

Cap. II. De la entrada del Padre fray Marcos Garcia en las montañas de Vilcabamba, i los casos que sucedieron en su predicacion.

1. Antes de entrar en el martirio del bendito Padre fray Diego Ortiz amigo i siervo de Dios, pide el suceso inteligencia del tiempo en que acaecio, i del Inga que governava quando el Padre fray Marcos, i el Padre fray Diego entraron a la conversion de aquellas montañas. Por muerte del Inga Guaynacpac, que murio [...] despues de la primera venida de Don Francisco Piçarro a Tunbes, i antes de su segundo viage quando bolvio de España a Panamá, i saltòen tierra, donde tomo la posesion del Perú en nonbre de nuestros Reyes, eredò Guascar Inga como ijo mayor avido en ermana; a éste sugetò con guerras su ermano menor Atagualpa, i con cabilacion i secreto lo izo matar en Xauxa, donde le tenia preso. A este fraticida Atagualpa prendiò en Cajamarca, i le izo dar garrote Don Francisco Piçarro, mandandole quemar despues de muerto. Entrò eredando el Reyno Mancocpac segundo desde nonbre, ijo de Guaynacpac, i ermano destes dos Guascar i Atagualpa. Este Mancocpac despues del alçamiento general con que alborotò este Reyno, i le tuvo a punto de recobrar, en que se derramò tanta sangre de Indios i Españoles, se retirò a las montañas, i Andes de Vilcabamba, donde se fortificò cortando puentes, cerrando pasos, i poniendo sobre montes i laderas egercitos de Indios, que derribando galgas, i multitud de medias peñas, azian inoposible el pasage, recogia Españoles fugitivos, que delinquentes se valian de su [793] anparo, obligandolos a que fuesen enemigos declarados contra nuestros Reyes. Gonçalo Piçarro entrò con trecientos onbres, i no aviendo obrado cosa de inportancia, bolviò a salir de las montañas perdiendo muchos de sus soldados en las asperezas,

Chapter 2: On the entry of Padre fray Marcos Garcia into the mountains of Vilcabamba and the things that happened as he preached.

1. Before writing about the martyrdom of the friend and servant of God, the blessed Padre fray Diego Ortiz, it is necessary to explain a little about the period in which it occurred and about the Inca who governed when Padre fray Marcos and Padre fray Diego went in to those mountains to convert the people.¹³³ With the death of the Inca Huayna Capac who died [...] after the first arrival of Don Francisco Pizarro in Tumbes, and before his second voyage when he returned from Spain to Panama and he jumped ashore and took possession of Peru in the name of our kings¹³⁴, Huascar Inca inherited [the Empire] as the eldest son born of a sister but Atahualpa, his younger brother, made war on him and killed him in Jauja where he was anxiously holding him prisoner and in secret. Don Francisco Pizarro captured the fratricidal Atahualpa in Cajamarca and had him garrotted. He ordered him to be burned after his death.¹³⁵ Manco Capac, the second of that name, was next to inherit the kingdom. [He was the] son of Huayna Capac and brother of those two Huascar and Atahualpa.¹³⁶ After the general uprising that caused so much upheaval in this kingdom (which he was on the verge of reclaiming) and which shed so much Indian and Spanish blood, this Manco Capac retreated to the mountains and Andes of Vilcabamba, which he fortified by cutting bridges¹³⁷, closing off passes, and placing armies of Indians on hills and mountainsides, who made it impossible to enter by throwing down obstructions and a multitude of rocks. He gathered up fugitive Spaniards, who as delinquents took advantage of his [793] support, and he forced them to declare themselves enemies of our monarchs.¹³⁸ Gonzalo Pizarro went in with three hundred men and, having achieved nothing notable, he made to leave the mountains but lost many of his soldiers in the heights.

133 Lit. *el Padre fray Marcos, i el Padre fray Diego entraron a la conversion de aquellas montañas* – ‘Padre fray Marcos, and Padre fray Diego entered to convert those mountains’.

134 See the introductory essays for an overview of these events.

135 See Ramos, *Death and Conversion*, pp.37-48 for an analysis of differing accounts of Atahualpa’s execution.

136 Calancha omits Tupac Huallpa here, perhaps because his rule as a puppet to Pizarro was so brief.

137 The use of the word ‘cutting’ (*cortando*) is not just a turn of phrase. Bridges would be cut rather than demolished because bridges were not of stone. Rather, Andean tradition was to make rope bridges by twisting a particular type of grass into smaller ropes and then weaving the strands together to make substantial and strong ropes that could span crevasses and canyons safely.

138 Calancha here is referring to the civil wars between the Spaniards and, in particular, the supporters of Diego de Almagro who fled to Vilcabamba after the assassination of Francisco Pizarro in 1541.

i lo mismo le sucedio a Rodrigo Ordoñez enbiado por Diego de Almagro. Asegurado ya en aquella Provincia, i obedeciendole todas las Provincias, que por aquella parte se estienden docientas leguas i mas ázia el Oriente, i ázia el Sur, donde avia innumerables Indios en varias Provincias, Manaries, Momoris, Sapacaties, i otras diversas, azia apostatar a los Indios bautizados, que se huian destas Provincias donde los Españoles governavan, atormentando a los Indios, que despues del bautismo no adoravan los Idolos que el tenia. Tratò de pazes el Virrey Blasco Nuñez Vela valiendose de medios prudenciales, i de promesas, con seguros de rentas i señorios. Enbiò el Inga a que las asentase a un soldado de los que se huyeron de la carcel del Cuzco llamado Gomez Perez. Asentò la paz, i fue una de las condiciones, que perdonase el Rey a los Españoles delinquentes, que tenia en Vilcabanba fugitivos. Bolvio con los conciertos i pazes Gomez Perez, i en uno de los dias de regozijos que el Inga mandò azer por el asiento de las pazes, quiso jugar a las bolas (no acierta los que dicen que al agedrez, aunque este Inga avia aprendido todos los juegos i modo politico de los Españoles) jugando pues a las bolas uvo palabras entre Gomez Perez i el Inga sobre una raya, ablòle con demasia Gomez Perez, irritòse el Inga, i diòle un enbion, llegandole la mano al rostro, ciego de colera Gomez Perez le tirò la bola al Inga Mancocapac, i dandole en una de las sienes le matò; por una raya de bolas puso el cielo raya a pazes i confederaciones, i alli al matador, como dejo dicho, a los demas Españoles trataron de quemar los Indios, i al querer defenderse o huir, los asaetearon, dejandolos en el campo para sustento de aves i bestias, i asi pagaron los pobres Españoles sin culpa, la precipitacion de un onbre colerico. Estos postres tuvieron los regozijos por las pazes, i castigò el cielo los delitos de los que ya tenian perdon, con que el rodar de una bola trocò los eges de su fortuna. O que poco à menester la mayor maquina del mundo para ver convertida en la nada su mayor alteza.

The same thing happened to Rodrigo Ordoñez¹³⁹ who was sent by Diego de Almagro. Once secure there, all the provinces (which in that region extend more than two hundred leagues¹⁴⁰ to the east and the south and in which there were innumerable Indians—Manarí, Momoris, Sapacaties and many others) obeyed him. He made the Indians who fled there from the provinces governed by the Spaniards commit apostasy, torturing those Indians who, after baptism, would not worship his idols.¹⁴¹ Viceroy Blasco Nuñez Vela prudently tried to negotiate peace with promises of surety of tribute and titles.¹⁴² The Inca sent a soldier named Gómez Pérez, who was one of those who had escaped from the gaol in Cuzco, to finalise the treaty. Peace was agreed and one of the conditions was that the king would pardon those delinquent Spaniards who were currently fugitive in Vilcabamba. Gómez Pérez returned with the peace agreement and, on one of those days of festivities ordered in celebration of the peace treaty, the Inca wanted to play bowls (others disagree and say it was chess, although this Inca had learned all the games and political forms of the Spanish).¹⁴³ While playing bowls Gómez Pérez and the Inca had an argument about a throw. Gómez Pérez spoke to him so insolently that the Inca shoved him and struck him across the face. Blind with rage, Gómez Pérez threw the bowling ball at the Inca Manco Capac and struck him on the temple, killing him.¹⁴⁴ And so, with a mere throw of a ball, heaven threw down agreed peace treaties and the Indians tried to burn the killer and the other Spaniards. They were shot with arrows either fleeing or trying to defend themselves and their bodies were left as food for beasts and birds. And so, poor, guiltless Spaniards, paid for the impetuosity of an angry man. This was the dessert served at a banquet to celebrate peace; the roll of a bowling ball spun the wheel of fortune by which heaven punished the crimes of those who had already been forgiven. Oh how little it takes for the greatest majesty in the world to be turned into nothing.

139 Calancha means Rodrigo Orgóñez.

140 Approximately 1,100km.

141 It is extremely unlikely that those who had fled to Vilcabamba to escape the Spanish would have been committed Christians to the extent that they would be prepared to endure torture. In the sixteenth century religious identities were extremely fluid and fleeing to Vilcabamba was a rejection of the Spaniards and the Spanish cosmovision.

142 See the introductory essay. Blasco Nuñez Vela was the first viceroy of Peru appointed by Charles I with the mandate of implementing the New Laws (1542). His arrival and proclamation of the New Laws in 1544 led to Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion and his death at the battle of Añaquito in January 1546.

143 He was familiar with some Spanish customs due to his sojourn and effective captivity in Cuzco.

144 Calancha seems to have confused Diego Méndez who was the leader of the group who assassinated Manco with this Gómez Pérez whom he names here. See the introductory essay for more detail.

2. Eredò el Reyno su ijo mayor Sayritupac Inca a quien dio la renta el Virrey don Andres Urtado de Mendoza, quando salio de Vilcabanba, i vino a Lima, donde dio la obediencia a nuestros Reyes, bautizòse en el Cuzco, llamandose don Diego Sayritupac. De todos estos Ingas dejo dicho lo inportante a mi asunto, i a que no è menester mas de que muriò este don Diego Sayri sin dejar ijo varon, que solo quedò una ija de quien decienden los Marqueses de Oropesa, de cuya sucesion dige ya lo inportante. Entrò gobernando Cuzitito Quispe Yupangui ermano de Sayritupac, i ijo de Mancocapac, tenia consigo en Vilcabanba a Tupac Amaro ermano suyo (lo que contra esto refiere Garcliaso¹⁴⁵ fue culpa de los que le enbiaron las relaciones a España, donde el vivia quando esto pasava, i quanto yo refiero es sacado de informaciones autenticas echas por Virreyes i Audiencias). Governando este Cuzitito Yupangui entraron a la conversion nuestros Religiosos.

[3.] Movio Dios el coraçon del P. fr. Marcos Garcia ijo de la casa de Lima, que tomò el ábito el año de 1557. I fue natural de Oternelo, Diocesi de Leon; encendiole el anima con la caridad, para que entrase a las montañas de Vilcabanba, donde todos eran Gentiles, i enemigos fronterizos, aborrecian a los Españoles i eran adversarios de los Catolicos. Estas dificultades facilitò la caridad i los miedos encendieron su devocion. Ya desde aqui quando se digere consta por las informaciones, que originales tengo en mi poder, cuyo traslado enbiò esta Provincia a su Santidad, para que se sirviese de canonizar al bendito Martir,

¹⁴⁵ Lib.9. cap.38 de su primera parte, i en el lib.8 cap.16 de la segunda parte.

2. His oldest son, Sayri Tupac Inca, inherited the kingdom and it was to him that Viceroy Andres Hurtado de Mendoza gave a royal pension when he left Vilcabamba and came to Lima to pay homage to our kings.¹⁴⁶ He was baptised in Cuzco and renamed Don Diego Sayri Tupac. I have now said all that is important about these Incas for this topic and there is nothing else to add except for the fact that this Don Diego Sayri died without leaving a male heir, only a daughter from whom the Marquises of Oropesa descend.¹⁴⁷ Cusi Tito Quispe Yupanqui¹⁴⁸, the brother of Sayri Tupac and son of Manco Capac, began to govern. His brother Tupac Amaru was with him in Vilcabamba (although Garcilaso says something different—which is the fault of those who sent reports to Spain when this happened.¹⁴⁹ What I write here is taken from authentic reports written by viceroys and *Audiencias*).¹⁵⁰ Our friars entered to convert the people while this Cusi Tito Yupanqui was governing.

[3.] God moved the heart of Padre fray Marcos García (son of the convent in Lima) to take the habit in 1557. He was native to Oternelo, in the Diocese of León; his soul was set alight by charity so that he might enter the mountains of Vilcabamba, where all were pagans and frontier enemies. They detested the Spanish and were adversaries of Catholics. Charity made these difficulties easier and fear made his devotion greater. Everything up to here is proven by the reports and I have the originals in my possession. The copies were sent to his Holiness, so that he might canonise the blessed Martyr.¹⁵¹

146 As with many of his Spanish contemporaries Calancha misunderstands the nature of Incaic succession.

147 The Marquisate of Oropesa was a title conferred by Philip III in 1614 on Ana María Lorenza de Loyola y Coya, the grand-daughter of Sayri Tupac and daughter of Beatriz Clara Coya (Sayri Tupac's daughter) and Martín García Oñez de Loyola, one of the leaders of the campaign that destroyed Vilcabamba in 1572 and the captor of Tupac Amaru.

148 Calancha inverts the forename—he is normally referred to as Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

149 Calancha is referring to Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609), book 9, chapter 38 of the first part and book 8, chapter 16 of the second part. Garcilaso was a mestizo chronicler descended from Inca nobility who left Peru for Spain as a young man. He wrote his *Comentarios reales* while he was living in Spain. He never returned to Peru and died in Córdoba in 1616.

150 The *Audiencia* was the royal court established in Lima (1542), Charcas (1559) and Quito (1563). The *Audiencia* would hear both criminal and civil cases and in the event of the death or absence of a viceroy, would govern until a newly appointed viceroy had arrived. The judges were called *oidores* (lit. 'hearers' or 'listeners').

151 As mentioned in the introductory essay, the case stalled and is still between the Augustinian procurator in Rome and the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. The documents that were sent to Rome are held in the Archivio Generale degli Agostiniani, in the Augustinian Curia. See Aparicio López, *Fray Diego Ortiz*, and Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, for transcribed versions of this documentation.

i aunque se començaron las informaciones ante juezes seculares por inadvertencia del Religioso que las començo, i muchas guerras, las acabò de azer ratificando testigos el docto i piadoso Obispo del Cuzco don Antonio de la Raya, i examinando otros, porque cae Vilcabanba en su Obispado, con que las informaciones quedaron legitimadas, i las pruebas autenticas. Està Vilcabanba, i sus montañas norte sur del Cuzco mas de cinquenta leguas en catorze grados, estendiendose al Oriente, i a los lados del sueste, i cae à leste de Lima.

[794] Es tierra caliente de Andes i montuosa, aunque tiene partes muy frias, i punas destenpladas. Tiene cerros de plata, de que asta oy se saca alguna cantidad, i cria oro, de que en aquellos tienpos se cogia mucho. Su rio es uno de los que dan cuerpo al gran rio del Marañon, que desagua en el mar del Norte, i teniendo alli los pies (pues es lo ultimo) le llaman boca del Marañon, que tiene de un labio a otro, i desta a otra orilla mas de cinquenta leguas, segun la relacion de muchos, i corre desbocado con tener tan gran boca. En el valle de Vilcabanba se fundò despues el pueblo, que oy se llama san Francisco de la Vitoria

And, although the first testimonies were given before secular judges, because of a mistake by the friar who began the reports, and because in those times there were few bishops and a great deal of conflict, the testimonies were ratified by the learned and pious bishop of Cuzco Don Antonio de la Raya¹⁵² who also examined others because Vilcabamba falls within his diocese. With this the reports were legitimated and the proofs authenticated. Vilcabamba and its mountains lie more than fifty leagues to the northwest¹⁵³ of Cuzco at fourteen degrees [latitude] and it extends towards the Orient and to the south east, and lies to the east of Lima.

[794] It is a mountainous and tropical region of the Andes although certain parts are very cold and it has harsh *punas*.¹⁵⁴ It has mountains of silver that are still producing small amounts today and also gold which was plentiful in those days. Its river is one of the tributaries of the great Marañón river that discharges into the North Sea¹⁵⁵ and at the very end they call it the mouth of the Marañón. According to many reports the distance from one lip [or riverbank] to the other is about fifty leagues and it runs out of control with having such a big mouth.¹⁵⁶ The town, which is now called San Francisco de la Victoria, was founded in the valley of Vilcabamba.¹⁵⁷

152 Antonio de la Raya was appointed bishop of Cuzco in 1594. He died in 1606.

153 Approximately 275km. The text reads '*norte sur*' but this would mean 'north south'. In reality Vilcabamba lies to the north west of Cuzco. Calancha may mean that the mountain range encompassed by the Neo-Inca state stretched to the north and south of Cuzco, but if this is the case, Calancha is stretching the boundaries somewhat as the main route to Lima passed through Abancay, almost directly east of Cuzco and almost directly south of Vilcabamba. The doubt that Calancha introduces, however, does suggest how tenuous a hold on the Spanish had on this key route connecting the two key cities in Peru while the Neo-Inca state still existed. This gives another perspective on Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's imperative to put an end to the neo-Inca state and secure the viceroyalty for Philip II of Spain.

154 *Punas* are high, treeless plateaux and grasslands in the Andean cordillera.

155 Calancha is referring to the Urubamba river, which flows north, becoming the Ucayali river, which in turn flows into the Marañón river, itself a tributary of the River Amazon. From close to Cuzco, under one name or another, this river runs the length of Peru on the eastern side of the cordillera and crosses the continent through present day Brazil. Finally, the Amazon discharges into the Atlantic Ocean (or 'North Sea' as Calancha calls it) in the great river delta that Calancha describes here.

156 Approximately 275 km. This is relatively accurate considering that modern estimates of the width of the Amazon delta vary significantly depending on the points of measurement. In actual fact, as the river widens, the pace of the Amazon might rather be described as 'sluggish'. The Urubamba is much faster as the river is much narrower and at a much steeper gradient. 'Out of control' may refer to the sheer 'volume' of water that passes a single point. Columbus described something similar when he anchored in the Orinoco delta. It was the volume of water passing his ship that made him realise he was anchored in a massive river, which, in turn, definitively and finally convinced him that his ship was off the coast of a huge continent hitherto uncharted by Europeans. Calancha is also making the most of the buccal wordplay here, between the mouth (*boca*) of the river, 'lips' referring to the riverbanks and 'out of control' which in Spanish is *desbocado*, which, were it to exist in English, would be equivalent to 'unmouthered'.

157 Lit. 'Saint Francis of the Victory', referring to the conquest and destruction of Vilcabamba in 1572.

en Andesuyo entre la cordillera de los Andes mas de veynte leguas del Cuzco a la parte del Oriente, es su comarca aspera i grandes sus montañas, es tierra de moderado regalo, grandes rios, i casi ordinarias lluvias. A estos Andes i montañas entrò el Padre fray Marcos Garcia por el año de 1566 aviendo sido Vicario i Dotrinante del pueblo i valle de Capinota los tres años antecedentes, i del fruto que izo en aquellos infieles, encendio los deseos de buscar animas donde ningun predicador uviese entrado, ni el pregon de la Fè se uviese oido. Era conventual en el Cuzco, i comunicando su santo impulso con el memorable Padre fray Iuan de Bivero, que era Prior i Visitador de aquellas comarcas le realçò el deseo con el merito de la Obediencia, i dandole ornamentos, i lo preciso para el viage, lo enbio a la conversion de aquellos infieles. Padecio trabajos en la entrada, porque como se dijo, avia el Inga cortado puentes desbarrancado pasos i anegando caminos. Entrò el Padre fray Marcos sin mas armas, que los brios que dà la Obediencia, i con los animos que dà el buen zelo, llevando por escolta a vista de tan declarados enemigos el deseo de padecer por Cristo, i la confiança de sus Divinos socorros. No avian entrado Españoles a la conquista de aquella tierra, ni entraron en aquellos tres años. Quando encontrava algun Indio que iva o venia de Vilcabanba, i le preguntava por el camino, páso o vado para ir a donde estava el Inga, o le decian, que lo ignoravan (que asi los tenia industriados su Rey) o le ponderavan imposibles, i dificultades, no dejandole esperança umana, sino se convertia en pajaro. Quantas vezes dira lo que David¹⁵⁸, viendose en estrecho semejante; si yo confio en Dios, como me decis, que si quiero pasar de una parte a otra que me convierta en pajaro i buele de un monte a otro como que la caridad no tuviera mas ligeras alas que la ave mas veloz?

158 Psalm 10: *In Domino confido, quomodo dicitis animæ meæ; transmigra in montem sicut passer?*

[It lies] in the eastern part in Antisuyo between the Andean mountain ranges and more than twenty leagues from Cuzco.¹⁵⁹ The region is rugged and its mountains are very high. It is a moderately productive land with wide rivers and almost daily rains. Padre fray Marcos García entered these Andean mountains in the year 1566 having been Vicar and Parish priest of the town and valley of Capinota for the previous three years and the fruit that he harvested amongst those pagans sparked the desire to look for souls where no preacher had ever entered previously. He was affiliated to the convent in Cuzco, and he realised his desire through the requirement of obedience by communicating his holy impulse with the memorable Padre fray Juan de Vivero, who was Prior and Visitor¹⁶⁰ of that region. The Prior gave him [Mass] ornaments¹⁶¹ and prepared him for the journey before sending him to convert those pagans. [Fray Marcos] experienced hardships trying to enter because, as mentioned above, the Inca had cut the bridges, closed the passes and destroyed the paths. Padre fray Marcos went in armed with nothing more than the energy provided by obedience, and with the spirit of religious zeal. In the face of such hostility he took with him only the desire to suffer for Christ and the confidence of his divine help as his bodyguard. Spaniards had not attempted to conquer that land nor did they enter in those three years.¹⁶² If he met any Indians who were either coming or going from Vilcabamba he would ask the way to where the Inca could be found, but they would say either that they did not know (they were instructed to do this by their king) or they considered it to be so difficult as to be humanly impossible, leaving him more hope of changing into a bird. How many times would he speak the words of David¹⁶³ seeing himself in such difficult circumstances?: ‘if I trust in God, how is it that you say to me, that if I want to go from one place to another, I should change into a bird and fly from one hill to another, as if charity had no lighter wings than the swiftest bird?’.

159 Approximately 110km. Antisuyo was one of the four parts of Tawantinsuyo, the Inca empire (*Tawa* meaning ‘four’ and *suyo* meaning ‘region’). Antisuyo was the region on the eastern side of the cordillera that descended into the tropical jungle.

160 Lit. *Visitador*. A ‘Visitor’ was a royal or institutional inspector usually sent as an auditor or to evaluate particular circumstances.

161 Calancha means instruments for the liturgy of the Mass such as a chalice (for the wine) a paten for the host, cruets to hold the water and wine, a crucifix and candles. Missionaries would often carry portable altar pieces.

162 This is not strictly true. As Calancha earlier writes, Gonzalo Pizarro had taken an expeditionary force into Vilcabamba in pursuit of Manco Inca but had been beaten back.

163 Psalm 10 [11:2].

Llegò despues de varios trabajos a la presencia del Inga, que lo recibio enojado, sintiendo tanto el ver que podian entrar Españoles a sus retiros, como ver predicador contra sus idolatrias en sus pueblos. Fuele ganando la voluntad el Padre fray Marcos, i tuvo licencia para predicar, con que soltò la capa, i desplegó el estandarte de la Fè. Edificò Iglesia dos jornadas largas de Vilcabanba en Puquiura, pueblo en que el Rey Inga tenia su Corte i sus egercitos, siendo este el primer templo. Plantò Cruces en la tierra i en los montes, siendo ellas las que ahuyentan Demonios, i aquel Templo el baluarte de la Fè, donde peleava el santissimo Sacramento (que sea alabado por sienpre) contra un Rey idolatra, cercado de egercitos inifiele, teniendo solo un soldado pobre, roto i umilde.

Quanto padeceria este Religioso teniendo por contrarios legiones de Demonios que bramavan amenaçando a echizeros, a sus paniaguados i a otros viandantes por aver consentido al frayle el Templo, i que se predicase contra sus paternos ritos i antiguos Dioses? El Dios principal que adoravan era el Punchao, que es el dia. E aqui los que vivian en noche oscura adoran al dia claro, i adorando al Sol, estavan en tinieblas confusas. Varias vezes trataron con el Inga de que o matase a fray Marcos, o le echase de la Provincia, i quando mas irritado estava de sus capitanes i consejeros, resolviendose a egecutar uno de los dos consejos, le enfrenava el cielo, i le enternecia ver al Religioso, era mercader de animas, i como deseava conprarlas, dava nuestra Fè, ermoreandola con la lindeza de sus provechos y premios, porque le diesen las voluntades, que con traças, cariños i regalos deseava atraer. Fue creciendo en caudal, porque ya muchos Indios principales eran sus aficionados, i pidiendoles sus ijos para enseñarlos a leer, escribir, cantar i saber de pulicia, fundò escuela,

After many difficulties he reached the presence of the Inca who received him with ill grace, as angry to see that Spaniards could penetrate his isolation as he was to see a preacher [speaking] against his idolatries in his towns. Padre fray Marcos gradually won him over and obtained permission to preach which freed him to unfurl the banner of the faith. He built a church in Puquiura, the town in which the king Inca kept court and his armies, two long days' journey away from [the town of] Vilcabamba. This was the first church. He planted crosses in the ground and on the hills, of the type that cast out demons, and that Temple was a bastion of the faith, in which the most Blessed Sacrament (may it be praised forever), with only one poor, humble and broken soldier [as the garrison] fought against an idolatrous king while under siege by pagan armies. How much would this friar suffer when he had legions of demons as adversaries who roared threats of sorcery against his servants and other passers by for having agreed to the friar building a church and who was preaching against their ancestral rites and ancient gods. The main god they worshipped was Punchao, who is the day.¹⁶⁴ And here those who lived in the dark night worship the light of day and, by worshipping the sun, they remained in shadow. On various occasions they tried to persuade the Inca to either kill fray Marcos or to expel him from the province and when he was most irritated by the urging of his captains and counsellors, resolving to act on the counsel he was receiving, heaven stayed his hand¹⁶⁵ and the sight of the friar melted his resolve. [Fray Marcos] was a trader of souls, and because he wanted to buy them he gave our faith [as payment], beautifying it with the loveliness of his profits and prizes in order to win them over with appearances, affection and presents.¹⁶⁶ The waters of the faith began to rise because many noble Indians were already his followers.¹⁶⁷ After asking them for [permission to teach] their children, he founded a school so he could teach them to read, write and sing and so they could learn about hygiene.¹⁶⁸

164 Punchao was the young sun, or as Calancha says, 'the day' (See MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, p.108). A golden image of Punchao in the form of a young boy was said to have been kept in the temple of the sun, at Coricancha, Cuzco (MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, p.113).

165 Lit. *le enfrenava el cielo* – 'heaven put the breaks on him'.

166 Notwithstanding its metaphorical tone, this sentence is quite revealing about the methodology of evangelisation. It acknowledges that evangelisation was not simply just a matter of preaching or proclaiming the gospel, it was also a matter of winning people over first (often with material goods) so that they might be inclined to listen. The following sentences describe how music and the visual arts were also employed.

167 Lit. *eran sus aficionados* – 'were fans of his'.

168 Lit. *pidiendoles sus hijos* – 'asking them for their children'. This is a strange expression to a modern reader and it implies that the school the friar set up was in common with many of the convent schools of that period in which the children (boys in male convents) would live inside the convent as boarders. Not surprisingly, this could result in significant conflict, such as the case of the martyr of Tlaxcala, Cristóbal (Benavente, *Historia de los Indios*, tratado 3, cap.XIV, pp. 267-72). In part, this was to minimise contact between the children and their families in order to remove them as far as possible from the indigenous ritual context and to better inculcate them within the Christian tradition. Usually, however, such schools would be run by two or more priests (Benavente, *Historia*, tratado 3, cap.XIV, pp. 264-6. In 1583 the Jesuits also set up schools for the sons of nobles in Lima and Cuzco under the same premise (Armas Medina, *Cristianización del Perú*, p.287). It is not altogether clear from the text that this was the case here, as certainly fray Marcos's facilities would have been very basic and his capacity to run such a 'live-in' school would have been very limited. To be sure, as we shall see below, his attempts to prevent the boys participating in their ancestral rites proved highly conflictive and also suggest that these boys certainly were not isolated from their families.

cantandoles [795] la Doctrina Cristiana, que en breve aprendieron; recogio algunos Indios bautizados, que huidos venian del Cuzco, i con los niños que acariciava izo numero suficiente, con que asentò Doctrina, dispuso procesiones, i adornò Altares, esmerandose en las cosas ceremoniales de la Iglesia, seuelo que atrae mucho a los Indios, porque son naturalmente aficionados a ceremonias, fue bautizando a los que convertia, i estos i otros le llevan sus hijos a que los bautizase, con que se izo en breve buen numero de Cristia[nos]. Todas sus ansias eran convertir al Inga, alli endereçava su punteria, i cada dia le ganava mas la voluntad, i le grangeava el amor, porque via el Inga en èl grandes virtudes, i las que mas le enamoravan del Religioso, era verle tan sin codicia en tierra donde nacia la planta, i con tan estremada castidad en Provincia donde reynava la disolucion; que estas dos virtudes aun a los que no las desean tener saben enamorar. Preguntale David al Rey Achis¹⁶⁹, que le diga la causa porque siendo Filisteo Gentil le aze tantos favores, i le multiplica en onras siendo Iudio, nacion tan contraria a la de Achis? I respondele: Agolo, porque en estos quatro meses, que è conocido, que eres como un Angel de Dios. De que lo pudo colegir el Rey? Supuesto que cada dia le venia con despojos de batallas, i aunque eran contra los enemigos del pueblo de Dios, Gesureos i Amalequitas, i los pasava a cuchillo, pensava el Rey que las muertes i robos las azia David en los hijos de Israel, porque asi se lo dava a entender el mismo David, quando bolvia de la guerra, i esto mas era para tenerle por traydor a la patria i enemigo de su Dios, que por Angel, [...]. Sabida la causa se verà lo que le movia al Rey. Traiale David quantas riquezas cogia en los despojos, i entregavaselas al Rey Achis¹⁷⁰, i solo llevaba lo que el Rey le queria dar;

169 1.Reg.29 *Quid enim feci, et quid invenisti in me servo tuo à die qua fui in conspectu tuo usque in diem hanc, ut non veniam, et pugnem contra inimicos domini mei Regis? Respondens Achis locutus est ad David: Scio quia bonus es tu in oculis meis, sicut Angelus Dei.*

170 Ubi sup. *Tollensque; oves, et beves, et asinos, et camellos, et vestes revertebatur et veniebat ad Achis.*

He also sang [795] the Christian Catechism to them, which they learnt very quickly. He gathered up some baptised Indians who had fled from Cuzco, and with the children that he cared for he had enough people to found a parish. He organised processions and decorated altars, taking great pains with the ceremonial things of the Church—this is bait that greatly attracts the Indians because they are naturally drawn to ceremonies. He baptised those he converted and these and others brought him their children to be baptised; so in a short time he converted a good number to Christianity.¹⁷¹ All his energies were aimed at converting the Inca. This was the target on which he set his sights and each day he won him over a little more and earned his affection because the Inca saw great virtue in him. The virtues that the Inca most loved in the friar were his lack of greed [...] and [his] extreme chastity [...]; these two virtues cause love even from those who do not wish for them. David asks King Achis¹⁷² to tell him the reason why even though he was a Philistine Gentile he did him so many favours and why he multiplied these honours even though David was Jewish (a nation utterly opposed to that of Achis). And he replies: ‘I do it because in these four months that I have considered your customs, I have seen that you are like an Angel of God. What did the king base this on? Each day David returned with the spoils of battle and even though these battles were fought against the enemies of the people of God, Geshurites and Amalekites, and he killed them, the king thought that David was robbing and killing the sons of Israel, because David had persuaded him this was the case when he returned from war. And this was more so that he would be considered a traitor to his homeland and enemy of God, than an Angel [...]. Knowing what pleased the king, David handed the spoils over to King Achish, and he only took for himself what the king wanted to give him.’¹⁷³

171 Lit. ‘con que se izo en breve buen numero de Cristianismo [sic]’ meaning ‘with which in a short time he made a good number of Christians’.

172 Calancha’s text cites 1 Kings 29, but this is incorrect (there are only 22 chapters in 1 Kings). He means 1 Samuel 29: 8-9. His citation and gloss is nevertheless correct for 1 Sam 29.

173 In this case, Calancha mentions ‘sheep, cattle, asses, camels and clothing’. This list is not mentioned in 1 Sam 29.

allavalo casto, sin que escandalizase con su egenplo, i estas dos virtudes, castidad i falta de codicia le obligavan a tenerlo por Angel de Dios, con ser el Rey idolatra Gentil, i tener tanta codicia como sensualidad. El venerar estas dos virtudes mas que a las otras, deve de ser, porque parece a los Gentiles, a los codiciosos i sensuales, que es casi imposible ser castos i sin codicia, i como a raros en el mundo los veneran, que por eso dijo el Eclesiastico¹⁷⁴: Bienaventurado el varon que no tiene macula su anima, ni lunar su castidad, i que no se deja llevar de codicia; donde està este? Adonde lo allarèmos? Que si le ay, sin duda izo maravillas en su vida. E aqui que aun el Espiritu Santo tiene por raros este genero de virtuosos.

4. Estas dos virtudes enamoraron tanto al Inga, que con ser Gentil amava tiernamente al Padre fray Marcos, i ganandole la voluntad, le fue rindiendo el entendimiento, i le sugetò la razon, i poco a poco se enamorò de nuestra Fè, aprendio el Catecismo i lo conveniente de nuestra ley, i recibio el bautismo aziendo gran fiesta por verse Catolico, llamòse don Felipe Cusitito, i bautizòse su muger, llamandose doña Angelina Polanquilaco, i obligò a que los pueblos festejasen sus bautismos. Con estas presas le parecio al Padre fray Marcos, que ya toda aquella Provincia era vidueño de la Iglesia, pues cogido a su señor se avian de reducir todos, porque esta nacion de los Indios, mas que otra, se va de golpe a la imitacion de su Rey o Cazique. Muchos Indios principales convirtiò i bautizò, i muchas Indias principales en pocos meses, i buen numero de plebeyos;

174 Cap.3.

He was chaste and his behaviour did not cause scandal, and these two virtues—chastity and the lack of greed—caused [the king] to consider him an Angel of God, as he [himself] was an idolatrous gentile king, and was as greedy as he was prone to licentiousness.¹⁷⁵ These two virtues are esteemed more highly than others because to the gentiles—to those who are greedy and licentious—it is practically impossible to be both chaste and without greed. As this combination of virtues is so rare in the world it is venerated and it is for this that Ecclesiastes said¹⁷⁶: ‘Blessed is the man whose soul is without blemish and whose chastity is unmarked, and who does not allow himself to be consumed by greed. Where would such a man be? Where might we find him? If there is such a one, without a doubt he performed marvels in his life.’ Even the Holy Spirit holds these virtuous types to be rare.

4. These two virtues enchanted the Inca so much that even though he was a gentile he loved Padre fray Marcos dearly and was won over. He began to be persuaded by reason, gradually surrendering his own understanding [of things] and little by little he fell in love with our faith. He learned the catechism and the things that were convenient to know of our law, and he was baptised. When he became a Catholic he called himself Felipe Cusitito and held a great celebration.¹⁷⁷ His wife was baptised as well, and was named doña¹⁷⁸ Angelina Polanquilaco, and they ordered the people to celebrate their baptism. With these prizes it seemed that the entire province was now the Church’s vineyard¹⁷⁹, as once their lord had been converted all the others would follow¹⁸⁰ because this Indian nation more than any other changes suddenly in imitation of its king or *cacique*.¹⁸¹ He converted and baptised many Indian noble men and women, and a good number of commoners, in just a few months.

175 Lit. *sensualidad* – ‘sensuality’.

176 Calancha gives the rather vague reference of ‘Chapter 3’ but the citation does not seem to be from any of the chapters in Ecclesiastes.

177 Calancha gives too much credit to the evangelisation of Marcos García. As we have seen, Titu Cusi agreed to be baptised in the Accords of Acobamba in 1565, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Cuzco fray Juan de Vivero travelled with Marcos García to Vilcabamba to perform the baptism of Titu Cusi, his wife and his son in 1568 on the feast of St Augustine (28 August). Vivero returned to Cuzco and García remained. As mentioned in the introduction, Titu Cusi had already been baptised with the name ‘Diego’ as a boy during his captivity in Cuzco.

178 *Don* and *doña* are Spanish honorifics signifying nobility.

179 *Vidueño* (now *viduño*) would translate more commonly as ‘grape variety’.

180 The language here is more aggressive but very much reflects the thinking of both surrendering to God and also gathering together in Christian communities: lit. *pues cogido a su señor se avian de reducir todos* – ‘once their lord had been caught all would be reduced’.

181 *Cacique* is a Carib term meaning ‘chieftain’, referring to their clan leaders. It quickly entered the Spanish language after the conquest of the Caribbean, and came to mean ‘noble’ referring generically to indigenous people of rank. The Quechua (Inca) term would be *curaca*. The two terms were used interchangeably in colonial Peru.

otros menos zelosos que èl, i menos activos no obráran en largos años lo que èl obrò en ocho meses, i podia decir el Inga por el Padre fray Marcos, lo que dijo el Rey Achis¹⁸² a sus Satrapas, quando le reprehendieron, que porque mostrava tanto amor a David, i le fiava el anima siendo advenedizo? I respondió: A muchos dias o años, que està conmigo, i no è allado en èl cosa mala. Podíanle replicar sus Satrapas¹⁸³, que solos quatro meses avia, que estava en su Corte, que como decia, que avia años? Pero no le desmintieron, porque como en solos quatro meses vencì David tantas batallas, consiguió tan onrosas vitorias, i repartì tan copiosos despojos, tales que otros mil no los consiguieran en muchos años, cuentan por años los dias, por dar el merito que mereciera el trabajo de largos años. Caminava a todas velas la Fè, i crecia el numero de los fieles.

[796] 5. Viendo el Padre fray Marcos quanta era ya la multitud de las cepas, i lo que se estendia la viña, pidio al padre de familias añadiese obreros i multiplicase ministros. Era Provincial el gran siervo de Dios fray Iuan de San Pedro, que por aver muerto el Padre fray Andres de Santa Maria poco mas de un año despues que lo eligieron, se congregò a Capitulo en Lima, i fue electo el Maestro fray Iuan de San Pedro a venticinco de Agosto del año de 1567. Tocòse la caja en el Cuzco, i salieron a ofrecerse muchos Religiosos, pero parecio conveniente no añadir mas de otros dos, que eran el Padre fray Iuan del Canto i el Padre fray Diego Ortiz. Mientras dieron noticia al Padre Provincial, i se aguardò su licencia, se alborotò la Fè en Vilcabanba, i salieron a legiones los Demonios, valiendo se de los echizeros, i enbiando amenaças al Inga;

182 1 Reg.29. *Est apud me multis diebus, vel annis, et non inveni in eo quidquam mali.*

183 1 Reg.27. *Fuit numerus dierum, quibus habitavit David in regione Philistinorum quatuor mensium.*

Others who were less active and less zealous than him would not achieve in many years what he did in eight months, and the Inca could say of Padre fray Marcos what King Achish said to his satraps when they reprimanded him for showing so much love for David; could he really trust David given that he was an outsider?¹⁸⁴ And he replied: ‘he has been with me many days or years and I have not seen anything bad in him’. His satraps might reply that he had only been at Court for four months so how could he say he had been there for years?¹⁸⁵ But they did not convince him, because in only four months David won so many battles, achieved such honourable victories and shared out such copious spoils, that another thousand could not achieve as much even if they spent many years trying. The days are counted as years to give the credit deserved for the work of years. And so, the faith moved forward at full sail and the number of faithful grew.

[796] 5. When Padre fray Marcos saw how large the quantity of vines had grown and how his vineyard was extending, he asked his father to send additional workers and to multiply the number of ministers.¹⁸⁶ The Provincial was, by then, the great servant of God Juan de San Pedro because, after the death of Padre fray Andrés de Santa María little more than a year after he was elected, a Chapter was convened in Lima and the Maestro fray Juan de San Pedro was elected on the 25 August 1567. The [recruitment] drum was beaten in Cuzco and many friars volunteered. But it was considered expedient to only appoint another two—Padre fray Juan del Canto and Padre fray Diego Ortiz. While they sent word to the Father Provincial and waited for his permission, the faith in Vilcabamba suffered a major setback as legions of demons appeared making use of *hechiceros*¹⁸⁷ and sending the Inca threats.

184 Calancha again cites 1 Kings 29 but the correct reference for the quotation is 1 Samuel 29:3.

185 1 Samuel 27:7.

186 Lit. *padre de familias* – father of families. It is not entirely clear whether he is referring to God, here (the father of all families) or to his own Provincial, who was the spiritual (and pastoral) father of fray Marcos’ own Augustinian family (or community). The subsequent reference to the Provincial suggests the latter but in context it would have made sense for fray Marcos to have asked both God *and* his superior for resolution.

187 *Hechicero* literally translates as ‘sorcerer’ and *hechicería*, ‘sorcery’ but it was the term commonly used to refer to indigenous religious practitioners and healers. Implicit within the term was a pact with the devil who, through such a pact, would grant them their power, but with the growth of scepticism in the seventeenth century (at least scepticism with regard to what power an indigenous religious practitioner could actually attain), the term also came to carry connotations of trickery and deceit (see also the Introductory essay, note 181). For a detailed discussion of the meaning of the term and its development in contemporary Spanish usage, see Claudia Brosseder, *The Power of Huacas: Change and Resistance in the Andean World of Colonial Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), pp.16-25.

reprendiale de facil i poco observante de sus antiguos ritos, i que no conservava sus leyes antiguas, que avia de castigarle, sino sebolvia a sus idolatrias, i si consentia que sus Indios se bautizasen.

6. Junto a Vitcos en un pueblo que se dice Chuquipalpa estava una casa del Sol, i en ella una piedra blanca encima de un manantial de agua, donde el Demonio se aparecia visible, i era adorado de aquellos idolatras, siendo el principal mochadero de aquellas montañas (la palabra mochadero es el nonbre vulgar con que los Indios nonbran a sus adoratorios) quiere decir lo mismo, que lugar donde besan, originase de que la ceremonia principal que usan, es la que abomina Iob¹⁸⁸, quando se pone a quantas con Dios, i le dice: Señor, todos estos castigos, i mayores trabajos mereciera yo, si uviera écho lo que azen los ciegos Gentiles, quando sale el sol resplandeciente, i la luna clara, i alegrandoseles el coraçon estienden la mano ázia el sol, i la buelven a la boca besandola, que es iniquidad muy grande, i negar a Dios verdadero. Esta es en los Indios la accion exterior con que muestran lo fino de su adoracion Gentilica, i es la ceremonia de mas profunda sumision i culto;

188 Cap. 31. *Si vidi Solem cum fulgeret, et lunam incendente clarè, et lætatum est in abscondito cor meum et osculatus sum manum meam ore meo, quæ est iniquitas maxima, et negatio contra Deum altissimum.*

They reprimanded him for being fickle and for failing to observe their ancient rites and laws. They warned him he would be punished if he did not return to his idolatries and if he continued to allow his Indians to be baptised.

6. Close to Vitcos, in a town called Chuquipalpa, was a House of the Sun. In it was a white stone on top of a spring of water where the devil visibly appeared.¹⁸⁹ Those idolaters worshipped it as it was the principal *mochadero* of those mountains—the word *mochadero* is the common term that the Indians use to refer to their shrines. It means ‘place where one kisses’ and comes from the main ceremony that they perform when they hold God to account.¹⁹⁰ Job abhorred this type of ceremony saying: ‘Lord, I would deserve all these hardships, punishments and worse if I had done the same as these blind Gentiles; when the sun shines resplendent and the moon clear, thereby cheering their hearts, they reach out to the sun and bring their hands back to their faces, kissing them. This is a great sin as it denies the true God’.¹⁹¹ This is the ritual with which the Indians demonstrate how fine their gentile adoration is and it is a cult and ceremony of most profound submission¹⁹²;

189 This is a strangely tautologous expression to a modern reader. Nevertheless, it is relatively common in documents and chronicles of this period that refer to demonic apparitions, as the distinction was an important one in the process of discernment. At the most basic level, some clergy would accuse native religious practitioners of trickery, refusing to accept that there was any spiritual power in the idol, object or person concerned (compare below, p.357, with Calancha’s account of Tupac Amaru’s confession to his people prior to his execution—*Coronica moralizada*, lib.4, cap.8, p.833). In other cases spiritual beings (demons) could simply speak to individuals in their mind, and onlookers had to test the person’s word and judge by any other signs present whether or not the presence was real, or an invention or delusion of the individual. In these cases the individual was vulnerable to being possessed by the spirit and, in their early stages at least, these types of cases were particularly hard to discern given that the devil himself was considered to be a master of trickery and delusion. The boundaries, then, between lies, delusion and actual possession or demonic presence were very blurred indeed. In cases where the devil visibly appeared, however, there was no doubt as far as the onlookers were concerned because all present (or at least a significant number of those present) would have seen the apparation and could vouch for its authenticity.

190 The verb *mochar* comes from the Quechua *muchhani* which is glossed by González Holguin as ‘to thresh (strip the grain from) maize cobs’. *Muchhani muchhaycuni* is rendered respectively as ‘to adore, pray, praise, reverence, kiss the hands of’ (González Holguin, *Vocabulario*, I, p.242). The link between prayer and threshing maize corn demonstrates the importance of maize in the Andean cosmivision.

191 Job 31:26-28.

192 There is an apparent ambiguity here in the way Calancha is writing about these rites. For Calancha, however, there is no ambiguity; it is merely a question of classification. As with other religious chroniclers of this period, they condemned any idolatrous worship as ‘of the devil’ because whatever the intention, it diverted religious veneration away from God (in contravention of the first of the Ten Commandments), so even if the worshippers were not intending to worship Satan, he still benefitted. Nevertheless, Calancha is also tapping into the Thomistic tradition of Las Casas, which recognised the lack of diabolical intentions in much indigenous worship and could appreciate the beauty and profundity of autochthonous rites that would have been otherwise directed towards God had Lucifer not usurped this territory. On the one hand he could condemn idolatry as inherently evil, but without contradiction recognised that, were it to be correctly directed, indigenous religiosity had a profundity of its own.

i asi los lugares donde van a adorar, i a estender la mano ázia el Idolo besandola, se llaman mochaderos. En esta piedra blanca de aquella casa del sol llamada Yuracrumi asistia un Demonio capitan de una legion; este i su caterva mostravan grandes cariños a los Indios idolatras, i grandes asombros a los Catolicos, usava con los bautizados, que ya no le mochavan, espantosas crueldades, i muchos morian de los espantos orribles que les mostrava. Cobraronle tanto miedo, que el temor llevaba a muchos a su templo, i los obligava a su adoracion. Esto divertio al Inga tanto, que aunque no destruyò la Iglesia, ni desterrò al Padre fray Marcos, mostrava enfados a las cosas de nuestra Religion Cristiana, i azia obras para que se saliese de la Provincia nuestro Religioso, i para que los Indios conociesen el desamor que ya tenia a nuestra Fè, no se declarava del todo, si bien se le conocia el dar muestras de apostata, asta que un día llevò a bautizar Iuan Gualpa Indio principal a un ijo suyo, i sabiendolo el Inga, lo izo traer a su presencia, i le dijo grandes vituperios, mandando que lo castigasen, porque no le avia pedido licencia para bautizar al ijo, i sentenciòlo a que con una gran piedra le diesen golpes en los lomos (castigo entre ellos afrentoso;) dichoso Indio, que padecio por Cristo Señor nuestro. Bastara este fruto para que fuese gloriosa la entrada de nuestros frayles, pero destos i otros sucesos uvo muchos, en que cobrò reditos la Fè de Iesu Cristo, i glorias nuestra Iglesia Catolica. Mandò llamar el Inga apostata al Padre fray Marcos, i enfurecido de enojo, le dijo grandes ignominias porque bautizava sin pedirle licencia para cada uno, porque avia de saber quienes i quales se bautizavan, i era traça para q huyesen de enojarle, i no pidiesen bautismo.

and so the places where they go to worship and to reach out to their Idol and kiss their hands are called *mochaderos*. On this white stone of that house of the sun called *Yurac Rumi* a demon, captain of a legion, would appear.¹⁹³ He and his gang showed great affection for the idolatrous Indians and great astonishment when the Catholics did not worship him and kiss [according to the ritual].¹⁹⁴ He treated the baptised with horrifying cruelty and many died because of the terrifying horrors he [inflicted on] them.¹⁹⁵ They became so afraid of him that their fear brought them back to his temple and forced them to worship him again. This amused the Inca so much that although he neither destroyed the church [building], nor exiled Padre fray Marcos, he expressed annoyance of the things of our Christian religion and he did things to persuade our friar to leave the province.¹⁹⁶ He did not declare his intentions openly until one day, Juan Hualpa, an Indian noble, took his son to be baptised. When the Inca heard about this, so that the Indians would know the antipathy he had towards our faith, he ordered Juan Hualpa brought before him and he publicly shamed him ordering that he be punished because he had not asked permission to baptise his son. He was sentenced to be beaten on the back with stones (a shameful punishment amongst them). Blessed Indian, who suffered for Christ our Lord. This would have already been enough for the entry of our friars to be glorious but there were many more occurrences like this in which the faith of Jesus Christ produced returns, and our Catholic Church, produced glory. The apostate Inca sent for Padre fray Marcos and raged disgracefully because fray Marcos baptised without asking permission for each one and because he, the Inca, had to know precisely who was being baptised. And this was intended so that the people would be most careful not to anger the Inca and would not ask for baptism.

193 The angelic hosts are believed to be divided into nine hierarchies, from Seraphim, who are closest to God down to angels who are closest to humankind. When the angels of Lucifer fell from heaven at the beginning of time they conserved their hierarchies, as while their nature was irrevocably marred it did not altogether change. In other words a fallen Seraph like Lucifer was still a Seraph, a fallen archangel was still an archangel. As such, more powerful demons who commanded 'legions' would have held one of these higher ranks. It is noteworthy that Calancha does not question the existence of the power of *Yurac Rumi*, rather, as many of his contemporaries did, he recategorises it as demonic.

194 Lit. *ya que no le mochavan* – 'now that they did not [ritually] kiss him'.

195 The term Calancha uses here is 'les mostrava' meaning 'showed to them'. The implication is that these horrors were visionary.

196 Here we see Calancha's notable antipathy towards Titu Cusi coming to the fore. See the introductory essay for comment on the Inca's need to balance competing interests very carefully.

El Padre fray Marcos llevò este golpe con paciencia, i a sus solas derramò copiosos lagrimas, viendo que quando pensava ganar de ciento en ciento las animas, se le cerravan las puertas de bautizar una, i que el tiempo que començo prospero, ya era borrasca, i la mar, que ya se avia sosegado mostrava tenpestad; clamava al cielo, estrechava sus penitencias, i continuava en su predicacion; que si estas ocasiones afligen i espantan a los onbres, i a los ministros Evangelicos, en ellas es quando mas descansado i gustoso està [797] Cristo que las desea, i tal vez las atiza. Los vientos, dice S. Mateo¹⁹⁷, que bramavan quando se enbarcò Cristo en aquel navichuelo, el mar tocava los cielos, sorbiendose los onbres i las naos, los Apostoles davan gritos, viendo en tal tenpestad tan apresurada la muerte, i Cristo dormia con gusto i con sosiego, porque semejantes persecuciones son para Cristo sus mayores descansos, no porque nos vè tristes, i nos vea llorosos, sino, como dijo san Pablo¹⁹⁸, porque nos vè afligidos en la penitencia, alegrandose de nuestro provecho, i viendonos medrar mayores meritos, como dice Origenes¹⁹⁹; dormia descansando Cristo, porque sus Apostoles velasen, que quando le parece a un siervo de Dios, que se vè en borrascas de trabajos, i en desbaratadas tormentas de persecuciones, i que parece que està dormido Cristo, i que no se duele de ver la tenpestad i peligro en que està la nao de su Iglesia i sus ministros Apostolicos, parece que duerme, pero està velando, porque conviene ese padecer para mas medrar, i quiere estèn velando, quando mas quieta piensan que està la mar, i teman que dentro de poco podrà aver borrasca, aunque estè Cristo en medio de esas tenpestades, porque en ellas està su recreo, i es la cama de su regalo, que donde no anda la roja de la tribulacion, i llueve el agua de la penalidad, ni frutifica el grano de la Fè, ni vè abundantes cosechas la Iglesia para los graneros de la gloria. Muchos baldones sufría el Padre fray Marcos, ya le perseguian muchos de los Caziques i principales, unos por adular al Demonio, otros por agradar al Inga, i gran parte por aborrecer sus sermones, en que reprendia sus vicios i abominava en los bautizados el tener quatro i seys mugeres;

197 Matth. c.8. *Et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus, ipse verò dormiebat, et accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius, et suscitaverunt eum dicentes, Domine salva nos perimus.*

198 2. Corin.7. *Nunc gaudeo, non quia contristati estis, sed quia contristati estis ad pœnitentiam.*

199 Hom.6 in diver.10. *Vigilabat Deitate, corpore itaque dormiebat, ut Apostolos faceret vigilare, et ne omnes nos venquam animo dormimus.*

Padre fray Marcos took this blow with patience although, while alone, he wept copiously on realising that when he had thought to win souls by their hundreds, the doors had been shut for just having baptised one. His time there had begun so well, but now a squall had blown up and the sea that was once calm was now stormy. He cried out to heaven, increased his penitence and continued with his preaching; while these moments afflict and horrify men and ministers of the gospel, it is then that Christ is most rested and at ease. [797] He desires these things to happen and possibly even stirs them up. The wind howled, says Saint Matthew, when Christ boarded that little boat; the sea touched the sky, swallowing up the men and the boats.²⁰⁰ The apostles, thinking they were about to die in that storm, cried out, but Christ slept soundly and happily because such hardships for Christ are like his greatest times of rest. This is not because he likes to see us tearful and sad; rather, as Saint Paul said²⁰¹ it is because he sees us afflicted by penance and is happy when he sees us cultivate our greater merits. As Origen said: Christ slept and rested so that his apostles would keep watch.²⁰² When it seems as if a servant of God is surrounded by squalls of hardship and is in the midst of ruinous storms of persecution and it seems that Christ is asleep and does not trouble to see the storm and danger in which the Church, his ship, and his apostolic ministers are in, he is [in fact] keeping watch because these sufferings help [spiritual] growth and he wants them to keep watch themselves, when they think the sea is at its quietest and they fear that within a short time there could be a squall. Christ is in the midst of these storms because there he takes his rest and it is the bed he delights in. Where there is no affliction and where no rain of punishment falls, the seed of the faith cannot bear fruit and there will not be an abundant harvest for the granaries of glory. Padre fray Marcos suffered many insults as many of the *caciques* and leaders now persecuted him, some because they worshipped the devil, others because they wished to please the Inca and for the most part, because they hated his sermons in which he reprimanded their vices and publically criticised those who were baptised who had up to four, even six wives.

200 Matt. 8:24-25.

201 2 Corinthians 7:9.

202 Sermon 6 on diver.10.

castigavanle en la comida, i fuele necesario enbiar al Cuzco por alimentos, de donde el Convento le enbiava biscocho, que era su mayor banquete. No temia injurias, ni descomodidades, que si de los soldados que militan en los egercitos del mundo dijo Alejandro Severo, como refiere Lanpridio²⁰³, que nunca el soldado teme, sino quando està bien vestido, bien armado, bien calçado, arto, i con algo en la alforja colgado de la pretina, señal de goloso, como si digera: aquel arremete sin miedo, que descalço, desnudo i anb[r]iento quiere vestirse, i comer por no acabarse, queriendo ganar lo que le falta, aunque peligre la vida que le ofende. Iamas temio el soldado Evangelico, i es porque le falta la ropa i el calçado, milita sin armas de hierro armado con sola caridad i paciencia, i es el ayuno que le desflaquece quien le dà los brios con que pelea. Pobre, desnudo i sin comida acometia nuestro Religioso a millares de contrarios, consolado con que no le quitavan los niños i muchachos, que los padres baladies ofrecian a que los enseñase, a estos catequizava en la Doctrina, siendo ellos los que le ayudavan en las celebraciones i ceremonias de la Iglesia, acariciavalos amorosamente, i enseñavalos achicandose a su incapacidad i niñez. Quantas vezes se animaria considerando lo que pasò a Cristo celestial Maestro²⁰⁴, quando viendose perseguido i desdeñado de los Principes de Ierusalen, i de los Fariseos, como advirtio Teofilato²⁰⁵, le llevavan los plebeyos a sus ijuelos, para que los bendigese, i los cogia Cristo en los braços, i se regozijava con ellos abraçandolos? I si esto tambien proibian los Caziques i Capitanes del Inga, se consolaria con que los Apostoles quando estavan poco firmes en la Fè, i visoños en la caridad, se enojavan con los padres, que ofrecian sus ijos inpidiendo que llegasen a Cristo que sino lo azian con el intento que estos Indios, lo estorbavan pareciendoles, que desdecia a la gravedad de Cristo tan continua niñeria, como advertio san Crisostomo²⁰⁶, i para dejar enseñado este punto, reprendio Cristo a sus Apostoles el estorvar tan caritativa accion;

203 *Miles non timet, nisi vestitus, armatus, calceatus, satur, et habens aliquid in Zonula.*

204 Marc.10. *Et offerebant illi parvulos et complexans eos, et imponens manus super illos, benedicebat eos.*

205 In cathena sup.cap. 10. Marc. *Ostensa superius nequitia Pharisaeorum Christum tentantium, nunc ostenditur multa fides turbarum quæ parvulos suos illi offerebant.*

206 Sup. hunc. loc. *Discipuli prohibebant offerentes propter Christi dignitatem.*

They punished him [by depriving him of] food and it became necessary for him to send to Cuzco for provisions, from where the Convent sent him biscuit-cake, which was his greatest banquet. He neither feared insults nor discomfort. Alexander Severus²⁰⁷ (cited by Lampridius²⁰⁸) said of the soldiers who serve in the armies of the world that a soldier never fears, except when he is well dressed, well armed, well shod, with a full stomach and with something extra in the saddlebag—the sign of a glutton as one might say. On the other hand, the one who attacks without fear goes barefoot, is naked and hungry, wants to clothe himself and eat without stopping, and ultimately wants to gain what he does not have, even though he might endanger his life in the process. Our soldier of the gospel was never afraid and this is because he lacks clothing and shoes, fought without weapons of iron and steel, armed only with charity and patience. Although fasting makes him thinner, it gives him the spirit with which to fight. Poor, naked and without food he fought against thousands of opponents, consoled by the fact that parents in their pettiness did not take the children and youths from him that he had been teaching. These he taught catechesis and they helped with the celebrations and ceremonies of the Church. He lovingly cared for them and taught them by reducing himself to their childish incapacity. How many times would he have taken heart considering what happened to Christ his celestial teacher on seeing himself persecuted and distained by the princes of Jerusalem and the Pharisees?²⁰⁹ As Teofilato highlighted, the commoners took their little children to him to be blessed and Christ took them in his arms and delighted in hugging them. And if the *caciques* and captains of the Inca also forbade this he would console himself with the fact that the apostles, when they wavered in the faith and were still new to charity, grew angry with the parents who brought their children to Christ. And even though they did not have the same intent as these Indians, they still prevented [the children from reaching Christ] and it seemed to them that the continual arrival and presence of children undermined Christ's dignity, as Saint Chrysostom highlighted. In order to make the point, Christ reprimanded his apostles for preventing such a charitable action;

207 Alexander Severus (Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander) was Roman emperor between 222 and 235 AD. He was assassinated by mutinous troops on the Rhine.

208 Lampridius, or Aelius Lampridius was one of the writers of the *Historia Augusta*, a collection of biographies of the Roman emperors. The biography of Alexander Severus is attributed to Lampridius.

209 Mark 10:13-16.

pues nunca està la magestad de un Catolico tan en su punto, como quando se aniña por ganar un anima, i manija niños para azerlos buenos, apretandolos en el pecho como izo Cristo, levantandolos del suelo como advirtio S. Crisostomo²¹⁰, para dar a entender, que las animas caidas en tierra se levantan, como el ministro las acaricie, i los ponga en el pecho, i poco les aprovecharà la bendicion, sino à precedido esta soberana caridad. Aganse niños, dice Origenes²¹¹, los varones mas ancianos, si quieren ganar niños para llevar a Cristo, que añinandose en materias pueriles, ganaràn provechos para ellos i para si mismos.

7. Con estos niños de la Dotrina ocupava el tiempo el Padre fray Marcos, i con algunos Indios grandes que a escusas [798] de los mandones eran dicipulos ocultos. Pero pasado un año entrò en algunos muchachos la peste, siendo pegadiça del contagio de sus padres: supo el buen Religioso, que algunos maleavan en vicios, i se davan a ceremonias Gentilicas, i usavan ritos idolatras, i no valiendo caricias ni amenaças para enmendarlos, se valio de castigos moderados de diez o doze açotes mezclandolos con terrores, i endulçandolos con darles juguetes, que comunmente en los Indios puede mucho el miedo, i medra poco la caricia. Pero fueronse a quejar algunos Indios al Inga, de que castigavan a sus ijos, contandole lo lloroso por irritarle, i callando los regalos por no enternecerle, que aunque conocian del Inga, que ya era disimulado apostata, le tenian por noble, i que con poco se ablandava. Izo traer al Padre fray Marcos, i diole una gran repreension, diciendole, que se le quejavan los muchachos de que los tratava mal, i que si castigava alguno por vicioso que fuese, los avia de quitar de la Dotrina.

210 Ibid. *Bene autem amplexatur eos ad benedictionem, tanquam in proprium sinum elevans propitius facturam suam ab eo cadentem.*

211 Sup Marc. *Exhortatur Discipulos suos iam viros constitutos condescendere utilitatibus puerorum, ut fiant pueris quasi pueri, ut pueros lucrentur.*

for the majesty of a Catholic is never so acute as when acting childishly to gain a soul, and moulding children to make them good, hugging them like Christ did, lifting them off the ground, as Saint Chrysostom emphasised, in order to demonstrate that the fallen souls on earth are lifted up just as the minister cherishes them and holds them close. And a blessing serves little if it is not preceded by this sovereign charity. Become like children, says Origen; the oldest men, if they want to win children to take to Christ, should themselves become like children in order to win favours for both the children and for themselves.

7. Padre fray Marcos spent his time with these children of the parish, and with some adult Indians who were secret disciples [798] behind their leaders' backs.²¹² But after a year, some of the youths caught a highly contagious plague from their parents.²¹³ The good friar knew that some were caught up in vice, participated in pagan ceremonies and performed idolatrous rites, and when neither affection nor threats served to change their ways he resorted to moderate punishment of ten or twelve lashes. This was mixed with terrifying them and then cheering them up afterwards by giving them toys, as fear goes a long way with Indians but affection helps very little.²¹⁴ But some Indians went to complain to the Inca that he was punishing their children, telling him the negative things to anger him but keeping quiet about the gifts so as not to cause him to soften his anger as although they knew he was a secret apostate they still held him to be noble and knew his resolve weakened easily. He sent for Padre fray Marcos and severely reprimanded him, telling him that the youths were complaining that he was treating them badly and if he punished anyone else no matter what his vices were, they would be taken away from the parish.

212 This may well be another example of Calancha's attempt to exaggerate the hostility of the ruling elite in Vilcabamba to Christianity in order to make a firmer case for the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz (in particular that he was killed due to 'hatred of the faith'). Nevertheless, even taking this into consideration, it is worth bearing in mind that Inca hostility to conversion was plausible in the context of extremely tense relations between the Incas of Vilcabamba and the Spanish of the Viceroyalty of Peru. To convert to Christianity in that context was to become suspect in one's loyalties and so it would be a dangerous thing to do. Secret conversions, then, are plausible.

213 Calancha is speaking of a spiritual plague here rather than of one of the many pandemics that swept the indigenous populations of the Americas in the sixteenth century. He uses the metaphor because he wishes to draw an analogy with the high mortality of these physical plagues.

214 While this may seem a barbaric and highly abusive style of pedagogy to a modern reader, what Calancha is describing was in fact a standard pedagogy that existed throughout the Western world up until very recently. It was based on the assumption that encouragement needed to be mixed with physical chastisement if the child fell short of expectations. In this case, there is the added complexity that Calancha is combining the lascasian discourse that infantilised indigenous Americans with the standard European pedagogy of the time.

El sufrido Religioso se escusò prudente, i le dijo con mansedunbre, que èl los tratava como Padre, i deseava su bien como si fueran sus ijos; bolvio el Padre fray Marcos con grandes desconsuelos, viendo que sino castigava o reñia, avia de crecer la disolucion i enojar a Dios, i si continuava lo que convenia, le avian de quitar aquellos niños i muchachos, cepas que solas ellas i pocas mas quedavan en su viña; entrò sin mucha dificultad la Fè, i fueronla sacudiendo con facilidad. Como el grano de mostaça, dice Cristo, que es la Iglesia²¹⁵, i por este grano tambien se quiso significar Cristo, como dijo san Gregorio²¹⁶, i ajustase del todo en estos Indios, tanto en que se sienbra sin mucho trabajo, i crece con poca cultura, aziendose de un grano pequenito un arbol copado, donde como dijo Cristo anidavan aves, que son (como explicò san Geronimo²¹⁷) las animas de los fieles, i las que se dan al servicio de Dios; que de Indios se bautizan en una nueva predicacion! Que presto crece la multitud de los fieles anidandose en las ramas de los Sacramentos, i creciendo Cristo en ellos se reduzen animas a su amor i servicio! Pero sucede lo que a los mostaçales del Perù, que se crian entre el trigo, i echan a perder una sementera, o desflaqueciendole el grano, o aogandole la espina. La facilidad con que reciben la Fè es con la que la dejan, i luego sirven los bautizados de quitar la devocion a los Catecumenos, i de echar a perder los deseos a los que se quieren convertir. La causa es la que de la explicacion de san Augustin²¹⁸, se puede congeturar en decir; grano de mostaça fue enseñar el fervor que causa en los convertidos la Fè, que yerve en el coraçon como la mostaça en el molinillo, i èsta expele venenos. De aqui se deve colegir, que el no durar el fervor de la Fè mucho tiempo en esta Gentilidad, procede sin duda, de que no expele del todo el veneno de su idolatria, ni los resabios de sus vicios Gentilicos,

215 Matt.c.13.

216 Greg.19. Mor.c.1 *Ipsa quidem est granum synapis.*

217 In Matth. *Ita ut volucres cœli (quas vel animas credentium, vel fortitudines Dei servitio mancipatas sentire debemus) veniant et habitent in ramiseius.*

218 De quæst. Evang. *Granum namque synapis ad fervorem fidei pertinet, vel eo quod dicatur venena expellere.*

The long-suffering Padre fray Marcos prudently asked for forgiveness and explained meekly that he treated them as a father would treat his own children, only desiring their good. Padre fray Marcos returned filled with despair seeing that if he could not punish or scold, antipathy and anger towards God would only increase, and if he continued with what was expedient²¹⁹ they would take those children and youths away from him, when only these vines and a few more remained in his vineyard. Faith took root very easily but it was uprooted just as easily. This was like the mustard seed, says Christ, which is the Church²²⁰ and by this seed he also meant Christ, himself, as Saint Gregory said.²²¹ This is quite appropriate for these Indians inasmuch as, without a great deal of effort and learning, [the Faith] grows from a little seed into a large tree where Christ said birds make their nests—and these are (as Saint Jerome explained²²²) the souls of the faithful, which give themselves to the service of God. How quickly the multitude of faithful grows when Indians are baptised on a new mission, making nests in the branches of the Sacraments and, with Christ growing in their souls, they are reduced to his love and service! But in Peru the same happens as when the mustard grows in amongst the wheat and causes a crop to be lost, or the seed deteriorates or is strangled by thorns.²²³ The ease with which they receive the faith is the same as that with which they leave it, and then those who are baptised undermine the devotion of the Catechumens and cause those who wanted to convert to lose this desire.²²⁴ One can conjecture about the cause using Saint Augustine's explanation: the mustard seed referred to the fervour that is caused in those who converted to the Faith as it boils in the heart like mustard in the grinder and this can even expel toxins. One must therefore conclude that the short time that the fervour of these pagans lasts, is without a doubt because the poison of their idolatry is not fully expelled nor are the leftovers of their pagan vices.

219 By this he means corporal punishment.

220 Matthew 13:31-35.

221 Saint Gregory (Pope Gregory I, or Gregory the Great) was a Roman monk in the sixth century. He was elected Pope in 590 A.D. in the context of famine and plague in the city of Rome. He implemented significant reforms to the structure of the Church and to its liturgy, was keen to evangelise those areas of northern Europe that had been overrun by pagan Germanic peoples, and was renowned for his mystical visions. He died in 604 A.D.

222 Jerome: On Matthew. Saint Jerome (d.420 A.D.) was one of the Church fathers and an ascetic monk and mystic. He is most famously remembered for his translation of the Old Testament biblical texts into Latin which formed the substantial base for the Vulgate edition of the bible favoured by the Catholic Church until the mid-twentieth century and for his Scriptural commentaries.

223 Calancha is referring here to the other parables of Matthew 13.

224 A 'catechumen' was someone who was in the process of being initiated into the rites of the Church and who was receiving catechesis prior to baptism.

i no ay prueba mas clara de que el grano de la Fè à criado raizes, i estendido ramas en el predicador Evangelico, que pasar adelante, i no desflaquecer por mucho grano que se pierda i por muchas ofensas que reciba, que en eso se parece dice S. Ilario²²⁵ la Fè viva a la mostaçã, que es fuerte con ser pequeñita, apetitosa con ser amarga, veemente con ser umilde, i quando la estan moliendo, entonces està mas viva, mas fuerte, i muestra mas veemencia. Asi son los predicadores Evangelicos quando tienen Fè perfeta, i asi lo fue el Padre fray Marcos que quando le molian con baldones, i le castigavan con trabajos, mostrava mas umildad, mas valentia, mas fortaleza i mas veemencia.

8. Llegòse algunas vezes al Inga, i reprendiole con blandura i palabras amorosas sus borracheras publicas, sus visitas a los mochaderos i adoratorios, que aunque fuesen con disimulo, eran con escandalo. Bautizòse otra Ñusta, que es lo mesmo que gran señora, i llamòse Angelina, i teniala tambien por muger, con que eran dos las Angelinas. Todo esto le reprendio el siervo de Dios con zelo Apostolico, i criò rabias en el oculto apostata deseando por una parte echar de si, o matar al Religioso, i por otra no se atrevia, porque se vendia por Cristiano, i temia que los bautizados le tuviesen por descubierto apostata, i mas en tiempo quando èl dava a entender que el no enojarse con los idolatras

²²⁵ Sup. Marc. *Comparavit acri semmi, et omnium seminum minimo, cuius virtus pressuris accenditur.*

And there is no clearer proof that the seed of the faith has grown roots and put forth branches in the preacher of the gospel, than the fact that he carries on and does not weaken even taking into account the many offenses done to him and the large amount of seed that is lost. In this, says Saint Hilary²²⁶, the living faith seems like mustard, which is strong even though it is small; it stimulates the appetite because it is bitter, forceful even though it is humble and, when it is being ground, it is more alive, stronger and shows even more vehemence. Such are the preachers of the gospel when they have perfect faith and so was Padre fray Marcos who, when they crushed him with insults and they punished him with hardships, demonstrated even more humility, courage, strength and vehemence.

8. He went to see the Inca on occasion and gently reprimanded him with loving words for his public drinking²²⁷, his visits to the *mochaderos* and shrines, which although done in secret, still caused scandal.²²⁸ He baptised another Ñusta, which means ‘great lady’²²⁹ and she took the name of Angelina, which meant there were two Angelinas, and she was also [Titu Cusi’s] wife.²³⁰ The servant of God reprimanded all this with apostolic zeal and this angered the secret apostate who wanted to either expel or kill the friar. Nevertheless, he did not dare because he was pretending to be a Christian and he feared that the baptised would discover his apostasy²³¹, and all the more so when he gave to understand that his not being angered by the idolaters

226 [Commentary] On Mark.

227 Lit. *borracheras publicas* – when chroniclers and priests refer to *borracheras* they give the impression that these are orgiastic occasions. It is important to note that the objection was less to the drunkenness (although they did find this objectionable) and more to the fact that these were ritual occasions that bound communities together with their leaders and their deities. As such, the prime concern was that such drinking went hand-in-hand with idolatry as well as giving rise to other behaviours considered sinful.

228 One suspects here that Calancha is engaged in wishful thinking. It is highly unlikely that such behaviour would have been considered scandalous by the vast majority of the populace—quite the opposite in fact. Not to have carried out these ceremonies would have been considered dangerous in the extreme. For sure, Titu Cusi’s continued participation in and leading of ancestral rites (as was his obligation as the son of the Sun) may well have scandalised fray Marcos and those very few fervent converts he had made. In reality though the majority of the population would have been much more scandalised were Titu Cusi to forgo his priestly role.

229 The term refers to high-ranking, or royal Inca women – the equivalent of ‘princess’– González Holguín glosses the term as ‘princess, or lady of noble and illustrious blood’ (*Vocabulario*, lib.1, p.261).

230 This second Angelina refers to doña Angelina Llacsá Chuqui (as opposed to Titu Cusi’s principal wife, doña Angelina Polanquilaco), one of the key witnesses in the process to gather testimony about the death of fray Diego Ortiz (1595-1600). See the ‘Declaración de Angelina Llacsá Chuqui’, in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.63-5.

231 See the introductory essay for comment on Titu Cusi’s apparent ambivalence towards Christianity. As mentioned above, it is highly unlikely that Titu Cusi would have been concerned about placating the few Christian converts in Vilcabamba. Rather, the most likely scenario is that he was aware he would give the Spanish an excuse to invade if he expelled or killed fray Marcos. By the same token he would have been aware of the need to placate those who were opposed to Christianity and, more importantly, his own deities.

era razon de estado, porque siendo ellos la mayor parte, no se le revelasen, i échos a una con los Españoles, le quitasen la vida o la Provincia, queriase conservar con los infieles, i no enojar a los Cristianos, que ya avia muchos [799] naturales de aquellas montañas i advenedizos de las comarcas del Cuzco, i asi azia algunas muestras Gentilicas, i aquellas serian sus veras, i no desterrava al Religioso, ni publicamente inpedia la dotrina, con que sirviendo a dos señores servia solo al Demonio. El Padre fray Marcos que no deseava riquezas tenporales, ni favores mundanos, le reprendia con claridad sus excesos, aunque deseava su enmienda sin irritarle, i despues soltò la capa, i dava voces por la onra de Dios, sin temer que se irritase, que [...] discursava Ificrates, quando decia, como refiere Plutarco²³², que convenia que el soldado fuese codicioso de riquezas i deleytes, porque era mas atrevido, mas arrojado i mas sin miedo, entrandose en los peligros, i no temiendo los mayores riesgos, deseoso de adquirir bienes, i de medrar deleytes. No los terrenos animan a los ministros santos, pero el deseo de gozar los perdurables los arroja a casos arduos, los aze atrevidos, i los buelve quando ay mas riesgos mas determinados;

²³² *Iphicrates censebat militem et divitiarum et voluptatum avidum esse opertere, dicens illum audacius pericula subiturum, quo suis cupiditatibus suppedicaret.*

was for reasons of state because given that they were in the majority, he did not want them to rebel, making common cause with the Spaniards by taking his life or taking over the province.²³³ And so he wanted to maintain good relations with the pagans while also not angering the Christians as there were now many [799] natives from those mountains and who had come from the Cuzco region, so he favoured the pagans in some things and those would serve as their proofs [of loyalty] yet he did not expel the friar nor did he publicly hinder the catechesis. Thus, by serving two masters he served only the devil.²³⁴ Padre fray Marcos, who neither wished for material wealth nor worldly favours, openly chastised him for his excesses even though he hoped to convert him without irritating him. Later, however, he threw caution to the wind and began to cry out for the honour of God without fear. [...] Iphicrates has discussed this (as Plutarch writes) saying it would be expedient if a soldier were greedy for riches and delights so that he is more daring and fearless, throwing himself into danger, eager for wealth and delights.²³⁵ Sainly ministers are not driven by desire for land; rather, the desire to enjoy the eternal throws them into challenging cases, makes them daring and more determined when the risks are higher.

233 ‘Common cause’ needs some qualification. The only ‘common cause’ would have been the removal of Titu Cusi (in this hypothetical scenario). The non-Christian Incas of Vilcabamba would *never* have made common cause with the Spanish in real terms. Either there would have been an internal coup, or the Spanish would have invaded; they would certainly not have worked together. The interests of those anti-Spanish nobles lay in preserving a strong leader who could and would stand up to the Spanish. Here, Calancha is correct that Titu Cusi was walking a political tightrope, but what he writes here is most likely inverted wishful thinking. Yes, Titu Cusi was making decisions dictated by reasons of state but it is much more likely that this led to his reluctant toleration of the Christian priests in order to ward off a Spanish invasion rather than fearing a rebellion from his anti-Spanish nobles. Of course, it was always a possibility that a coup d’état might remove him from power but, given his many years of success in defending Vilcabamba from the Spanish, this was unlikely. In fact, a coup d’état would have been much more likely were Titu Cusi’s baptism to cause him to reject his ancestral rights, and given Titu Cusi’s careful diplomacy in this period, Calancha may well have been reading things correctly by saying ‘*he gave to understand*’ [to the Spanish authorities, or to fray Marcos] that he was not an out-and-out Christian for fear of an internal rebellion. It was highly unlikely (given his citation in his own chronicle of the advice his father Manco gave him to never trust a Spaniard) that his sympathies lay more with the Christians than with his anti-Spanish counselors and military leaders.

234 This is a reference to the scriptural passage (Matt. 6:24) in which Jesus states that no man can serve two masters. In this case, Jesus is referring to serving God, or being a slave to money, but, for Calancha, the analogy works for Titu Cusi, in particular as he is critiquing the immorality of ‘reason of state’.

235 Earlier, Calancha cited Alexander Severus to make a similar point. Iphicrates was an Athenian general (d. c.353 B.C.) who reformed the fighting methods of the Athenian infantry soldier (or hoplite). He commanded troops successfully in the wars against Sparta, but he also acted as a mercenary for Persia and for other enemies of Athens. Plutarch (d.120 AD) was a Greek scholar, historian, essayist and Platonist. He was also a Roman citizen.

pero no an de apetecer riquezas, ni gustos temporales, que estos amilanan quanto mas crecen, i acobardan para predicar verdades, quando mas se esperan. Preguntò un insigne Predicador a otro en Madrid, qual seria la causa porque deseando predicar algunas verdades no se amañava? I respondiòle, porque los picos de las mitras enmudecen a los picos de las coronas. Con que le repreindiò el desear aumentos, rentas i Obispados, proque estas esperanças enmudecen a varones grandes. Nuestro fray Marcos, ni estimava onras, ni apetecia oro, i asi dava voces por desterrar maldades. 9. Segunda vez lo llamò el Inga, i le diò asperisima repreension, tratandole vilmente, porque se le quejavan los muchachos de la dotrina, que los enseñava con rigor, i como la rabia del Inga no colgava de la queja que azian algunos niños, o los padres dellos, sino de que le prohibiese a el sus vicios i le abominase sus gustos, ponía a su enojo capas de piedad i colores de proteccion. Todo lo entendia el Padre fray Marcos, i respondia unas vezes apuntando a la intencion, i otras satisfaciendo al cargo con mansedunbre i umildad. En la comida i en lo necesario padecia el buen Religioso, muchos se le atrevian ya, no solo de los principales, sino de los Indios plebeyos donde solia estar la fe, i esto azian viendo los desacatos del Inga, negandole lo preciso, i saltandole al respeto, i no por eso acobardava el animo, antes continuava con mas zelo su predicacion, i apartava de los ritos i supersticiones a los niños de su escuela, i a los muchachos de su dotrina que de toda la Provincia los solicitava. Bien creo yo, que los que oy estan en dotrinas grandes dotos i lenguarazes, ò sean Clerigos, ò Religiosos, comiendo con regalo ganan muchas animas; pero dirè lo que dijo Ateas Rey de los Scitas, escribiendo a Filipo Rey de Macedonia, como refiere Plutarco²³⁶. Tu Filipo peleas, i gobiernas a Macedonios, soldados diestros i capitanes sabios; yo gobierno Scitas, que pelean con sed i anbren. I quisòle decir (añade Plutarco) que para la guerra, para conquistar i vencer valia mas un soldado anbriento, que dos dozenas de regalados, aunque fuesen sabios, antiguos i experimentados.

236 In Apoph. *Ateas hunc in modum scripsit Philippo: Tu quidem imperas Macedonibus bellandi peritis at ego Scythis, qui cum fame, et cum siti pugnare valeant. Significans hac parte Sycthas ad bellum esse magis idoneos.*

But they will not taste riches nor temporal pleasures—those things scare people away [from doing what is right] when they are most abundant and cause cowardice when it comes to preaching the truth when it is most necessary. A famous preacher asked another in Madrid, ‘what would be the reason for not compromising when one wants to preach certain truths?’ And the reply was, ‘because the points of a mitre render the points of a crown speechless’. With this he criticised the desire for increased salaries and bishoprics because these aspirations make great men silent. Our fray Marcos, neither held honours nor gold in esteem, and so he cried out to expel wickedness.

9. The Inca sent for him a second time and he gave him an extremely sharp reprimand, treating him vilely because the youths of the parish were complaining that he taught them too strictly, and as the Inca’s rage did not really hang on the complaints of a few children or their parents but rather that [fray Marcos] wanted to prohibit the Inca’s vices and abhorred his pleasures, he covered his anger with a cloak of mercy and protection. Padre fray Marcos understood all this and sometimes replied directly and other times accepting the charge meekly and with humility. The good friar suffered with regard to basic necessities such as food. Many were insolent to him now, not just the nobles, but also Indian commoners who used to be faithful. And they did this when they saw the Inca’s contempt, denying him his basic necessities and showing him a lack of respect. But in spite of this his resolve did not weaken, rather he continued his preaching with more zeal and he distanced the children of his school and the youths of his parish from the rites and superstitions that they were required to participate in throughout the province. I do believe that these days the most learned and capable at languages (whether secular or religious) who are appointed to parishes win many souls while eating well. But I will mention here what Ateas king of the Scythians wrote to King Philip of Macedonia (as cited by Plutarch²³⁷). You, Philip, fight, and govern Macedonians, able soldiers and experienced captains. I govern Scythians who fight with hunger and thirst. And he meant (adds Plutarch) that for war, in order to conquer and be victorious, a hungry soldier is worth more than dozens who are content and spoiled, even if they are old, wise and experienced.

237 Ateas was a long-lived Sythian king who was finally killed aged 90 in battle with Philip II of Macedon in 339 B.C. Philip II of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great, was assassinated only 3 years later in 336 B.C.

Padeciendo anbres, disgustos i trabajos conquistaron a los principios a esta gentilidad los ministros Evangelicos, siendo los mas dellos idiotas, i poco diestros en la lengua, i aora vean los Doctores, los maestros i los excelentes en la lengua lo poco que medran, i lo mucho que callan, i veran como son soldados Macedonios los que tienen tanto de regalados como de dotos. Quien no repára en que dos vezes enbiò Cristo a predicar a sus Dicipulos i Apostoles la primera vez les dice²³⁸, que sanen enfermos, resuciten muertos, curen leprosos i espelan Demonios, que no lleven alforja, dinero, ni calçado, porque el trabajador merece de justicia el sustento: enbia otra vez a sus Dicipulos a predicar por aquellas comarcas, i mandandoles que vayan pobres, sin vestidos, ni alforja, advierte S. Lucas²³⁹, que solo les diò licencia i poder para curar enfermos, pero no para resucitar muertos, no para sanar leprosos, ni espeler Demonios; i mandòles que coman i bevan lo que les dieran aquellos que los ospedaren; i segunda vez les ordena, que coman de quanto les dieran en las Ciudades sin escusarse, agradeciendo el agasajo, i admitiendo el conbite. Reparese en que la una vez les dà poder limitado para curar enfermos, i en el otro viage les dà licencia general para con enfermos, muertos i endemoniados, qual seria la [800] causa? A tiro largo se divisa el intento, en la una llevan licencia para comer i beber, i entonces no les quiere dar licencia para echar Demonios, i resucitar difuntos. En la otra les dice, que trabagen como jornaleros, los cuales merecen el sustento despues del trabajo, i aqui que no se trata de comer i beber se dà licencia para echar los Demonios, i resucitar los muertos, i allà donde se trata de beber i comer, no se trata de resucitar, enseñandonos en anbas cosas quantos privilegios tiene el comer poco, i despues de aver trabajado, i quan pocos el que come mas, aunque sea santo; i nos advierte, que en ablandose de comida no se ábla de resucitar muertos, ni expeler Demonios, i en no tratandose de comer se trata de echar Demonios i de resucitar. O ministros Dotrinantes, como espelereys Demonios los que no tratays de ayunos? Como resucitareys tantas animas difuntas, los que solo ablays de banquetes?

238 Matt. cap 10. *Infirmos curate, mortuos suscite, leprosos mundate, Dæmones ejicite, nolite possidere aurum, etc. Utque ad, dignus enim est operarius cibo suo.*

239 Cap 10. *In eadem autem domo manete edentes, et bibentes quæ apud illos sunt, et in quamcumque civitatem intraveritis, et susceperint vos, manducate quæ apponuntur vobis et curate infirmos.*

In the beginning, ministers of the gospel conquered these gentiles while suffering hunger, discomfort and hardships even though the majority of them were idiots and unable to speak the language.²⁴⁰ And now see how little the doctors, teachers and excellent linguists achieve and how silent they are, and see how those who have as many possessions as they are learned are like Macedonian soldiers. Who does not notice that Christ sent his disciples and apostles out to preach twice and the first time he says to them that they should heal the sick, bring the dead back to life, cure lepers and cast out demons.²⁴¹ He further instructs that they should take no provisions, money nor sandals, because the worker deserves sustenance from justice. He sends his disciples out to preach for the second time in that same area and he ordered them to go poor, without clothing or provisions. Saint Luke highlights that [this time] he only gave them permission and power to cure the sick and not to resuscitate the dead, nor to cure lepers, nor expel demons, and he ordered them to eat and drink whatever was given to them in the towns without making excuses, being grateful for the welcome and accepting the invitation.²⁴² Notice that on one occasion he gives them limited power to cure the sick and in the other journey he gives them general permission to [deal] with the sick, the dead and the possessed. What would be the [800] reason for this? At a guess, one might work out the intention. In one he gives permission to eat and drink and so he does not want to give permission to expel demons and raise the dead. In the other he tells them that they should work as day workers who deserve to be fed after their day's labour, and here, while it does not talk about eating and drinking, he gives permission to cast out demons and bring the dead back to life. There where eating and drinking is mentioned, raising the dead is not. In both examples this teaches us how many privileges are brought by eating little and after work, and how few privileges come to those who eat more even if they are saints. And we are reminded that in talking of food there is no mention of bringing the dead back to life or casting out demons and, when eating is not mentioned, casting out demons and raising the dead are discussed. Oh parish priests and ministers, how will you cast out demons if you refuse to fast? How will you resuscitate so many dead souls if you only talk about feasting?

240 See above, chapter 1 for Calancha's opinion on the virtues of 'idiots' as opposed to learned people.

241 Matt. 10:8-10.

242 Luke 10:7.

I si con aver enbiado Cristo a estos dicipulos, i que es bien pensar que comerian lo necesario, i admitirian solo aquello que fuese suficiente, buelven a los ojos de Cristo [...] arrogantes i sobervios, que todo lo dà a entender nuestro Redentor, quando contando ellos sus bazarrias, se les umillavan los Demonios, les dijo, yo vide caer a Satanas como rayo, disparado de una nube, quiso decirles, dice san Gregorio²⁴³, no seays sobervios, escarmentad en Satanas, temed su ruina, i abatireys la jactancia: i en la ocasion en que Cristo no quiso nonbrar comidas, les asegura, que padeceran umildes, que sufriran martirios, que seran atribulados, i que èl los confeserà por ijos ante su Padre Eterno. Vean la diferencia aora los que repáran estos misterios, padecer por Cristo anda junto con no tratarse de comida, el trabajar por las animas, i el ser umildes i favorecidos de Cristo està pareado en la plana en que no manda que coman i bevan. Saquen de todo los que oy sustituyen los oficios de los Apostoles los daños del comer mucho, i del aprovechar poco, vean si de sus banquetes sacan umildades, i si sus mesas merecen que Dios los confiese por ijos. Nuestro fray Marcos fue de los ministros que salieron a predicar, a padecer, a sufrir i à ayunar, i asi convirtiò tantas animas. Tiempo es ya que traygamos a nuestro fray Diego Ortiz, para que se acerque a su dichosa corona.

243 Greg. 24. Moral. *Mirè autem Dominus ut in discipulorum cordibus elationem præmeret, iudicium ruinæ retulit, quod ipse magister etationes accepit, ut in auctore superbiæ discerent, quid de elationes vitio formidaret.*

And if these disciples return to Christ [...] arrogant and proud, after he sent them out (even if it is good to think that they ate what was necessary), when they tell of their gallantry, our Redeemer explains that the demons have humiliated them, saying to them: 'I saw Satan fall like a bolt of lightning from a cloud'. By this he meant, says Saint Gregory, do not be proud, learn your lesson from Satan, fear your ruin and cease your boasting. And on the occasion where Christ did not wish to name food, he assured them that they would humbly suffer anguish and martyrdom and he would name them as children before the Eternal Father. Those who notice these mysteries see the difference now; suffering for Christ goes together with not worrying about eating and working for souls, while being humble and favoured by Christ is paired with not eating and drinking. Those who today carry out the office of the apostles [must] put an end to the harm caused by eating too much and the little benefit that comes from it; see if their banquets teach them humility and if their tables deserve that God names them as his children.²⁴⁴ Our fray Marcos was one of those ministers who went out to preach, to suffer, and to fast, and in this way he converted so many souls. Now it is time to bring in our fray Diego Ortiz so that his blessed crown comes closer.

244 Calancha's discourse here is highly critical of clergy who seek privileges. As such he is very much a part of the reformed (descalced) Augustinian tradition that sought to return to the asceticism of the Christian hermits and early monastic communities like that founded by their patron Augustine of Hippo. Castro de Trelles notes that the Augustinian friars who arrived in Peru in the sixteenth century strictly observed the asceticism of the reformed order. As such, they were obliged to travel on foot, only using sandals to protect their feet. They were not allowed to sleep on a mattress unless they had special permission (due to infirmity). Their clothing had to be of the simplest materials. They were required to practice mortification (discipline) and mental prayer three times a week. They were not allowed to eat in the houses of others; nor was it permitted for them to entertain guests in theirs. They also had to avoid feasts or banquets and if they could not do so they were not to go to participate in the feasting but to teach abstinence (Castro de Trelles, 'Estudio preliminar', in *Relación de los agustinos*, p.XLIV). This is the context in which Marcos García's and Diego Ortiz's actions should be considered, in particular, their refusal to attend Titu Cusi's feasts and reciprocal drinking ceremonies even if he sent them express invitations. These ascetic practices led them into conflict with Titu Cusi who did not see them as necessary. Calancha, meanwhile, is writing in a different context, in which the strict asceticism of the previous century has been somewhat sidelined in the seventeenth century by internal political intrigues and competition for material wealth. Calancha appears to be indirectly reprimanding his brethren for their laxity.