

Cap.V. Muere el Inga Don Felipe Cusitito, i martirizan con diversos martirios al santo Fray Diego.

1. Echando el Inga golpes de sangre por la boca i narizes pasò la noche, asistiendole el bendito Padre fray Diego, por ver si le podia reducir a que revalidase la Fè, que prometio en su bautismo, i obligarle a que se confesase; pero ni le pudo ablandar con amonestaciones, ni reducir con representarle premios, i castigos eternos. Amanecio, i quejandose del pecho, en que le atormentava el dolor, batieron en una escudilla su secretario Pando, i otro privado suyo Don Gaspar Sulcayana una clara de guevo i açufre; remedio que les parecio eficaz para retener los flujos de la sangre, i dandoselo al Inga que lo bebiese, lo reusò, diciendo: No quiero que me deys algo con que muera: miedos de apostata, que de todo se rezela, i todo le amenaza. Ninguno ay tan medroso, dijo Seneca³⁹⁵, que quiera mas estar sienpre colgado de un temor, que caer de una vez, escogiendo primero una caida, que dos mil amenazas. Pero un apostata ambicioso, quiere mas sufrir docientas mil amenazas, que verse en una pequeña caida. El Inga viendo que sus dos mas privados le davan el remedio (estava presente el Padre fray Diego, amonestandole [813] a que se bolviese a nuestra Fè) dijo: Dadme acà esa bebida, que yo quiero mucho a Martin Pando, i no me darà cosa que me dañe. Beviò el brevage, i fue a tienpo que el mal subio a lo ultimo, i perdiò el abla: uno o dos testigos de oidas, mugeres, que pasados muchos años declararon en éstas informaciones, dicen que oyeron decir a la muger deste secretario Pando, que los que le avian dado al Inga ésta bebida, avian sido el secretario, i el bendito fray Diego; engañaronse, porque esta Iuana Guerrero muger deste Pando, no dice en su declaracion,

³⁹⁵ Epist. 22. *Nemo tam timidus est, ut malit semper pendere, quam semel cadere.*

Chapter 5: Don Inca Don Felipe Cusitito dies and they martyr the Holy Fray Diego with various tortures.

1. The night passed with the Inca spitting blood and bleeding from his nose. The blessed fray Diego attended him to see if he could persuade him to renew his commitment to the faith which he had promised on his baptism, and to oblige him to confess.³⁹⁶ But he could neither soften [his resolve] with warnings nor reduce him by describing the rewards compared to eternal punishments. Dawn came and he complained of the pain in his chest [so] his secretary Pando and another servant of his, don Gaspar Sulcayana,³⁹⁷ beat an egg white in a bowl together with sulphur, a remedy which they thought effective to staunch the bloody flux but when they gave it to the Inca he refused it saying: ‘I don’t want you to give me something that will kill me’. These are the fears of an apostate: all is suspicion and all is threat. ‘No-one is more fearful’ said Seneca ‘than he who always hangs on a fear, as opposed to he would choose to fall at once rather than suffer two thousand threats’.³⁹⁸ But an ambitious apostate would rather suffer two hundred thousand threats than see himself fall just a little. The Inca, seeing that his two closest servants were giving him the remedy (Padre fray Diego was also present, [813] warning him of the necessity to return to our faith) said: ‘Give me that drink then, as I like Martín Pando a lot and he wouldn’t give me anything to harm me.’ He drank the brew and it was at that instant the sickness went into its final phase and he lost the ability to speak: one or two female witnesses³⁹⁹, who gave their statements many years later in these reports, said that they heard the wife of the Secretary Pando say that those who gave the Inca that drink were the Secretary and the blessed fray Diego. They were mistaken because Juana Guerrero, Pando’s wife, makes no mention of this in her declaration.

396 This is an important detail. Calancha is emphatically stating that Ortiz did not attempt to cure Titu Cusi of his sickness—that was done by his servants Sulcayana and Pando—rather his attention was turned to preparing him for death by trying to persuade him to come back to Christianity so that he could administer the last rites. According to Calancha’s account, he was attempting to heal his soul at this point.

397 Calancha uses the term *privado*, lit. ‘private’ which would equate to a personal servant or valet.

398 Epistle 22.

399 Calancha actually uses the term *testigos de oídos*, lit. ‘ear-witnesses’ (rather than ‘eye-witnesses’). By this he means that they heard about events from a witness and were relaying second-hand information. The women that said Diego Ortiz gave Titu Cusi the remedy were Leonor de Ojeda, Mariana Hurtado de Mendoza, and Luisa de Ribas. See their ‘Declaraciones’ in Bauer et al. *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.99, 101, 108.

que el bendito fray Diego se uviese allado en tal accion, sino que muriò de resfriado, i de aver bebido cantidad de vino, i comido tanto, que lo matò la sangre, la glotoneria i la enbriaguez. Los demas testigos de vista declaron lo que arriba dige, i que murio muerte natural, aunque acelerada; i algunos dicen, que estava alli el bendito fray Diego mientras le azian sus erbolarios las unturas i remedios; i no fue mucho estar desacordadas las dos mugeres al cabo de veynte i nueve años, i ablando de oidas. I algunos dicen, que estava alli el bendito fray Diego mientras le azian sus erbolarios las unturas i remedios; i no fue mucho estar desacordadas las dos mugeres al cabo de veynte i nueve años, i ablando de oidas. Al fin dentro de veynte i quatro oras que le dio el dolor de costado con resfrio i apoplegia, muriò desdichadamente el miserable Inga apostata Don Felipe Cusitito.

2. Viendo la Coya Doña Angelina muerto al Inga, llamò a cinco de los Capitanes que con ella se avian juramentado, llamados Curipaucar Maese de Campo General del Inga, Guandopa, Canarco, Tumi i Atoc, i dando voces les dijo: Como Capitanes no matays a ese frayle? Prendele, i despedaçadle, i azed pedaços al secretario Pando. Salen los iniquos ministros a prender al bendito Religioso, i juntanse a estos otros Capitanes llamados Macora, Sotic, Manacotana, Paucar Inga, Paloc, Cegne, Gualpayucra, Rimache, Tupa; i por Capitan de todos el mestizo Martin Pando, que de los ocho Capitanes que fueron al prendimiento, solo èl era bautizado. Izo el oficio de Iudas, tanto por ser el caudillo de aquella infernal cafila, como por ser de los Cristianos mas amigos deste Cristo de Dios. I pues Martin Pando va por caudillo, clara prueba es que no castigavan al bendito fray Diego porque era muerto el Inga, sino por vengar en èl la rabia de su aborrecimiento a la Fè, i los enojos que tenian rebalsados,

She does not say that the blessed fray Diego was involved in that action, but rather that the Inca died of having caught a chill and of having drunk too much wine and eaten too much, all of which killed the blood—the gluttony and the drunkenness. The rest of the eyewitnesses declared what I said above, that the Inca died of natural causes, albeit very suddenly.⁴⁰⁰ And some say that the blessed fray Diego was there all the while [Titu Cusi's] herbalists were making the ointments and remedies and it is not so important that the two women disagree twenty-nine years on and talking about what they heard rather than saw. Twenty-four hours after he first started to suffer from pain in the side with a chill and apoplexy the miserable apostate Inca don Felipe Cusitito died wretchedly.

2. When the *Coya* Doña Angelina saw the Inca had died, she sent for the five captains who had sworn fealty to her (they were: the Field-Marshal General of the Inca Curipaucar, Guandopa, Canarco⁴⁰¹, Tumi and Atoc) and she yelled at them: 'how is it, captains, that you don't kill that friar? Seize him and tear him to pieces and do the same with the Secretary Pando'. The iniquitous ministers leave to seize the blessed friar and a number of other captains join them: Macora, Sotic, Manacotana, Paucar Inca, Paloc, Cegne⁴⁰², Gualpayucra, Rimache, Tupa; and the mestizo Martín Pando was captain of them all and of the eight captains that went to seize him only Pando was baptised.⁴⁰³ He played the role of Judas, as much as for being the leader of that infernal group as for being one of the Christians most friendly to this Christ of God. And, well, Martín Pando led them—a clear proof that they were not trying to punish the blessed fray Diego because the Inca was dead, but rather to take out on him their rage and loathing of the faith and the other reasons I have already mentioned:

400 Calancha's summary of the testimonies is fairly accurate on this point. The only people that mention Ortiz as the one who gave Titu Cusi the remedy are three women who were not present.

401 He is later referred to as Camarco. See cap.VII, p.829.

402 Cegue is later referred to as Chegue (cap.VII, p.829).

403 *Mestizo* is the term used for mixed indigenous and Spanish race. We see here a contradiction in Calancha's indignant narration in that, as a result of his desire to establish *odium fidei* (hatred of the faith) as the cause of Ortiz's death (and hence establish that he was a true martyr), Martín Pando becomes the captain of the entire group of executioners only a phrase after the *Coya* orders her captains to seize and kill both the friar and Martín Pando. It is highly unlikely, in fact, that Pando would have had the opportunity to have led the group of executioners. This is also part of the discourse that superimposes Ortiz's death onto the passion of Christ as Pando becomes another Judas, the traitor. This also ties into contemporary opinion in the viceroyalty about *mestizaje* and *mestizos* as being untrustworthy.

ya por el Idolo que les quemò echando al Demonio de la piedra blanca, ya por muchos que les demoliò, i por lo que cada dia abominava sus sensualidades, borracheras i supersticiones; que si castigáran la muerte del Inga creyendo que en el bebedizo le dieron tosigo, a Pando i al privado don Gaspar Sulcayana matáran los primeros, pues ellos dieron la bebida, pero constavales que era de clara de guevo i açufre, cosa con que entre los Indios se curava aquella enfermedad; pero davan titulo de omicidio, sin advertir que en dejar a Pando i a Don Gaspar, declaravan su rabia; que es accion muy usada entre idolatras, que temen a los Cristianos ocultos, disimular el odio que tienen a nuestra Fè, con castigar al martir con nonbre de traydor al Rey. De san Cornelio Martir dice la Iglesia⁴⁰⁴; en el dia que aze su fiesta, que es a diez i seys de Setiembre, que porque se carteara con san Cipriano Obispo, consolandose con la correspondencia de sus cartas, le calumniaron, que tratava de matar al Enperador, i como a delinquente de lesa Magestad le prendio en Roma, i le mandò martirizar, açotandolo con pelotas de plomo; ando esta capa al odio que tenían a la Fè que predicava, i a los gritos con que los reprendia. Pero a dos lances davan a conocer su verdadero motivo, i manifestavan su idolatria secreta, dando a la caridad titulos de traicion. Caminan con lanças armas i flechas de noche al prendimiento (vayanse pareando los sucesos, i circunstancias desta muerte, con las de Cristo nuestro Redentor, i veranse en todas las mas semejantes, i añadidos otros generos de tormentos) allan orando al siervo de Dios los iniquos verdugos, siendo su Iglesia el Getsemani de su oracion. Entran los carniceros, i a porfia le dan gran numero de bofetadas, palos mogicones, puñadas i crueles golpes. Cogenle de la corona, i arrastrandolo le dejaron molido a cozes, dandoselas en la boca, pechos, estomago, espaldas i en todos los miembros de su cuerpo (los Indios son cruellimos por lo que tienen de cobardes) llamavan le enbustero, enbaidor, endemoniado, autor de leyes falsas, traydor, i enemigo de sus Dioses.

⁴⁰⁴ *Vbi eum sanctus Ciprianos Episcopus per litteras est consolatus, hoc autem Christianæ charitatis officium, cum frequens alter alteri per solveret, deteriorem in partem id accipientes Imperatorem accersitum Romam Cornelium tanquam de maiestate reum plumbatis caedi iubent.*

as much for their idol that he burned, casting out the devil from the white rock, as for the many others that he destroyed and because each day he condemned their sensuality, their drunkenness and their superstitions. If they were really trying to punish the death of the Inca believing that the drink they gave him poisoned him, the first people to be killed would have been Pando and the servant don Gaspar Sulcayana, because they were the ones who gave him the drink. But they stated that it was egg white and sulphur, something which the Indians use to cure that sickness, but they called it homicide without realising that by leaving Pando and don Gaspar alone, they were making their fury [against fray Diego and the Catholic faith] obvious. An action common to idolaters who fear Christians hidden in their midst is to disguise their hatred of our Faith by punishing the martyr for alleged treason against the king. For example, the Church says about the martyr Saint Cornelius on his feast day (16th September) that because he wrote letters of consolation to Saint Ciprian, they spread calumny against him that he was attempting to assassinate the Emperor, and they seized him in Rome for the crime of lese-majesty and he was condemned to be martyred, whipped by balls of lead. They used this excuse to cloak the hatred they had of the faith that he preached and the shouts that he reprehended them with. But they revealed their true motive with two lances and showed their secret idolatry by calling charity treason.⁴⁰⁵ They go by night with lances, weapons and arrows to seize him (compare the events and circumstances of this death to that of Christ our Redeemer and you will see in all of them the similarities and added to them other types of tortures), and the iniquitous executioners find the servant of God praying—his church acting as Gethsemane for his prayer.⁴⁰⁶ The butchers enter the church and start to beat him, with slaps, sticks, punches, and cruel blows. They grab him by his hair, drag him and pound him with kicks, to the mouth, chest, stomach, back and all the limbs of his body (Indians are all the crueller for being such cowards). They called him a trickster, conman, possessed, inventor of false laws, traitor and enemy of their gods.

405 Cornelius was elected Pope in 251 A.D. in the context of a schism in the Church and shortly after the persecution of the Emperor Decius. Persecutions began again under the next emperor Trebonianus Gallus and Cornelius was martyred in 253 A.D.

406 Here Calancha is merging Christ's vigil in the garden of Gethsemane with Ortiz's own vigil in his church. Both knew they were going to die.

Ya que se cansaron de moler sus santos guesos, le ataron por los molledos i garganta, las manos atras con unas sogas de cortadera, [814] cruel tormento, porque son como cuchillos i navajas, por ser echas de un genero de ramas que tienen filos, i cortan la carne, a cuya causa las llaman cortaderas. Desnudaronlo en carnes, dejandole solos unos calçones que cubrian lo vergonçoso de su desnudez, i sacaronlo al patio, al frio i al rigor del yelo, para que lo inumano aumentase lo doloroso. Vease si se va pareando esto con lo que vsaron con Cristo los Iudios; prendenlo estando orando, van con armas como si fuera facinoroso, tienenlo como a Cristo en patio, al frio atado i desnudo, lléno de oprobios, de palos, cozes i bofetadas. Ya que descansaron de la primera rabia, le digeron: Enbustero, confiesanos si as sido complice en la muerte de nuestro Rey? I si muriò de enfermedad, resuscitalo pues predicas que ese tu Dios Iesu Cristo tiene poder para resucitar los muertos, porque si no lo resucitas as de morir al rigor de innumerables tormentos, porque no prediques mentiras, ni nos engañes con que tu dios resucita los muertos. El Santo martir lléno de umildad, i mansedunbre, les dijo lo que Cristo: Que malas obras os è écho, que asi me tratays? Sea todo por el amor de Dios; si el Inga es vivo, yo dirè Misas pidiendole a Iesu Cristo mi Señor la salud; i si es muerto, se las dirè porque Dios se apiade de su anima; el obligarme à que yo lo resucite, no se si lo alcançarè mi Dios, porque soy muy gran pecador; i digo una i mil vezes, que es poderoso a resucitar todos los muertos. Irritaronse los iniquos verdugos, i buelven de nuevo à molerlo a palos, cozes, bofetadas i mogicones; aprietanle tan cruelmente los cordeles bueltos los braços atras, que le desencajaron los guesos de los onbros, i le sacaron de sus lugares las costillas i pechos, añadiendo oprobrios, i aumentando ignominias. Aslo de resucitar (decian) pues ya es muerto, i afirmas que es poderoso el Dios que adoras a resucitar los muertos. Poderoso es (repetia el Santo) pero soy gran pecador. A cada palabra suya le cargavan de golpes i de afrentas, sin que ablase el manso cordero otra cosa, que sea por amor de Dios.

Once they grew tired of breaking and pulverising his holy bones, they tied him by his limbs and his throat and his hands behind his back with ropes called ‘cutters’⁴⁰⁷, [814] such cruel torment, because they are like knives and razors due to having been made from a type of branch that has sharp edges, and they cut flesh, which is why they are called ‘cutters’. They stripped him naked leaving only some underwear that covered his shameful nakedness and they dragged him out to the patio and left him exposed to the cold and the full rigor of the ice so that this inhumanity would increase his pain. See how this compares to how the Jews treated Christ: they seize him while he is praying, they go with weapons as if he were a common delinquent. They hold him like Christ in the patio tied up naked in the cold, insulted, kicked, struck with poles, and slapped. Once they had tired of their initial rage, they told him: ‘trickster, confess that you were an accomplice to the death of the king! And if he died of a sickness then resurrect him because didn’t you preach that that god of yours, Jesus Christ had the power to resurrect the dead? If you don’t resurrect him then you will surely die suffering innumerable tortures, so that you no longer preach lies, or trick us with that tale of how your God resurrects the dead.’ The holy martyr, full of gentle humility, spoke to them in the words of Christ: ‘How have I wronged you that you treat me this way? Everything is for the love of God: if the Inca were alive I would say Masses asking my Lord Jesus Christ to preserve his health; and if he were dead I would say them so that God may have mercy on his soul. As for obliging me to resurrect him, I don’t know if my God will grant me that, because I am a great sinner; and if I say it once, I say it a thousand times, that he is powerful enough to resurrect all the dead.’ This angered the iniquitous executioners and once again they began to beat him to a pulp with sticks, kicks, slaps and punches.⁴⁰⁸ They tightened the ropes binding his arms behind him so cruelly that they dislocated the bones from his shoulders, and they broke his rib and chest bones, adding insults and humiliation on top: ‘Resuscitate him!’ they said ‘because he is already dead and you insist that the God you adore is powerful enough to resurrect the dead.’ ‘He is powerful’, repeated the saint, ‘But I am a great sinner.’ With each word they laid into him all the more with punches and insults, without that tame lamb saying any more than ‘let this be for the love of God.’

⁴⁰⁷ *Cortaderas*, lit. – ‘cutters’.

⁴⁰⁸ *Molerlo a palos* – lit. ‘grind or thrash him with sticks’.

I éste genero de martirio le continuaron asta la media noche, i solo se le oian algunos tiernos suspiros al cielo: serian pidiendo paciencia, i fortaleça para si, i perdon para sus enemigos.

3. Los Cristianos bautizados eran muchos, i los Indios a quien èl curava, defendia, sustentava i vestia, i catequizava eran muchisimos, i todos se escondieron dejandole como a Cristo quando sus Apostoles huyeron, solo i desanparado, porque la tribulacion fuese mas dolorosa, i la soledad mas afligida. Mucho miedo, prueba es de poco amor, i dejar Dios a uno sin conpañia de consuelo, indicio es de que èl està dando la fortaleça, i quiere que se aumenten a millares los meritos: entrò con otros dos, ò tres Cristianos un Indio principal llamado Iuan Quispe criado del Inga, i viendolos aquellos nueve idolatras verdugos, alçaron la voz, diciendo al santo Martir: Aqui as de morir porque mataste a nuestro Rey: disimulando con esto que le atormentavan por la fè que predicava, i por el articulo de la Resurrecion, i abominacion de sus Idolos, sino por culpado en delito de lesa Magestad: pensarian que se ivan juntando los Catolicos i temerian algun rebelion. Todo esto le sucediò a Cristo, pues la culpa que le calumniavan, era ser enemigo del Rey, i delinquente de lesa Magestad, i añadian que se introduzia en Rey, i lo publicava⁴⁰⁹ i era como dice el Evangelista, rabia que los encendia por aver Cristo predicado contra sus culpas, envidiosos de su estimacion⁴¹⁰, i que temian a la plebe⁴¹¹, i pensavan que la multitud de los que Cristo avia convertido i sanado, le librarian de su indignacion, i atrocidad. Pero lo mesmo que a Cristo le sucedio en su muerte, sucede acà a su martir, que ninguno le defiende, i todos le dejan. I aun fue mayor la soledad deste siervo de Dios que la de Cristo, pues tuvo a su lado a un Iuan Evangelista, conpañia de consuelo; i el santo F. Diego, quando pudiera pensar que Iuan Quispe le iva a favorecer,

⁴⁰⁹ Lucæ. 23. *Invenimus dicentem se Regem esse.*

⁴¹⁰ *Sciebat quod per invidiam tradidissent cum.*

⁴¹¹ *Timebant vero plebem.*

And this type of martyrdom continued until midnight and only a few tender sighs to heaven were heard from him: they would be asking for patience and strength to ask for pardon for his enemies.

3. There were many baptised Christians, and there were even more Indians that he cured, defended, fed and clothed, and catechised, and all of them hid, leaving him alone and unaided, just like when the apostles fled from Christ, so that his difficulties and loneliness would be more painful. Great fear is proof of a lack of love, and for God to leave someone without consoling company is indicative of the fact that he is providing strength and wants that person's merits to multiply exponentially. A noble Indian and servant of the Inca named Juan Quispe entered with two or three Christians, and when the nine idolatrous executioners saw them they shouted at the holy Martyr⁴¹²: 'Here you will die because you killed our king!' With this they were pretending that they were torturing him not because of the faith he preached, and in particular the article of faith about Resurrection⁴¹³ and his loathing of their idols, but because he had been found guilty of lese-majesty. They thought that the Catholics were gathering and feared that there would be a rebellion of some kind. All this happened to Christ, as the crime that they falsely accused him of was of being the enemy of the king and a delinquent who had committed lese-majesty, and they added that he called himself a king and publicised it.⁴¹⁴ And it was, as the Evangelist says⁴¹⁵, due to rage at the fact that Christ had preached against their failings, jealous as they were of his esteem, and because they feared the people⁴¹⁶, thinking that the multitude that Christ had converted and healed would liberate him from their atrocious indignation. But the same thing that occurred to Christ in his death occurs here to his martyr: no-one comes to defend him and all leave him. In fact the loneliness of this servant of God was even greater than that of Christ because Christ had John the Evangelist at his side, a companion to console him, whereas the holy fray Diego, when you might have thought that Juan Quispe was going to favour him,

412 It is not exactly clear who Calancha is referring to here—whether the executioners are saying these words or whether the three Christians who have entered say these things out of fear of the executioners.

413 This article of faith is part of the Creed where Christians say: 'I believe in the resurrection of the flesh'. This is an often-misunderstood article because it does not refer to Christ's resurrection but to the resurrection of humanity at the end of time. This misunderstanding is why the Inca captains demanded Ortiz say Mass in order to resurrect Titu Cusi.

414 Luke 23:2.

415 Mark 15:10.

416 Luke 22:2.

se le revistio el Demonio, i le començò de nuevo a martirizar, dijole afrentas, i añadiòle golpes. Miren que va de un Iuan a otro, pues aquel consuela i este martiriza: pero a falta de consoladores humanos, llovía Dios en su martir consuelos soberanos, i refuerços divinos.

3[4]. A la media noche viendo los nueve atormentadores, que el Cristiano apostata Iuan Quispe se estremava en ofender con baldones i afrentas al bendito Santo dejan de calumniarle de matador, i buelven al tema de que resucite al Inga, [815] ò niegue Iesu Cristo no tiene poder para resucitar difuntos. El repitio, que era Cristo Dios todo poderoso, pero que èl era un miserable pecador. Escupieronle todos aziendo irrisiones i chacoteando mofas. La Coya Doña Angelina enbiava continuos recaudos atizando a los Capitanes verdugos, para que no diesen un instante de sosiego. En esto no se parecio esta muerte a la de Cristo, pues la Governadora muger de Pilatos le enbiava recaudos a su marido, que no agraviase al justo. Inventan otro genero de martirio penosissimo: echanle de rato en rato agua en los cordeles para que las llagas que avian abierto las sogas, aumentasen los dolores, i cogiendo agua las cortaderas, se apretasen mas los laços, i el yelo quajase el agua, i todo le aumentase los tormentos. Decianle: Ahora nos pagaràs las repreensiones que nos das, i las injurias que azias a nuestros Dioses, llama tu Iesu Cristo, i dile que resucite al Rey, porque esto que pasas es niñeria para lo que as de padecer. El mansisimo cordero les dijo, que si llegase vivo al amanecer diria Misa, i le pediria a Iesu Cristo Dios verdadero, resucitase al Inga si a su servicio conviniese; pero que el ser tan gran pecador seria causa de no alcançar aquella merced. Mientras amaneciò, le continuaron el echarle agua en los cordeles i llagas, remudandose para darle bofetadas, coces i palos, escupiendole cada rato sin condolerse de los arroyos de sangre, que por boca, narizes i braços le corrian. O paciencias de Dios, pues a cada crueldad de estas arrojára rayos su justicia[...]

was in fact shrouded by the devil and began once again to martyr him. He insulted him, and struck him. Look at the difference between the two Johns⁴¹⁷: one offers consolation while the other torments and tortures. But although human consolation was lacking, God rained sovereign consolation and divine strength down on his martyr.

3[4]. At midnight, as the nine tormentors saw that the apostate Christian Juan Quispe was making an extreme effort to offend the holy Saint with abuse and humiliations, they stop slandering him with the accusation of ‘killer’ and return to the theme that he resuscitate the Inca or [815] deny that Christ has the power to resurrect the dead. He repeated that Christ was the All-Powerful God, but that he [Ortiz] was [just] a miserable sinner. They spat at him, deriding and mocking him. The *coya* Doña Angelina continually sent messages to the executioner captains stirring them up so that they would not give him a moment’s peace. In this, his death was unlike the death of Christ because, then, the wife of the Governor Pontius Pilate sent him a message so that he did not commit an injustice. They invent another type of extremely painful martyrdom: every-so-often they pour water on the ropes so that the wounds that the ropes have caused became even more painful, and as the fibres suck up water, the knots tighten and ice freezes the water, and altogether it increases the torment. They said to him: ‘Now you’ll pay for all the times you reprehended us and the times you insulted our Gods. Call your Jesus Christ and tell him to resurrect the King because what you’re suffering now is mere child’s play compared to what you’re going to suffer’. This most tame lamb told them that ‘if I manage to stay alive until dawn I will say Mass and I will ask Jesus the True Christ to resuscitate the Inca if that serves His interests, but the fact that I’m a great sinner may well be the cause for this great mercy to be refused’. As dawn was breaking, they continued to pour water on the chords and wounds, slapping, kicking him and beating him with sticks, spitting at him over and over again without regard or pity for the streams of blood that were running from his mouth nose and down his arms. Oh for the love of God! He will cast down bolts of justice for every one of these cruelties [...]

⁴¹⁷ *Juan* is Spanish for John. The ‘two Johns’ are: John the Evangelist and John Quispe (or Juan Evangelista and Juan Quispe).

5. Salio el Sol de la mañana, i quedaronse en mayor escuridad aquellos inumanos coraçones: dicen al amigo de Dios, que diga Misa, i que resucite al Inga, porque de no resucitar, morirà en tormentos cruelisimos. Responde, que lo desaten, i que dirà Misa. Desataronlo, i abren de nuevo las llagas por estar ya los cordeles pegados a las carnes, i la sangre elada en las sogas. Quiso el bendito Martir menear los braços, i bolverlos a sus lugares, i no pudo, porque estavan desencajados, i bueltos a las espaldas, levantado el pecho, i fuera de sus asientos las costillas. Dijo con toda mansedunbre, que no podia bolver los braços; i al punto el mestizo Martin Pando cogiendole de los cabellos de la corona, dio con el siervo de Dios en los suelos, i despues de averlo arrastrado le tendio boca arriba, i subiendose de pies sobre el pecho, i dandole bestiales coces, decia: Yo te curarè enbustero, desta manera te bolverè los braços enbaidor; i tirandole de las manos ázia delanta, lo bolvio a descoyuntar. Quien no conocerà la fuerte de tormento que padeceria aquel amigo de Dios? O crueldad Gentilica, en que los Demonios vengaron sus rabias por mano de aquellos sus dicipulos: Mandanle que diga presto Misa, i el santo varon como estava estropeado, i fuera de sus lugares los mienbros, no podia levantarse, ni gobernar los braços: sube sobre los pechos i boca un cruel Indio llamado Tipso, i dale tantas coces en boca, pechos, vientre i braços, que lo dejò por muerto. Buelto en si el pacientisimo Martir, dijo: Sea por amor de Dios, i os perdone: que males os è écho, que tan crueles estays conmigo? Esto que amansára leones, enbravecio a estos carniceros lobos pues levantandolo, le dieron a diez manos, puñadas, palos pescoçadas i bofetones, cubriendole de salivas asquerosas. De Cristo nuestro Salvador, dice santa Brigada nuestra ermana, santa Isabel i santa Matildes, que estuvo a punto de morir cinco vezes, i que le dieron en el rostro ciento i dos bofetadas, cinco i veynte puñaladas, en la boca treynta puñadas, ciento i quarenta coces i puntapios por el cuerpo, sesenta i dos golpes sobre los braços, veynte i ocho sobre el vientre i pechos, sobre las piernas treynta i dos, sobre las espaldas ochenta; levantaronle por los cabellos i la soga sesenta i tres vezes, tiraronle de la barba sesenta i ocho vezes,

5. The morning sun rose yet those inhuman hearts remained in even darker shadow. They tell [fray Diego] the friend of God to say Mass and to resurrect the Inca, because if he did not resuscitate then he [fray Diego] would die under terrible torture. He replied by telling them to untie him and then he would say Mass. They untied him and the wounds open again because by then the chords were stuck to the open flesh and the blood had frozen to the ropes. The blessed martyr wanted to move his arms and put them back in their sockets, but this was impossible because they had been dislocated and tied behind his back while his chest had been lifted up and his ribs broken. He said with complete humility that he could not put his arms back and at that point the mestizo Martin Pando grabbed him by the hair on the crown of his head and flung the servant of God to the ground. After having dragged him he left him face up and standing on his chest and kicking him like a beast he said: 'I'll cure you, you trickster! I'll put your arms back like this you conman!' And pulling his arms forward, he returned them to their sockets. Who would not recognise the horror of the torture suffered by that friend of God? Oh cruelty of the gentiles whom the demons used to satiate their rage through the hands of these their disciples! They tell him to make haste and say Mass and, as he was so broken and as his limbs were so out of place, the saintly man could not stand up nor use his arms. A cruel Indian called Tipso stood on his chest and mouth and gave him so many kicks in the mouth, chest, stomach and arms that he almost killed him. Once the most patient martyr had regained consciousness he said: 'let this be for the love of God, and I forgive you: how have I wronged you that you are so cruel to me?' This—which would have tamed lions—infuriated these carnivorous wolves, as when they stood him up ten fists started to pummel him, with punches, sticks and slaps, [also] covering him with disgusting saliva. Saints Bridget (our sister), Isabel and Matilda say that Christ our Saviour was at the point of dying five times, and that they slapped his face one hundred and two times, punched it twenty five and a further thirty on the mouth.⁴¹⁸ They also kicked his body forty times, and struck his arms sixty two times and his legs thirty-two; his back eighty. They pulled him up by his hair and with a rope sixty three times; pulled him by the beard sixty eight times.

418 Bridget of Sweden (Birgitta Birgersdotter) (d.1373) was a Franciscan tertiary and mystic who founded the Brigittine order of nuns. The order has its own rule based on that of the rule of St Augustine. She was canonized in 1391. The meticulous detailing of the wounds of Christ is a feature of medieval contemplative spirituality as part of the process of meditating on the Passion of Christ. Each imagined blow would be visualised and experienced and would stimulate further prayer and contemplation.

fue arrastrado i traído por los cabellos trecientas i cinquenta vezes, dio ciento i nueve suspiros, dieronle diez i nueve golpes mortales, tuvo sesenta i dos vezes angustias i afliciones de muerte, fue escupido en el rostro sesenta i tres vezes; estandole açotando en la coluna, llegò a punto de espirar. Tuvo en su cuerpo llagas i cardenales azules i cardenos mil i noventa i uno, derramò por la tierra diez i ocho mil i ciento i veynete i cinco gotas de [816] sangre. Quando la Virgen bolvio en si del dolor de verlo açotar, le vido descubiertas las costillas, arrancadas las carnes. Quando le quitaron las vestiduras para crucificarle, le sacaron pegadas a ellas pedaços de sus carnes. O monstruosidad de los onbres! O amor soberano de Dios! O dureça de quien lo oye, i no se resuelve en lagrimas! O egenplar de infinita paciencia, i mar inmenso de caridad! Casi todo esto veremos en nuestro invicto Martir, pues demas de lo referido, queda un sin numero de semejantes tormentos que ponderar.

5[6]. Con estar descoyuntado, i fuera de sus lugares los braços i mienbros, le obligaron a que digese Misa, i diole nuestro Señor modo de ponerse en pie, i vestirse los ornamentos Sacerdotales porque digese Misa, i en esto se pareciese a su pasion que comulgò en la Cena, i su Martir en el altar. Apercibenle que negòcie con Iesu Cristo la resurreccion del Inga, porque en saliendo del Altar à de morir. Comiença la Misa lléno de dolores, aunque los de su coraçon eran de muerte. Frontero estaban los iniquos Capitanes con lanças en las manos, i cada vez que bolvia al pueblo, le amenaçavan con las lanças, diciendole: Acaba que te avemos de despedaçar.

He was dragged by his hair three hundred and five times. He sighed one hundred and nine times. They mortally struck him nineteen times; he had sixty-two moments where he was close to death, and was spat at in the face sixty three times. While he was being whipped at the pillar, he indeed reached the point of death. His body was covered with wounds and a thousand and one blue [purple] bruises and he shed 18,125 drops of blood [816] When the Virgin came to [after swooning] from the pain of seeing him whipped, she saw the bones of his ribs with the flesh torn away. When they stripped him of his clothes to crucify him, they pulled off chunks of flesh that had stuck to them. What monstrous men! What sovereign love of God! How hard of heart must those be who hear this and are not reduced to tears! What an example of infinite patience and an immense sea of charity! Almost all of this we can see in our unconquered martyr, for as well as what has been mentioned, there still remains innumerable other tortures to contemplate.

5[6]. They obliged him to say Mass even with his limbs and arms dislocated and out of place, and our Lord gave him the strength to stand up and to dress in the priestly robes so that he could say Mass. And in this there is a parallel between His passion which was shared in the Last Supper and His martyr at the altar. They warn him to negotiate the resurrection of the Inca with Jesus Christ because the moment he left the Altar he would die. The Mass begins full of pain, although the pains in his heart were the pains of death. The iniquitous captains were at the front with spears in their hand and every time he turned to the people they threatened him with their lances saying: ‘finish once and for all or we’ll tear you to pieces!’⁴¹⁹

419 It is unclear how many people Calancha is suggesting were in the congregation. The context would suggest that the congregation was just made up of Ortiz’s executioners but this particular turn of phrase leaves open the possibility that others were there also, perhaps as bystanders, or perhaps as loyal parishioners aware that this would be Ortiz’s death Mass. In the case of the congregation just being his executioners, the phrase refers to the ritual movement in the Tridentine or earlier liturgies where some prayers are said towards the altar with the priest and people all facing the same way (in theory, offering the sacrifice of the Mass as one community, although of course not in this case), while at other moments in the Mass the priest will turn around and face the congregation.

El Martir santo llorava tan amargamente mirando a Dios, i a la Virgen, i eran tan copiosas sus lagrimas, que declaran todos los testigos, que corporales, casulla, i mangas del alba estavan despues de enpapadas vertiendo arroyos; i como los ojos estavan nadando en agua, i avia de leer en el Misal, ponialos sobre las ojas, i bañòlas tanto de lagrimas, que no se podian despegar despues, tan unidas, que el dividirlas era ronperlas. O quan encendidos afectos serian en aquella tribulacion los de su anima, unos del temor de la muerte, que como onbre atribularian su coraçon. Cristo nuestro Salvador mostrò quanto entristece al onbre ver a los ojos la cuenta muerte, i mirar los tormentos que aguardan antes de beberla: que el el sentir los dolores del martirio antes que se recibian, i padecer sintiendolos quando se estan recibiendo, es doblar meritos, i vencer dos veces. Debia sentir Cristo (dice san Ambrosio⁴²⁰) los dolores que en los tormentos recibia, i afligirse de los que esperaba, porque en sentirlos estava el vencimiento, i poco merito tendria el que no los sintiera, porque en el sentir està el vencer, i no merece alabanças de fuerte quien se atemoriza de las eridas i llagas, i no siente los dolores i penas. O fue la aflicion, i tristeza de Cristo (prosigue san Ambrosio) por otras dos causas. Seria porque consideravan quanto mal causò en sus criaturas el pecado de Adan, pues no podian ir a gozar la gloria que les estava ganando, sino era muriendo. Oyòse ternura mas amorosa? Que sienta Iesu Cristo viendo representados los tormentos que aquella noche avia de padecer, no tanto los que le an de afligir, como los que a nosotros a la ora de la muerte nos an de atormentar? O Redentor! ò Padre! ò piadoso Rey!

420 In cathena D. Thomæ sup. cap.21. Lucæ. *Debit ergo dolorem suscipere, ut vinceret. Neque habent fortitudinis laudem qui stuporem magis vulnerum tulerint, quàm dolorem. Et fortasse tristis est ideo quia post Adæ lapsum tali transiti nobis erat ex hoc sæculo recedendum, ut mori esset necesse, nec illud distat à vero, sed tristis erat pro persecutoribus suis, quos sciebat in malis sacrilegij pœnas daturos.*

The holy martyr cried so bitterly looking towards God and the Virgin and his tears were so copious, practically streams, that the witnesses state that afterwards the corporals, chasuble, and sleeves of his alb were soaked.⁴²¹ They also describe how his eyes were bathed in water and how when he had to read from the missal he looked at the pages and bathed them with so many tears that they stuck together and could not be separated afterwards.⁴²² They were so stuck together that to try to separate them would have torn them. How terribly upsetting must the trials of his soul have been? Some of these trials—as every man would carry in his heart—would be the fear of death! Christ our Saviour demonstrated [in the Garden of Gethsemane] how gloomy a man becomes when he sees his own bloody death with his own eyes, and sees the tortures that await him prior to drinking from [the cup] of death. To feel the pains of martyrdom before actually receiving them, and then to suffer them physically while undergoing them is to double the merits gained and to conquer twice over. Saint Ambrose says that Christ must have felt the pains that his tortures inflicted, whilst also having been afflicted by those torments that still awaited him.⁴²³ Conquering them comes through feeling them and there is little merit in feeling nothing because victory is in feeling. The one who is afraid of wounds but who does not feel pain does not deserve praise for being strong. On the other hand, Saint Ambrose says, Christ's affliction and sadness [in the Garden of Gethsemane] might have been for two other reasons. It could be because he was contemplating how much harm the sin of Adam caused to his creatures, because, if he did not die, they could not enjoy glory of Heaven that he would win for them. Has anyone heard of such loving affection? What would Jesus Christ feel when he saw right before his eyes the tortures that he was going to suffer that night, not just those that would be inflicted on him, but also those that we will suffer at the hours of our death? Oh Redeemer! O Father! O Merciful King!

421 Corporals are squares of white cloth (about the size of large handkerchiefs) that are laid on the altar cloth to catch any crumbs or drops that might fall or spill from the Eucharistic bread and wine (body and blood of Christ). A chasuble is the outer garment that a priest wears to say Mass. It is usually oval in shape, ornate and has a cross and the symbols of the passion stitched into it. An alb is the hooded white tunic that the priest wears under the chasuble. There are other ritual vestments also, but these are not mentioned here. For the testimonies that mention Ortiz's tears, see the 'Declaración de Juana Guerrero', 'Alonso de Cueva', 'Leonor Hurtado de Ayala' 'Leonor de Ojeda', 'Mariana Hurtado de Mendoza', 'Lorenza de Ojeda', 'Luisa de Ribas', in Bauer et al, *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.83, 86, 96, 102, 105, 108. Only Juana Guerrero could have been present (assuming she was with her husband Martín Pando in Vilcabamba).

422 A missal is the book which contains the liturgical rite of the Mass and services of the calendar year.

423 Aquinas, *The Golden Chain*, Luke, chapter 21.

Que quisiera tu piedad darnos la gloria sin las afliciones que causa a cada uno el morir, i sientes en tu muerte todas las congojas que todos los onbres padeceremos en nuestras muertes, i que el pecado fuese causa de ser necesario el morir para irte a goçar! La otra causa de las tristesças de Cristo, i de las tristes lagrimas que entre suspiros dolorosos derramò fue (dice Ambrosio) considerar, que sus verdugos i atormentadores avian de cometer sacrilegios, poniendo las manos en èl, siendo Sacerdote, i avian de merecer la inmensa pena que los sacrilegos an de padecer en el infierno. O clemencia eterna! Que sienta Dios mas lo que sus verdugos sacrilegos an de llorar, que los innumerables castigos que en èl an de azer? Estas mismas congojas afligirian a nuestro santo martir mientras decia la Misa, ya el ver la muerte que como onbre temia, i considerar los tormentos que le esperavan; ya el delito que sus verdugos cometian siendo sacrilegos contra un Sacerdote doliendose de la culpa, i considerandolos merecedores de una pena eterna; que los justos mas sienten las eridas que se dan a si mismos en el anima los atormentadores quando atormentan al inocente, que las llagas i martirios que reciben en el cuerpo, por grandes que sean sus dolores.

6[7]. Bañado en lagrimas, consagrò la sacrosanta Ostia, i detuiose un rato en ablar con Cristo, ò pidiendo que si convenia [817] que resucitase el Inga lo resucitase, para que aquellos infieles i los apostatas creyesen aquel articulo de Fè, que era todo poderoso para resucitar los muertos, i su santa Fè se acreditase ganando infieles, i confirmando los ya bautizados; pediria lo que Cristo a su Padre Eterno, que si era posible le escusas la muerte; temor que sienpre aconpaña a la umana naturaleza; pero que en todo se iziese, no su voluntad, sino la del Padre Eterno,

How much would your mercy wish to grant each of us Glory without us having to suffer the pains of death? And in your death you feel the pain that all men feel when we die, and the fact that sin is the cause of it being necessary for us to die to go and enjoy you! The other cause for the sadness of Christ, and the sad tears that between painful sighs he shed (says Ambrose), was because he considered that his executioners and torturers were about to commit sacrilege by placing their hands on him, a priest, and they were going to suffer that terrible punishment that the sacrilegious must always suffer in Hell. Oh eternal clemency! How much more than the innumerable punishments that God's sacrilegious executioners inflict on him does he feel when he also feels their [future] pain which they will soon be lamenting? This same anguish would have been afflicting our holy martyr as he said Mass—on seeing the death that as a man he feared, especially as he thought about the torture that awaited him. But contemplating the crime of sacrilege that his executioners committed against a priest, and considering them deserving of eternal punishment also hurt him. The just feel the wounds that tormenters inflict on their own souls when they torture the innocent more than the wounds and martyrdom that they themselves receive on their bodies, no matter how great their [physical] pain.

6[7]. Bathed in tears, he consecrated the sacred Host and lingered a moment to talk to Christ, asking that if it were convenient [817] for him to resurrect the Inca then could he please do so, so that those infidels and apostates might believe in that article of faith, that he [Christ] was all-powerful [and] could resurrect the dead, if it would benefit his holy faith to win over the infidels and confirm those already baptised. He would [most likely] have asked the same as Christ asked of his Eternal Father—that if it be possible could he excuse him from death⁴²⁴; a fear which always accompanies human nature; but that let not his own will be done but that of the Eternal Father.

424 This continues to refer to the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane c.f. Luke 22:42; Matt 26:42. This is Ortiz's Christ-like agony.

que fue decir: (esplica Origenes⁴²⁵) Si este genero de muerte puede escusarse, no se egecute, porque los Iudios no perezcan por quitarme la vida, i degen de ser reos en injusticia tan sacrilega, con tal que no dege de conseguir el mundo todos los provechos que les à de negociar mi pasion i muerte. Con que probò Cristo nuestro Redentor el temor que como onbre tuvo a la muerte, la resignacion de su voluntad a la de Dios, i la pena que la causava el remediar al mundo con perdicion de tantos, que quisera salvarlos a todos si pudiese ser, sin perdida de los Iudios, que era su pueblo. Acà a nuestro Martir le aconpañavan los mesmos afetos, i le tormentavan de dolor semejantes aincos: temia como onbre la muerte, llorava la perdicion de aquel que era su pueblo; quisiera morir por Cristo i por su fè, deseo que le trujo a las montañas; pero que no fuese por manos de los que el criava como a ijos, i amava como a dicipulos. Estos eran los motivos de sus innumerables lagrimas, i en esto se detuvo un grande rato beviendo por instantes el caliz de su martirio.

8. Como se detenia en ablar con Cristo consagrado en la ostia, i los verdugos crueles no querian pausas, porque su rabia les dava priesas, se fue al altar Iuan Quispe, i diciendole: Acaba ya enbustero, como te detienes tanto enbaidor: le diò al bendito Sacerdote una bofetada cruel con la mano que antes recebia las dadivas i limosnas, que el Martir le solia dar. O Malco segundo, ò Indio ingrato, ò sacrilego descomulgado! Malco despues que recibì dadivas i salud de la mano de Cristo, le diò en presencia de un Pontifice iniquo aquella gran bofetada;

⁴²⁵ In cap.26 Matth. *Si possibile est, ut sine passione mea omnia ista bona proveniant, quæ per passionem meum sunt proventura, transeat passio hæc à me, ut et mundus salvetur et Iudæi in passione mea non pereant. Si autem sine perditione quorundam multorum salus non potest introduci quantum ad iustitiam tuam non transeat.*

Which was to say (as Origen explains⁴²⁶) ‘If this type of death could be excused so that the Jews would not suffer for taking my life and would not be accused of such a sacrilegious injustice, it would not happen, but this would result in the world not attaining any of the benefits that my passion and death brought about’. With this Christ our Redeemer demonstrated the fear of death that he had as a man, his resignation to the will of God, and the pain that saving the world in which so many were damned caused him. [He also showed] that he wanted to save everyone if that were possible, even without the perdition of his people, the Jews. Here our martyr felt the same sentiments and was tormented with a similar intensity: like any man he feared death, he cried for the perdition of those who were his people, he wanted to die for Christ and for his faith—a desire that he brought with him to these mountains—but not that it be at the hands of those he raised as his own sons, and loved as his disciples. Those were the reasons for his innumerable tears, and in this he delayed a long while, drinking occasionally from the chalice of his martyrdom.⁴²⁷

8. As he was taking his time talking to the Consecrated Christ in the Host, and the cruel executioners wanted no pauses because their rage made them impatient, Juan Quispe approached the altar saying to him: ‘Hurry up and finish you trickster! Why are you taking so long you conman?’ And he struck the blessed priest a cruel slap with the same hand that previously had received donations and alms given to him by the martyr. Oh second Malchus⁴²⁸, oh ungrateful Indian, oh sacrilegious excommunicate! Malchus, who after receiving the gift of health from the hand of Christ, in the presence of the iniquitous High Priest, struck him that great slap.

426 On [Matthew] chapter 26: Here Calancha is citing Origen (speaking for Christ) rather than Matthew 26:39, which reads: ‘*Pater mi, si non potest hic calix transire nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua*’ (‘My Father, if it is possible, let this chalice pass me by; [but] let your will be done’).

427 By this Calancha is referring to the prayerful contemplation of his martyrdom and Christ’s passion as part of the sacrifice of the Mass. All three elements would have been combined into one single act of prayer. Drinking from the chalice of his martyrdom is a metaphor that works well as Ortiz would also have drunk from the chalice during the consecration in which the wine was turned into Christ’s blood. As such, while contemplating his own martyrdom, he would have also have drunk the blood of Christ’s salvific martyrdom.

428 When Jesus was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus, the High Priest’s servant. Jesus reprimanded Peter and healed Malchus’ ear (John 18:11-12). Calancha has Malchus as the same servant/soldier who later struck Jesus for answering back the High Priest, Caiphas, although in Scripture, the servant is unnamed (John: 18:22).

pero este Indio se la diò al Cristo de Dios en presencia del sumo Sacerdote Cristo consagrado en la ostia. El bendito Martir alço los ojos al cielo, bajòlos al Santisimo Sacramento (que sea alabado por sienpre) diciendo: Sea todo por el amor de Dios. Caso admirable! Que la mano i braço que cometiò tan sacrilego desacato, quedò seco sin que pareciese de onbre vivo, i asi seco, yerto i muerto lo tuvo cinquenta i seys años, porque muriò este Indio el año de mil i seycientos i veinte i quatro, conservandolo Dios tantos años, porque fuese pregonero de su delito, i clamador del martirio. Negava a los principios el aver dado aquella bofetada al Martir, temiendo no le castigasen las justicias el delito. Pero despues confesava a voces la maravilla del cielo, i el desacato suyo. Quando le preguntavan, porque mas a èl que a los otros verdugos abria castigado Dios al pie de la ofensa sin transferir el castigo? Respondia, que por aver sido el solo Cristiano i verdugo entre los demas infieles, i ser de los que el santo mas favorecia. I preguntando, porque se atreviò a tan gran ingritud, confesò, que besandole los capitanes idolatras el ser Cristiano quando entrò a ver al Santo al tienpo que lo atavan, i arguyendole que era de los dicipulos de aquel frayle enbustero, èl temiendo que no le matasen negò el ser Cristiano, i que no creia en Cristo, de que aria pruebas suficientes siendo èl primero que lo martirizase, i que por acreditarse de enemigo del Santo le diò la bofetada, i por esto tenia por sin duda que mas a el, que a otro le castigò Dios luego a vista de todos. Asemeljòse este a S. Pedro en negar a su Maestro, siendo el temor el motivo de ambos, aunque Pedro llorò luego su negacion, i este Indio luan en 56 años, confesando con el braço su delito no se le conociò santidad, si bien parecia virtuoso. Al fin el negò su bautismo, su fè i su maestro, i por temer a los onbres, diò en el altar la bofetada al Cristo de Dios, porque pensasen los que alli asistian, que no era el de los dicipulos del Martir, ni de los ijos de la fe.

But this Indian gave it to the Christ of God⁴²⁹ in the presence of the Christ the High Priest consecrated in the Host. The blessed martyr raised his eyes to heaven, and then lowered them to the Blessed Sacrament (may it be forever praised) saying: 'let this all be for the love of God'. Miraculously the hand and arm that committed such brazen sacrilege was instantly paralysed⁴³⁰ and it no longer looked like it belonged to a living man! And it stayed dried up like that, rigid and dead for fifty six years, as this Indian died in the year 1624, because God preserved him so many years so that he could tell the world of his crime and proclaim the martyrdom that took place. At first he denied having given that slap to the martyr, for fear that [Spanish] justice would punish the crime. But later, he shouted to all who would hear of the heavenly marvel and his own disrespect.⁴³¹ He was asked why God punished him more than the other executioners at the moment of committing the offence without passing on the punishment [to them all]. He replied that he had been the only Christian executioner amongst pagans and was the one who the Saint favoured the most. And when asked why he dared to be so ungrateful, he confessed that when he kissed the idolatrous captains [in greeting] when he entered as a Christian to see the Saint at the time when they had tied him up, they accused him of being one of the disciples of that trickster friar and he, afraid that they would kill him, denied being a Christian and denied believing in Christ. He thought he could prove it to them by being the first to martyr [fray Diego]. So, to make them believe he was the enemy of the Saint, he gave him that slap and for that more than anything else he had no doubt that, subsequently, God had punished him in the sight of all. This is comparable to when Saint Peter denied his master, as fear was the reason for both [denials], although Peter later lamented his denial, and this Indian, Juan, with his arm proclaiming his crime, never knew sanctity in 56 years, even if he eventually seemed virtuous. At the end of the day, he denied his baptism, his faith and his master, and for fear of men, he slapped the Christ of God so that those who were helping him would think that he was neither one of the martyr's disciples nor one of the sons of the faith.

429 Calancha uses this epithet to refer to Ortiz: *Cristo de Dios* – lit. 'Christ of God'. The comparison between Christ and Ortiz is now so total that it becomes difficult to separate the two persons. This is Calancha's intention.

430 *Se quedó seco* – lit. 'was dried up'.

431 When the testimonies were given in 1595 Juan Quispe made no mention of having struck Ortiz, although he is accused by others. See the 'Declaración de Juan Quispe', in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.70-1.

Teodoreto⁴³², ablando de la bofetada que en presencia del Pontifice dieron a nuestro Salvador, dice, que como Cristo acabava de decir a Pilatos quando le preguntò por la ley que predicava: Que me preguntas a mi, preguntaselo a los que me an oido? Oyendo esto aquel onbre sacrilego le diò la bofetada, [818] porque el juez i los Iudios no pensasen que era el de los que seguian, i se admiravan de las obras i dotrina de Cristo. O desacuerdo necio! ò loca temeridad! que el ser cobarde para los onbres, engendre animo para atreverse a Dios? i que para probar que aborrecen a Cristo, no les parece bastante el decirlo a voces, sino lo firman con las manos en el rostro santo? Continuò su Misa, i aumentò sus lagrimas el inocente cordero, queriendole tirar los capitanes las flechas i lanças estando en el altar, porque no resucitava luego al apostata Inga, decianle: Acaba ya enbustero de resucitar a nuestro Rey, ò de llorar en la Misa, que aqui moriras sino lo resucitas. O duros coraçones, pues viendo el castigo que izo el cielo en el capitan Iuan Quispe, ni se atemorizaron, ni se conpadecieron? Pero un coraçon obstinado se enfurece, quando ve portentos en el que aflige. No alcanço de Dios la resurrecion del difunto, porque como le pedia que en todo se iziese la divina voluntad, i lo que mas inportase a su servicio i onra, negociaron sus ruegos i sus lagrimas no resucitase el Inga, para que muriese èl, porque en anbas cosas estava la gloria i la onra de Dios, egecutandose en el Inga su Divina justicia, i en el martirio suyo la grandeza de su misericordia. Acabò la Misa, donde le confortò, no como a Cristo un Angel, sino el mesmo Cristo, i le diria en su anima lo que el Angel a Elias⁴³³, como ese pan celestia, que es largo el camino que te queda por correr. I si aquel pan le diò fortaleza a Elias para subir a la cumbre del monte Oreb; el pan sacrosanto de la Ostia se le diò a nuestro Martir, no para subir por un solo monte, sino para trasmontar arrastrado muchos Montes.

432 In cathena D. Thom. *Quid me interrogas? Interroga eos qui me audierunt. Cum Iesus astantium interpellasset testimonium, volens se minister excusare, quod non esset de his qui admirabantur Iesum, percussit eum, vnde dicitur: Haec autem cum dixisset.*

433 3.Reg.19. *Comede, grandis enim tibi restat via.*

Theodore, speaking of the slap that was given to our Saviour in the presence of the High Priest, says that just as Christ had replied to Pilate when he asked him by what Law he preached, Christ had replied [to the High Priest]: ‘Why do you ask me? Ask those who heard me preach’. On hearing this, that sacrilegious man gave him the slap [818] so that the judge and the Jews would not think he was a follower of Christ and that he admired His deeds and words.⁴³⁴ Oh what stubborn discord! Oh what crazy temerity! Who would have thought that being a coward amongst men would engender the will to dare to offend God and that to prove that they loathed Christ, it is not enough to say it in a loud voice, rather they have to prove it by laying their hands on the holy face?

The Mass continued, and the tears of the innocent lamb increased while the captains wanted to spear him and shoot him with arrows there and then on the altar. Because he was not managing to resurrect the apostate Inca, they said to him: ‘Finish now with the resurrection of our king you trickster, or instead of crying in the Mass you’ll be dead yourself if you don’t resurrect him’. Oh what hard hearts, because even on seeing the punishment that heaven sent down on the captain Juan Quispe, they were not afraid, nor did this provoke their compassion. Rather, an obstinate heart becomes enraged when it sees portents that afflict it. God did not resurrect the deceased, because as [fray Diego] had asked that all be done according to the divine will and what most benefitted his service and honour; this meant that his pleas, and his tears did not resurrect the Inca. This was so that [fray Diego] might be killed because in both these things the glory and honour of God is evident—executing divine justice on the Inca and the greatness of his mercy on [fray Diego’s] martyrdom. The Mass ended, and he was comforted not, like Christ, by an Angel but rather by Christ himself, and he would inscribe on his soul the words of Angel to Elias: ‘Eat this heavenly bread, for the road that you must travel is long’.⁴³⁵ And if that bread gave strength to Elias to climb to the summit of Mount Horeb, the sacred bread of the Host gave the same to our martyr, not to climb just one mountain but to be dragged up and over many mountains.

434 Aquinas, *The Golden Chain*. Theodore of Antioch (d.428) was Bishop of Mopsuestia (392-428) in Cilicia (now in Armenia) and friend of both Nestorius and John Chrystostom.

435 3 Kings 19. Again, this reference appears to be misprinted (there is no 3 Kings). The correct reference is 1 Kings 19:7.

Saliò del altar, i de aquella cena Divina a padecer en una Cruz, porque en todo se pareciese este siervo a su Señor, muriendo despues de aver consagrado, i puesto en un palo despues de aver consumido.

He came down from the altar and from that divine supper to suffer on a cross, because in everything this servant is like his Lord, dying after having consecrated, and raised up on a pole after having eaten.