

### Cap. III. Entra el Padre fray Diego Ortiz a Vilcabanba, i dales el Inga tormento en agua a los dos Religiosos, i tientalos con Indias vestidas con àbito de frayles.

1. Aguardando dejamos al Padre fray Diego Ortiz i al Padre fray Iuan del Canto la licencia del Prelado para entrar en las montañas, vino licencia para que solo el Padre fray Diego Ortiz entrase en esta ocasion, i aconpañase al Padre fray Marcos, remitiendo para quando creciese mas aquel Cristianismo el añadir obreros, que aunque avisava el Padre fray Marcos que ya el Inga era apostata disimulado, i que las cosas de la fe en aquellas montañas no ivan con los crecimientos que prometian los principios, no resfriò el ardor de nuestros Iuan i Diego, antes encendiò las ansias, i reforçò los brios; pero sucediò en estos dos Religiosos lo que en los Apostoles Iuan i Diego, porque los nonbres correspondiesen a los fines, que solicitando ambos su martirio muriò Diego dentro de poco tienpo martirizado por el Rey Erodes, i a S. Iuan Evangelista no le quiso Cristo dejar que muriese a manos de tiranos, sino que muriese su muerte natural de mas de noventa años: asi sucede a estos dos Religiosos Iuan i Diego ermanos en la profesion, i ermanados en el deseo, pues quiere que entre fray Diego a morir, i que fray Iuan del Canto se quede i muera de viejo, [...] muriò de mas de ciento i diez años, tan siervo de Dios, [...]: llorò mas de quarenta años el aver desmerecido la corona de martir. Puede pensarse que fue en la aceptacion de Dios estimado por martirio su deseo, como el del Evangelista Iuan, pues tambien sale desterrado a las comarcas [...], como el Evangelista a las de Parmos; que si le enbiaron los Prelados con onras a las conversiones, i a san Iuan con violencias los tiranos, destierro llama la Iglesia al que se padece [801] fuera de la patria, o tierra que se desea.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> *Exules filij Evæ.*

## Chapter 3. Padre fray Diego Ortiz enters Vilcabamba and the Inca tortures the two friars with water and tempts them with Indian women dressed in the habits of friars

1. We left Padre fray Diego Ortiz and Padre fray Juan del Canto waiting for permission from the Superior to go into the mountains. On this occasion, permission came only for Padre fray Diego Ortiz to join Padre fray Marcos. More workers were promised when the numbers of Christians had increased<sup>246</sup>, and even though Padre fray Marcos had warned them that the Inca was a secret apostate and that the things of the faith were not growing with the same promise as in the beginning, this did not cool the burning zeal of our Juan and Diego, rather it fired them up and reinforced their spirit. But the same happened to these two friars as happened to the apostles John and James<sup>247</sup>, because their names correspond to their deaths, in that although both looked for martyrdom, within a short time James was killed by King Herod<sup>248</sup>, while Christ did not want Saint John the Evangelist to die at the hands of tyrants. Rather [Christ] wanted him to die a natural death at more than ninety years old. This also happens to these two friars Juan and Diego, brothers in profession and linked in brotherhood by their desire.<sup>249</sup> And fray Juan del Canto stayed behind and died of old age, [...]; this servant of God died aged over one hundred and ten. For more than forty years he lamented that he was not worthy of a martyr's crown. It could be that it was in his acceptance of God that his desire was esteemed as martyrdom like that of John the Evangelist, because he also was exiled to the outlying regions [...] while the Evangelist was exiled to Patmos. Even if his Superiors sent him out to convert with honour, while the tyrants exiled San Juan with violence, the church calls anyone who is [801] forced to live outside their homeland or land where they wish to be a person in exile.<sup>250</sup>

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**246** By 'workers', or 'labourers', Calancha is referring to spiritual labourers, or 'workers in the Lord's vineyard' (Matthew 20:1-16) or, in other words, priests and missionaries.

**247** In Spanish, *Juan* and *Diego*.

**248** Calancha is referring here to Herod Agrippa, king of Judea (r.41-4 A.D.) rather than Herod the Great (r.37-4 B.C.).

**249** Here is another moment in which Calancha collapses time and merges the sixteenth-century narrative with events in first century Palestine.

**250** 'Exiled children of Eve'. This is a quotation from the prayer to Mary, the *Salve Regina*: 'Hail holy queen, mother of mercy; our life, our sweetness and our hope. To you do we cry, poor banished children of Eve'. This reference therefore refers to all of humanity as living in exile from God and our homeland which was Eden.

2. Saliò del Cuzco para Vilcabanba siendo Provincial el Padre maestro fray Iuan de san Pedro, i governando el Perù el Licenciado Lope Garcia de Castro del Consejo Real de las Indias, el bendito fr. Diego Ortiz solo, aunque aconpañado de ardiente caridad, que ella sola es un egercito copioso, [...]. Despues de aver padecido mucho el Padre fray Diego en los caminos, no tanto por las leguas i distancia, pues desde el Cuzco asta las primeras tierras de Vilcabanba ay poco mas de diez leguas, quanto por aver de buscar rodeos, i no tener guias para entrar en las montañas, por estar (como se à dicho) los rios sin puentes, i mudarse con cada avenida los vados. Entrò en los retiros del Inga, i en conpañia del Padre fray Marcos fue a su presencia, i si no se alegrò mucho de ver al nuevo Predicador, gustò de su entrada, porque sabia que el Padre fray Marcos andava descontento, i deseava bolverse al Cuzco, i pensaria que el Padre fray Diego por no enojarle, no trataria de reprenderle.

3. El siervo de Dios en breves dias ganò la voluntad al Inga tanto, que azia fiestas quando le visitava, diciendo, que le amava como a ermano, i lo regalava con aves i comidas de su vso (sino es que lo iziese por dar enbidias al Padre fr. Marcos) pero como el espiritu del bendito varon no venia en busca de regalos, sino de ganar animas i senbrar la fè, pidiò al Inga le diese licencia para fundar otra Iglesia i dotrinar otro diferente pueblo, con que se estenderia la predicacion, i se iria ganando tierra. Diòle la licencia el Inga, mostrando plazer de acudir a su ruego, i escogì el pueblo de Guarancalla, que era populoso, i tenia estelage competente para acudir a otros puebluezuelos i reducciones, en cuyo medio estava Guarancalla:

2. Fray Diego left Cuzco for Vilcabamba when the Provincial was Padre maestro fray Juan de San Pedro and when Peru was being governed by Licenciado Lope García de Castro of the Royal Council of the Indies.<sup>251</sup> He went alone, albeit accompanied by burning charity—that in itself is a sizeable army [...]. After having suffered a great deal as he journeyed, not so much for the distance in leagues because from Cuzco to the outskirts of Vilcabamba, there are little more than ten leagues<sup>252</sup>, but rather because he had to look for paths and did not have any guides to lead him into the mountains. Also, as mentioned above, the rivers were without bridges and with each flood the fords changed. He entered the Inca's fastness and, with Padre fray Marcos in his company, he went to present himself to him. And if the Inca was not so happy to see the new preacher, he liked the fact that he had come all the same because Padre fray Marcos was unhappy and wished to return to Cuzco and he thought that Padre fray Diego would not try to reprimand him so as not to annoy him.<sup>253</sup>

3. The servant of God won the Inca's favour in so few days that he held celebrations at every visit, saying that he loved fray Diego like a brother, and he presented him with birds and food that he himself would normally eat (this might well have been to make Padre fray Marcos jealous).<sup>254</sup> But as the spirit of the blessed man did not come in search of presents, but rather to win souls and plant the faith, he asked the Inca for permission to build another church and catechise another town in order to extend the range of their preaching and to gain ground. The Inca demonstrated his pleasure at giving him permission, and chose the town of Guarancalla which was populous and was centrally situated to go from there to other little settlements and reductions.<sup>255</sup>

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**251** Lope García de Castro (d.1576) governed the Viceroyalty of Peru as president of the *Audiencia* between 1564 and 1569 when he relinquished power to the newly arrived viceroy, Francisco de Toledo.

**252** Approximately 55km.

**253** While Calancha is continuing with his unfair vilification of Titu Cusi, this sentence is unintentionally revealing of Titu Cusi's position regarding evangelisation. He was well aware that fray Marcos was unhappy and wished to return to Cuzco—his own relationship with fray Marcos was tempestuous as we have seen. Nevertheless, for reasons of state he could not allow García to leave Vilcabamba until another friar had taken his place so that he could not be accused by the Spanish of having persecuted Christianity and prevented evangelisation.

**254** Of course this would have been problematic for Diego Ortiz given the obligatory aesceticism of the reformed Augustinians.

**255** It is not clear from Calancha's text who chose the site, although the reasonable implication is that Titu Cusi chose it as necessarily he would wish to maintain strict control over where these missionaries went and what they were doing. That said, given how amenable the site was (according to Calancha) to achieve the friars' goals, it either suggests that fray Marcos had a hand in at least suggesting a suitable site for their purposes (as fray Diego would not yet have a good sense of the topography and social distribution of the region) or, that Titu Cusi was not as opposed to the friars' enterprise as Calancha would otherwise have us believe. This would be more in keeping with Titu Cusi's own account.

dos o tres jornadas avia de distancia del un Convento al otro, i quedandose el Padre fr. Marcos en Puquiura, pasò a su fundacion el bendito fr. Diego, i en breve tiempo edificò Iglesia, izo abitacion, i dispuso ospital, todo de edificios pobres, que los Indios con amor i ardimiento acabaron en poco tiempo, fue estacando la tierra con altas cruces, i por los montes i adoratorios fue plantando destos arboles sacrosantos, arrancando Idolos. Bramavan los echizeros, pero se festejavan los demas Indios sus acciones, porque le amavan tiernamente, obligados, no tanto de las virtudes que en el conocian, como de los continuous beneficios con que los ganava, curavalos, vestialos, i enseñavalos. Iuntò cantidad de niños, i izose su maestro de escuela, multiplicandose el numero cada dia, i pidiendo el bautismo muchos de todos sexos i edades; gloriosamente creciò la Cristiandad en pocos meses, sacando el bendito fray Diego Indios de las grutas de aquellas montañas, atrayendolos con caricias, sobornandolos con ruegos, i conservandolos con beneficios. Quien oyere decir [...] <sup>256</sup>, que desde que fue a los desiertos el Bautista se conquistava el cielo con violencias, i se ganava con asaltos i batallas, arrimando escalas, i cogiendolo por fuerça, pensará que nos le dà Dios de mala gana, i que se le cogemos a su disgusto. Pero oyendo a san Gregorio <sup>257</sup>, veremos que siendo el infierno proprio domicilio de los pecadores, i no siendo el cielo suyo, con solo azer penitencia i batallar consigo mesmos, roban el cielo que antes no era suyo, i aunque sean enormes pecadores, violentando su apetito conquistan el omenage de la gloria, i esta es la violencia.

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<sup>256</sup> Matt. 11. *A diebus Ioannis Baptista usque nunc, regnum cœlorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud.*

<sup>257</sup> Greg. hom. 6. *Per regnum cœlorum supernum solium signatur, cum quo peccatores quolibet facinore polluti ad pœnitentiam redeunt et semtipsos corrigunt, quasi peccatores in locum alienum intrant, et violenter regnum cœlorum rapiunt.*

It took between two and three days to travel from one convent to the other, and while Padre fray Marcos stayed in Puquiura, the blessed fray Diego moved to his foundation and in a short time constructed a church, built a room for himself and prepared a hospital, all from basic materials, which the Indians with love and zeal finished in a short time.<sup>258</sup> He staked out the ground with high crosses and he planted these sacred trees on the hills and in the shrines while uprooting idols. The *hechiceros* raged but the other Indians celebrated his actions because they loved him dearly. And this was caused not so much by the virtues that they saw in him but by the continuous benefits with which he won them over: he cured, clothed and taught them. He gathered together large numbers of children and became their school-teacher and their numbers grew daily. Many of both sexes and all ages asked for baptism and the numbers of Christians grew gloriously in just a few months, as the blessed fray Diego winkled out Indians from the mountain caves, attracting them with affection, bribing them with pleas, and maintaining them with [material] benefits.<sup>259</sup> Whoever heard it said<sup>260</sup> that, after [St John] the Baptist went into the desert, heaven was conquered with violence and won by assaults and battles, siege-weapons and force, would think that God our Redeemer comes to us unwillingly and that we choose him to His displeasure. But listening to Saint Gregory we see that hell is the proper home of sinners, and heaven is not theirs, but if they only do penance and battle against themselves, they can steal heaven which previously did not belong to them.<sup>261</sup> Although they might be enormous sinners, by attacking their own appetites they conquer the tribute of glory, and that is violence.

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**258** This follows in the tradition of the mendicant parishes of the sixteenth century whose buildings would be built by the indigenous parishioners themselves under the direction of the mendicant clergy.

**259** Notwithstanding the rhetoric, this is a remarkably honest account of the complex dynamic of evangelisation and the varied methods that were needed to persuade non-Christians of the benefits of conversion, especially in areas where the Church was not supported by Spanish military power. Such benefits would, of necessity, be material as well as spiritual.

**260** Matt. 11:12. This passage is worth citing in full: 'Ever since John the Baptist's time, the kingdom of heaven has opened to force; and the forceful are even now making it their prize' (*New Advent Bible*). This is a scriptural criticism of the idea that people who use force can attain salvation or that conversion can come about through conquest and Calancha is taking up this point. Nevertheless, the position of the Church and Spanish clergy on the immorality of conquest (a lascasian position) and conversion through force sits uneasily with the destruction of indigenous temples, deities and the extirpation of idolatry.

**261** Gregory, Sermon 6.

I si oimos a san Ilario<sup>262</sup>, dirà que avia Dios prometido el cielo a los Iudios, i no queriendolo, se lo robaron los Gentiles; siendo el modo para conquistarlo (dice Crisostomo<sup>263</sup>) caminar a priesa, i llevar gente convertida [802] a la fè que se acerque a sus puertas, i an de ser las armas (dice Ambrosio<sup>264</sup>) no hierro, no lanças no piedras, sino mansedunbre, buenas obras i castidad, que batallando con ellas contra nuestro apetito, cogemos a escala descubierta el reyno de la gloria. O bendito fray Diego, i quan amodado fuiste en las liciones deste modo de milicia, pues sacando inormes pecadores que se ivan a su infierno los guiaste por el camino del cielo, i convirtiendo a la fè tantos Gentiles, los llevò tu solicitud i priesa a los unbrales del cielo, para que ò bautizandose los Gentiles, o arrepintiendose los ya bautizados robasen el cielo, i tu robandoselos al Demonio conquistases la gloria, no con armas de rigores, sino con mansedunbre, con castidad i con buenas obras, unas de dotrina i de piedad i otras de vestir, curar, i favorecer a los que encaminavas al cielo, i asi en breve ganò aquella Gentilidad, o con sus niños muertos, o con sus pecadores convertidos el castillo de la gloria, donde escalando la fè, les diò sillas la gracia.

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**262** In Catena S. Thom. Sup. Matth. *Dominus Apostolos ira ad oves perditas Israel iusserat, sed violenti diripiunt, quia gloria Israel fide gentium occupatur et rapitur.*

**263** Hom. 38. *Rapiunt regnum Dei per fidem Christi omnes, qui cum festinatione veniunt.*

**264** Serm. 15. *Regnum cœlorum aggredimur non ferro, non fuste, non saxo, sed mansuetudine, bonis operibus, castitate: hæc sunt arma fidei nostrae quibus in congressione certemus.*

If we listen to Saint Hilary, he will say that God had promised heaven to the Jews, but as they did not want it, the Gentiles stole it.<sup>265</sup> The way to conquer it (according to Chrysostom<sup>266</sup>) is to move quickly and take people who have been converted [802] to the faith to approach its gates. These are to be the weapons (says Ambrose<sup>267</sup>) no steel<sup>268</sup>, no spears, no stones, just meekness, good works and chastity, so that battling with them against our appetites we uncover and take the kingdom of glory by surprise. Oh blessed fray Diego, how well-trained you were in this type of fighting, for, once you had rounded up such enormous sinners who were on their way to hell you guided them along the path to heaven. On converting so many gentiles to the faith, they took your petition and urgency to the gates of heaven, so that either the gentiles who were subsequently baptised or those who were already baptised and had repented might capture heaven. And you conquered glory by stealing these people from the devil, not with weapons of war, but with meekness, chastity and good works; some through catechesis and piety, others by clothing, curing or favouring those who you were guiding to heaven.<sup>269</sup> And so, he won over those gentiles very quickly and, with their dead children and converted sinners they captured the fortress of glory by scaling the walls of faith, and grace gave them places in heaven.<sup>270</sup>

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**265** Saint Hilary of Poitiers (d.368) was a bishop who vigorously opposed Arianism, the doctrine that argued that Jesus was less than God. Calancha in fact cites Aquinas' bible commentary *The Golden Chain* 'On Matthew', which in turn, summarises the commentaries of the Church Fathers (including Hilary).

**266** Sermon 38.

**267** Sermon 15.

**268** Lit. *hierro* – 'iron'. The word for 'steel' is *acero* but even though Spanish (Toledo) steel was at that time renowned throughout Europe and the Americas, it was still commonly referred to as 'iron'.

**269** The use of material incentives in the process of evangelization may seem cynical, but it is important to consider that in Catholicism body and soul were considered intertwined and inseparable. As such, physical care for others went hand-in-hand with care for their souls and was a necessary act of charity, which, in turn, was a virtue that came from the grace of God.

**270** This metaphor about using dead children to scale the walls of faith and seize the fortress of heaven reads very strangely to modern eyes. The context is one of high infant mortality, in particular at a time of terrible pandemics. Missionaries would baptise children at risk of dying as a priority as, although they were deemed innocent (or at least as innocent as fallen humans could be), baptism was still considered necessary for them to enter the kingdom of heaven. This focus on baptising the sick and, in particular, sick children frequently had the unfortunate effect of creating an association between baptism and death and with missionaries as death-bringers. Jesuit letters in the seventeenth century refer to this with tragic regularity. In some cases, this perception is perhaps not too far from the truth as sometimes in more remote areas and frontier regions it was the missionaries themselves who made first contact with indigenous communities unwittingly exposing them to pathogens to which they had no resistance. That said, the virulence of these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pandemics was such that they spread in this period without the need for European mediation. With the arrival of a missionary prior to or during such a pandemic who would then baptise people who would die shortly after it is easy to see how such an association as a 'death-bringer' might arise whether or not the missionary was actually responsible. Baptised children who were thought to have died in a state of innocence were considered 'little angels' who gained direct entry into heaven. See Redden, 'Angelic Death', pp.161-7.

4. En los aumentos de su Iglesia se ocupava el Padre fray Diego querido de todos, i en Puquiura padecia persecuciones el Padre fray Marcos, porque con denuedo Catolico reprendia algunas supersticiones en los Indios principales, i acciones Gentilicas en el Inga, cargando la mano en la disolucion de las borracheras en que està la causa de todas las desdichas de los Indios; ellas los despeñan a incestos, sodomias i omicidios, i rara es la borrachera en que no aya mescla de ritos Gentilicos, i muchas vezes asiste el Demonio visible, i disimulado en figura de Indio. O quanto deve de irritar a Dios el descuydo, i remision que los dotrinantes tienen en no destruir con rigor estas borracheras! Pues siendo accion publica, no tienen los ministros disculpa, como las pueden tener en los vicios ocultos. Un sermón entero gasta mi Padre san Augustin<sup>271</sup> en detestar el vicio de la enbriaguez, ocasionado de un lamentoso suceso que aquel día avia sucedido en Iponia, que siendo tan canpanudo i tan horrible, se allò obligado a predicar tres vezes, apremiando a que todos los de la Ciudad, onbres i mugeres, i en particular los mas ancianos, i padres de familias se allasen en los tres sermones que predicò en aquel dia, ponderando el delito, la ocasion i la comun lastima: no os admireys carisimos ermanos (dice el Santo) si oy ayudado de Dios predicare tres sermones, que es tan terrible el caso que oy à sucedido, i sabeys algunos, que para que lo pondereys todos os è obligado a venir, i à que le oygan onbres, mugeres i mancebos; con dolor i ansias de mi anima os quiero referir la verdad del lastimoso fracaso que al preclarisimo ciudadano Cirilo tan amado de todos oy le à sucedido. Ya sabeys que era poderoso en las obras i en las palabras, i querido de quantos le trataron ya sabeys que tenia un ijo vnico, i por ser solo era demasiadamente amado de su padre, i tanto que le amava mas que a Dios; enbragado del amor no le corregia Cirilo su padre por mas que se desenfrenava, antes le dava poder i licencia para que iziese quanto se le antojase. O dolorosa libertad, ò perdicion grande de los ijos! ò amor de padres mortifero! Dicen que aman a sus ijos i deguellanlos, dicen que los levantan, i es azerles la orca.

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<sup>271</sup> Serm. 33. ad fratres in eremo. *Non miremini fratres carissimi, si hodie ter sermonem Deo auxiliante perfecero: accidit hodie terribilis casus.*

4. Padre fray Diego, beloved by all, occupied himself with the growth of the Church, but in Puquiura Padre fray Marcos suffered persecution because with Catholic boldness he reprehended certain superstitions of the noble Indians and pagan practices of the Inca, focussing his efforts on putting an end to the bacchanals which are the cause of the ruin of these Indians. These give way to incest, sodomy and homicide and the drunken ceremony that is not mixed with pagan rites is rare.<sup>272</sup> Frequently, the devil is visibly present in the guise of an Indian.<sup>273</sup> How irritated God must get with the carelessness of priests who do not rigorously destroy these bacchanals! For, as these are public events, the ministers do not have the same excuse as they might with respect to hidden vices.

The same day of a lamentable occurrence in Hippo, my father Saint Augustine delivered an entire sermon lambasting the vice of drunkenness.<sup>274</sup> And what happened was so scandalous and so horrible that he was obliged to preach three times in a row so that everyone from the city, men and women (in particular the oldest and heads of families) [heard what] he preached that day. In it he considered the crime, the circumstances and the common harm: ‘Do not be surprised dear brothers and sisters,’ says the Saint, ‘if today, with God’s help, I preach three sermons, because what happened today was so terrible (as some of you already know) that I have been obliged to come [and preach] so that all of you—men, women and youths—may hear and think on it. With anxiety and pain in my soul I want to talk to you about the lamentable disaster that has happened today to the most illustrious citizen Cirilius, so loved by all. You know that he was gifted in both word and deed, and loved by whoever had dealings with him. You know that he had only one son and because he was the only son his father loved him too much. He loved him so much more than God that, drunk with love, Cirilius the father never chastised his son no matter how wild he became, rather he gave him power and permission to do whatever took his fancy. Oh painful liberty! What a terrible destruction of children! Oh fatal love of parents! They say that they love their children but they slit their throats. They say they raise them up but in reality they put nooses around their necks.

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<sup>272</sup> See above, note 228.

<sup>273</sup> See above, notes 191 and 194.

<sup>274</sup> Sermon 33.

Este ijo del gran Cirilo despues de aver gastado en vicios la azienda de sus padres, bevia mucho i enbriagavase, i oy estando borracho<sup>275</sup> oprimiò malvadamente a su madre, sin atender a que estava preñada, quiso violar a su ermana, i cometer con ella incesto, matò a su padre, i a dos ermanas las iriò de muerte. O dolorosa enbriaguez, madre de todos los males, ermana de todos los vicios, i padre de toda la sobervia! O enbriaguez tu ciegas el entendimiento, careces de razon, no tienes consejo, eres dulce veneno del Demonio i un pecado suave, destruyes los sentidos, aogas las potencias, i de onbre conviertes al que predominas en bestia. O enbriaguez los que te aman, te conoscan, los que te buscan, te degen: pues acelerando la muerte cometes monstruos en los vicios, i lamentables desdichas en tus estragos, siendo la condenacion cierta, i la fama afrentosa.

Mucho mas contiene este sermon de Augustino, porque alega los incestos de Lot, la prision de Sanson, i varias lastimas que à perpetrado la enbriaguez, i todo se ordena a reduzir a los que beven que huyan deste vicio<sup>276</sup>, i a los que pueden, i deven remediarlo en sus ijos, feligreses, ò subditos, a que lo remedien. Buen egecutor fue el Padre fray Marcos destes consejos de su Padre Augustino, [803] pues viendo que con la enbriaguez cometian los Indios semejantes maldades, a las que cometiò el ijo de aquel poderoso Cirilo, dava voces contra las comunes borracheras, porque oy se vian omicidios, mañana eria el ijo al padre, o el padre matava al ijo, siendo los incestos a dozenas.

5. Esto irritò tanto al Inga i a sus caziques i capitanes, que trataron de matar al Religioso con secreto, dandole yervas ò polvos mortiferos. Por mucho que el secreto se previno, uvo uno que fingia aborrecer al Padre fray Marcos por no irritar al Inga, i era Catolico i amigo oculto; este le avisò que le querian matar, i que anduviese sobre aviso. El afligido Religioso continuò su asistencia, i sabiendo que ya le andavan cerca los tosigos, determinò irse al Cuzco, i dejar gente tan despeñada donde no se esperaba enmienda, i se endurecia la contumacia,

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<sup>275</sup> *Ecce hodie ebrietatem perpessus, matrem prægnantem nequiter oppressit, sororem violare voluit, patrem occidit, et duas sorores vulneravit ad mortem. O dolorosa ebrietas omnium malorum mater, omnis luxuriæ soror, omnis superbiæ pater!*

<sup>276</sup> *Ergo ò fideles abstinente, et nolite inebriari vino, non enim sufficit abstinere, sed abstinentes alios abstinere doceatis.*

After having wasted the estate of his parents in vice, this son of the great Cirilius drank a great deal and became drunk; and today, while drunk, he wickedly beat his mother without caring that she was pregnant. He tried to rape and commit incest with his sister, and he killed his father and wounded two other sisters fatally. O painful drunkenness, mother of all evil, sister of all vice and father of all pride! Oh drunkenness; you blind the understanding, you lack reason, you take no advice. You are the sweet poison of the devil and a gentle sin. You destroy the senses, suffocate strength and you change men into beasts. Oh drunkenness, those that love you know you, those who seek you out leave you; in precipitating death you commit monstrous vices and cause lamentable misfortunes with your impact. Condemnation and infamy is certain and shameful.’

This sermon of Saint Augustine contains a lot more because it refers to the incest of Lot, the imprisonment of Samson and various [other] misfortunes that drunkenness has caused, and it was all combined to persuade those who drink to flee from this vice.<sup>277</sup> And those who can must remedy this and correct it in their children, their followers or their subjects. Padre fray Marcos definitively acted on his father Augustine’s counsel [803] because seeing that the Indians committed similar evils to those of the son of that powerful Cirilius when they were drunk, he cried out against the frequent bacchanals because if today there are homicides, tomorrow the son will wound the father or the father the son, and dozens will commit incest.

5. This annoyed the Inca and his captains so much that they tried to kill the friar in secret, by giving him herbs or poisonous powders.<sup>278</sup> Even though they tried to keep it secret there was one who only pretended to hate Padre fray Marcos so as not to irritate the Inca. As he was a Catholic and a secret friend he warned fray Marcos that they wanted to kill him and that he should take care in future. The afflicted friar continued his work and knowing that the poisoners were getting closer, he decided to go to Cuzco, and to leave such fallen people whose obstinacy had hardened and of whom there was no hope of conversion.

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<sup>277</sup> ‘Thus oh faithful people, be abstinent and do not become drunk on wine. And it is not enough to merely abstain. You must teach others abstinence’.

<sup>278</sup> See the introductory essay for similar attempts to poison clergy and those who worked with them.

consejo que dejò Cristo, quando dijo<sup>279</sup>: Si os persigueren en una ciudad, huid a otra, i dejad la que os persigue, sacudiendo aun el polvo de los çapatos, que no merecerà semejante tierra que la pisen los ministros Evangelicos. Diò cuenta al Padre fr. Diego de lo que determinava, i encomendòle los ornamentos de la Iglesia i otras cosas, i solo a pie, i con dos costras de viscocho se iba poco a poco paseando por la campiña, para en anocheciendo acelerar el paso, i amanecer en valle menos peligroso, i en dos ò quatro dias ponerse en el Cuzco. Supòlo el Inga, i deviò de darle el aciso el Indio a quien dejava los ornamentos, no por enemistad, sino porque no se le fuese su Padre a quien los Indios pobres i plebeyos amavan tiernamente, i no sabia que andavan a matarlo. Irritòse el Inga, i enbiò cinco de sus capitanes con lanças a que se lo trugesen, i puesto en su presencia le diò una repreension afrentosa, vituperando el irse de su Provincia sin su licencia. Irritòse el Inga, i enbiò cinco de sus capitanes con lanças a que se lo trugesen, i puesto en su presencia le diò una repreension afrentosa, vituperando el irse de su Provincia sin su licencia. El Padre fray Marcos le respondiò umilde i prudente: Señor los Indios que en este pueblo tienes no quieren recibir la fè, ni oir la palabra de Dios, ya huyen de mi, i baldonan la dotrina santa que les predico, siendo ya enemigos de nuestro Criador Cristo la mayor parte de los que pidieron el bautismo; si recibieran la fè tus Indios, ò no uvieran apostatado los que la recibieron, yo me estuviera entre ellos asta morir, que los que aora la reciben i se bautizan, son Indios que vienen del Cuzco, i no ay quien se quiera llegar a mi de temor. Dijòle el Inga que se fuese a su Iglesia, i a ningun cargo destos diò respuesta, ni satisfacion.

6. Con toda priesa vino el Padre fr. Diego desde Guarancalla, ò a recoger las cosas de la Iglesia, ò a tratar que no se fuese el Padre fray Marcos asta aguardar otro Religioso que estuviese en su lugar, i disponer con prudencia las cosas. Allòle en Puquiura, consultaron lo conveniente, i asentaron el sufrir i padecer por predicar, i aviendo ido los dos a ver al Inga les dijo: Yo os quiero llevar a Vilcabanba, pues ninguno de los dos a visto aquel pueblo ireys conmigo, que quiero festejaros.

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279 Matth. 10 *Cum autem persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam.*

Christ gave this advice when he said: ‘if they persecute you in one town, flee to another and leave those who persecute you and shake the dust from your feet. Such ground does not deserve to be trodden by ministers of the gospel’.<sup>280</sup> He let Padre fray Diego know what he had decided and he left the Church ornaments and other things for him and, alone and on foot and with two crusts of biscuit-cake he slowly travelled through the countryside, so that when the sun set he could quicken his pace and by dawn he would reach a valley that was less dangerous and in two to four days he would have reached Cuzco. The Inca found out about this. He must have been told by the Indian fray Marcos gave the ornaments to [for fray Diego], not out of enmity but rather because [fray Marcos] his father who the poor Indians and commoners loved was leaving and he would not have known that they were seeking to kill him.

This angered the Inca, and he sent five of his captains with spears to bring him and, once in his presence, he gave [fray Marcos] a horrendous reprimand for leaving the province without asking permission.<sup>281</sup> Padre fray Marcos responded humbly and with prudence, saying: ‘Lord, the Indians that you have in this town do not wish to receive the faith nor hear the word of God, they now flee from me and insult the holy doctrine that I preach to them. The majority of those who asked for baptism are now enemies of our creator, Christ. If your Indians received the faith, or those that had received it had not become apostates I would remain amongst them until I died. Those that now receive the faith and are baptised are Indians that come from Cuzco and no-one wants to come to me because they are afraid. The Inca told him to return to his church and answered none of these charges.

6. Padre fray Diego hurried from Guarancalla as fast as he could, either to collect the church ornaments or to try to persuade Padre fray Marcos not to leave until there was another friar to take his place who would prudently put his affairs in order. He found him in Puquiura and they talked things over at length, ultimately deciding to suffer and endure in order to continue preaching. They both went to see the Inca and he told them: ‘I want to take you to Vilcabamba as neither of you have seen that town. You will go with me as I want to hold a celebration for you’.

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**280** Matt. 10:23.

**281** See the introductory essay. Fray Marcos’ departure (had it gone unnoticed) could have caused the destruction of Vilcabamba and its people as he in fact tried to leave before the arrival of fray Diego Ortiz.

Salieron otro dia en compañía del Inga, que llevò poco aconpañamiento de sus capitanes i caziques, i sienpre los Reyes Ingas caminavan en andas. Llegaron a un parage llamado Ungacacha, i alli puso en egecucion la maldad que avia concertado, i fue que llenasen los caminos de agua, inundando la canpiña con arrojarle el rio, porque los Padres deseavan, i lo avian tratado de yr a Vilcabanba a predicar, porque era el mayor pueblo, i en que estava la Vniversidad de la Idolatria, i los catedraticos echizeros maestros de las abominaciones. Pero el Inga por espantarlos, i que no pretendiesen vivir, ò predicar en Vilcabanba, sino irse de la Provincia consultò éste écho sacrilego i diabolico. Amaneciò, i a poco trecho bajando a un llano pensaron los Religiosos que era laguna, i el Inga les dijo: Por el medio desta agua avemos de pasar todos. O cruel apostata! el iva en andas, i los dos Sacerdotes a pie i descalços! Entraron los dos ministros Evangelicos en el agua, i como si pisáran alcatifas ivan gozosos, porque en odio de la ley Evangelica recibian tales baldones i tales tormentos de agua; davales a la cintura elandoles al vientre, no estando vsados a mojar el pie: aqui caian resvalando, i no avia quien los ayudase a levantar, el uno al otro se davan las manos mientras los sacrilegos davan gritos de risa, i azian con vituperios celebracion a su fiesta, enpapados los ábitos en agua, i en tiempo de frio, caminavan los siervos de Dios sin mostrar enojo, ni azer ademan de irritacion. Quanto mas dichosos eran estos [804] dos, que los seycientos mil que pie seco, i pisando flores pasaron el mar vermejo? Pues en aquella ocasion repartia favores Dios, mostrando omnipotencias, i en esta de Vilcabanba repartia meritos ostentando fortalezas? Asi caminaron los benditos Sacerdotes dos leguas i mas, alabando a Dios, i cantando Salmos, dando gracias a Iesu Cristo, i pidendole refuerços, dando por bien enpleado lo que padecian, porque Dios les diese algunas animas de los que les agraviavan.

The next day they left in the Inca's company, who took with him only a few of his captains and *caciques* and always the Inca kings travelled on litters. They reached a place called Ungacacha and there he put the wickedness he had planned into action and filled the pathways with water, flooding the countryside as the riverbanks overflowed. This was because the padres had tried to go to Vilcabamba to preach because it was the main town and the one in which the University of Idolatry was located, where its *hechicero* professors were teachers of abominations. But the Inca arranged this diabolical and sacrilegious act in order to frighten them (and so they would no longer think of living or preaching in Vilcabamba and would leave the province). Dawn came and a short distance on they reached a plain that the friars thought was a lake. And the Inca told them: 'we all have to go through the middle of this water'. Oh cruel apostate! He travelled in a litter while the two priests were on foot and barefoot!<sup>282</sup> The two ministers of the gospel entered the water and they were as joyful as if they walking on fine carpet because they suffered such insults and water torture in hatred of the faith.<sup>283</sup> The water reached their waist, freezing their bellies. They slipped and fell and there was no-one to help them to their feet, and they both lent a hand to each other, their habits soaked with water in the cold season. While the sacrilegious Incas shouted with laughter and held their celebration with verbal abuse, the servants of God carried on walking neither showing anger nor sign of irritation. How much more blessed were these [804] two, than the six hundred thousand who with dry feet and walking on flowers crossed the Red Sea?<sup>284</sup> [...] And so the blessed priests walked two leagues<sup>285</sup> and more praising God and singing psalms, giving thanks to Jesus Christ, and asking him for strength, understanding their suffering as time well-spent so that God would give them some of the souls of those who were offending them.

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**282** This would have been a normal state of affairs as the Inca would have travelled in a litter while the friars (reformed—discalced—Augustinians) were obliged to travel on foot.

**283** In actual fact Calancha seems to be exaggerating the witness testimonies which refer to the friars being 'forced' to wade through rivers on their way to Vilcabamba. See the 'Declaración de Juana Guerrero', in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.81. Nevertheless, Incaic agriculture and irrigation systems were certainly advanced enough to be able to flood fields although it is highly unlikely that Titu Cusi would have arranged this just to make a point. What is much more likely is that when the friars slipped and fell, people laughed, but again, this would not have been planned.

**284** This refers to the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt when Moses was told by God to hold back the waters of the Red Sea so they could cross it on dry land. When the Egyptian charioteers followed, Moses was told to stretch out his hand again and let the waters flood back. According to the scriptural account, the Egyptian soldiers and their horses were all drowned (Exodus 14: 15-30).

**285** Approximately 11km.

Elados, i llenos de lodo salieron a lo seco, i alli les dijo el Inga, con este trabajo se camina por aqui, con que le pareció, que los dejaba tan desenamorado de pretender fundar en Vilcabamba, que de alli se irian al Cuzco. Pero a que sentella del amor Divino apagò el mar Oceano, que sucede en los predicadores lo que cuenta mi Padre san Augustin<sup>286</sup>, de aquella fuente de Epiro, donde como en todas las fuentes de agua se apagan las achas encendidas, i en aquella las achas que entran apagadas se encienden. Maravilla que conserva la naturaleza, para que no se nos aga dificultoso lo que en los justos obra la gracia, pues si los flacos se apagan en las penas, entrando otros apagados en el agua de los trabajos i penas se encienden en el amor Divino, i dan luzes al progimo, i es porque para los justos cada persecucion es soplo que dà el cielo, con que se enciende en los trabajos tanto una centella, que en momento es oguera grande. Consuelense los onbres, dice Dios por Isaias<sup>287</sup>, que no quiero que me dure para sienpre el enojo, ni andar a pleyto cada dia con los pecadores, arrojarè del rostro mi espiritu, i cubriréme el rostro<sup>288</sup>, como que no vè sus agravios, por darles soplos en el anima, i encender en ellos piras de fuego, bolcanes de amor; i si este espiritu i soplo alude al buen viento que aze navegar con ligereza, i a buen puerto la nao como se prueba con lo que dijo David<sup>289</sup>, i explica Ugo<sup>290</sup>: por el agua ivan navegando estos dos Religiosos como bageles de Dios, i el les soplava un celestial viento para que llegasen a la terra donde vendieron la mercancia de la fè, i rescataron animas para la Iglesia, i si el espiritu i soplo que promete Dios es el dar anima i vida como advierte san Augustin<sup>291</sup>, ò es el espiritu santo, como dicen Tertuliano<sup>292</sup>, i san Irineo<sup>293</sup>,

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**286** Lib. 21. De civitat. Dei cap. 5. *In Epiro alium fontem in quo faces, vt in cæteris extinguntur accensæ, sed non ut in cæteris accenduntur extinctæ.*

**287** Cap. 57. *Non enim in sempiternum litigabo, neque usque ad finem irascar, quia spiritus a facie mea egredietur, et flatus ego faciam.*

**288** Sic alia translatio Forerij, et aliorum. *Quia spiritus a facie mea operitur.*

**289** Psal. 142. *Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam.*

**290** Super hunc locum Isaiaë.

**291** Aug. Epist. 146. ad Consentium, et epist. 157. ad Optatum et de Genesi ad litteram lib. 7, c. 3.

**292** Tertul. lib. de anima, c. 11.

**293** Irinæus lib. 5, c. 12.

They reached dry land frozen and covered in mud, and there the Inca told them that this hardship was what they had to suffer if they wanted to walk anywhere here with which it seemed to him that he had discouraged them so much from what they wanted to do in Vilcabamba that from there they would leave for Cuzco.<sup>294</sup> But what spark of divine love did the ocean sea ever extinguish? The same thing happened to the preachers as what my father Saint Augustine tells of the fountain of Epirus.<sup>295</sup> If torches are plunged into any fountain they are extinguished. Yet in that fountain in Epirus the torches that are plunged into it catch fire. This marvel is preserved by nature so that the works of grace in the just are not difficult for us to understand, because if the weak are extinguished by suffering, others who enter the water of hardship and pain are set alight with divine love, and they give light to those next to them. This is because for the just, each persecution is a breath which heaven blows which, in hardship, causes sparks to catch alight so quickly that it is a large blaze in a matter of moments. ‘Men console themselves,’ says God through Isaiah,<sup>296</sup> ‘that I do not want my anger to last forever, nor to be fighting each day with sinners. I will cast my spirit from my face<sup>297</sup> and cover my face so as not to see their offences and I will blow onto their souls and set bonfires ablaze, [and cause] volcanoes of love [to erupt].’ And if this spirit and breath alludes to the good wind that allows the ship to gently sail and reach a good port as David said<sup>298</sup>, and Hugo explains<sup>299</sup>: these two friars were sailing through the water like ships of God and he blew a celestial wind so they would reach the land where they would sell the merchandise of faith, and save souls for the Church. And if the spirit and breath that God promises gives energy and life as Saint Augustine highlights<sup>300</sup>, or is the Holy Spirit as Tertullian<sup>301</sup> and Saint Ireneus<sup>302</sup> say,

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**294** If Titu Cusi did say this, it is entirely plausible to take his statement to the friars as a matter of fact rather than to assume malicious intent as Calancha did.

**295** *City of God*, book 21, chapter 5. Lib. 21. For an accessible and scholarly translation see the edition by Henry Bettenson and John O’Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1984).

**296** Isaiah 57:16.

**297** According to the translation of Forerius et al.

**298** Psalm 142 [143:10]

**299** Hugh the Great was a Cluniac monk and became abbot of the monastery of Cluny, France in 1049. He died in 1109 and was canonized in 1120.

**300** Augustine, Epistle 146 to Consentius (letter 146 was in fact to Pelagius). Augustine’s writing to Consentius can be found as *To Consentius: Against Lying*. See <<http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1313.htm>>, [last accessed, 30/11/14] and Epistle 157 on Desire and *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*, book 7, chapter 3. This latter was Augustine’s commentary on Genesis.

**301** Tertullian *On the Soul*, chapter 11. Tertullian was one of the Fathers of the Church (d. c.225 A.D.). He is known for a number of his theological works but in particular for his martyrology.

**302** Irinaeus, book 5, chapter 12. St Ireneus, also a Father of the Church, was bishop of Lugdunum (now Lyon) in Gaul (France) in the second century A.D. He is best known for his writing against Gnosticism. He is said to have been martyred at the end of the second or beginning of the third century although this is no longer considered likely.

alli les soplò el Espiritu santo sus dones, su fuego, i diò valor para que tuviesen anima i vida sus palabras, i para que mejorasen las vidas i las animas de muchos idolatras. Tres jornadas ay desde Puquiura a Vilcabanba la vieja, i esas les izo caminar a pie i descalços, pero ivan predicando, i convirtieron muchos.

7. Tres semanas estuvieron predicando los siervos de Dios sin mostrar queja, i convirtieron mas Indios en aquel poco tienpo i bautizaron, que en otros muchos meses. Miren si aquel agua quiso Dios que se convirtiese en fuego, i si soplò el Espiritu santo. No quiso el Inga que se aposentasen los Padres en el pueblo, mandando que les diesen aposento fuera de la poblacion, porque no viesen las adoraciones, ceremonias i ritos en que el Inga, i sus capitanes estavan cada dia con sus echizeros. Los siervos de Dios conocian quan festejando estavan los principales a los Idolos, i andavan a ganar otras animas sin sosegar un momento, sacando a los bautizados de los festines de los Idolos, deseandolo algunos Indios por estar en ellos mas por temor del Inga, que por amor que tuviesen a la idolatria. Esto, i el oirles predicar contra sus Idolos ponderando sus abominaciones, tenia al Inga i a sus capitanes rabiosos, i maquinando venganças. Consultò con sus echizeros lo que se podria azer para derribar los frayles i enmudecerlos. Los echizeros pideron un dia para consultarlo con los Demonios, que ellos llamavan Idolos i Dioses, i saliò del infernal acuerdo, que pues aquellos frayles enemigos no se rendian al oro, ni a la plata, que los derribasen aziendoles perder la castidad. Buscaron las mas ermosas Indias; no de las serranas, sino de las Yungas de sus valles, que son mas blancas i alindadas de aquellos paises, industriaron a las mas gallardas, i sin duda serian las Indias mas lacivas;

there the Holy Spirit breathed its gifts, its fire, and gave strength so that their words might have life and energy, and so that they might better the lives and the souls of many idolaters. It takes three days to journey from Puquiura to Old Vilcabamba and he made them walk barefoot.<sup>303</sup> But they preached as they went and they converted many.

7. For three weeks the servants of God preached without complaint and they converted and baptised more Indians in that short space of time than they had in many months. Look to see if God wished to change that water into fire and if the Holy Spirit blew. The Inca did not want the fathers to stay in the town and ordered them to camp away from the population so that they would not see the devotions, ceremonies and rites which the Inca and his captains carried out each day with his *hechiceros*.<sup>304</sup> The servants of God knew how much the idols were venerated by the nobles and they went to win other souls without wasting a moment, pulling those who had been baptised out of the festivals of the Idols (as some of them were only there more out of fear of the Inca than for love of the idols and wanted to be pulled out). This, and hearing them preach against their idols drawing attention to their abominations, made the Inca and his captains furious and look for vengeance. He consulted with his *hechiceros* what he might do to cause the friars' downfall and to shut them up. The *hechiceros* asked for a day to consult with the devils that they call idols and gods, and out of this came the infernal conclusion that if those enemy friars would not be tempted by gold nor silver, they would be defeated by causing them to lose their chastity. They looked for the most beautiful Indian women—not from the highlands but the Yungas of their valleys<sup>305</sup> as they are the palest and most decorated from those countries, and they prepared the most attractive and without doubt they would be the most lascivious Indian women.

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**303** This is unfair of Calancha. There was only one litter, and that was for the Inca emperor. The friars were obliged to walk by the rules of their order and if they walked barefoot, that was because of their religious obedience to the ascetic rules of the descalced (unshod) Augustinian order.

**304** See the introductory essay. It is most likely true that Titu Cusi continued to practice Incaic rituals notwithstanding his baptism. It is unlikely that he would be ashamed of these rites as they were a necessary part of his rule and he would never have doubted this. If he did give the friars such an order it was more likely to prevent them from being scandalised and from disrupting the ceremonies, which could have disastrous consequences for all concerned.

**305** 'Yunga' was the term used for Andeans from the northern coast although in this case Calancha does not seem to be using it to describe people from a precise or even approximate geographical location. *Yunca* or *yuncaquinray*; 'the plains or valleys'; *Yunca* 'the people from there' (González Holguin, *Vocabulario* lib.1, p.373).

fueron animadas i seguras de que rendirian a los siervos de Dios, i ganarian las albricias del Inga. Todo lo que el Demonio les supo enseñar egercitaron las Indias, valiendose [805] de los mayores engaños de la sensualidad, i de los donayres mas peligrosos de la disolucion. Pero los varones Apostolicos se defendieron tan valientes, que bolviendose corridas i medrosas, quedaron ellos umildes i vitoriosos: i el Inga i sus echizeros irritados de corridos, i rabiosos de afrentados: bolvieron a consultar al Demonio, i salio otra mas poderosa violencia de la consulta. De mantas negras i blancas cortaron ábitos blancos i negros, vistieron muchas Indias las mas ermosas i distraidas, i las fueron enbiando con este orden; salieron dos con ábitos negros, i fueronse donde los Religiosos estaban (fingirian que era donayre por entretenerlos i festejarlos) alli arian lo que los Demonios les enseñavan, pero echaronlas los siervos de Dios con vituperio; a desora fueron otras dos con ábitos blancos que parecian frayles, entrandose asta sus camas (que los aposentos de los Indios, o los mesones i tanbos no tienen llaves ni puertas) los que declaran esto en las informaciones, no dicen mas, sino que con los Religiosos no medraron nada aquellas centellas del infierno, novicias del engaño, i profesas de la luxuria. Pero quien no dirà que avria en ellas sugestiones lacivas, i en ellos unos furores santos i enojos grandes? i quiça tizones con que auventallas como santo Tomas de Aquino;

They were given encouragement and sureties that they would vanquish the servants of God and they would win their reward from the Inca. These Indian women put into practise all that the devil knew to teach them and they took advantage [805] of sensuality's greatest trickery and of the most dangerously seductive poises. But the apostolic men defended themselves so valiantly that the women returned defeated and fearful, while the friars remained humble and victorious.<sup>306</sup> The Inca and his *hechiceros* were furious about their shameful defeat so they went back to consult with the devil and out of this consultation came another much more powerful abuse. They cut black and white habits from black and white cloth and dressed many of the most distractingly beautiful Indian women in them and they sent them in the following order: two went out wearing black habits and they went to where the friars were (they would pretend that it was an affectation to entertain them and celebrate with them). There they would do what the devils taught them, but the servants of God cast them out with vehemence. After this two more went wearing white habits<sup>307</sup> so that they would appear like friars, getting as far as their beds (the rooms of the Indians or the inns and *tambos*<sup>308</sup> have neither locks nor doors). Those that make declarations in the reports say nothing more, except that these female sparks of hell, novices of trickery and nuns of lust achieved nothing at all with the friars. But who would not say that in these women there were lascivious suggestions and in those men holy fury and great rage? And perhaps they even chased the women away with burning embers from the fire like Saint Thomas of Aquinas.<sup>309</sup>

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**306** It is difficult to know precisely what was happening here. The episode is not Calancha's invention but appears in the testimony of Juana Guerrero, wife of Martín Pando, who was with Titu Cusi at the time (see 'Declaración de Juana Guerrero, in Bauer et al, *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.81). Brian Bauer speculates (following Hemming) that these women may well simply have been wearing their normal incaic tunics and that their motives might have been misinterpreted (*Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.39). This would not at all be surprising given how extreme Ortiz's fear of women was (according to Calancha). Nevertheless, it is possible that these women were sent to test the friar's chastity given that celibacy was not a part of Andean culture or tradition and made no sense in the Andean cosmivision. The friars' claims to celibacy would need to be proven in order to be believed (albeit not understood).

**307** Augustinian habits were black, although novices wore white tunics.

**308** A *tambo* was a storehouse in which tribute goods and grain from local communities would be kept for redistribution. They were also used as wayposts and occasionally as important ritual centres. The Spanish often translated the term as an 'inn'. *Tampu*: 'inn or tavern' (González Holguin, *Vocabulario* book 1, p.337).

**309** This refers to the conflict between Aquinas and his parents who did not want him to become a Dominican. His mother, Theodora, sent his brothers to kidnap him from the convent in Naples and bring him back to the family castle in Roccasecca where he was held under house arrest and where they arranged for a naked prostitute to try and seduce him into breaking his vows. He is said to have chased her out of the room with a burning brand from the fire before marking the sign of the cross on the door with the charcoal stick (Denys Turner, *Thomas Aquinas: A Portrait* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) p.12).

lo cierto es, que pasavan los mas de la noche en diciplina i cilicio, como el gran Patriarca S. Benito, quando se dice en su vida, que estingua el ardor de la concupiscencia, rebolcandose sobre espinas, ortigas i abrojos: que este genero de tentacion pide, no alagos sino martirios. Si ivan de dia a su infernal batalla las reñian, i si ivan de noche, las predicavan, quando ellas viendolos que se estavan açotando no se rebolvian. En cada uno destes dos Religiosos, veo lo que refiere mi Padre san Augustin<sup>310</sup>, de aquella fuente de agua que ay en tierra de Garamantas, que està de dia tan fria i tan elada, que no puede beberse, i de noche tan caliente i tan irbiendo, que no puede tocarse, con que no beben della los Garamantas, ni de noche ni de dia. Esta maravilla de la naturaleza obra en sus siervos la gracia, como se vè en nuestros dos Religiosos, que por elados de dia en la concupiscencia, o por encendidos de noche en la penitencia, en el cilicio i en la oracion, ni los bebio la sensualidad, ni los tocò las manos de aquellas lacivas. Esta bateria de mugeres se continuò dias i noches, remudando ábitos, i enbiando sienpre diferentes Indias. I si los Religiosos se ivan de la casa por el campo, los buscavan; i si venian al pueblo a predicar contra aquellas disoluciones, abominando el ponerse mugeres ábitos de Religiosos, no dejavan la bateria inventando nuevas lacivias, i atiçando terribles tentaciones. Pero avia Dios treznado en dos leguas de agua, los ardimientos naturales de sus siervos, i el mérito que alli acaudalaron fue una ataraçana, donde con armas dobles se armaron contra los infernales fuegos pero para que son menester mas armas que el recibir ellos cada dia el Santisimo Sacramento (que por sienpre sea alabado) en que vèn los que lo advierten, valores grandes en la castidad<sup>311</sup>, i eroicas vitorias en la continencia?

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**310** De civit. Dei, lib. 21. cap.5. *Apud Garamantas quemdam fontemtam frigidum in diebus, ut non bibatur: tam fervidum noctibus, ut non tangatur.*

**311** Zachar. c.9. *Vinum germinans virgines?*

What is certain is that the friars spent the rest of that night doing penance with lashes and cilices<sup>312</sup> like the great patriarch Saint Benedict when he says in his biography that he extinguished the ardour of lust by rolling in thorn bushes, nettles and thistles.<sup>313</sup> This type of temptation requires martyrdom through mortification rather than praise. If these women went to their infernal battle during the day, the friars scolded them, if they came by night, they preached to them and when the women saw the friars whipping themselves they did not return. In both of these friars I see what my father Saint Augustine<sup>314</sup> refers to [when he writes] about that spring of water that exists in the land of the Garamantes, that by day is so cold that one cannot drink it and by night so boiling hot that one cannot touch it, so the people of Garamantes neither drink from it by night nor by day. Grace works this marvel of nature in its servants as can be seen in our two friars, whose lust is cold by day while by night they are enflamed by penance, with the cilice and in prayer. They did not drink from sensuality, nor did they touch the hands of those lascivious women. This bombardment of women continued for days and nights, with them changing habits and always sending different Indian women. And if the friars left the house for the countryside, the women sought them out. Although they came to the town to preach against those wicked practices, condemning the dressing of women in the habits of friars, the bombardment did not cease to invent new lasciviousness and stir up terrible temptations. But God had dragged the natural urges of his servants through two leagues of water and the merit that they saved up there was an arsenal where they armed themselves with double the amount of weaponry against the infernal fires. But why would they need more weapons than receiving the Most Blessed Sacrament (may it be praised forever) each day. Those who recommend it see great strength in chastity and heroic victories in forbearance?<sup>315</sup>

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**312** A cilice was another instrument used for the purposes of mortification. It was a belt with spikes on the inside that would be tightened around a limb (usually the thigh) to cause pain and bleeding.

**313** Lit. *su vida* – ‘his life’. Saint Benedict is often considered the founder of western monasticism as his ‘Rule’ (or the Rule of Saint Benedict) forms the basis of the rules of subsequent monastic orders (and in particular, the Benedictines). He died c. 547 A.D. although precise information about his life and death is not known.

**314** *City of God* book 21, chapter 5.

**315** Zechariah 9:17.

Iuana Guerrero muger de Martin Pando secretario del Inga, declara, que el enbiar el Inga estas Indias con ábitos de dos en dos, fue por azer escarnio (a bueltas del deseo de robarles la castidad) burlando del Sacerdocio, i del ábito de san Augustin. Nada dorò con esta la culpa de aquellas fraylas de Satanas, pues el quedar ellas burladas, les advirtio que se consolasen, con que fueron no a derribarles, sino a burlarlos: i sean anbas cosas pues todo prueba lo que los intimos del Inga confiesan: que el azer lo del agua el Inga, i el enbiar las Indias fue, porque aborrecia ya nuestra fè, i deseava que se fuesen los Religiosos de su Provincia. O valerosos defensores del castillo i baluarte de la castidad, pues defendiendo ésta angelical virtud, conservaron las muchas que adquirieron, que a derribarlos della, arruináran la predicacion de la Fè, i calláran sin abominar los vicios; pues si se rindiéran a éste, acobardáran el animo, i desperdiáran el impulso. Xerxes, como refiere Plutarco<sup>316</sup>, indignado con los Babilonios, por aversele revelado, quiso desazerles la valentia, i bolverlos cobardes, i dijo: Yo darè la traça con que ni en uno aya animo, i todos sean gallinas. Mandò que aquellos Babilonios tuviesen mugeres en sus casas, para que dandose a este egercicio, no tuviesen animo para batallas, ni brio para acometer empresas. O sensualidad, dice Augustino<sup>317</sup>, [806] enemiga de Dios i de las virtudes, destruyes los bienes, engañas con alagos al deleyte, i no dejas pensar en la pobreza a que por tus estragos à de venir el lacivo!

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**316** Plutarc. In Apoch. *Xerxes Babylonijs interdixit, ne ferrent arma, scorta alerent, quo voluptatibus molliti, non molirentur denuo defectionem.*

**317** August.de Doctr.Christian. *Luxuria est inimica Deo, inimica virtutibus, perdit omnem substantiam et ad præsens voluptatem deliniens, futuram non sinit cogitare paupertatem.*

Juana Guerrero, the wife of Martin Pando the Inca's secretary, declares that when the Inca sent these Indian women in habits two-by-two it was to make a mockery of the priesthood and of the habit of Saint Augustine (as well as wanting to rob them of their chastity).<sup>318</sup> This by no means assuaged the guilt of these female friars of Satan because with their failure he consoled them saying that they were not sent to cast the friars down, but simply to mock them.<sup>319</sup> And let it be both things because it all proves what those closest to the Inca confess: that to do what the Inca did with the water and to send the Indian women was because he already hated our faith and wanted the friars to leave his province.<sup>320</sup> Oh valiant defenders of the castle and bastion of chastity, by defending this angelic virtue, they preserved the many virtues that they had acquired. If they had given in and been stripped of this virtue, the preaching of the faith would have been ruined and they would be silenced and unable to condemn vice. This is because if they had given in their souls would become cowardly and they would lose their drive. Xerxes, as Plutarch writes, indignant with the Babylonians because they had rebelled, wanted to undermine their courage and turn them into cowards, so he said: 'I will give you the plan by which not one will remain strong and all will turn into chickens'.<sup>321</sup> He ordered that those Babylonians should have women in their houses so that in giving themselves up to this exercise they would have no more willpower to fight battles, nor spirit to undertake endeavours. 'Oh sensuality,' says Augustine, [806] 'enemy of God and of the virtues, you destroy material goods, you trick delight with flattery and you do not allow the person to contemplate poverty because he or she is overwhelmed by lasciviousness'.<sup>322</sup>

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**318** The first part of this sentence is quite accurate. The declaration states: 'the Inca made the Indian Inca women, who were in that town, to go out two-by-two dressed as friars to speak with the friars [García and Ortiz]. He ordered this to mock and make fun of them' ('Declaración de Juana Guerrero, in Bauer et al, *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.81).

**319** It is not clear here whether 'he' refers to the Inca Titu Cusi or to Satan. While the former is more likely, either would be appropriate in the context.

**320** As discussed above, whatever his personal inclinations, for reasons of state he would not have wanted to provoke this, as this would have potentially given the Spanish viceregal authorities the legal reason they needed to invade.

**321** Xerxes the Great, king of Persia (r.486-65 B.C.), and son of Darius I, was an implacable enemy of Greece and invaded the Greek mainland in 480 B.C. It was his army that fought the Spartans at the Battle of Thermopylae and it was Xerxes who burned Athens to the ground. One of his first acts as king, however (prior to his invasion of Greece) was to crush rebellions in Babylon (486 and 484 BC).

**322** Augustine, *Christian Doctrine*.

i S. Geronimo dijo<sup>323</sup>: El sensual en vida està muerto, i el deleyte deste vicio amansa coraçones de azero, doma valores de bronce i acobarda animos de gigante. Esto que izo Xerxes con los Babilonios, i lo que advierten Augustino i Geronimo, pretendio azer el Inga con nuestros frayles; pero interpusose Dios i venció la gracia. O quantos, dice Augustino<sup>324</sup>, i quan buenos Obispos i loables Clerigos, despues de aver alcançado gloriosas vitorias de los vicios en reñidas batallas del Demonio, i despues de aver obrado cosas milagrosas, acciones grandes i maravillosas señales, an padecido tormenta, caido a desdicha i desechose como la nao que dà con lo montuoso de las aguas en lo fragoso de las peñas; i esto les sucede, porque siendo de vida fragil quieren navegar como navios a vista del deleyte i no huyen de los arrecifes del peligro i de los escollos de la ocasion. O a quantos leones à domado una cosa tan flaca i tan delicada como la luxuria! que siendo vil i de miserable estima, aze presa en los mas fuertes, coge despojos de los mas virtuosos i se alaba de millares de estragos en los muy prevenidos. Esto llora S. Augustin, porque con este vicio, no ay valor en el predicador Evangelico, ni enciende con sus vozes luz en las animas; porque para que enceinda luzes, dice S. Bruno<sup>325</sup>, à de estar apagado el fuego, i porque parece contradecirse, lo explica asi: Achas i lanparas podran ser los ministros Evangelicos, pero no arderan, porque mientras no estuviere apagado el fuego inferior, que es la luxuria, no podrà alumbrar ni arder la luz superior que es la gracia del Espiritu santo: apagueuse aquella, i encendera coraçones dando luz estotra. Luego seguida consecuencia es, que nuestros dos Religiosos darian luzes de gracia, i encenderian coraçones en la Fè, pues tan apagado estava el fuego de su concupicencia, i pruevase pues con tantos fuelles del infierno, con que en cada India atìçava el Demonio, i arrojaba leña la carne, no encendio llama ni causò centella, pero soplava el Espiritu santo, i ardia en sus animas fuego celestial.

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**323** Hieron. *Matris et filiæ qui luxuriatur vivens mortuus est, et ferreas mentes libido domat.*

**324** August. De singularitate Cleri. *Quanti et quales Episcopi, et Clerici post confessionum, et victoriarum calcata certamina, post magnalia et signa mirabilia usquequaque monstrata nos cuntur, cum his omnibus naufragasse, quum volunt in navi fragili navigare? Quantos leones domuit sina infirmitas delicata, id est luxuria, quæ cum vilis, et misera, de magnis officit prædam.*

**325** Serm.5. de confessorib. *Lucernæ quidem esse posunt, ardentis esse non possunt. Nisi enim ignis inferior extinguatur, superior lucere non potest, inferior ignis luxuria est: superior vero, quis alius nisi gratia Spiritus sancti?*

And Saint Jerome said: ‘Sensuality in life is dead, and the delight of this vice tames hearts of steel, dominates values of bronze and giant souls into cowards’. What Xerxes did to the Babylonians and which Augustine and Jerome warn against, the Inca tried to do with our friars. But God intervened and grace was victorious. ‘Oh how many good bishops and praiseworthy clerics’ says Augustine, ‘after having won glorious victories against the vices in hard-fought battles with the devil and after having worked miracles, done great deeds and marvellous signs, have suffered storms, fallen into misfortune, and come undone like the ship that is broken up by high seas after it runs aground on the sharp rocks. And this occurs because given that life is fragile, they want to sail in sight of delight and do not flee from the reefs of danger and from the shoals of the moment. Oh how many lions have been tamed by such a weak and delicate thing as lust! Even though it is vile and of low esteem it takes even the strongest captive, captures spoils from the most virtuous and takes pride in the widespread destruction it wreaks on even the most prepared’. Saint Augustine laments this because with this vice, the preacher of the gospel has no courage, nor does he light flames in souls with his voice, because in order to light flames, says Saint Bruno<sup>326</sup>, the fire must be put out. And because this seems like a contradiction he explains it as follows: ‘torches and lamps can be ministers of the gospel but they will not burn, because while the interior fire (which is lust) is not extinguished, the superior light which is the grace of the Holy Spirit will not be able to shine nor burn. With that [interior fire] extinguished hearts will catch fire from the light of the other’. Then the conclusion that can be drawn is this, that our two friars give off the light of grace and set hearts aflame with faith because the fire of lust was practically extinguished. And this is proven by so many bellows from hell which the devil pumped in each Indian woman while their flesh threw on wood. Nevertheless, no flame took hold nor caused even a spark, but the Holy Spirit blew and celestial fire burned in their souls.

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**326** Sermon 5, ‘On Confessors’. Bruno of Cologne (d.1101) was the founder of the Carthusian order. Although he was never formally canonized, his cult, previously limited to the Carthusians was extended to whole Church in 1623.

8. Lo que padecieron en las dos leguas de agua, i en no dejarse quemar en tres semanas de fuego, pues en cada India laciva se encerrava un bolcan, i en cada estratagema una legion de Demonios que en ellas ardia, i a ellos soplava, aprovechò tanto, que se convirtieron muchos Indios è Indias a la Fè, i dejando al Inga se estavan con los dos Religiosos amigos de Dios oyendolos i aprendiendo. Alabarian vitoriosos i alegres a Dios, pues vencian las grandes tentaciones admirando a los Indios, i ganavan animas alegrando a los cielos, i con justo titulo podrian cantar lo que en nonbre de semejantes siervos de Dios cantava David<sup>327</sup>: Probaste nos Señor, i examinastenos en fuego, como azen los que ensayan la plata para conocer su ley; qual fuego es como el de la concupicencia? Consentiste que nos pusiesen lazos, i que cargasen la cerviz con afrenta i tribulacion, as querido que unos malos onbres nos manden, poniendonos los pies sobre las cabeças pasamos por fuego i agua, i sacaste nos al descanso. Viendo nuestros Religiosos que sus pueblos de Puquiura i Guarancalla estavan sin pastor, i que de cada uno los llamavan con priesa, pideron licencia al Inga, i despidiendose de los que dejavan convertidos i bautizados en Vilcabanba, se fueron muchos sirviendolos. Pasaron por el mesmo camino festejados, servidos i venerados por donde vinieron, el agua a la cinta, i el baldon a los ojos; i fue en tanto numero la gente que se fue con los dos Religiosos, que parecia ir su Rey en dia de mayor ostentacion. O frutos de la virtud! O logros de las persecuciones, que creceys al tamaño que apretays!

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<sup>327</sup> Psalm.65. *Quoniam probasti nos Deus, igne nos examinasti, sicut examinatur argentum. Induxisti nos in laqueum, posuisti tribulationes in dorso nostro, imposuisti homines super capita nostra. Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium.*

8. What they suffered in the two leagues of water and in not allowing themselves to burn in three weeks of fire (because a volcano of lust was contained within each Indian woman and in each stratagem a legion of demons burned and blew) was so beneficial that many Indian men and women converted to the faith and, leaving the Inca they became friends of God, staying with the two friars, listening to them and learning. Victorious, the friars happily praised God, for they had overcome great temptation to the admiration of the Indians and they made the heavens happy by winning souls. Quite legitimately, one could sing in the name of such servants of God the song that David sang: 'You put us to the test Lord, and examined us with fire, like those who test silver to know its purity; what fire is like that of lust? You allowed them to bind us and strike our necks with insult and affliction. You have wanted wicked men to have authority over us and placed their feet on our heads. We have passed through fire and water and you have let us rest'.<sup>328</sup> As our friars saw that their towns of Puquiura and Guarancalla were without pastors, and that both towns were calling them back with urgency, they asked permission from the Inca to return. They took leave of those they had converted and baptised in Vilcabamba, but many went with them to serve them. They returned by the same route, and were celebrated, served and venerated wherever they went, water was up to their waists, and insults up to their eyes.<sup>329</sup> And the number of people that went with the two friars was so great that it seemed instead like their king was making the journey on a day of great ostentation. Oh fruits of virtue! Oh achievements of persecution that you might grow in accordance with how difficult things become!

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**328** Psalm 65 [66: 10-12].

**329** This seems strangely contradictory if it all took place on the return journey. It is more likely that Calancha is contrasting the difficulties of the journey into Vilcabamba with the way the friars were feted as they left. If they were celebrated as Calancha claims then the insults would only be memories of their journey in. They would certainly have had to cross the same rivers, however, and may well have had to walk through the fields in flood again.