII; Balthasar Hubmaier; Mary I; Catherine Parr; Nicholas Ridley.

RELATED ARTICLES in *Great Events from History: The Renaissance & Early Modern Era, 1454-1600*: 1473-1600: Witch-Hunts and Witch Trials; May, 1539: Six Articles of Henry VIII.

ASKIA DAUD

Emperor of the Songhai Empire (r. 1549-1582)

Under Askia Daud, the Songhai Empire realized its golden age, its most prosperous and stable period. In land area, the empire in its day made up one of the largest states anywhere in the world.

BORN: Early sixteenth century; Songhai Empire (now in Mali)

DIED: July or August, 1582; Tondibi, Songhai Empire

ALSO KNOWN AS: Daud; Dāwūd; Daoud

AREAS OF ACHIEVEMENT: Government and politics, warfare and conquest

EARLY LIFE

Askia Daud (AS-kyah dowd) was the sixth of his line to rule the Songhai Empire in central West Africa. His dynasty was founded in 1492 by his father, Muhammad Ture (Mohammed I Askia), under whom the term "askia" became both a title signifying "emperor" and a dynastic name. The system of royal succession was patrilineal, but the rule of primogeniture was not strong, resulting in considerable instability.

Trouble began in 1529 when a group of royal brothers, which included Askia Daud, overthrew their father. Following this, three half brothers and a cousin preceded Askia Daud, the totality of their reigns amounting to twenty years. Members of the royal family were both the

foundation of the Askia Dynasty's power and the major threat to it. The first act of any new askia was to determine which of his brothers and cousins he could trust. The loyal ones would be appointed to high posts; those who posed a threat would be eliminated.

Askia Daud's immediate predecessor was Askia Ishaq I, said to be pious and intelligent but also cruel and authoritarian, a ruler who kept himself in power through terrorizing others. Ishaq's reign, which spanned a decade, degenerated into plots, counterplots, murder, and extortion.

LIFE'S WORK

Askia Daud had attained the rank of *kurmina-fari*, viceroy of the western half of the empire, by 1545. The preceding two *kurmina-fari* had been purged by Ishaq. Askia Daud's major achievement in this position was to attack the capital city of the declining Malian Empire to the southwest. On his approach he was so successful in ravaging the countryside that the Malian ruler and most of the inhabitants abandoned their city. Askia Daud remained there for a week, remembered only for being a vandal. He ordered his soldiers to pack the royal palace full of filth so that when the Malians returned, they would find it unusable.

Ishaq died in March of 1549. He had named a son as heir, but the ruling circles in the capital of Gao promptly ignored this. They had been impressed by Askia Daud's

ability to survive in a government ruled by a paranoid like Ishaq, a feat requiring considerable political skill, even though Askia Daud had not been a favorite of his father.

Askia Daud was in the right place at the right time. As the Timbuktu chronicler Mahmud Kati put it,

His father the Askia Muhammad and his brothers had labored and sowed for him, and, when he came, he had only to harvest; they had prepared the ground and, when his turn came, he had only to stretch out in order to go to sleep.

By the time Askia Daud came to sit under the royal dais, a large number of his brothers and cousins had killed one another, and more had died on the battlefield serving Songhai. This depletion of the royal brood kept Askia Daud's reign relatively free from internal strife.

Askia Daud had considerable abilities and likable personal traits. He was small, smart, tenacious, and brave. He was an eloquent speaker and a wit who loved to joke, somehow escaping the dour strain characteristic of his family. He also was experienced as a politician, having been involved in affairs of state since the overthrow of his father. Once in power, he proved to be a statesman of moderation and wisdom. He knew that the might of the empire rested on economic strength, so he encouraged agriculture and commerce. He was the only ruler of his era in the Western Sudan who is reported to have had a treasury of coined money. He supported intellectual pursuits, becoming the all-time most generous benefactor of the scholars at the university at Timbuktu, and he created an imperial library where he employed scribes to copy manuscripts.

Askia Daud also was an able military strategist. While his brothers had been focusing their energies on internal foes of the empire, provinces on the periphery had quietly slipped back into independence and external foes had recouped their power. Askia Daud took the empire to where it had been under his father. His most notable success was in the west against the Malians, where campaigns in 1550 and 1558-1559 added new lands in the upper Niger Valley to his empire. He was also successful in raiding the Mossi, who lived to the south (in what is now called Burkina Faso), although his objective here was to capture slaves rather than to conquer new territory.

He had less success to the east, where his effort to bring Kebbi (northwestern Nigeria) into the empire was unsuccessful, and his attempt to quell a revolt in the city of Katsina, an eastern outpost of the Songhai Empire, failed also.

Near the end of his reign, imperial borders remained stable. In 1570-1571, Askia Daud led an expedition of twenty-four thousand Tuareg allies against Arab tribesmen who were revolting in the western Sahel (southeastern Mauritania). A revolt by the Fulbe of Macina (the inland delta region of Mali) was put down with such ferocity by one of Askia Daud's sons, the askia announced his official disapproval.

During the last few years of his life, Askia Daud spent much of his time on his farm at Tondibi, thirty miles upstream from Gao. He died there of natural causes in the summer of 1582.

SIGNIFICANCE

Askia Daud's reign marked the golden age of the Songhai Empire. Its borders were secure, internal peace brought prosperity, commerce and agriculture flourished, and trans-Saharan trade boomed. Unfortunately, Askia Daud's reign proved to be an aberration. Eight askias succeeded Muhammad Ture, together ruling more than sixty-three years. Seven of those askias reigned for a total of thirty years; Askia Daud alone reigned for thirty-three years.

Askia Daud had at least sixty-one children, ten of whom ascended to royal power. Within a decade of Askia Daud's death, a major civil war known as the Revolt of the Balama, fought between rival half brothers in 1588, weakened the empire in the face of external enemies. In 1591, one of these, the sultan of Morocco, who had been kept in check by Askia Daud's judicious diplomacy and a timely subsidy in gold, sent an army across the Sahara Desert that eventually destroyed the Songhai Empire.

—Richard L. Smith

FURTHER READING

- Bovill, E. W. *The Golden Trade of the Moors*. 1958. Reprint. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 1995. A still-useful, seminal study that provides an overview of the rise and fall of the Songhai Empire.
- Cissoko, Sekene Mody. "The Songhay from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century." In *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Vol. 4 in *General History of Africa*, edited by D. T. Niane. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Cissoko is an African scholar recognized as an authority on the Songhai Empire and the Askias who ruled it.
- Hunwick, John. "Secular Power and Religious Authority in Muslim Society: The Case of Songhay." *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 175-194. A look into the internal workings of the Songhai government, particularly the relationship between church and state.

_____. *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sadi's Ta'rikh al-Sudan Down to 1613 and Other Contemporary Documents*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1999. The only full English translation of al-Sadi's classic seventeenth century work about the Songhai Empire. Includes a lengthy section on Askia Daud's reign and should be used as the starting point for any serious research on this subject.

Levtzion, Nehemia. "The Western Maghrib and Sudan." In *The Cambridge History of Africa*, edited by Roland Oliver. Vol. 3. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1977. Written by the doyen of medieval West African studies, this volume provides the standard interpretation of the Songhai Empire and Askia Daud's place in it.

Saad, Elias N. *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400-1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Saad explores how Askia Daud was famous as a patron of the Timbuktu intelligentsia, and looks deeper into this relationship, revealing curious insight.

SEE ALSO: Amina Sarauniya Zazzua; Leo Africanus; Mohammed I Askia; Sonni 'Alī; Zara Yaqob.

RELATED ARTICLES in *Great Events from History: The Renaissance & Early Modern Era, 1454-1600*: 1460-1600: Rise of the Akan Kingdoms; 1493-1528: Reign of Mohammed I Askia; 1500's: Trans-Saharan Trade Enriches Akan Kingdoms; 1591: Fall of the Songhai Empire.

ATAHUALPA

King of the Inca Empire (r. 1525-1533)

Atahualpa won a civil war against his half brother Huáscar and took control of the Inca Empire, but Atahualpa also fatally weakened the empire, which ultimately fell to the Spanish conquistadores.

BORN: c. 1502; Cuzco, Inca Empire (now in Peru)

DIED: August 29, 1533; Cajamarca, Inca Empire (now in Peru)

ALSO KNOWN AS: Atabalipa; Atahuallpa

AREAS OF ACHIEVEMENT: Government and politics, warfare and conquest

EARLY LIFE

Atahualpa (ah-tah-WAHL-pah) was the favorite son of Huayna Capac, the Inca (ruler) of the Inca Empire. His name is said to mean "virile-sweet," apparently reflecting a desire that he show a balance between manly and gentle characteristics. He is described as an illegitimate son. Because his mother, Palloca, has been identified as a descendant of Pachacuti, an earlier Inca, it is more likely that she was simply a concubine rather than the legal queen, or *qoya*. Inca nobles were expected to have numerous concubines, but because of frequent succession struggles, the inheritance of the Inca throne had become restricted to the sons of the legal queen.

Little is known of Atahualpa's childhood, but it may be safely assumed that he received the typical upbringing and education of an Inca noble. He would have learned the arts of war and of administration in a tradition-bound empire in which every aspect of each subject's life was

prescribed and managed. At the appointed age, he would have had his ears ceremonially pierced and stretched with large ear ornaments, a visible sign of the upper classes of Inca society. He appears to have served in his father's army during campaigns in Quito, although not always to his father's credit.

LIFE'S WORK

Although Atahualpa was barred by Inca law from succeeding to the throne, Huayna Capac wanted his beloved son to be assured a position of honor and authority. As a result, Huayna Capac gave Atahualpa the governorship of Quito, making it a sort of northern capital, but subordinate to Cuzco, the traditional capital of the empire.

Huayna Capac originally named one of his sons by his *qoya*, Ninan Cuyochi, to be his heir. He agreed to name a second son, Huáscar, as heir, however, if the omens were not favorable for Ninan Cuyochi. The high priest of the sun slaughtered two llamas and studied the entrails to determine that the sun god favored Huáscar as heir. Ninan Cuyochi died shortly afterward of smallpox, a disease introduced to the Americas by the Spaniards and brought to the high Andes along the extensive messenger system maintained by the Incas to control their empire.

Shortly after Huayna Capac's death in 1525, Huáscar began to suspect certain members of his retinue of supporting Atahualpa, since they were from the same faction as the latter. Huáscar ordered them executed as traitors. Because Atahualpa had made no formal claim to his father's throne, he sent conciliatory messages to Huáscar,

assuring him of his loyalty and asking only to be confirmed in the governorship of Quito. Huáscar had the majority of the messengers killed and their skins made into drumheads, but he sent a few back to Atahualpa with insulting messages and gifts of women's clothing, implying that Atahualpa was effeminate.

The accounts of subsequent events are muddled, but all agree that Huáscar attacked first, taking Atahualpa's palace at Tumbamba and imprisoning Atahualpa. Nevertheless, Atahualpa was subsequently able to escape, supposedly by means of a silver bar given to him by a noble lady. Atahualpa then assembled a large force that defeated Huáscar's foremost commander at Ambato, south of Quito, inflicting massive casualties on Huáscar's army. Atahualpa then marched on Cuzco and met Huáscar in battle. After a brief setback at Cotampampa, Atahualpa captured Huáscar.

The civil war was marked by atrocities on both sides. Huáscar is said to have preferred drunkenness and debauchery to sober command, and to have taken delight in torturing his half brother's emissaries even when peace might still have been possible. He also treated the descendants of previous Incas badly, seizing the lands that were supposed to support them while they tended the cults of their royal ancestors' memories. On the other hand, Atahualpa tortured and murdered many of Huáscar's supporters and exterminated the entire clan of



Atahualpa. (Hulton/Archive by Getty Images)

Tupac Inca, even burning Tupac's mummy, an act of sacrilege horrifying to a society in which religion and law were one and the same. On capturing Huáscar, Atahualpa ordered that his deposed half brother be fed offal (animal by-products) and excrement, and he forced Huáscar to witness such abominations as the execution of eighty of his children and the pillage of shrines throughout Cuzco.

Even as Atahualpa was celebrating his victory, messengers brought him news of the arrival of a strange force of white men bearing arms and armor of alien design. These were Spanish conquistadores led by Francisco Pizarro, a fortune hunter of impoverished noble background who wished to follow the example of earlier Spanish victories in Mexico and Central America. After two abortive expeditions in Ecuador, Pizarro had determined to find the wealthy empire in the highlands, of which he had heard rumors among the coastal tribes.

Atahualpa sent envoys to invite Pizarro and his men to visit him at Cajamarca. Pizarro gladly accepted the invitation, sending two Venetian goblets and a fine shirt from Holland as gifts to the Inca. Atahualpa turned Pizarro's arrival into a grand ceremonial pageant intended to impress the visitors with his might and majesty, but the display of wealth only inflamed Pizarro's greed. By a ruse, he captured Atahualpa, and the subsequent battle left several thousand Inca warriors dead on the plains beyond Cajamarca's walls.

Not understanding the people with whom he was dealing, Atahualpa tried to negotiate his own ransom in exchange for a room full of gold and silver. Pizarro made a mark on the wall of the room, and the Incas filled the room to that height. The Spaniards then took the priceless work of countless Inca goldsmiths and melted it down into bars for shipping back to Spain.

Pizarro, however, had no intention of keeping his side of the bargain. He soon found a pretext in Atahualpa's orders to kill his half brother, the deposed Huáscar, as a potential rival around whom his enemies might rally. In a parody of justice, Pizarro tried Atahualpa for murder and sentenced him to death by burning, the fate of infidels. He agreed, though, to spare Atahualpa's life under the condition that Atahualpa embrace Christianity. Atahualpa solemnly renounced his people's traditional religious practices and submitted to baptism, only to have Pizarro renege on his sworn word once again. Atahualpa was garrotted (strangled) with a silken cord, although his body was given Christian burial. By executing Atahualpa, Pizarro won the support of the faction that had followed Huáscar.

ATAHUALPA'S CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELD

After Atahualpa defeated Huáscar's troops in battle, he instructed his own troops to leave the dead bodies of their enemies on the battlefield, marking Atahualpa's victory both through story and through the bones of his victims. Susan Niles examines how the Inca civil war has been remembered, in part, because the shrewd Atahualpa ordered that the remains of his enemies be left as evidence of his victory.

The civil war battlefields might be thought of as a combination of keen military strategy and history in the making. There is no doubt that the frightful prospect of bodies heaped up at an important pass through the mountains would be daunting to enemies marching up from either direction, and that a field planted with their native lords may have discouraged disgruntled Cañari subjects from further subversive acts. But the commemoration of the victories is also a way to impose history on a landscape that the young Inca [Atahualpa] was just beginning to claim. The gruesome monuments would be evidence of the glorious victories that surely would have been part of the *cantares* sung in his praise had his own defeat by the Spaniards not come so soon.

Source: The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire, by Susan A. Niles (Iowa City: Iowa University Press, 1999), p. 65.

Subsequent to Atahualpa's judicial murder, many of his followers continued to resist, particularly in the area of Quito. Pizarro fought four fierce battles against Atahualpa's foremost surviving general, Quizquiz. After the final decisive victory in the mountains above Cuzco, the Quitan faction's resolve was broken and the army deserted. Pizarro then installed Huáscar's younger brother, Tupac Huallpa, as a puppet Inca, but he survived only a few months. Blaming his death on poison, Pizarro replaced him with another son of Huáscar, Manco Capac II, and permitted some of the traditional observances to continue so long as suitable tribute flowed into Spanish coffers. Manco Capac, however, subsequently rebelled and raised an army that briefly troubled the Spaniards before being destroyed. The last puppet Inca, Tupac Amaru, was executed, and henceforth, the Spaniards ruled directly.

SIGNIFICANCE

Atahualpa's civil war with Huáscar weakened the Inca Empire at a time when it needed all its resources to repel an external invader. Later historians have hotly debated

just how critical the civil war was in the catastrophic collapse of the Inca armies in the face of a much smaller force. Many writers have emphasized the differences of culture and technology that would have ultimately made a Spanish victory inevitable, although perhaps at a much greater cost.

The magical-ritual worldview of the Inca, in which great effort was expended on propitiating the gods before, during, and after each battle, could not compete with the Spaniards' drive for total victory and long-term conquest. Atahualpa's naïve trust of Pizarro's promises and his unwillingness to see the Spaniards' motivations for what they were only made the process easier for the Spanish.

—Leigh Husband Kimmel

FURTHER READING

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- Gabai, Rafael Varon. *Francisco Pizarro and His Brothers: The Illusion of Power in Sixteenth Century Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. A study of the relationship of Pizarro and his three brothers, who cooperated in the conquest of Peru.
- Hemming, John. *The Conquest of the Incas*. San Diego, Calif.: Harvest Books, 2003. A sympathetic account, giving equal time to the Inca resistance and Pizarro's conquest.

SEE ALSO: José de Acosta; Hernán Cortés; Huáscar; Pachacuti; Francisco Pizarro.

RELATED ARTICLES in *Great Events from History: The Renaissance & Early Modern Era, 1454-1600*: 1493-1525: Reign of Huayna Capac; 1525-1532: Huáscar and Atahualpa Share Inca Rule; 1532-1537: Pizarro Conquers the Incas in Peru.