

Cap.IV. Destierran al Demonio de la casa del Sol, queman la peña blanca donde era adorado; destierra el Inga al Padre fray Marcos, traen los Catolicos cantidad de oro a los dos Religiosos, ocupase el Padre fray Diego en curar advendizos: i cuentase la muerte de un Español que entrò a sacar oro.

1. Llegados a Puquiura, los aguardavan muchos de diferentes puevlos, llorando unos las muertes que a los suyos dava el Demonio, que estava en la piedra blanca de la casa del Sol; i otros [807] tenblavan de los espantos, orrores, i persecuciones, que en sus familias, en sus ganados i sementeras les azia el Demonio, porque avian dejado su adoracion, i recebido el bautismo. Toda aquella Cristiandad estava alborotada, i como cuytados de animo, muy tibios los mas, pidieron a los dos Religiosos, que echasen de alli aquel Demonio, pues predicavan que Iesu Cristo era el todo poderoso; i que pues los Sacerdotes se llamavan Dius paranti, que quiere decir, los que estàn en lugar de Dios [...], que los librasen de aquella persecucion, o que no se admirasen que los Indios ignorantes se fuesen por miedo o amor a mochar, i azer sacrificios a aquel Idolo, que èl decia que era el Sol, que a todos criava, ni se espantasen si los Indios diesen credito a lo que les decia aquel Demonio, afirmandoles que la ley de Cristo era mentira, i que sus ministros i Sacerdotes eran burladores; i asi porque afligia tanto a los Cristianos, i no lo remediavan, se avian arrepentido, unos de averse bautizado, i huian de la Iglesia, i otros huian del bautismo i de la dotrina.

2. Consultaron la inportancia del caso los dos Religiosos, i que ya estava enpeñando el credito de la Fè i onra de Cristo, i puesto como enapuesta lo verdadero de la ley Evangelica, con lo mentiroso de la dotrina diabolica. Comunicaron con Dios sus deseos, i le representarian los lances en que estava su onra pidendole clemencia, i que no permitiese que el infernal enemigo le baldonase. Dirian lo que en semejante ocasion dijo Elias a Dios³³⁰: Señor, mostrad a esta multitud, que solo vos soys el verdadero Dios, i yo vuestro siervo i ministro; oyeme Señor, oyeme, atiende a mi suplica, conozca este pueblo que tu eres el Dios, el Señor,

330 3.Reg.18. *Domine Deus ostende hodie quia tu es Deus Israel, et ego servus tuus, et iuxta præceptum tuum feci omnia verba hæc: exaudi me Domine, exaudi me, ut discat populus iste, quia tu es Dominus Deus, et tu convertisti cor eorum isterum.*

Chapter 4: They expel the devil from the House of the Sun, [and] burn the white rock on which it was worshipped; The Inca expels Padre fray Marcos, the Catholics bring a [large] quantity of gold to the two friars, Padre fray Diego spends time healing newcomers; and here tells of the death of a Spaniard who entered in search of gold.

1. Once arrived at Puquiura, many people from different villages and towns were waiting for them. Some were lamenting the deaths that the devil (who was on top of the white stone in the House of the Sun) was causing their families. And others [807] were trembling from the frights, horrors and persecutions that the devil was subjecting their families, livestock and crops to because they had been baptised and had stopped worshipping him. All those Christians were agitated and in low spirits and the rest were very unenthusiastic. They asked the two friars if they would expel the devil from there because they had been preaching that Christ was all-powerful and they called themselves *Dios paranti*³³¹ which means, ‘those that are in the place of God’ [...]. [And they pleaded with the friars] that they free them from these persecutions or they should not be surprised if the ignorant Indians went to worship out of fear or devotion and to make sacrifices to that idol who said it was the sun who nurtured them all. The people added that the friars should not be shocked if the Indians believed what the demon told them, when it affirmed that the law of Christ was a lie and that his ministers and priests were tricksters. And because he afflicted the Christians so much, and the friars were not doing anything to help, some had repented of having been baptised and fled from the Church. Others fled from baptism and from catechesis.

2. The two friars discussed the implications of the case, that the credit of the faith and honour of Christ was at stake and how the truth of the law of the Gospels was going head-to-head with the lies of that diabolical doctrine. They communicated their desires to God, and described to him how his honour was at stake and asked him for mercy. They asked that he not permit that the infernal enemy insult him. They said what on a similar occasion Elijah said to God: ‘Lord, show to this multitude that you are the true God and I am your servant and minister. Hear me Lord, hear me, hear my petition, let these people know that you are God, the Lord,

³³¹ A combination of Spanish *Dios* and Quechua *paranti* – *Dios* is a neologism because the Spanish priests by that time did not consider Quechua terms to be suitable to convey the correct meaning of the epithet ‘God’.

i que les conviertes otra vez a tu ley los coraçones, pues quanto yo è predicado, es lo que tu nos dejaste dicho. Los dos Religiosos mandaron a imitacion de Elias, juntar a todos los Indios de aquel pueblo, i a todos los que estavan en Puquiura advenedizos, publicando a voz de pregonero, que todos se juntasen tal dia en la Iglesia i plaça, i cada Indio o India, viejo o niño, trugese un palo de leña, porque avian de ir a quemar al Demonio que los engañava i afligia. Ya Dios les debia de aver asegurado a sus siervos, que mostraria lo que ellos le rogavan, pues con pregon i vando general lo previnieron. Fue innumerable la multitud que concurrio para el dia señalado. Los Catolicos irian deseosos de ver castigado al Demonio, i loçanearse de ser Cristianos, los que avian recebido muertes en los suyos, i golpes en sus cuerpos irian a la vengança, los tibios i dudosos en la Fè, a ver la resulta del incendio, los echizeros a ver la pelea de su idolo i de Cristo, muy seguros de apellidar vitoria, i casi todos a ver la novedad, salieron los dos Religiosos, que en cada uno iba un Elias, llevando aquella multitud, para que viese la palestra, i fuesen testigos de la vitoria.

3. Mientras llegan, sepamos que este es el Idolo que dejamos dicho, que en el parage de Chuquipalpa junto a Vitcos, estava en la casa i templo del Sol, Demonio que dava respuestas en una piedra o peña blanca, i varias vezes se mostrava visible. La piedra estava sobre un manantial de agua, i veneravan el agua como a cosa divina. Era Demonio cruelisimo, pues en dejando de adorarle algunos dias, los matava o eria, azia notables daños, i orribles asonbros, i asi era temido de todos, i le venian a ofrecer dadivas i sacrificios de lejas distancias, i de os pueblos mas retirados de las montañas. Llegaron al palenque nuestros Religiosos, llevando por estandarte una Cruz, i aziendo oracion devota, i mandando a to los rezasen las oraciones,

and convert their hearts to your law once again, for whatever I have preached is what you have said to us'.³³² The two friars, in imitation of Elijah, made a public announcement³³³ that the Indians of that town and the newcomers³³⁴ who were in Puquiura were to gather on a set day in the church and main square, and that every Indian man, woman, whether old or a child was to bring a stick of wood because they were going to burn the devil who tricked and afflicted them. God must have already reassured his servants that he would grant what they were asking of him because with the announcement they addressed the situation. The multitude who came on that particular day was innumerable: Catholics went as they wanted to see the devil punished and to revive³³⁵ their Christianity. Those whose loved ones had been killed and had been afflicted themselves went along for vengeance. Those who were unenthusiastic or doubtful of the faith wanted to see the result of the fire. The *hechiceros*, meanwhile, wanted to see the fight between their idol and Christ, completely sure that they would claim victory. And almost everyone went along to see something different. Elijah was present in both friars as they set out with the multitude who came along so they could see the battle and be witnesses to the victory.

3. As they arrive, let us be clear that this is the same idol as previously mentioned, the one where in the spot called Chuquipalpa next to Vitcos, in the House and Temple of the Sun there was a demon who spoke through a stone or white rock and on various occasions actually appeared. The rock was above a spring of water, and they venerated the water as if it were a divinely sacred thing. This demon was extremely cruel because when they failed to worship him for a few days he wounded or killed them, causing them considerable harm and fright. And so all feared him, and they came from far away and from the most isolated mountain townships to offer him gifts and sacrifices. Our friars arrived carrying a cross as their standard, praying devoutly and ordering everyone to say the prayers [they had been taught].

³³² The citation is misprinted as there is no 3 Kings—the passage is 1 Kings 18: 36-37

³³³ Lit. *pregonero*—‘town crier’.

³³⁴ Calancha uses the term *advenedizos* lit. ‘newcomers’. *Forastero* is normally the term used to categorise outsiders/immigrants or non-natives to an indigenous community.

³³⁵ The verb used here is *loçanearse* which seems to be linked to the word *lozanía* meaning ‘freshness’ or ‘healthiness’.

con denuedo Cristiano, i confiança Catolica, rodaron la piedra i la casa del Sol poniendo leña a todo; i aviendo exorcizado el sitio, i baldonado al Idolo, trataron infamemente al Demonio, mandandole que nunca mas bolviere al sitio, ni a la tierra: llamando a Cristo i a la Virgen santissima, pegaron fuego a la leña, diciendo: Aora vereys quan burlador es el que los Cristianos confiesan. Salio huyendo el Demonio bramando rabias, i estremeciendo montes: quemaron templo i piedra, i reforçando su Fè los Catolicos, i confesando la de Cristo los idolatras, a voces decian lo que digeron los idolatras ludios, quando el incendio de Elias; solo el Dios que predica Elias, es el verdadero Señor. Bolvio la multitud alegre, i algunos confusos. Publicòse el caso en toda la comarca, i nunca mas bolvio a la piedra, ni a la provincia el Demonio [808] cruel. Ganò tanto credito nuestra Fè, i descaecio tanto la idolatria, que a manadas pedian el bautismo. Quando el caso de Elias tambien uvo leña i agua, pero en el altar que pusieron los idolatras, no les enbiò Dios fuego milagroso. En lenguas debiò de venir, pues dice el Texto³³⁶; que despues de averse tragado el fuego al buey que se puso por olocausto, i quemado la leña, las piedras i el polvo, se estuvo muy de espacio lamiendo el agua. Acà sucedio en Vitcos al contrario, pero fue mayor la maravilla, que sino bajò el fuego del cielo para quemar la leña, quemaron al mesmo Demonio dandole mas tormento una centella destas, que una oguera de las suyas, i allà no quemò Elias al mesmo Baal; i si aquel fuego dice que lamia el agua, language elegante, con que quiso significar, que el fuego aziendo lenguas de sus llamas, se regalava con el agua lamiendo la superficie, i calentando lo intimo con amor: frasis que por discreta usaron Oracio³³⁷, Virgilio³³⁸, i Claudiano³³⁹.

336 Vbi Supr. *Cecidit ignis Domini, et voravit holocaustum, et ligna, et lapides, pulverem quoque, et aquam, quæ erat in aquæductu lambens.*

337 Lib 1. Satyr.5. *Nam yaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinum vulcano, summum properabat lambere tectum.*

338 Virg. lib.1. *Tectumque innoxia molli lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.*

339 Claud. lib. de raptu. *Lambuit continuas innoxia flamma pruinas.*

With Christian courage and Catholic confidence they surrounded the rock and the House of the Sun covering it with wood. And having exorcised the site and insulted the idol—they disgraced the devil and ordered him never to return to that place, nor to earth—they called on Christ and the Most Holy Virgin and lit the fire saying: ‘Now you see what a con-artist was the one who tricked you, and that there is no other God than the one that the Christians believe in’. The devil came out and fled, all the while roaring his fury and shaking the trees. They burnt the temple and the stone and the Catholics’ faith was reinforced, the idolaters converted and shouted what the Jewish idolaters said after Elijah’s fire: ‘Only the God that Elijah preaches is the true God’. The multitude returned happy, although some were confused. Word of the event spread quickly throughout the region and that cruel devil never again returned to that rock or even the Province. [808] Our faith won much credit, and idolatry diminished tremendously and they came in crowds asking for baptism. In the case of Elijah there was also wood and water, but the Idol Baal never sent fire to consume [the sacrifice] placed on the altar by the idolaters, whereas to the sacrifice of Elijah, God sent miraculous flame. It must have come in tongues, for as Scripture says, ‘after the fire had consumed the ox that was offered in the holocaust and burned the wood, the stones and the dust, it began to lick at the water very slowly’.³⁴⁰ Here in Vitcos the opposite happened, but the marvel was greater, because even if the flame did not come down from heaven, they burned the very devil and a single spark of these [Christians] caused him more torment than an entire bonfire of his own [would]. And in Elijah’s case he did not burn Baal; and if that fire, they say, licked at the water—elegant language, which means that the fire turned into tongues of flame that flickered on the surface of the water, warming the interiors³⁴¹ [of all those present] with love: a phrase which, in their discretion, Horace³⁴², Virgil³⁴³ and Claudianus³⁴⁴ used.

340 1 Kings 18:38.

341 Lit. *Lo íntimo*—‘the intimate’.

342 Horace, book 1, Satire 5. ‘As Vulcan’s flames spread through the old kitchen, they quickly began to lick the ceiling’. Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, d.8 B.C.) was a Roman poet who wrote during the reign of Octavian (Augustus) and whose works entered the canon of classic literature.

343 Virgil [*The Aeneid*] Book 1. This quotation refers to Aeneas and his crew taking shelter on the Libyan coast and lighting a fire from leaves, then feeding it with wood. Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, d.19 B.C.) was a Roman poet renowned for his epic poem, *The Aeneid*, which recounts the flight of Aeneas from Troy, his exile in Carthage and his foundation of Rome.

344 Claudian, *The Rape of Proserpine*. This quotation refers to a volcano which feeds its own flame with its body. Claudian was a poet (fourth-century A.D.) at the court of the Roman emperor Honorius.

Acà en nuestro caso enbiò fuego el Espiritu santo en lenguas de estos dos Religiosos, que regalando a los Indios con palabras de amor, i predicandoles la mentira de aquel Idolo, i la verdad de nuestra Fè. Quando huyò el Demonio, calentò a los que como el agua estavan tibios, i encendio a los que estavan calientes, medrando mas estas dos lenguas con fuego del Espiritu santo, que el fuego de Elias en forma de lenguas, si bien aquellas eran profecias destas, que con cariños de amor quiere Dios que las lenguas calienten las animas, i asi uvo acà fuego que abrasò al Demonio, i fuego que encendio la Fè.

4. En una cosa se parecieron ambos sucesos, i fue en que si se indignaron contra Elias el Rey Acab apostata i la Reyna Iezabel maldita; en estotro suceso se indignaron contra nuestros Religiosos el Rey Inga Cusitito i su muger doña Angelina, tambien apostatas i malditos, i tanto que dejando la indignacion della, para el suceso del Padre F. Diego, veremos el furor del Inga, egecutado en el Padre fray Marcos. No le sucedio a nuestros Religiosos lo que a los dicipulos de Cristo, quando los enbiò a predicar por Palestina de dos en dos³⁴⁵, que bolviendo le digeron muy loçanos: Señor, asta los Demonios se nos an rendido, i los avemos sugetado. A esto les dijo Cristo: Yo estava viendo caer a Satanas, como suele caer un rayo veloz, que disparan las nubes; no esteys ufanos, ni mostreys contento de que se os sugetan los Demonios, solo os alegre el estar escritos en el cielo vuestros nonbres. Porque se enoja tanto nuestro Redentor, pues le dicen las maravillas que obraron en su nonbre? Es, que venian muy alegres, dice S. Cirilio³⁴⁶ de que avian expelido Demonios i écho milagros, i no de que avian predicado Evangelios, debiendo preciarse mas, de que convertian animas, que no de que azian milagros, i por esto los reprende, i parece que los conpára a Satanas; que un pensamiento sobervio, parejas corre con la ambicion de un Demonio. Nuestros Religiosos sugetando con tanta gloria los Demonios de aquel tenplo, no se ensobervecieron porque los sugetaron, i es, que se alegraron por las animas que convirtieron. I si S. Pablo dijo: Cada uno que convierte es mi gozo, es mi corona;

345 Lucae 10. *Reversi sunt autem septuaginta duo cum gaudio, dicentes: Domine, etiam Dæmonia subjiciuntur nobis in nomine tuo: et ait illis: Videbam Sathanam sicut fulgur de cælo cadentem: nolite gaudere, quia spiritus vobis subjiciuntur, gaudete autem quod nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælis.*

346 Cyril. in Luc. cap. 10. et habetur in cathedra S. Tho. *Videbantur quidem gaudere magis, quod facti sunt miraculorum auctores, quam quod facti erant prædicationis ministri: erat autem melius eos gaudere in illis quos ceperant sicut vocatis per ipsum dicit Paulus, gaudium meum et corona mea.*

Here in our case the Holy Spirit sent fire to the tongues of these two friars, who freely gave it to the Indians with words of love and by preaching the lies of that idol and the truth of our faith. When the devil fled, the Holy Spirit warmed those who were tepid like water, and enflamed those who were already hot causing those two tongues to grow with the fire of the Holy Spirit more than the flames of Elijah had done in the form of tongues of fire. That said, one was a prophecy of the other—with love and affection God wills tongues to set souls alight, and so here fire consumed the devil and enflamed the faith.³⁴⁷

4. In one thing, though, both events were similar, and that was that if the apostate king Acab and the cursed queen Jezabel were angered by Elijah, in this case the king and Inca Cusitito and his wife doña Angelina, also both accursed apostates, became similarly angry with the two friars. And so, leaving to one side [the queen's] anger for when we discuss the case of Padre fray Diego, let us look at the fury of the Inca that fell on Padre fray Marcos. What happened to the disciples of Christ when he sent them to preach throughout Palestine two-by-two³⁴⁸ did not happen to our friars, when the disciples returned full of joy saying: 'Lord, even Devils surrendered to us and were bound by us'. To this Christ replied: 'I watched Satan fall as swiftly as a lighting bolt cast from the clouds. Do not be prideful, nor show your satisfaction that you can bind demons, just be content that your names are now written in heaven.' Why did our Redeemer become so annoyed when they tell him of the marvels they work in his name? It is because, says Saint Cyril, they came back really happy about the fact that they had cast out demons and done miracles rather than because they had preached the Gospel.³⁴⁹ They should have appreciated the conversion of souls more than the doing of miracles and for this they were reprehended. And it seems that [Christ] is comparing them to Satan, in that one proud thought pairs up with the ambition of a demon. Our friars did not become proud because they bound the demons of that temple so gloriously, rather, they were happy for the souls that they converted. And if Saint Paul said: 'each one that I convert is my delight and my crown',

347 Note Calancha's phrasing here: 'one was a prophecy of the other'.

348 Luke 10:17-19.

349 Cyril on Luke chapter 10, cited in Aquinas, *The Golden Chain*. Cyril of Alexandria was the patriarch of Alexandria from 412-44 A.D. His accession was marred by violence, as were his early years as bishop of Alexandria. He wrote against and anathemised Nestorius of Antioch (d. c.450 A.D.), the patriarch of Constantinople during the years 428-431. Nestorius was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.).

muchas acaudaláron sobre su cabeça estos, que siendo umildes vencieron al Demonio, i predicando cogieron animas para el cielo. Luego que supo el Inga i su muger el incendio del Idolo, i el destierro de su Dios, i oyendo los lamentos que sus echizeros azian, por ver tan gloriosos a los Cristianos, i tan baldonado el partido de su idolatria, se vinieron a toda priesa al pueblo de Puquiura; los Capitanes del Inga venian enfurecidos tratando matar a lançadas a los dos Religiosos, pareciendoles que era poco despedaçarlos. Llegaron al pueblo, i queriendo egecutar su rabia, disupuso Dios lo que mas devio de convenir, o porque algunos Catolicos de su Consejo les mitigaron, o porque algunos Catolicos de su Consejo les mitigaron, o porque el Inga i sus Capitanes temieron. Al fin salio de acuerdo que el P. F. Diego se fuese a su Iglesia de Guarancalla, i que sacasen desterrado al P.F. Marcos con pena, i amenaza de que lo matarian si bolvia mas a la Provincia.

5. Notificada esta sentencia obedecieron los dos Religiosos, i aviendoles traído los Indios mucha cantidad de oro, i no aviendo admitido asta entonces muchas cantidades, porque decian que no avian venido en busca de riquezas sino de animas, recibieron lo que entonces les dieron, que pesava mas de tres mil pesos, diciendo, que lo recebian para vasos del altar, calices i custodias, que si tratáran de juntar plata i oro, en arobas lo [809] pudieran tener. Entregòle el Padre fray Diego todo el oro al Padre fray Marcos, para que se iziesen en el Cuzco caliz, patena, custodia i vinageras. Entraron con lanças los Capitanes del Inga, con cantidad de velleguines adonde estaban los siervos de Dios, i sacando al Padre fray Marcos lo llevaron con afrentas i malos tratamientos asta cerca de Oyara, leguas azia el Cuzco, i de alli le enbiaron desterrado. El Padre fray Diego tratando de irse a su Iglesia, i a la Dotrina de sus Indios, fue a pedir licencia al Inga, i no se la quiso dar, diciendo, que lo queria tener consigo, porque le amava como a padre,

many crowns come together on the friars' heads, because with the utmost humility they defeated the devil and through preaching, they gathered up souls for heaven. As soon as the Inca and his wife heard about the fire that destroyed the idol, the exile of his God, and when they heard their *hechiceros* lamenting the glorious victory of the Christians and the great insult that had been done to the idolatry faction, they came with all haste to Puquiura. The Inca's captains came raging with the intention of killing the two friars with their spears. They reached the town and although they wanted to vent their rage, God ordained that very little came of it—either because some Catholics within [the Inca's] council were able to dissuade them or because the Inca and his captains were afraid.³⁵⁰ In the end it was agreed that Padre fray Diego would go to his church at Guaranacalla and that Padre fray Marcos would be exiled on pain of death if he should ever return to the Province.

5. The two friars obeyed as soon as they were notified of the sentence and while up to that point they had not accepted great quantities of gold (as they had not come there looking for riches, rather, they had come seeking souls) the Indians brought them a great quantity of gold and this time the friars accepted what they were given. It weighed more than three thousand pesos. They decided what they were given should go towards the instruments of the Mass: chalices and tabernacles—and if they were to try to gather the silver and gold together, they could do it in *arrobas*.³⁵¹ [809] Padre fray Diego gave all the gold to Padre fray Marcos so that in Cuzco they could make a chalice, a paten, a tabernacle and cruets.³⁵² The Inca's captains arrived where the servants of God were with a large number of bailiffs all armed with spears, to remove Fr fray Marcos, and they took him roughly with insults and abuse to near a place called Oyara, a few leagues towards Cuzco, and there they expelled him. Padre fray Diego went to ask permission of the Inca to return to his church and the parish of his Indians but this was refused as the Inca said that he wanted to keep him close because he loved him as a father.³⁵³

350 See the introductory essay.

351 An *aroba* is a unit of weight between 11 and 16 kgs.

352 A tabernacle is a casket used to house the Eucharist (often in a side chapel dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, or in a prominent position on or over the high altar; a paten is a plate on which the unleavened bread and Eucharist is placed during the Mass; cruets are the small containers in which the wine and water for the Mass are kept.

353 It is more likely that Titu Cusi wanted to keep Diego Ortiz close so that he could keep an eye on him and ensure that he did not do any more damage.

i que con el destierro del Padre fray Marcos estava desenojado, i que su indignacion era, porque açotava a los niños; que asta entonces el vil apostata no quiso que pensasen que sus rabias eran porque abominavan sus vicios i sus Idolos sino al modo de los Iudios con Cristo, que davan titulo de bien comun, lo que era aborrecimiento de la virtud, i naciendo su rabia de oir que Cristo les abominava sus vicios, publicavan que merecia muerte por el bien de sus pueblos. Alli se quedò en Puquiura el bendito Fr. Diego, i llegò al Cuzco el Padre fray Marcos desterrado por la Fè. Dichosos destierros! venturosos trabajos! Refiriò al Prelado lo que avemos referido, i entregò el oro para que se iziesen los vasos del altar. Degemosle en el Cuzco, que despues sabremos su muerte.

6. El apostata Inga don Felipe, azia demostraciones de amor al bendito F. Diego, i èl las admitia por continuar su predicacion. Diose no solo a curar animas, sino a ser enfermero comun de todo genero de enfermedades, no huyendo del mas asqueroso, ni escusandose de manosear al que amenaçava contagio o peste. Venian Indios de la tierra dentro a negocios con el Inga, i otros a traerle los tributos: enfermavan muchos por venir de sierras frias a montañas calidas, en particular los Indios Manaries i los Pilcosones, que de ciento i dozientas leguas venian a sus despachos; con estos se singularizava con mayores finezas. Era tan grande la caridad con que los curava, que les guisava lo que avian de comer, preparandoles los guisados de enfermo, como si cada uno fuese su Provincial; pero que mucho, si cada pobre era un Vice-Cristo? Buscavales remedios, i andava écho un san Rafael, echando de aqui Demonios, i de alli cegueras, i de todos los achacosos las enfermedades, siendo para èl cada Indio un Tobias, obrando sienpre con caridad desinteresada, i nunca con interes tenporal. Declaran ellos, que se estava muy de espacio con cada enfermo catequizandolos en la Fè, abominandoles sus idolatrias, consolandolos en sus tristezas, i siendo el abogado i solicitador de sus despachos i negociaciones. Esta ocupacion egercitò mas de un año ganando animas, i conquistando conciencias, que por curar las animas, era comun enfermero de los cuerpos.

Now, having exiled Fr fray Marcos, he said his anger had subsided and [that] his indignation was due to the fact that fray Marcos beat the children. Up to that point that vile apostate did not want to consider that his rages were because they [the friars] detested his vices and his idols. Rather, he acted like the Jews did towards Christ, when they said what they were doing was for the common good, which was a rejection of the truth; they proclaimed that Christ deserved death for the good of the people when in reality this was born out of the fact that Christ detested their vices. So the blessed Padre Diego stayed in Puquiura while Padre fray Marcos arrived at Cuzco, exiled for the faith. What blessed exiles! Fortunate hardships! He informed the bishop of what had happened and handed over the gold so that the altar vessels could be made. We shall leave him in Cuzco and shall hear of his death later.

6. The apostate Inca don Felipe made overtures of affection to the blessed fray Diego, and fray Diego accepted them so that he could continue with his preaching. He did not just cure souls at that time, but was also a general healer of all types of sickness, not turning away from the most disgusting, nor excusing himself from touching those who were potentially contagious or plague-ridden. Indians came from the interior to do business with the Inca, and others came to bring him tribute and many became sick due to the change in climate—having come from cold mountainous regions to tropical mountain forests. Those who suffered in particular were the Manarí Indians and the Pilcosuni, who came from over two hundred leagues away with their messages³⁵⁴, and these he healed with particular finesse. He cured them with such charity that he cooked their food for them, preparing all the curative stews as if each patient were his Father Provincial, or perhaps even as if each one were a Vice-Christ. He looked for remedies for them and became effectively a Saint Rafael, casting out demons from one patient, and curing blindness in another together with all the other sicknesses he encountered.³⁵⁵ They declare that he was most meticulous with each patient, catechising them, teaching them to detest their idolatries, consoling them in their tribulations, being their advocate and intercessor when they needed it for their messages and negotiations. In this occupation he was working more than a year, winning souls and conquering consciences, and, while curing souls, he was the common nurse of bodies.³⁵⁶

354 Approximately 1,100km.

355 Saint Rafael is one of the seven Seraphs (highest ranking angels) who surround the throne of God. Alongside Michael and Gabriel, he is one of the most senior of the angelic hosts and makes his most significant appearance in the Scriptural Book of Tobias where he guides the Tobias the younger on a journey, defeats the demon Asmodeus, and cures Tobias the elder of blindness. Because of this he became the patron of healing in the Judeo-Christian-Catholic tradition.

356 Calancha is emphasising here the inseparability of body and soul. To care for one is to care for the other. Both are necessary.

Los Indios que se bolvian a sus tierras, sino dejavan su infidelidad, no perseguian a los Catolicos, i publicavan quan obligados ivan al bendito fray Diego. Contavan a otros Indios los misterios de Fè que dèl aprendian, i referian los daños que de los vicios, i de sus idolatrias les ponderava. El fruto que esto izo, veremos despues. El Religioso ministro acudir a dotrinar anbos pueblos, no parando un punto en visitar sus dos Iglesias, i darles la dotrina i sus limosnas.

7. Viendo el bendito fray Diego, que el Inga era bautizado, i que tenia muchas mugeres a usança de idolatrias, le amonestava, que excluyese las demas, i coabitase con su esposa primera. Viendole contumaz aumentava la repreension, con que doña Angelina, que era la mas querida (aunque tenia otra deste nonbre) aborrecia de muerte al predicador Apostolico, (presto veremos las resultas destas rabias) i por predicar contra las abominaciones de sus Capitanes i Caziques, eran sus publicos adversarios; i luego veremos a estos convertidos en rabiosos verdugos: soltaron la capa i quitaron el velo, i oprimian a los Indios bautizados a que negasen nuestra Fè, i bolviesen a la adoracion de sus Idolos (dichosos los que padecieron por Cristo) obligava el Inga a los ya apostatas, a que sacrificasen criaturas, degollando a sus ijos, con que decia se desenojarian sus Dioses. O dichosos niños los bautizados, que como los Inocentes a manos de Eroles, morian estos tambien martires a manos deste Rey apostata, que permite Dios Reyes inumanos para coronar por Reyes en su gloria a niños inocentes!

8. No quiso el santo varon llorar lo que gemia Isaias, por aver callado los vicios del

Although the Indians who returned to their lands might not have left aside their paganism³⁵⁷, [at least] they did not persecute Catholics and they spread the word of how indebted they were to the blessed fray Diego. They recounted to other Indians the mysteries of the faith that they had learned from him and referred to the harm that their vices and idolatries did to them. [...] The friar and minister attended to the catechesis of both communities³⁵⁸, never ceasing to visit his two churches and give his parishioners them alms and catechesis.

7. Given that the Inca was baptized and had many wives in the idolatrous tradition, the blessed fray Diego admonished him to live with his first wife and to exclude the rest. On seeing that he was obstinate, [fray Diego] increased his reprimands, with which doña Angelina, his favourite (even though he had another wife of that name) began to hate that apostolic preacher to the point of wishing him dead—we shall soon see the results of these rages—and for preaching against the abominations of his captains and nobles. They threw off all pretence and became his public adversaries and oppressed the baptised Indians so that they would deny our faith and return to the worship of their idols (blessed are those who suffer for Christ).³⁵⁹ The Inca forced those who had already become apostates to sacrifice their own children, slitting their throats so that this would appease the anger of their gods.³⁶⁰ O blessed are those children who were baptised, who like the Innocents who died at Herod's hands, also died martyrs at the hands of this apostate King; God permits [the existence of] inhuman kings in order to crown innocent children in his glory.

8. The holy man did not want to be in the same position as Isaiah who lamented the fact that he had kept quiet in the face of the vices of King Ozias

357 Lit. *infidelidad* = 'infidelity'.

358 Lit. *pueblos* = 'peoples' or 'towns'.

359 From the Beatitudes (Luke 6:22): 'Blessed shall you be when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you and shall reproach you and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.'

360 Calancha is referring here to the practice of *capacocha* or child sacrifice. Children were sacrificed in times of great upheaval and uncertainty (often during a period of succession or climactic disaster) as messengers to the gods and in particular, the sun. Given the uncertain times, it is possible that *capacocha* sacrifices were carried out, but it is equally possible this is more of Calancha's vitriol directed against Titu Cusi.

[810] Rey Ozias, i el no aver reprehendiedole por estar medroso, o por no enojarle; que la presencia de los Reyes enmudece a todos, o por natural cobardia, o por no perder su gracia i ganar su indignacion. Preguntaronle a un Filosofo, qual seria la causa que un Embajador aviendo venido a defender su Republica, avia enmudecido al tiempo que proponia su embajada? I respondio³⁶¹: No tuvo culpa su lengua, sino su vista. Replicaronle, que los ojos no governavan a la lengua, ni la vista era la que avia de dar la embajada, i respondio: Vido al Rey, i vidose a si; que a no advertir lo que pudiera perder i lo que deseava ganar, ablára lo que devia, i la presencia del Rey no le enmudeciéra, temiò perder lo que ya poseia, i solo quiso alcançar lo que deseava. O comodidades proprias, a quantos ministros aveys enmudecido! siendo los ojos alguaziles de la lengua, mejor diremos carceleros, pues el ver sus comodidades aze callar sus obligaciones. Mil provechos se perdon, i dos mil absurdos resultan de mirar un ministro, no lo que deve azer, sino lo que mas le puede aprovechar: en las cuentas que diere a Dios, verà la gravedad de esta partida; i que quantas razones buscò para justificarla, son zeros que se añaden en la suma; pues si el arbitrio, el consejo o el silencio eran un delito solo, le verà añadido el zero, i écho ciento en el cargo, porque las razones con que justifican los motivos dandoles capas de virtudes, i el ponderar conveniencias con afotro de comunes provechos, azen un zero a la culpa, i un multiplico de eternidad a la pena. Por no incurrir en éste delito, i porque los Santos no aprenden razones de estado dava voces el bendito fray Diego, abominando el sacrificar niños, el azer apostatar Catolicos, i las sensualidades del Inga; estimando en poco sus favores, i no temiendo los enojos de la Coya doña Angelina: aprendiolo de Ieremias, que menospreciando lo tenporal i umano, dava voces i repreensiones al Rey Sedechias³⁶² contra sus vicios i los de sus privados. Quatro irritaron al Rey, i Sedechias les concedio que matasen al Profeta: i ellos pareciendoles poco matarlo de una erida, lo descolgaron atado con sogas porque padeciese dias, i muriese a pausas,

³⁶¹ *Oculorum non linguæ culpa fuit. Iterantibus, quod non visus, sed lingua deberet loqui, respondit: Vidit Regem, et inspexit se, timuit perdere quæ iam possidebat, et solum voluit consequi, quod desiderabat.*

³⁶² *Iere.c.38. Tulerunt ergo Ieremiam, et projecerunt eum in lacum Melchiæ filii Amalech, qui erat in vestibulo carceris, et submiserunt Ieremiam funibus in lacum in quo non erat aqua, sed lutum, descendit itaque in cœnum.*

[810] because he was afraid to reprimand him. This was either because he did not want to anger him—because being in the presence of kings leaves everyone dumb, whether this is due to natural cowardice, or for fear of falling out of favour and earning the king’s indignation. Once, a Philosopher was asked, what would be the cause of an Ambassador who came to defend his Republic staying silent for the entire time of his embassy? The Philosopher replied: ‘it was his sight rather than his tongue that was at fault’. They responded that the eyes did not govern the tongue, nor was it sight that had to carry out the ambassadorial mission, so he then replied to them: ‘He looked at the king, and he took a look at himself; if he had not seen what he could lose and what he wanted to gain he could have said what he had to, and the presence of the king would not have struck him dumb. Instead, he feared to lose what he already had, and only wanted to gain what he desired’. Oh personal comforts! How many ministers have you struck dumb because the eyes were acting as the guardians³⁶³ of the tongue? It would be better to say ‘gaolers’ rather than ‘guardians’ because on seeing what makes them comfortable they silence their obligations. A thousand benefits are lost and two thousand absurdities result from a minister looking not at what he should do but rather at what he can most gain. When he gives his account to God, the gravity of the situation will be examined and no matter how many excuses he makes, only zeros will be added to the sum; for if discernment, advice or silence are only a single crime, he will see zero added and it will become 100 added to the charge.³⁶⁴ This is because his justification for his motives by cloaking them with the appearance of virtues, and disguising personal convenience as common good, adds a zero to guilt and a multiple of infinity to the punishment. In order not to commit this crime, and because Saints do not make excuses in this way, fray Diego shouted out his abhorrence of child-sacrifice, of turning Catholics into apostates and of the sensualities of the Inca. He cared little for royal favours and did not fear the anger of the *Coya* doña Angelina—and this he learned from Jeremiah, who, scorning the human and the temporal, [continually] shouted his reprimands of King Zedekiah’s vices and those of his servants.³⁶⁵ Four [of these servants] provoked³⁶⁶ the king who gave them permission to kill the Prophet, and, considering it too lenient to kill him quickly, they hung him from ropes to suffer for days so that he would die little-by-little

363 Lit. *alguaciles*= ‘officers’; ‘sheriffs’; ‘bailiffs’.

364 Rather than adding zero, Calancha means tens and hundreds – the zero is the number added to the end—i.e. 1 becomes 10 which becomes 100 etc.

365 Jeremiah 38:6.

366 Lit. *irritaron*, ‘irritated’.

i lo dejaron en un ondisimo poço donde no avia agua, i le llegava el cieno a la garganta. Ay que reparar en dos cosas, que no quiso Dios que le llegase, como advirtio Iosefo³⁶⁷ el cieno a tapar la boca, que no quiso Dios que boca que no temiendo trabajos predicava verdades, la tapase ni ofendiese cieno, lodo ni cosa de tierra. La otra es, que [...] señala, que el poço era de Melchias ijo de Amalech. Pues que inportancia tiene decir el dueño i el padre de cuyo era el poço? Pusose para nuestra enseñança: Melchias quiere decir, como dice la Biblia³⁶⁸, Rey i señor; i Amalec, pueblo i gente que láme. Fue decir: El poço donde mueren aogados millares de ministros desalmados, son los Reyes i los señores, a quien estàn lamiendo los Consejeros que los sirven, i lamenlos porque los adulan, i adulanlos porque sienpre los estan lamiendo, dandoles el consejo o el arbitrio conforme a su paladar, por irles lamiendo cada dia el oficio, la renta o el provecho; que apariencias amorosas siempre se ordenan a codiciosas medras. No muera Ieremias dice Dios, en ese poço, que predicador que sin miedo dice las verdades a los pueblos, i dà consejos santos a los Reyes, no à de morir en poço que se llama Rey, puesto que no es Amalech en lamer con la lengua adulando, ni à de lamer por ir adquiriendo, [...]. Nuestro bendito Religioso fue otro Ieremias, predicando contra abominaciones, i menospreciando comodidades, i presto le veremos enpoçado.

9. Ya levantan nubes los Demonios para maquinar la tormenta, i conocia el siervo de Dios que se le acercava la borasca; pero se se atribulava la carne, se dilatava el espiritu. Caminò adelante, continuò su predicacion, i detestava la sensualidad del Inga. Sucedio, que un dia entrò a la Provincia de Vilcabanba un Español llamado Romero; pidio licencia al Inga don Felipe, para que le dejase buscar oro i plata, que era muy entendido en metales i gran minero:

367 Ioseph. lib.10. Antiq.c.10. *Vt ibi præfocatus moreretur, ille vero usque collum mersus ibi manebat.*

368 In interpretatione nominum Hebraicorum. *Melchias Rex Dominus. Amalech populus lambens.*

and they left him in a tremendously deep pit where there was no water and where slime from the bottom came up to his throat. And we must bear two things in mind: that, firstly, God did not want the slime to reach his mouth (as Joseph highlighted), because God did not want the mouth that preached truths to be blocked or offended by slimy mud nor any kind of earth. Secondly, [...] the owner of the pit is named as Melchias son of Amalek. Why is it important to name the owner of the pit and his father? This was done to teach us: Melchias actually means (as the bible tells us) ‘King and Lord’ and ‘Amalek’ means ‘people who lick’.³⁶⁹ So this means to say that the pit in which thousands of ministers die desolate, are the kings and lords who are being licked by the counsellors who serve them, and they lick their kings because they flatter them, and they flatter them because they are always licking them, giving their advice or opinion according to their taste. Each day, as they exercise their office, they lick them for their own self-serving ends. What appears to be loving counsel is always aimed at satisfying greedy desires. ‘Do not die in that pit Jeremiah’ says God, ‘Whichever preacher speaks the truth to the people without fear and gives holy counsel to kings will not die in the pit called ‘King’ as he is not ‘Amalek’ and does not lick with his tongue in flattery, nor is he licking to obtain benefits, [...]’ Our blessed friar was another Jeremiah, preaching against abominations and scorning comforts. We shall soon see him cast into the pit.

9. Now demons are raising clouds to create the storm, and the servant of God knew that a squall was approaching, but if the flesh was weak the spirit was willing.³⁷⁰ He carried on, continued to preach and detested the sensuality of the Inca. One day a Spaniard named Romero entered the Province of Vilcabamba and asked permission from the Inca don Felipe to look for gold and silver as he was very knowledgeable of metals and was a great miner.

369 Calancha uses the phrase *los que lamen* meaning ‘those who lick’. The book of Jeremiah does not give this explanation but it does appear in St Augustine’s exposition on Psalm 83, para 5: ‘Amalech, a people licking’. Calancha’s source for this though is a glossary of the Hebrew names of the Bible by Jerome: *Book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names (Liber de interpretatione Nominum Hebraicorum)*.

370 This is a direct reference to Christ’s agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (Matt. 26:41).

dióle el Inga licencia, i buscando minas, allò ricas betas, i sacò en pocos dias cantidades de oro. Pareciendole a Romero que se adularia al Inga, le llevò a enseñar el oro, para negociar nueva licencia, i meses para sacar mucho. Luego que vido el Inga el oro, considerò que aquel seria causa de solicitar codiciosos, i traer a millares los [811] Españoles, con que perderia aquella Provincia que sustentava, i mandò matar al Español Romero. El pobre codicioso quiso defenderse, i siendo el ruido mucho i el alboroto grande, llegò a noticia del bendito fray Diego, que con alas de caridad corrio a la casa del Inga por rescatar aquella vida, pidiendole al Inga el perdon, o confesar al desdichado, i ver sino le negociava la vida, remediarle el anima. Avisaron al Inga, que a todo correr venia el Padre fray Diego; i conociendo el intento, le enbiò a decir, que se bolviese a su Iglesia, i le dejase matar aquel onbre, porque si rogava por èl, le mataria a èl tambien. El santo varon se bolvio llorando, no que lo llevasen a matar, sino vertiendo lagrimas i solloços, porque sin confesion uviese de morir. No seays inexorables Reyes, o Iuezes, dice Augustino a Macedonio³⁷¹; supremo Iuez dejaos rogar de los buenos, sino es que huyays de pareceros a Dios; que el que no se deja rogar, tiene resabios de Lucifer. Mataron a Romero, i cortaronle la cabeça, con el oro conprò su muerte, i quiçà con la codicia su condenacion [...] Este allò en el oro su muerte, i en lo que juzgò su descanso, forjò las armas de su desdicha.

10. Enbiò el Padre fray Diego a rogar al Inga, le diese el difunto para enterrarlo en Eclesiastica sepultura, pues ya le avia justiciado; i enbiòle a decir, que no queria, porque gustava que aves del campo i bestias se le comiesen. Mandòlo arrojar en el rio, i prohibiò que ninguno se atreviese pena de su indignacion a enterrarle ni recogerlo. La codicia obligò a Romero a entrar en los centros de la tierra estando vivo, i le causò no merecer una sepultura despues de muerto.

³⁷¹ Aug.epist.ad Macedo. *Non vobis displiceat quod regamini à bonis.*

The Inca gave him permission and while looking for mines he found rich veins and in just a few days gathered large quantities of gold. Thinking that it would please the Inca, Romero took it to show him so that he could negotiate a new licence that would give him months to mine a great deal more. As soon as the Inca saw the gold, he considered that it would be the cause of greed and would bring thousands of Spaniards [811] with which he would lose that Province that he sustained, so he ordered Romero's execution. The poor, greedy man tried to defend himself and, because of the noise kicked up in the commotion, news of what was happening reached blessed fray Diego who flew with wings of charity to the house of the Inca in order to save the man's life by asking the Inca to pardon [the miner], or to allow him hear the unfortunate man's confession, so that if he could not save his life through negotiation, he might at least heal his soul. The Inca was notified that Padre fray Diego was hurrying to the scene. Realising what he was up to, the Inca ordered him to return to his church and leave him to kill that man, because if he [fray Diego] continued to plead on his behalf he [the Inca] would have him killed as well. The holy man returned in tears, not because they were going to kill [the Spaniard] but he was sobbing and shedding tears because he was going to die unshriven.³⁷² 'Kings and Judges, do not be inexorable' says Augustine to Macedonius; 'Supreme Judge, allow yourself to be swayed by the pleas of the good, or is it that you flee from seeming like God? He who does not admit the pleas of the good brings to mind unpleasant memories of Lucifer'.³⁷³ They killed Romero and cut off his head. He purchased his death with gold, and perhaps greed paid for his condemnation [...] This one found his death in gold, and [...] forged the weapons of his own demise.

10. Padre fray Diego sent a plea to the Inca that the corpse be handed over to him so that it could be given a Church burial, as he had already been judged, but the reply came back that he instead wanted the birds of the air and the beasts to feast on his flesh. The Inca ordered that the body be cast into the river and forbade anyone from burying it or even collecting it or they would provoke his anger. Greed caused Romero to go under the earth while alive, and also caused him to be unworthy of burial after death.

³⁷² Without having confessed and received absolution.

³⁷³ Augustine, letter to Macedonius.

Mas benigno castigo tuvo Eliodoro³⁷⁴, quando por mandado de Seleuco Rey de Asia, fue a coger el oro del templo de Ierusalen; i quando en mayor congoja estava toda la ciudad, se contentò Dios con enbiar un Cavallero de la gloria, con formidable aspecto, aconpañado de dos bellisimos mancebos espiritus Angelicos, lo açotaron dejandolo mudo, i a punto de morir; rogò por èl el santo Sacerdote Onias, i consiguiò salud para el cuerpo, i mejoras para el anima: acà no deja el Rey que el santo Sacerdote llégue a pedirle, i asi paga Romero la pena de su codicia; que a falta de castigos umanos, enbia Dios verdugos del cielo para los codiciosos. Con el mandato del Inga no uvo quien enterrase el cuerpo; el bendito Religioso obedeciendo mas a la caridad, que al vando del Inga, salio a desoras de la noche, como otro piadoso Tobias³⁷⁵ a buscar el cuerpo difunto degollado de Romero, que por aversele llevado la corriente no le allò, aviendo corrido toda la orilla por ver si lo avia arrojado el agua, i traerselo a cuestras i enterrarlo de secreto. Tres i quatro noches continuò esta diligencia, buscandolo trechos muy distantes, ya por la una orilla, ya por la otra, pasando el rio sin miedo, i buscando el difunto con ansias de amor. Quien lo viese ocupado en esto tantas noches solo, i en busca de un cuerpo muerto con amenazas de un Inga, i se acordase de que era antes tan temido, que aun de dia no se atrevia a entrar solo en la Iglesia, diria lo que san Iuan³⁷⁶, que la caridad perfeta, sacude todo el temor, i que nunca se allò miedo en la caridad. O bendito Religioso, pasos de enamorado os veo, con que se confundan los enamorados del mundo, pues à desoras de la noche, quando otros andan rondando por conseguir los deleytes del apetito, andavays vos rondando la caridad del cielo; ellos las lisonjas de la vida, i vos los despojos de la muerte. Llegò a noticia del Inga, i enbravecido le enbiò a mandar enbolviendo amenazas, que no anduviese buscando el cuerpo difunto, ni saliese de noche de su Iglesia, porque lo aria matar.

374 2.Mach.c.3. *Cumque retulisset ad Regem Apollonius de pecuniis, quæ delatæ erant, etc. usque ad Oniæ Sacerdoti gratias age: nam propter eum Dominus tibi vitam donavit.*

375 Tob.c.1. *Mortuis, atque occisis sepulturam sollicitus exhibebat.*

376 1. Ioan.c.4. *Perfecta charitas foras mittit timorem, timor non est en charitate.*

But what a mild punishment Heliodorus received when by the order of Seleucus, King of Asia, he tried to seize the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem.³⁷⁷ When the city was in the depths of grief, God was content with sending a Knight of Glory³⁷⁸ with a formidable countenance, accompanied by two most handsome youths—angelic spirits—and they whipped him until he could not speak and was on the verge of death. He pleaded with the Holy Priest Onias and was given back his bodily health and his soul was healed. Here [in Vilcabamba] the king does not allow the holy priest to plead his case and so Romero pays the price of his greed, a sin for which in the absence of human punishment, God sends executioners from heaven. After the Inca's order, there was no-one who would bury the body; so the friar, obeying the precepts of charity more than the Inca's proclamation, went out in the dead of night like another pious Tobias to look for the headless, dead body and carry it back on his shoulders for secret burial,³⁷⁹ but because it had been taken by the current he could not find it even though he looked the length of the river bank to see if the water had cast it up. Three to four nights he continued diligently, looking along very distant stretches, on one bank and then the next, crossing the river fearlessly, and looking for the dead man with concern caused by love. Who else would have spent so many nights alone, looking for a dead body after the Inca's threats? And remember that up to that point he was so afraid that by day he did not dare go into the church alone.³⁸⁰ I will cite Saint John here, [when he says] that perfect charity causes all fear to dissipate, and that fear was never found in charity.³⁸¹ O blessed friar, I see your lover's steps that are confused with those of worldly lovers, because when in the dead of night others are abroad with the hope of satisfying the delights of the flesh, you are searching for heavenly charity; theirs are the flattery of life, and yours the spoils of death. Word of this reached the Inca, who became enraged and sent new threats that he should desist from looking for the dead body, and not leave his church at night on pain of death.

377 2 Maccabees 3:7-33

378 One of the highest-ranking angels.

379 Tobit 1:20. After Sennacherib, king of the Medes, slaughtered the Jews in his city of Rages and left them to rot forbidding their burial on pain of death, Tobias, a fellow Jew, risked death to bury the bodies at night and in secret.

380 Calancha says 'temido' meaning 'feared' which is misleading. He appears to have meant 'temoroso' (afraid, referring to Ortiz's timorous character mentioned in chapter 1).

381 1 John 4:18. In Christian tradition the burial of the dead is one of the supreme acts of charity.

A la letra sucede aqui lo que se dice del santo Patriarca Tobias³⁸²: Dichosos dos, que por enterrar muertos (obra santa) se ven sentenciados a muerte: merito soberano, i tanto, que por aver salido de noche unos valientes de la ciudad de Iabes Galaad³⁸³ con peligro de sus vidas en busca del cuerpo de Saul, i lo enterraron en el bosque, o selva de Iabes, les enbiò David³⁸⁴ un Enbajador, que de su parte les dijo: Benditos vosotros de Dios, porque tuvistis piedad i misericordia con el cuerpo de vuestro Rey Saul, i le distis sepultura, Dios pagará tal obra con repartiros de su misericordia i favores, i yo os arè mercedes colmadas. Que tanto como [812] esto merece el que a los cuerpos unmanos entierra: i si conociendo David, que Saul se avia condenado por averse muerto, asegura tantos retornos de Dios, quales i quantas pagas se debe prometer el Catolico que entierra al que ò se salvò, o à de ir al Purgatorio para pasar a la gloria? Todos se inclinen a esta obra de caridad, i veran las retribuciones de Dios.

11. Como el bendito fray Diego abominava a voces, i aconsejava à solas que no bebiesen tanto, i que los avia de llevar el Demonio por la disolucion de sus borracheras, izo dentro de pocos dias el Inga un festin a todos sus Caziques i Capitanes, disponiendolo para obligar al siervo de Dios fuese complice en su enbriaguez, i compañero en su disolucion. Preparando todo lo enbiò a llamar, i le dijo con amigables razones onrase su fiesta i comiese en su mesa. El bendito Padre agradeciendo el conbite, i conociendo la segunda intencion se escusò, con que aun no avia dicho Misa, i era preciso el decirla:

382 Vbi Supra: *Tobias sepeliebat corpora eorum, et ubi nunciatum est Regi, iussit illum occidi.*

383 1 Reg.31. *Surrexerunt omnes viri fortissimi, et ambulaverunt tota nocte, et tulerunt cadaver Saul.*

384 2 Reg.2. *Benedicti vos Domino qui fecistis misericordiam hanc cum domino vestro Saul, et sepelistis eum, et nunc retribuet vobis quidem Dominus misericordiam, et veritatem; sed et ego reddam gratiam.*

This is word for word what they say about the holy Patriarch Tobias³⁸⁵: blessed two, who for burying the dead (a holy act) find themselves sentenced to death; such a kingly deed that, when a number of courageous men endangered their lives one night by leaving the city of Jabes Galaad³⁸⁶ to look for the body of Saul and then buried him in the forest of Jabes, David sent an ambassador to them to say on his behalf: ‘Blessed are you men of God because you had pity on and showed mercy towards the body of your King Saul and laid it in a tomb. God will reward this deed by showing you His mercy and favours and I will heap favours upon you, for that is what he who buries a human body deserves.’³⁸⁷ [812] And if David, knowing that Saul was damned due to having killed himself, could ensure so many rewards from God, what and how many would [God] promise the Catholic who buries the person who was either saved or will go to Purgatory to then enter Heaven.³⁸⁸ All should incline themselves to this charitable deed and will see God’s rewards.

11. Because the blessed fray Diego shouted out his detestation of drunkenness and privately advised that they should not drink so much, and that the devil would take them given the perdition caused by their drunken rites, the Inca after a few days organised a festival for all his *caciques* and captains. He arranged it to force the servant of God [Diego Ortiz] to be complicit in his drunkenness and companion to his perdition.³⁸⁹ Having prepared everything he [the Inca] sent for him [Ortiz] and spoke to him with friendly arguments to persuade him to honour his fiesta and eat at his table. The blessed Father thanked him for his invitation but realising [the Inca’s] hidden intention he made gave the excuse that he had not yet said Mass and it was necessary to say it.

385 As above (1 Tobit 1:21-24).

386 1 Kings 31 does not exist. This reference should be 1 Samuel 31:12

387 2 Kings 2 is again incorrect. The reference should be 2 Samuel 2:5-6.

388 Calancha may well be talking generally here, but if he is thinking of the Spaniard, Romero (because it was his body Ortiz was searching for), this hope (at the possibility he might be saved as a baptised Christian) somewhat contradicts Ortiz’s earlier grief at the fact that he died unshriven.

389 Titu Cusi was certainly politically astute enough to be able to try something of the sort, but this would have been intended less as a cynical ploy to compromise the priest as it was a ritual that obliged reciprocity. If it were true that the Inca invited Ortiz to this festival, there would have been an understanding that the priest would be reciprocally bound to the Inca were he to participate. This could be viewed cynically as Calancha does, or, it could be taken on face value as a sincere attempt by the Inca at reconciliation, albeit through ritual obligation.

escusandose a otras replicas que el Inga i sus Capitanes le izieron, en que detestò aquellas borracheras: fuese a su Iglesia, quedò el Inga corrido, sus Capitanes agraviados, i su Secretario Martin Pando mestizo fulminando rayos. Todos a una se la juraron de muerte, aziendo promesa a sus Idolos de quitarle la vida, atizando este omicidio la Coya, ò Reyna Doña Angelina Polanquilaco, que como otra Erodias pedia la cabeça deste Precursor, porque detestava el tener mas de una esposa, i coabitar con ella, teniendo otra el Inga, que en esto tambien se asimilava a Erodes. En el banquete se concertò el omicidio, i todos se resolvieron en matar al bendito frayle. O barbaros, que tiene que ver (dijo en la ocasion del Bautista san Ambrosio³⁹⁰) la crueldad con los festines? Lo horrible con lo deleytoso? Lo funesto con lo alegre? Banquete de fiesta, con sentencia de muerte? [...] Para coraçones tan crueles, el matar era su banquete, el derramar sangre su regalado plato? Con que su insaciable fiereça satisfaria su anbre, i la muerte del inocente seria la salsa para endulçar las canas. Ya desde este dia buscavan, como los Iudios a Cristo, dia, i ocasion para matar al Religioso bendito. 12. Pasados cinco dias, se fue el Inga al mochadero ò adoratorio, donde estava el entierro de su padre Manco Inga, i de sus antepasados, i alli estuvo llorando todo el dia la muerte de su padre con ritos Gentilicos i descaradas supersticiones, i por remate del dia se puso à jugar las armas, que a usança Española avia aprendido, con Martin Pando su secretario; sudò mucho, i resfriòse: parò todo en beber con demasia vino i chicha, i quedando borracho despertò con dolor de costado, gruesa la lengua (èl era muy gordo) i rebuelto el estomago; todo era bomitos, gritos i enbriaguez. Mientras pasa la noche entre bascas de muerte, descansemos par oir los martirios mas crueles que à conocido la crueldad.

390 Amb. lib.3. de Virginibus. *Quid crudelitati cum delicijs? Quid cum funeribus voluptati? Hoc crudelitati ferculum debebatur, quo insatiata epulis feritas vesceretur.*

He sent excuses for the replies the Inca and his captains made in which he made clear how he detested those drunken gatherings and then returned to his church. The Inca was embarrassed and his captains were offended, and the Inca's secretary Martín Pando was absolutely furious.³⁹¹ All as one swore before their idols that they would kill him and this homicidal promise was stirred up by the *Coya* doña Angelina Polanquilaco, who, like another Herodias, asked for the head of this herald because he loathed the fact that the Inca had more than one wife and lived with them—and in this the Inca was also like Herod.³⁹² In the banquet the murder was agreed and all resolved to kill the blessed friar. 'O barbarians!' said Saint Ambrose referring to John the Baptist, 'What has cruelty to do with feasting? [What has] horror [to do] with delight [or] ill-fate with happiness? [What has] a banquet [to do] with a death sentence? [...] For such cruel hearts, was killing their banquet and the shedding of blood their favourite dish? Their insatiable ferocity would satisfy their hunger and the death of the innocent would be the sauce to sweeten the appetite.'³⁹³ From that day on, just like the Jews did for Christ, they looked for the day and the occasion to kill the Blessed friar.³⁹⁴

12. Five days later, the Inca went to the temple or shrine of his ancestors, where his father Manco Inca was entombed, and there for the whole day he grieved for the death of his father with pagan rites and brazen superstitions, and to end the day he practiced his swordsmanship with his secretary Martín Pando as he had learned the Spanish [martial] skills. He sweated a great deal and caught a chill. He then set to drinking too much wine and *chicha* and after getting drunk [and falling asleep] he awoke with a pain in his side and a swollen tongue (it had really ballooned) and his stomach churning; it was all vomiting, shouting and drunkenness. As the night passes in the jaws of death let us pause to hear about the most brutal martyrdom that cruelty has ever inflicted.

391 Lit. *Fulminandorayos*— 'throwing lightning bolts' (spitting mad).

392 Herod Antipas, tetrarch and king of Judea (r. 4 B.C.-39 A.D.). In the Christian tradition Herod is considered responsible for ordering the execution of John the Baptist at the instigation of his wife Herodias and daughter Salome.

393 Ambrose, *De Virginitibus Ad Marcellinam Sororem Sua Libri Tres (Three Books On Virgins, to the Sisters of Marcellinus)* book 3.

394 Again, this is a direct link to the passion of Christ (Mark 11:18). Christ's preaching so upsets the Jewish authorities that they begin to search for a way to kill him.