

Cap. VI. Prosigue los grandes martirios i atroces que padeciò el bendito fray Diego Ortiz.

1. Al punto que acabò la Misa se llegaron al altar los crueles sayones, preguntaronle dandole remeçones, como no avia resucitado al Inga? I èl respondiò: El azedor de todas las cosas, el Dios que yo confieso i predico lo puede azer todo; pero no es su voluntad que resucite, porque no deve de convenir a su servicio. Cogenle de la corona, i dan con el por los suelos, pisanle boca i ojos, i asta que se cansaron le estuvieron dando cozes, bofetadas i palos. Callava el Dicipulo de Cristo, i la vez que ablava, solo decia: Todo sea por amor de Dios, i porque me perdone mis pecados. Alli se estremò Martin Pando, descoyuntando a cozes los mienbros del santo Sacerdote, siendo las palabras de ignominia mayores, que la crueldad de los martirios.

2. Llevan al bendito Martir a una Cruz alta, que estava en el cimiterio, i atanle a ella garganta, piernas i braços, con sogas de cortaderas, con tal rigor, que le cortaron las carnes de los braços, de la gartanta i de las piernas, i alli le dieron tan inumanos açotes, que a no darle Dios fortaleza, muriera en el suplicio, porque siendo cruelisimos los golpes, fueron innumerables los açotes, de que bajava en arroyos la sangre, sacando entre los latigos i rebenques carne de aquel cuerpo inocente, remudandose los verdugos; porque si se les cansavan las fuerças no se les menoscaban las rabias. Advierteles el Demonio, que traygan del altar los ornamentos, casullas i frontales, el caliz, ara, patena i corporales, i alli a su vista se orinaron en las cosas consagradas, ensuziandose en los ornamentos, i beviendo chicha en el sagrado caliz, blasfemando de Iesu Cristo, i aziendo irrisiones de que fuese poderoso a resucitar los muertos: cada sacrilego decia su afrenta, i cada uno se esmerave en aumentar ignominias. O pacientisimo Señor, quanto sufre [819] tu clemencia! Quanto disimula tu piedad! i quanto se rebalsa tu justicia! Aora en la ley de gracia no ay fuegos para matar al pie de la obra a los sacrilegos,

Chapter 6. The great and atrocious martyrdom that the blessed fray Diego Ortiz suffered continues.

1. At the moment the Mass ended, the cruel executioners approached the altar and shook him demanding to know why he had not resurrected the Inca. And he replied: 'The maker of all things, the God that I believe in and preach about, can do anything and everything; but it is not his will that [the Inca] be resurrected because it must not be in his interest to do so.' They grab him by his hair, and throw him to the ground. They stamp on his mouth and eyes and they kicked, slapped and beat him with sticks until they grew tired. The Disciple of Christ was silent and the only time he spoke he said: 'Let all be for the love of God, and so that my sins be forgiven.' At this, Martín Pando became enraged and began kicking him so hard that he dislocated the holy priest's limbs. The shameful words that Pando uttered were worse than the cruelty of the martyrdom itself.

2. They take the blessed martyr to a high cross that was standing in the cemetery and tie him to it by his throat, legs and arms with 'cutter' ropes, with the effect that they cut the flesh from his arms, throat and legs, and there they gave him such an inhuman whipping that if God had not given him strength, he would have died during the torture, because the blows were so cruel and so innumerable that the blood flowed in streams, the whips and lashes ripping the flesh from that innocent body. Yet the executioners were not moved in the slightest for if their strength began to fail, their rage in no way lessened. The devil instructed them to bring the Mass instruments from the altar along with the chasubles, frontispieces, the chalice, altarpiece, pattern and corporals, and there in front of him they urinated on the sacred ornaments and drank chicha from the sacred chalice, blaspheming about Jesus Christ, and insulting his power to resurrect the dead: with each sacrilege the intention to offend was clear and each one outdid the other with every insult. Oh most patient Lord, how your clemency suffers! [819] How much your pity conceals and how your justice overflows! Now according to the law of grace the sacrilegious will not be killed in the act;

no parecen dedos escribiendo sentencias de muerte, quando profanan los consagrados vasos de tu altar, i los uvo quando el Rey Baltasar los profanava en su mesa. Ya veo Señor, que despues que soys onbre i padecistis en Cruz, teneys de sufrido, lo que teneys de umano, sino es que sea, que es tanto el gozo que os resulta de ver los amores i finesas de un Martir, que mientras padece, no atendeys al castigo del que le ofende, sino al merito del que os enamora.

3. Viendo el santo Martir los vasos sagrados profanados, i los ornamentos suzios, alçando los ojos al cielo pidiò misericordia para los sacrilegos, i diria lo que Cristo: Perdonalos Señor, que no saben lo que azen. Entran a la celda del siervo de Dios, i sacanle el ábito negro i blanco, una fresada i dos tunicas, que este era su caudal, i alli a su vista repartenlo entre si los verdugos, dividiendo, i cortando pedaços de ornamentos i ábitos, dando a cado uno su parte; que asta en esto quiso nuestro Redentor Iesu Cristo que le pareciese la muerte i pasion de su siervo a su pasion i muerte, pues estando tambien en Cruz i açotado, le dividieron sus vestiduras⁴³⁶ i le despedaçaron sus tunicas. Destos ábitos i ornamentos izieron los Indios verdugos talegas, que ellos llaman chuspas, i las traian despues por bizzarria. Raspavan la tierra donde decia Misa, donde se ponía a rezar, los sitios i lugares donde se sentava, donde dormia, i desaziendo los altares arrojaron toda la una i la otra tierra en el rio como a cosa maldita, i que no merecia quedar entre onbres. Puede llegar a mas la abominacion, i el odio contra nuestra Iglesia, i nuestra Fè?

4. Desatanle de la Cruz, i como estava tan desflaquecido i desangrado, se sentò en la peña, donde Martin Pando el mestizo le diò muchas cozes, i otros Indios le dieron pescoçadas, i escupian solo porque alçò los ojos al cielo, i los mostrò llorosos i enternecidos, diciendole: Para que miras al cielo enbaidor?

⁴³⁶ Matth. 27. *Diviserunt vestimenta eius, sortem mittentes.*

No fingers appear writing death sentences when they profane the consecrated vessels of your altar, just as there were when Balthasar profaned them at his table.⁴³⁷ I see now Lord that after you became man and suffered on the Cross, your real humanity is in the delight you experience when seeing the kindness and love of a martyr, for as they suffer, you are not thinking about punishing those who offend you but rather the merits of those who love you.

3. When the holy martyr saw the sacred vessels profaned and the ornaments of the altar dirtied, he lifted his eyes to heaven and asked for mercy for the sacrilegious and would have said the same as Christ: ‘Forgive them Lord, they know not what they do’. They go into the servant of God’s cell and take out his black and white habit, a blanket and two tunics—as that was all he owned—and before his eyes they divided them between themselves, and cutting the ornaments and habits into pieces they gave each one his share.⁴³⁸ Even in this our Redeemer Jesus Christ wanted the passion and death of his servant to seem like his own passion and death, because also hanging from the Cross, and having been whipped, they divided his clothes and they tore his tunics.⁴³⁹ Of these habits and ornaments the Indian executioners made bags, which they call *chuspas* and afterwards they carried them as trophies. They ploughed up the ground where he said Mass and where he prayed and the places where he sat, where he slept and they dismantled the altars and threw them together with the earth they had ploughed up into the river as if they were cursed things that had no place among men. Could such loathing and hatred of our Church and our faith reach greater heights?

4. They untie him from the cross, and as he was so weak and had lost so much blood he collapsed at the base of it, where Martín Pando the mestizo kicked him repeatedly and other Indians struck him on the head and spat at him, only because he raised his eyes tearful and full of tenderness to heaven. They said to him: ‘Why do you look up to heaven trickster?’

437 This is a reference to Daniel 5, in which King Balthasar (Belshazzar) of Babylon while feasting, saw a disembodied hand writing on the palace wall. In terror, he called together all the wise men of Babylon but they could not give him an answer. Daniel was summoned and he prophesied Balthasar’s death for the blasphemous use of the ornaments of the Jewish temple.

438 Given the framework Calancha is constructing we could be forgiven for assuming these details are artistic licence. Nevertheless, he did not invent them himself. They are there in the witness testimonies (see the introductory essay).

439 Matt. 27:35.

Piensas que te an de librate los que no resucitaron el difunto? Aqui dicen otros testigos, que le diò Iuan Quispe page del Inga la bofetada, i le secò el braço, i con decir que le diò una quando decia Misa, i otra quando le desataron de la Crus, se confederan todos los que declaran, castigando Dios la reincidencia del desacato a este Cristiano, que era el mas querido del Martir la segunda vez que cometì el sacrilegio. Que como dice san Iuan Crisostomo⁴⁴⁰: el que ve pecar a otros, i no se corrige cometiendo aquellos, o mayores pecados, se egecutarà en este mayor pena, i se agrandarà el castigo, porque merece doblados rigores. I si esto se deve al que vido pecar a otros, quanto mas se deverà castigar al que pecò atrevido, i continuò descarado [...]? Callò el siervo de Dios, i con suma mansedunbre les pidiò que le diesen un bocado que comer, porque estava rendido i desmayado. Traenle biscocho tan duro, que si el Demonio le llevò a Cristo en el desierto piedras que convirtiese en pan; estos Indios Demonios le dieron pan convertido en piedra. No pudo morder un bocado el bendito Martir, porque las quijadas i megillas las tenia desencajadas, i la dureza del biscocho era grande. Pidiò que le diesen agua para remojar el biscocho, i beber, que la sed le afligia, i echando en un vaso orines, sal, yel, salitre, excrementos suzios, i una yerba llamada colpa (amarga como el acibar, yel i mirra) se la dieron. Gustòla, i no la quiso beber, de la mesma suerte que a Cristo le sucediò al pie de la Cruz⁴⁴¹, que gustando el vino mesclado con ye, dice san Mateo, que no lo quiso beber, aunque despues de crucificado beviò el vinagre. Mas suzios verdugos fueron estos Indios crueles con nuestro Martir, que los Iudios contumaces con nuestro Redentor: pues si allà dieron bebida amarga, no la dieron asquerosa, que un onbre linpio beberà yales, pero no excrementos. I si a Cristo quando gustò la bebida, i no la beviò, no le obligaron a que la beviere;

⁴⁴⁰ Hom.75. *Qui enim multos iam peccantes vidit, et incorrectus permansit, cadem vel graviora faciens, maiore pœna est obnoxius.*

⁴⁴¹ Matth.27. *Et venerunt in locum qui dicitur Golgotha, quod est Calvariæ locus, et dederunt ei vinum bibere cum felle mixtum, et cum gustasset, noluit bibere.*

Do you think they will liberate you from our hands? Do you think that those who didn't resurrect the dead could free you?' Other witnesses say that at it was at this point that the Inca's page Juan Quispe gave him the slap that paralysed his arm, and by saying that he gave him a slap when he was saying Mass, and another when they untied him from the cross, all those that made a declaration thought that God punished the reoccurrence of the contempt of this Christian (who was the most beloved of the martyr) the second time he committed the sacrilege. For, as Saint John Chrysostom says: 'he who sees others commit a sin and does not correct these or other worse sins will suffer the greater punishment, because he deserves double the severity.'⁴⁴² And if this is due to those who see others commit sins, how much more punishment should be meted out to the one who continually and brazenly dares to commit sin [...]? The servant of God stayed silent and with supreme humility asked them to give him a bite to eat because he was exhausted and fainting. They bring him a biscuit cake that was so hard that while the devil took Christ rocks in the desert for him to turn into bread, these Indian devils brought him bread transformed into rock.⁴⁴³ The blessed martyr could not even take one bite, because his jaws and his cheeks were dislocated and the cake was so hard. He asked for water to soak the cake and to drink because he was afflicted by thirst and, taking a glass, they mixed urine, salt, bile, saltpetre, filthy excrement, and a herb called *colpa* (bitter like aloe, bile and myrrh) and gave it to him. He tasted it and did not want to drink it. The same thing happened to Christ, says Saint Matthew, when at the foot of the Cross he tasted the wine mixed with bile he did not want to drink it, although once crucified he did drink vinegar.⁴⁴⁴ These cruel Indians were filthier executioners than the stubborn Jews were with our Redeemer: because there they gave him a bitter drink but they did not give him a drink of filth.⁴⁴⁵ A clean man might drink bitter bile but not excrement. And when Christ tasted the drink and did not drink it, they did not force him to drink it.

⁴⁴² Sermon 75.

⁴⁴³ This is a reference to Christ's temptation in the desert: Matt. 4:3: 'Then the tempter approached and said to him: "If you are the Son of God, turn these stones into loaves of bread"'.

⁴⁴⁴ Matt. 27:34.

⁴⁴⁵ Matthew makes no mention of who gave him the drink (wine mixed with gall), although the implication is that it was the Romans who were responsible for carrying out the crucifixion not the Jews. In this gospel there is no mention of Christ drinking vinegar as well. Mark 15:23 concurs with Matthew 27:34, while Luke says that the soldiers mocked him by offering him vinegar (Luke 23:36) and does not specify whether or not he drank it. John 19: 29-30 states that Jesus cried out that he was thirsty and then the soldiers offered him vinegar on a sponge, which he drank.

acà estos inumanos sayones, poniendo los yerros de las lanças conjuntas al pecho, i los puñales a la garganta, le digeron: Beve enbustero, que sino beves todo ese vaso, te pasaremos todo ese cuerpo. Alço los ojos al cielo, acordariase de la bebida, que estando como el estava al pie de la Cruz dieron a Cristo su Dios, i beviò el vaso asqueroso, [820] mayor tormento, que el mayor martirio. Santo Dios, si para dar a entender a Ezequiel⁴⁴⁶ la triste esclavitud que el pueblo de Dios avia de padecer en Babilonia, i que seria tanta, que el orno en que cozerian unos bollos mezclados de arinas de trigo, cebada i abas, seria entre rescoldos i cenizas de estiercol umano, siendo excrementos de onbre la leña de sus panes, le mandastis al Profeta que mezclase destas arinas, i amasado un pan lo llevase en presencia del pueblo, i alli lo coziese en rescoldo de estiercol umano, i a su vista lo comiese beviendo agua clara, porque el asco de lo que vian les iziese enmendar para no padecer lo que les profetizavan, i atribulandose el Profeta os dijo: A,A,A (afetos doloridos:) Señor i Dios yo no è comido en mi vida cosa inmunda, animal mortezino, ni despedaçado de bestia, tengo asco, i de cosas obcenas gran astio, no permitays que padezca tal tormento: entonces Dios mio os condolistis de vuestro siervo, i conmutastis la leña, diciendo Sea pues el rescoldo i ceniza en que cueças el pan subcinericio, no excremento umano, sino estiercol de buey⁴⁴⁷. Como pues Señor os mostrays menos compasivo con vuestro martir fray Diego, dejandole beber orines, ascos, excrementos, yerba amarga i estiercol? i pareciendoos que era horrible al paladar cozer el pan con cenizas obcenas, os pareciò potable para vuestro martir, ese mesmo asco no en cenizas, no en vez de leña, sino dado en bebida tan asqueroso brevaje? Pero respondereys con el écho, que amavays mas al frayle que al Profeta, i que le distis mas fortaleza que a Ezequiel, para que padeciendo mas tuviese mayores meritos, dejando este tormento asqueroso para el Martir peruano mostrando lo mucho que os obligò con sufrir este martirio con la paga que le izistis, de que asta oy estan oliendo a rosas sus benditos guesos.

⁴⁴⁶ Cap. 4. *Et stercore, quod egreditur de homine operies illud in oculis eorum, sic comedent filij Israel panem suum pollutum inter gentes ad guas eijciam eos.*

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid. *Et dixit ad me: Ecce dedi tibi fimum boum pro stercoribus humanis, et facies panem tuum in eo.*

Here these inhuman executioners pushed the iron points of their spears into his chest and throat, and said to him: ‘Drink trickster because if you don’t drink this all down we’ll push these right through your body!’ He raised his eyes to heaven and would have remembered the drink that they gave to Christ his God as he was at the foot of the Cross, and he drank down the filthy glass [820] a worse torture than the worst martyrdom. Holy God, you made the people of God understand the sad enslavement they were going to suffer in Babylon—and it was so bad that buns made with wheat flour, barley and beans, were baked in the embers and ashes of human dung because human excrement was the fuel for their ovens—by ordering the prophet Ezekiel to mix these flours, and once the bread dough was made, to take to the people and bake it in the embers of human dung, and in their sight eat it while drinking fresh water. This was so that the revulsion of what they were seeing would make them change their ways so that what was prophesied would not come to pass. But the prophet began to exclaim in pain, ‘Ay! Ay! Ay! Lord and God I have never in my life eaten anything unclean; neither carrion meat, nor flesh cut from a beast! This disgusts me, and such obscene things cause me terrible nausea. Do not let me suffer such torment’.⁴⁴⁸ So my God you took pity on your servant and transformed the fuel, saying, ‘let the embers and ash in which you bake the ash-bread not be of human excrement but ox-dung’.⁴⁴⁹ How then Lord can you be less compassionate towards your martyr fray Diego, letting him drink urine, filth, excrement, bitter herbs and dung? And seeming to you that it was horrible to the palate to bake bread with ashes of filth, did it seem possible for your martyr to consume this same filth, not as ash, not instead of wood, but mixed into such a disgusting drink? But you will respond by saying that you loved the friar more than the prophet, and that you gave him more strength than you gave Ezekiel, so that by suffering more he would attain more merits. And so you left this disgusting torment for the Peruvian martyr, demonstrating by the reward that you gave to him, how much you were obliged to him because of his suffering and that even today his blessed bones still smell of roses.⁴⁵⁰

448 Ezekiel: 4:12-14.

449 Ezekiel: 4:15.

450 ‘The odour of sanctity’: one of the common signs that a dead person was a saint was that their bodies did not rot in the same way as ordinary corpses. While in normal circumstances a body would begin to stink of putrefaction, a saintly corpse would give off a sweet-smelling odour. Calancha is asserting the same about Diego Ortiz’s relics.

5. Apartan de la Cruz al bendito Martir, i oradanle las megillas de una parte a otra, i por debajo de la lengua azenle otro orado, que le saliò a la garganta, i metenle una cruel sog a de cortaderas, que le pasava anbas megillas, i barba a modo de freno, ò cabestro: El modo de ronperle barba i megillas fue con un gueso, como espresan las informaciones que acà tenemos, pero de las que a Roma se llevaron, i las que hizo el Governador Martin Urtado de Arbieta, que fueron las primeras, sacò nuestro Dotor fray Nicolao Cruzeno el modo deste martirio en su Monasticon Augustiniano⁴⁵¹, donde llamandole Beato, dice que cogieron un hierro ardiendo, i con èl le oradaron las megillas, pasandole por ellas una sog a modo de cadena. Con que bestia feroz se usò crueldad tamaña? Desta forma llevandole de diestro, i tirandole de la sog a lo llevan como a bestia por las calles del pueblo, desnudo con sola una tunica de paño, descalço i maniatado, derramando arroyos de sangre, llevandolo a que lo vea la Coya doña Angelina, que con verle desollado a açotes, escupido, despedaçado a cozes i a palos, écho un lago de sangre, umilde, i manso, no se ablandò; antes rebosando iras començò a exagerar la maldiciones. Los Indios que la aconpañavan por adularla se fueron con el Martir por las calles, multiplicando maldiciones, i clamando a sus Idolos por castigos. Asi le traian por las calles, para que aun en aquesto se pareciese a Cristo. No faltarian Indias, que asomandose por sus puertas llorarian enternecidas, ò sea de compasion natural viendo aquella mansedunbre entre tantas lastimas, o por ser Cristianas ijas de su bautismo, beneficiadas de su limosna i caridad.

⁴⁵¹ 3 part. cap.46 *Renitentem verò ferro candenti adoriuntur, maxillas perforant, catena imposita, eumque sic catenatum per urbem trahunt, donec mille maledictionibus impetitus animam exalaret.*

5. They pull the blessed martyr away from the cross, and they drill holes right through his cheeks and under his tongue they drill another hole that came out at his throat and they push through a cruel rope made of cutter grass which they passed through both cheeks and his beard in the manner of a horse's halter. According to the testimonies that we have here, they pierced his beard and cheeks with a bone. But those that were taken to Rome and those that the Governor Martín Hurtado de Arbieta wrote (which were the first) and which were published in our Doctor fray Nicolaus Crusenius's document on the manner of this martyrdom in his *Monasticon Augustianum*⁴⁵², in which calling him Blessed, he says they took a red hot iron and with that they drilled his cheeks, passing a rope through them in the manner of a chain. With what bestial ferocity did they commit such acts of cruelty? In this way they dragged him along, and pulling on the rope they dragged him like a beast around the streets of the town, naked but for a loincloth, barefoot, and with his hands tied, streams of blood pouring [from his wounds]. They took him to the *coya* doña Angelina, who showed no compassion on seeing him flayed by the whips, spat on, beaten and kicked into pieces, humble and meek, turned into a lake of blood. Rather, she was seething with rage and began to curse him. The sycophant Indians who accompanied her went with the martyr through the streets multiplying the curses and calling on their idols to punish him. And so they dragged him through the streets so that even in this he would seem like Christ. There was no lack of Indian women, who appearing at their doors cried because they were so moved, whether due to natural compassion on seeing such meekness alongside such terrible suffering, or because they were Christian, daughters of his baptism, beneficiaries of his alms and charity.

⁴⁵² Nicolao Crusenio, *Monasticon Augustinianum in quo omnium ordinum sub regula s. Augustini militantium [...]* (S.P.: apud Ioannis Hertsroy, 1623), Part 3, chapter XLVI, p.230. Part three of the book is organised according to the succession of Father Generals of the order, and Diego Ortiz's martyrdom is mentioned in the chapter that refers to the events that occur in the order during the time of Hippolito Fabriano, the forty-fourth general. Calancha is drawing from the testimonies here but he is conflating two contradictory testimonies. Most, (but not all) the Spanish testimonies (which were constructed from hearsay) concur that Ortiz's cheeks were drilled and a halter was pushed through the holes so as to drag him from Puquiura to his audience with Tupac Amaru in Marcanay and then his place of execution. Nevertheless, an indigenous (eye-witness) testimony of Francisco Condorpuri corrects what appears to have been a mistake in the translation or transcription. After Francisco Condorpuri had been re-read his testimony so he could ratify it (and affirm that it was correct) he said: 'it was the truth and he knows it due to the oath he made, except where it says they drilled his cheeks and pushed through a cord of cutter grass. He does not remember having said this; and it could be a mistake of the notary or the interpreter; because the reality is that they drilled underneath his beard and it came out of his mouth underneath the tongue' ('Declaración de Francisco Condorpuri', in Bauer et al. *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.123). The mechanics of the torture as described by Condorpuri make much more sense as a halter that went through Ortiz's cheeks would quickly rip them whereas it would not be able to rip through the jawbone.

Pudierales decir lo que nuestro Redentor a las ijas de Sion en las calles de su amargura: No lloreys por mi, llorad por vosotras i por vuestros ijos, i ajustárase mas, pues lo que alli dijo Cristo que avia de suceder en Ierusalen⁴⁵³, en castigo de su muerte i agravios, sucediò en aquel pueblo i Provincia en pena de su muerte i afrentas, muriendo a fuego i sangre todos, teniendo por dichosa la muger que no tuvo ijos, i por desdichada la que los pariò.

6. Sacan del pueblo al bendito Martir, i caminando por los canpos atadas las manos atras, van al pueblo donde estava el Inga Tupac Amaro ermano menor del Inga difunto que estava en el pueblo de Marcanay, que distava dos leguas de Vilcabanba la vieja, luego que el tio muriò le coronaron con la borla carmesi los Caziques, i todo era azer fiestas al nuevo Rey. Salen los capitanes verdugos con el bendito Martir a presentarlo al nuevo Inga, siendo el adalid [821] Martin Pando, gozosos de llevar ante su Rey idolatra al ministro Evangelico, creyendo que obligavan tando a sus Idolos I a su Inga, que les daria eterna fama, i merecerian en el nuevo gobierno superiores puestos. Avia desde el pueblo de Puquiura, donde començò el martirio asta Marcanai donde asistia Tupac Amaro nueve leguas de Indios, que son mas de doce leguas Castellanas. Los Españoles que declaran, dicen que ay quince leguas desde Puquiura asta Marcanai; todo es cerros, montes, i algunas punas eladas, i llanadas pedregosas: llevavanlo tirando el cabestro, ronpiendole las megillas, porque sino andava tan apriesa como su rabia queria, le davan tan crueles tirones ò sofrenadas, que le ronpian mas i mas las megillas por la parte superior de los labios.

453 Luc.23. *Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beata steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt.*

He might have said to them what our Redeemer said to the daughters of Zion in the streets of their bitterness: ‘Do not cry for me. Cry for yourselves and for your children’. And it would be proven that what Christ said then and came to pass in Jerusalem to punish his death and the affronts he suffered, also happened in that town and province [of Vilcabamba], to punish the death and affronts they inflicted on Diego Ortiz; they would all die by fire and sword and the woman who had no children would be considered blessed while she who had children would be considered cursed.⁴⁵⁴

6. They drag the blessed martyr out of the town and walking through the fields with his hands tied behind him they go to the town of Marcanay where the Inca Tupac Amaru, younger brother of the dead Inca was; Marcanay was two leagues from the old town of Vilcabamba.⁴⁵⁵ As soon as his brother⁴⁵⁶ died the *caciques* crowned him with the scarlet fringe, and all turned their attention to holding fiestas for the new king. The executioner captains with their leader Martín Pando leave with the blessed martyr to present him to the new Inca, [821] proud to be taking the evangelic minister before their idolatrous king, believing that they would deserve better positions in the new government and would oblige their Idols and their Inca to give them eternal fame. It was nine Indian leagues, which are more than twelve Castilian leagues from the town of Puquiura (where the martyrdom began), to Marcanay (where Tupac Amaru was staying). The Spaniards who gave their testimonies said there were fifteen leagues from Puquiura to Marcanay⁴⁵⁷—it is all mountains, forests and a few frozen and rocky plains. They dragged him by the halter, tearing his cheeks, because if he did not walk as fast as their rage wanted, they yanked on the chords so cruelly that they increasingly tore his cheeks above his lips.

454 Luke 23:28-29. This was understood in Christian tradition as one of the times when Christ prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem in 69 A.D. Calancha, who has already merged the passion of Ortiz with that of Christ is now pulling together the fates of Vilcabamba and Jerusalem.

455 Approximately 11 km.

456 Calancha says ‘el tio’ meaning ‘the uncle’ but it seems he is referring to Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the older brother of Tupac Amaru. ‘Tío’ might just refer to the male head of the family.

457 Between 65 and 85 km.

Si tropeçando caía, le llevaban arrastrando una i dos quadras por entre piedras, troncos, arroyos, matorrales i breñas, arrancadas de su lugar las quijadas, tirando dèl, como si lleváran un cavallo muerto a echarlo en un muladar, i esto bolvian a azer una i diez veces en cada jornada. Viòse tan inhumana crueldad? A quien no admira tan soberana paciencia?

7. Caminando con este genero de martirios encontraron con vnos Indios que llevaban regalos al Inga, i viendo estos, i en particular un don Alonso Tipso principal de Lucuma la figura del santo martir cubierta de sangre, i la tunica blanca llena de sangre i lodo los lados de las megillas, i debajo de la barba tenpanos de sangre, desolladas las carnes de las piedras guijas i troncos, por donde lo arrastravan cubierto de eridas i cardenales de los açotes, i que cada vez que alçava los ojos al cielo descargavan en su rostro bofetadas i pescoçones, diciendo: No as de mirar al cielo, ni llamar a ese que dices, que es tu Dios. Conpadecidos los Indios caminantes de ver tantas lastimas en el que avia sido su padre, su pastor, su enfermero, i su anparo, parandose començaron a condolerse, i viendolos aquellos rabiosos perros les trataron con ignominia, i les amenaçaron con muertes, diciendoles: Que mirays? id bestias adonde vays, que os aremos pedaços si os deteneys. Pasaron los caminantes quebrandoseles el coraçon de dolor, i lamentando su lastima. No le davan al bendito martir un solo momento de descanso, ni una pausa para que tomase resuello. Llegan con èl a la primera dormida, i quando se pudiera pensar que descansaria, le quitaron la tunica blanca de paño, [...], i dejandole en cueros con averselos quitado, le ataron a un palo, i como si començáran a martirizarlo le dieron mil açotes sobre carnes llagadas, eladas i molidas, sin que se le oyese otra voz, sino sea por el amor de Iesu Cristo, el os perdone, i de mi tenga misericordia. En nonbrando a Iesu Cristo, se irritavan tanto, que començavan a martirizarlo de nuevo, escupiendolo todos a un tiempo. Acabado de darle los açotes le dejaron desnudo al yelo i a la inclemencia de la noche,

If he tripped and fell, they dragged him for one or two blocks⁴⁵⁸ across rocks, tree trunks, streams, scrub, wasteland, pulling his jawbone out of its sockets as if he were a dead horse going to be thrown on the rubbish dump and they repeated this up to ten times each day. Has anyone ever witnessed such inhuman cruelty? Who would not admire such supreme patience [of the martyr]?

7. While walking and suffering this type of martyrdom, they met some Indians who were taking gifts to the Inca, and these (in particular don Alonso Tipso⁴⁵⁹, the leader of Lucuma) saw the saintly figure covered in blood, and his white tunic caked in blood and mud, the sides of his cheeks and under his beard dripping with blood, his flesh flayed by the sharp stones and logs over which they were dragging him, covered with wounds and bruises from the whipping, and that every time his escorts saw him raise his eyes to heaven they rained slaps and punches down on his face saying: ‘Don’t look at the sky, or call on that which you say is your God’. The Indians who were walking past took pity on their father and past or when they saw him so badly hurt, and they stopped and began to console him. But those furious dogs treated them contemptuously and threatened to kill them saying: ‘what are you looking at? Go on wherever you were going you animals, and if you linger we’ll tear you to pieces’. The pilgrims walked on with breaking hearts and lamenting his pain.⁴⁶⁰ The captains gave the blessed martyr neither a moment’s rest nor a single pause so that he could catch his breath. They make their first stop for the night and while you might think that they would let him rest, they stripped him of his white woollen tunic [...] and left him naked and tied him to a trunk. Then, as if they were only beginning his martyrdom they whipped him a thousand times on his already wounded, frozen and crushed flesh, without them hearing any words but, ‘for the love of Christ, he will forgive you, and will have mercy on me.’ Mentioning the name of Jesus Christ angered them so much that they began to martyr him all over again, spitting at him all at once. When they had finished whipping him they left him exposed naked in the ice and to the inclemency of the night.

458 Roughly between 200 and 300m. One *cuadra* or block is now approximately between 100 and 150m.

459 This ‘Tipso’ appears to be a different person to the ‘cruel Indian’ who beat Diego Ortiz mentioned above. Some of the testimonies say he was present, but his own testimony denies this saying that he encountered the friar on the road being hauled towards his judgement by Tupac Amaru.

460 For Alonso Tipso’s testimony, see ‘Declaración de Alonso Tipso [...] 1595’, and ‘[...] 1599’ in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.69, 132.

maniatado, i con el freno de sogas cortaderas en la boca sin querele dar un trago de agua, ni un credo de alivio. Toda la noche le estuvieron afligiendo, i a las afrentas que le decian, respondia: (aunque ablava con dificultad) Dadme todos los martirios que quisieredes, que espero en Iesu Cristo mi Dios que me à de dar fortaleza para sufrirlos, i despues la gloria. El rato que le dejavan, no por piedad, sino por cansancio, se estava ablando ternuras con dios, orando, i en alta contemplacion, i al punto que lo advertian los capitanes sayones (que asta en ser gente de milicia los verdugos se asimilò su muerte a la de Cristo) se levantavan furiosos a maltratarle, diciendo el mestizo Pando. No le consintamos llamar a Iesu Cristo, no sea que le ayude i nos castigue. O perro apostata, si temias que llamado vendria a favorecerle, i a castigarte, como no temias siendo èl Sacerdote i tu bautizado, que a una voz suya, i sin que diese voces vendria Cristo si conviniese, i te arrojaria à los infiernos? No temas aora, que lo mesmo que dijo Cristo a sus verdugos⁴⁶¹, os dice a vosotros: Esta es vuestra ora, i la de egecutar vosotros, i los Demonios el poder, i sus crueldades, vendrà la de Dios, obrad aora.

8. Amaneciò el siguiente dia, i no pudiendo menear el cuerpo por estar elado, i tener salidos los guesos, i desencajado el pecho, las costillas, i los onbros por el rigor con que le atavan los braços a las espaldas; diò con el Martir en tierra Martin Pando, i segunda vez le dijo: Yo te bolverè los guesos a tu lugar. I puesto [822] de pies sobre el, le diò coces tan crueles, que a patadas lo dejò por muerto. Bolviò en si, pidiò socorro a Dios, i diòle esfuerço. Continuaron el viage con los tormentos que el dia antecedente, i añadiòse otro terrible. Començò a llover, i era tal el aguazero, que obligava al los verdugos a esconderse por ser grande la tenpestad. Pero como los governava el Demonio, i estava vengando las afrentas que el siervo de Dios le izo, i le atormentava con la paciencia en la fuerça de tantos martirios, encendia à los ministros, infundiendoles sus rabias, i soplando en ellos sus coleras;

⁴⁶¹ Lucæ 22. *Sed hæc est hora vestra, et potestas tenebrarum.*

His hands were tied, and the cutter-rope halter was still in his mouth—and they did not give him even a drop of water or a single moment’s relief.⁴⁶² They tortured him all night and although it was difficult to talk he responded to the insults [by saying], ‘Martyr me as much as you like. I hope in Jesus Christ my God that he will give me strength to suffer and afterwards, glory’. The short time that they left him alone (not out of pity but due to tiredness), he passed talking affectionately to God, praying and in deep contemplation, and on the instant that they realised this, the executioner captains (who in even in the fact that they were military men they made his death seem like that of Christ) furiously sprang up to mistreat him, the mestizo Pando exclaiming: ‘we haven’t given permission for you to call on Jesus Christ, in case he helps you and punishes us’. Oh you apostate dog, if you feared that having been called [Christ] would come to help him and to punish you, how could you not fear, with fray Diego being a priest and you baptised, that at a single cry of his, Christ would not come, if he wanted, to throw you into hell? Do not fear now, that the same thing Christ said to his executioners he says to you: ‘this is your hour, the hour of executioners, the time when demons are at their most powerful and cruel, but God’s hour will come’.⁴⁶³

8. Dawn came the following day and the martyr could not move his limbs as he was so frozen and his breast bones and ribs and arms were all dislocated due to the force with which they had tied his arms behind his back. Martín Pando, knocked the martyr to the ground and for a second time he said: ‘I’ll put your bones back into place.’ [822] And having placed his feet on top of him, he struck him and kicked him so cruelly that he left him for dead. He came to and asked God for aid who gave him strength. They continued the journey with the same tortures as the previous day, and another terrible one was added. It began to rain, and such was the downpour that the executioners were obliged to take cover—the storm was so powerful. But because the devil was their commander and he was taking vengeance for all the insults that the servant of God had done to him, and because fray Diego had tormented the devil with patience in the face of so many martyrdoms, the devil enflamed his ministers by breathing into them his fury and making their rages burn hotter.

462 The expression here was ‘ni un credo de alivio’ lit. ‘nor a Creed of relief’ but this refers to time. Time was measured in the length of time that standard prayers could be said, for example, a Creed, a Pater Noster, an Ave Maria. Longer periods of (short) time could be measured in multiples—for example five Ave Marias. In this case it was the length of time in which the Creed could be recited.

463 Luke 22:53: ‘But your time has come now, and darkness has its will’.

caminan por espesuras, i como el agua corria por los montes, estava resbalizada la tierra, caia, ò tropeçava el bendito martir, i llevavano arrastrando, i aunque el no cayese, como no podia ir a su priesa lo derribavan ellos, i lo bajavan arrastrando por las cuestas, por laderas i por pedregales, i como la multitud de agua aumentò innumerables arroyos, riechuelos i esteros, lo pasavan por ellos arrastrando, siendo nuevo milagro no aogarse en cada riechuelo yendo atado. I quando descansavan, porque el martir no descansase, era en parages donde estoviese en el lodo ò en el agua. Guardavale Dios la vida para ostentar su fortaleza, i darle mas glorioso martirio, i mas triunfante vitoria. Con tan lamentosos pasos, llegaron con el a la segunda jornada, donde como en la pasada dormida le quitaron la tunica enpapada en lodo, i le estuvieron açotando mucho tiempo, lloviendo sobre el bendito cuerpo agua las nubes, i açotes los infieles, cayendo a un tiempo sobre un mesmo lugar arroyos de agua, arroyos de sangre, i ramales de rebenques i latigos. Dejavanle desnudo en carnes toda la noche al yelo, al ayre i a la inclemencia. Ya son tres las noches que pasa este invencible martir, sufriendo millares de açotes, admirandose los mesmos verdugos de que viviese quien con cada martirio pensavan que moria. Dejanle de açotar, i ponenle atado dentro de una cueva adonde entrava un caudal de agua, i al golpe de la canal le dejaron atado toda la noche donde le dava de lleno el golpe del agua en todo el lastimado cuerpo. Diga san Pablo⁴⁶⁴, gloriandose de los martirios que le dieron, aziendo el catalogo i reseña de los modos con que en diferentes Provincias le atormentaron. Cinco veces recebi plagas de los Iudios, dandome cada vez treinta i nueve açotes, (que fueron por todos ciento i noventa i cinco; era ley dar a los que quebrantavan quarenta açotes, no tanto para dejar lastimados a los transgresores, como para corregirlos, avergonçandolos, i la piedad quitava un açote de los quarenta.) Tres veces me golpearon los ministros de los Consules Romanos con varas: una vez me apedrearon en Listris Ciudad de Licaonia (donde le dejaron por muerto⁴⁶⁵). Tres veces padeci naufragios en el mar:

464 2.Corint.11. *A Iudais quinques quadragenas una minus accepi. Ter virgis cæsus sum. Semel lapidatus sum. Ter naufragium feci; nocte, et die in profundo maris fui. In itineribus sæpe periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, etc. (usque ad) præter illa quæ extrinsecus sunt instantia mea quotidiana.*

465 Actor 14. *Lapidantesque Paulinus traxerunt extra civitatem existimantes cum mortuum esse.*

They walked through dense vegetation and, because the water was running down the mountains, the ground was slippery and the blessed martyr kept tripping and falling as they dragged him along. He would not otherwise have fallen but for the fact that he could not walk as quickly as them and they pulled him over and dragged him down the slopes, mountainsides and over the rocks. And as the tremendous downpour had increased the already innumerable streams, rivers and springs, they dragged him through them: and it was a miracle in itself that, bound as he was, he was not drowned in any of the rivers. When they rested, they made sure that the martyr was in the mud or in the water so that he could get no rest. God conserved his life in order to show off his strength and give him an even more glorious martyrdom and triumphant victory. With such lamentable steps they reached the place where they stopped for the second night, where, as on the previous night, they stripped him of his muddied tunic and whipped him for a long time. While the clouds rained water down on his blessed body the pagans rained blows on him and streams of water fell at the same time as streams of blood and strips of the lashes and whips [that they were using]. They left him naked and exposed to the ice, the wind and the inclement weather all night. This invincible martyr has now suffered thousands of whip blows for three nights and the very-same torturers marvelled that he had survived thus far (as with each martyrdom they thought he would die). They stop whipping him, and they leave him tied up in a cave into which a channel of water flowed and there they left him all night exposed to the force of the current of water on his wounded body. Saint Paul⁴⁶⁶, glorying in the torments that they made him suffer, writing the list and summary of the ways they tortured him in different provinces, said: 'Five times I suffered plagues at the hands of the Jews, each time they dealt me thirty-nine lashes of the whip (that in total added up to 195. It was the law to give those that broke it forty lashes, not so much to leave the transgressor hurt but to shame them and correct them, and out of pity they gave one lash less than the requisite forty). Three times the ministers of the Roman Consuls struck me with their staffs. In Lystra, the City of Lycaonia I was stoned once and left for dead.⁴⁶⁷ Three times I suffered shipwreck at sea.

⁴⁶⁶ 2 Corinthians 11: 24-30.

⁴⁶⁷ Acts 14:18.

un dia i una noche me tuvieron los Listros en el poço Bito, que quiere decir profundo del mar.⁴⁶⁸ Tuve muchas vezes trabajos en los caminos, peligros en los rios, robos de los ladrones, daños de los de mi nacion, peligros en los Gentiles, en las Ciudades, en la soledad, i en los caminos por falta de comida i de vestido, peligros causados por amigos i ermanos falsos, que deviendo beneficios pagavan con agravios. Al fin padeci trabajos, desventuras, no dormir, no comer, anbre, sed, ayunos, frio i desnudèz. Y esto es fuera de lo que padeci con los concursos⁴⁶⁹, juntas i gavillas de los que me perseguian, i contra mi se amontonavan. Bien puede alabarse san Pablo, de que fueron grandes estos sus martirios, i decir que de justicia le deve dar Dios (porque antecediò su gracia) la corona de gloria. Pero nuestro martir fray Diego podrà alabarse que padeciò todos estos generos de martirios, exediendo en algunos la cantidad i el numero; no ciento i noventa i cinco açotes, sino al pie de cinco mil como Cristo, en quatro noches diferentes, i otra de dia (ya emos visto las tres) i no se los davan para corregirle, sino para matarlo, cinco vezes lo açotaron. No fue lastimado con varas tres vezes, sino con palos mas de doce, añadiendo bofetadas, pescoçones, coces i puñadas, martirios i agravios, que no refiere de si san Pablo. Una vez apedrearon a san Pablo, vease lo que en materia de piedras le pasò en Yanacache a nuestro martir, i pareando los frios, anbres, vigalias, persecuciones, desnudez, ingraticudes que dejamos dichas con las de san Pablo Vease quantos peligros tuvo en el agua, ya quando a el, i al Padre fray Marcos los llevò el Inga dos leguas por el agua, o laguna, ya quando [823] varias vezes pasò rios, esteros i arroyos, o a pie quando andava en la predicacion, o arrastrando aora que le llevan al Inga; que si Pablo estuvo en un pozo de agua sin estar antes descoyuntado, erido i açotado, nuestro martir estuvo toda una noche atado de pies i manos en una cueva recibiendo el golpe de un raudal de agua, que le dava en todo el cuerpo, como si fuera rodezno de molino, i esto despues de desollado a açotes tantas vezes. Pero quales tormentos venceràn la fortaleza de los Santos?

468 Glossa in hunc loc. et Teophil.

469 *Instantia, hic significat incursum.* Sic August. Lib.4 de doctrina Christiana c.7. *et furibundum insultum.* Sic Theophilactus, et ut ait lectio Siriaca. *Cætum qui est contra me quotidie.*

The people of Lystra held me for a day and a night in the pit called Bito, which means the depths of the sea.⁴⁷⁰ I suffered much on the road, dangerous rivers, robbery, harm from my countrymen, dangers from the Gentiles, in the cities, from being alone, from lack of food and clothing while travelling, dangers caused by false friends and false brothers. In the end I suffered hardships, misadventure, from a lack of sleep, lack of food, hunger, thirst, fasting, cold and nakedness. And that is aside from what I was caused to suffer by the multitude of those who persecuted me and united against me'.⁴⁷¹ Saint Paul can rightly talk about how great his martyrdoms were and say that for the sake of justice, God (because his grace preceded) would give him the crown of glory. But our martyr fray Diego could say that he suffered all these types of martyrdom, exceeding some of them in quantity and number, and not a mere 195 lashes but closer to five thousand, just like Christ, over four different nights and another by day (we have already witnessed three) and they were not whipping him to correct him, but rather to kill him: they whipped him on five separate occasions. He was not merely hurt three times with staves [like St Paul] he was beaten with rods more than twelve, and they added slaps in the face, slaps on the neck, kicks and punches, torments and insults which Saint Paul does not refer to in his own case. They stoned Saint Paul once, well, take a look at how many stones were thrown at our martyr in Yanacache, and compare the cold, hunger, sleepless nights, persecutions, nakedness, ingratitude that we have already considered with those suffered by Saint Paul. See how many times he was endangered by water, either when the Inca took him and fray Marcos two leagues across a lake [823] or when on various occasions he was forced to cross rivers, marshes, and streams, either by foot when he was travelling about preaching, or dragged as they were doing now to take him to the Inca; and if Paul was in a pit of water without his bones being dislocated, or without having been wounded or whipped, our martyr spent an entire night bound by his hands and feet in a cave with his entire body being hit by the full force of a current of water as if he were a water wheel of a mill, and this is after being flayed by whips so many times. But which torments can conquer the strength of the Saints?

⁴⁷⁰ Theophylactus [of Ochrid], Commentary on that place [in scripture].

⁴⁷¹ Calancha notes: 'This means an impending assault', according to Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 4 chapter 7, 'and furious insults', according to Theophylactus, and it is even said in the Syriac reading, 'the multitude which is against me daily'.

I considere cada uno los actos de Divina contencion, que tendria el bendito Religioso en noche tan terrible, i en martirio tan penoso. Mas quales i quantos serian los refuerços los amores, las ternuras i los consuelos que Cristo daria aquella noche a su enamorado martir.

9. Caliz amargo i puro de davan estos sacrilegos, pues ni un minimo aliento le permitian del caliz amargo que Dios dà a los condenados, dice David⁴⁷², que lo tiene Dios en la mano, i que es puro i aguado. Parece que contradice, porque si es aguado, como puede ser puro? Es que el caliz mas puro, i el licor mas agrio, como està en la mano de dios, tiene mucho de aguado. Dos calices son (dice san Eutimio i Niceforo) uno es de licor puro i fuerte, i otro de licor mas blando, i no le consiente su clemencia, que aun los condenados bevan de solo el caliz puro, i asi dice David, que ècha delun caliz en el otro⁴⁷³. I es la causa, dice Nazianzeno⁴⁷⁴, que su piedad inmensa quita de las penas que merece un condenado por sus culpas, aguando con algo de misericordia lo terrible de su tormento. Al fin lo mas puro i terrible està aguado con algo de clemencia esto siente el Demonio mas que sus tormentos, i asi quando Dios le dà mano para que acà aflija a uno, es puro el dolor, sin mezcla el tormento i sin agua de consuelo el agrio. Todo el horror i amargura izo el Demonio, que diesen a este Martir, sin mescla de un alivio, i añadiósele otro dolor, que aun los Gentiles ponderaron por el mas excesivo. Ovidio decia⁴⁷⁵, que asta alli llegó la mayor desdicha, i subio a lo supremo la tristeza, quando a un afligido, no solo le faltò quien lo consolase, pero que los que le ven padeciendo, i le azen padecer, se alegren i regozigen de verle que padece. A este extremo llegó el dolor deste Martir, pues no solo le faltò alguien que lo consolase, pero mostravan festin regozijo quando lo atormentavan.

472 Psal.74. *Quia Calix in manu Domini vini meri, plenos mixte.*

473 Ibid. *Inclinavit ex hoc in hoc.*

474 Orat.15 et 19.

475 In Archilochio carmine in Ibis. *Sisque miser semper nec sis miserabilis ulli, gandeat adversis fo-
mina, virque tuis. Accedat lachrymis odium, dignusque puteris, ut mala cum tuleris plurima plura feras.*

And consider each one an act of divine contemplation on the part of the blessed friar during such a terrible night and during such awful suffering. But which and how many gifts of strength, love, affection and consolation would Christ give to his beloved martyr that night.

9. These sacrilegious [tormenters] gave him a pure and bitter chalice, for they did not allow him even the slightest respite from the bitter chalice that God gives to the condemned.⁴⁷⁶ David says that God holds it in his hand and it is pure yet watered-down. This seems like a contradiction because if it is watered-down, how can it be pure? It is because the purest chalice that contains the bitterest liquor, as it is in the hand of God, is greatly watered-down. They are, in fact, two chalices (say Saints Euthymius and Nicephorus⁴⁷⁷). One contains pure and strong liquor, the other weaker liquor, and God's mercy does not allow the condemned to drink only out of the pure chalice. So David says that [God] pours one chalice into another.⁴⁷⁸ And this, says Nazianzus, is the reason why his immense pity takes away the sufferings a condemned man deserves for his sins, and with his mercy he waters down the most terrible of the torments.⁴⁷⁹ In the end the purest and most terrible is watered down by his clemency and this hurts the devil even more than his own torments. And so when God gives him permission to afflict someone, the pain is pure, and the torture has not been weakened by mixture nor has the bitterness been watered down by consolation. The devil caused them to inflict all that horror and bitterness on this martyr without the water of relief; and another pain was added that the pagans thought was the most excessive. Ovid said that the greatest misfortune has befallen someone, and sadness has reached its pinnacle, when not only does the afflicted lack someone to console him but also when those who see him suffering and cause him to suffer, enjoy watching him suffer.⁴⁸⁰ The martyr's pain reached this extreme because not only did he lack someone who might console him but [his torturers] also delighted in tormenting him.

476 Psalm 74 [75:9].

477 Saint Euthymius was a monk and abbot in Palestine in the sixth century who became a desert hermit. Saint Nicephorus was the Patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century.

478 Psalm 74 [75:9].

479 Orations 15 and 19; Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (d.389 A.D.) was a bishop and Doctor of the Church involved in the First Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.).

480 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) (d.17 A.D.) was a Roman lyricist. In his poem *Ibis*, he compares himself to Archilochus (a Greek lyric poet d. c.645 B.C.) while effectively cursing an enemy who is trying to harm him.

Ordenòlo asi su enamorado Cristo, porque se le asemejase en todo, i pudiese alegar al Padre Eterno, i al mundo lo que el mesmo Cristo alegò previniendolo David⁴⁸¹: Açotes i trabajos se agregaron sobre mi, reianse i burlavanse de mi; mirè a una parte i a otra a ver si avia quien me consolase, i no lo allè terrible dolor!

10. Quando los verdugos pensaron allarle muerto por la mañana, le allaron mas valiente; que una gota de gozo refuerça mas quando baja de la gloria, que puede un diluvio de penas i aguas lastimar al que por Dios padece. El les dijo con grande umildad: Porque me tratays tan mal, pues tanto os è querido, i os estoy amando como a ijos, i os è enseñando la ley del poderoso Dios? Calla mentiroso (le dicen) que nos decias que Cristo resucitava, i as mentido. Admiravanse los crueles barbaros de ver que avia cuerpo umano, que tan mortales martirios pasava, i que estando cansados ellos, i molidos de afligir, siendo mas de diez los que se remudavan para atormentar, ni moria el Religioso, ni mostrava miedo, cobardia ni arrepentimiento de aver predicado contra sus Idolos, contra su Reyna, i el poder resucitar los muertos nuestro Salvador. Sacanle de la cueva, i caminan con el santo Martir, llevandolo como los dias antecedentes tirado del cabestro como a bestia muerta, arrastrandolo, i llegan al pueblo de Guarancalla, donde el siervo de Dios dotrinava, i donde izo Iglesia, i traenlo arrastrando por todo el pueblo, alli lo açotaron. Sacanlo arrastrando, i llegan al pueblo de Marcanay, aviendo caminado en tres dias nueve leguas de Indios, que como digo son mas de doze o quinze leguas Españolas, fuera de los rodeos. Presentan al descoyuntado Martir al Inga Tupac Amaro: entran sus capitanes, dicenle, que alli fuera en un patio està el enbustero: O retrato de Cristo traído por tribunales con titulo de enbaidor i sedicioso! Pero Cristo anduvo mas de una legua en las estaciones de aquella noche, i este su siervo mas de doze o quinze leguas, asta llegar al Inga, i algo mas asta acabar su triunfo. Quinze leguas (como è dicho) ponen otros, en que ay valles ardientes, punas [824] eladas i sierras montuosas, i en todos estos parages renovavan nuevos martirios o inventavan atrocidades.

⁴⁸¹ Psal.34. *Congretata sunt super me flagella, subsanaverunt me subsanatione.* Et Ps.68. *Sustinut qui simul contristaretur, et non fuit et qui consolaretur, et non inveni.*

His beloved Christ commanded it to be so, so that he appears just like him in every way and so that he could claim before the Eternal Father and before the world exactly what Christ claimed and what David prophesied: ‘whip blows and travails rained down upon me, they laughed and made fun of me. I looked this way and that for someone to console me but I could not find him. What terrible pain!’⁴⁸²

10. If the executioners thought they would find him dead the next morning they [actually] found him more courageous; a single drop of joy strengthens the spirit more when it comes from on high than a flood of sorrows and waters can harm the person who suffers for God. He said to them with great humility: ‘Why do you treat me so badly when I have loved you and I continue to love you as my children and I have taught you the law of the powerful God?’ ‘Be silent! Liar!’ (they order him) ‘You told us that Christ came back from the dead and you lied!’ The cruel barbarians were amazed to see that a human body that had suffered so many torments could still live, and they—more than ten of them who had gathered for the torture—were now tired, in fact exhausted of afflicting him, and the friar did not die, neither did he show fear, nor repent of having preached against the idols and against their queen and that our Saviour could recuscitate the dead. They drag him out of the cave and walk with the holy martyr dragging him by the halter like on the previous days as if he were a dead beast and they reach the town of Guarancalla, where the servant of God taught the catechism and where he built a church and they drag him around the entire town and whipped him there. They drag him out of the town and reach the town of Marcanay, having walked more than nine indigenous leagues which amount to more than twelve or fifteen Spanish leagues not including the detours.⁴⁸³ They bring the dislocated Martyr before the Inca Tupac Amaru. His captains enter and tell him that the trickster is outside on the patio. Oh portrait of Christ brought before the courts accused of treachery and sedition! But Christ walked more than one league in the Stations [of the Cross] that night, and this his servant more than twelve or fifteen leagues until he reached the Inca, and some more to reach his triumph. Fifteen leagues (as I have said) others say, across burning plains, freezing [mountain] plateaux [824] and jagged mountains, and in all the stops they made they heaped new martyrdoms [torments] on him or invented atrocities.

482 Psalm 34 [Psalm 35:15-16] and Psalm 68 [Psalm 69:21].

483 Between 65 and 85 km.

Consideres, que tal llegaria a la casa del Inga; bestas fieras es de pensar que se apiadàran. No le quiso ver el Inga, juzgandole indigno de que le viese un Rey, i teniendole todos ellos por aborrecido de sus Idolos, i enemigo capital del Idolo Punchao, del Sol i de sus guacas. Bolvieronle a replicar, que alli le tenian, i que mandase lo que devian azer dèl. Mandò que le matasen como a blasfemo contra sus Idolos, i que fuese la muerte como les pareciese. O Gentil barbaro, no te dolieras dèl, o por tu sangre Real, o por muchos beneficios que te izo antes de eredar, o porque estàs celebrando tu fiesta i coronacion? Que tiene que ver festin real, con muerte atroz? i alegrias de pueblo, con sentencia de muerte? La maldad desta sentencia no mostrò tanto su inhumanidad en mandarlo matar, como en dejarles al arbitrio, i al gusto de los verdugos Idolatras, i al de su caudillo Martin Pando, el genero de muerte que le quisiesen dar; que fue lo mesmo que condenarle a muchas muertes i a varios tormentos, pues si antes que lo sentenciase su señor, le avian dado tan cruentos martirios, que a no conservarle Dios la vida para merecer mayor corona, cada tormento le uviera quitado la vida: que aran oyendo que su Inga lo sentencia a muerte, i que a ellos les remite la que le quisieren dar? Pilatos tambien Gentil, expresò que açotasen a Cristo, para ver si con aquel castigo aplacava la rabia de los Iudios, i atemorizado le dio sentencia de cruz, i ellos añadieron lo que pensaron. Pero este Gentil dejò al arbitrio de los que venian cebados en la crueldad el modo del rigor; inhumanidad cruel!

11. Al punto que oyeron la sentencia, i que el Inga les dava comision para que le matasen como quisiesen, tirandole de la sogas que traia atravesada por megillas i barba, con algazàra i gozo lo llevaron arrastrando por una ladera abajo asta llegar junto a un rio entre unos cerros; lugar que se llamava la orca del Inga, porque alli justificavan los Ingas a los grandes facinorosos, que aun en esto se asemejò a Cristo, que murio en el lugar comun de los justiciados:

You might think that when they arrived at the house of the Inca they would take pity on him. The Inca did not wish to see him as he considered him unworthy of being brought into a king's presence and because he had detested their idols and was the mortal enemy of the Idol Punchao, of the Sun and his *huacas*. They said once again that they were holding him there and that he [the Inca] should give the order regarding what should be done with him. He ordered that they kill him as a blasphemer against their Idols and that the manner of death could be as they saw fit. Oh barbarous pagan!⁴⁸⁴ Will you not take pity on him: whether because of your royal blood or because of the many things he did for you before you came into your inheritance, or because you are celebrating your coronation feast? What has a royal feast to do with an atrocious death? And what have the joys of the population to do with death sentences? The wickedness of this sentence was not so much in the fact that [the Inca] ordered him to be killed but in leaving the manner of death that they wished to inflict upon him up to the will and pleasure of his executioners and their leader Martín Pando; this was tantamount to condemning him to death over and again and to be tortured repeatedly, for if they had tormented him so cruelly before he was sentenced (and if God had not preserved his life so that he could deserve an even greater crown [of martyrdom], each [of those] torments would have killed him), what would they do on hearing that their Inca had sentenced him to death and allowed them to choose the manner of his dying? Pilate, who was also a pagan, ordered that Christ be whipped to see if that punishment would placate the fury of the Jews and, intimidated, he sentenced him to be crucified and they added what they thought. But this pagan [the Inca] left the manner of punishment to the free will of those who came already slaked on cruelty: what cruel inhumanity!

11. As soon as they heard the sentence, and that the Inca had given them license to kill him however they wished, they dragged him out by the rope that they had pushed through his cheeks and beard and, with delight and jubilation, they dragged him all the way down a hillside until they reached a river that flowed between two mountains; a place that they called 'the gallows of the Inca' because there the Incas used to carry out justice on the most notorious criminals: even in this he was like Christ who died in the place of common condemned men.

⁴⁸⁴ Calancha uses the term 'gentil' meaning 'gentile' to signify 'pagan'.

asimilandose tambien a nuestro Redentor en que lo sacan del pueblo donde estava el Rey i su Corte; si allà de Erodes, acà de un Indio Rey, i muere a vista de la Corte fuera della en lugar afrentoso. Despues acà los Indios llaman al sitio Mananguañunca, que quiere decir; en ninguna manera morirà. Que como avian visto, que tantos tormentos no lo avian muerto, siendo cada uno suficiente a matarle, pensando que aun despues de echo pedaços, i enterrado no moriria, pusieron por nonbre a este sitio Mananguañunca, no morirà; nonbre que oy conserva, està entre dos rios. Allí le quitaron la tònica de paño blanco, i sobre un otero, o cerillo le açotaron quinta vez, i eran tales los açotes, que se los davan para que muriese en ellos. Pero viendole que estava ya desangrado, i despedaçadas las carnes no moria, pretendieron matarlo a palos moliendole los guesos: escupianlo llenandolo de salivas asquerosas, i enbravecidos de verle que no moria, traen (ò endiablados coraçones!) cañas delgadas de lo que ellos llaman chonta, i espinas largas, i vansas metiendo por debajo de las uñas de pies i manos entre el pellejo, i la carne; martirio grande, tormento doloroso! Cogen los arcos, i tiranle saetas, poniendole el cuerpo como si fuera erizo, flechas que acabaron de sangrar al desangrado Martir: no le mataron, porque le tirava saetas de amor el flechero Divino, i por cada erida de saetas se le entrava Dios amoroso. Encienden fuego, i danle umo asqueroso a las narizes con saumerios ediondos, quitandole el resuello. Raspavanle la cara con hierros, tapavanle con paños de algodón caliente narizes i boca para aogarlo, i no moria. Para tanto como esto dà fuerças la caridad. Decia nuestra monja santa Clara de Montesalco, como refiere Benedicto Gononio⁴⁸⁵: la caridad es vida del anima, i morir mil vezes cada dia por Dios, es la verdadera vida, i la felicidad eterna.

⁴⁸⁵ Gononius in lib. vitæ et sententiæ Patrum Occidentis lib.7, c.2. *Charitas est vita anima, et mori millies in die pro Deo, est vita vera, et fœlicitas æterna.*

He was also like our Redeemer in that they took him out of the town where the king and his court was: there it was Herod, here it was an Indian king and he dies in sight of the court but outside of it in that horrendous place. Afterwards, the Indians called the place *Mananguañunca* which means: ‘he just will not die!’ Because having seen the number of torments that had failed to kill him, when just one of them should have been enough, they thought that even having been torn to pieces and buried, he would not die, so they named the spot *Mananguañunca*, ‘he will not die!’. And this name is still in use today, and it is between two rivers.⁴⁸⁶ There they stripped him of his white woollen tunic, and on top of a hillock they whipped him for the fifth time, and they beat him with the intention of killing him during the whipping. But on seeing that he was already drained of blood and that his flesh was torn to pieces and that he still did not die, they tried to kill him by smashing his bones with staves. They spat at him covering him with disgusting saliva and enraged by the fact that he just would not die, they bring (oh diabolically possessed hearts!) thin stalks of the kind that here they call *chonta*⁴⁸⁷, and long thorns and they begin to push them underneath his finger and toe nails between the skin and the flesh; what a great martyrdom! What painful torment! They pick up their bows and fire arrows at him, making his body look like it were that of a hedgehog; these arrows drained the last blood from the Martyr who was already emptied of blood. They still did not kill him, because the divine archer was firing arrows of love and into every arrow wound entered the loving God. They light a fire and force him to breathe the stinking smoke suffocating him. They scratch his face with iron blades, and block his mouth and nostrils with hot cotton so he would suffocate and still he did not die. For something like this, charity gives strength. As our nun, Saint Clare of Montefalco⁴⁸⁸ said (according to Benedict Gononio⁴⁸⁹): ‘charity is the life of the soul and to die a thousand times a day for God is the true life, and eternal happiness’.

486 Bauer notes that the name *Mananhuañunca* is still in use (*Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.64, note 54).

487 *Chonta* is a type of Andean palm tree. The leaves are very thin and sharp.

488 Saint Clare of Montefalco was a thirteenth century nun (d.1308) and Abbess of the convent of Santa Croce (Holy Cross). There existed a controversy as to whether she was in fact an Augustinian (as Calancha is claiming here) or a Franciscan. The Franciscan Order claims her as its own.

489 Benedictus Gononius, *In Vitæ et sententiæ Patrum Occidentis (On the lives and writings of the Western Fathers [of the Church])*, book 7, chapter 2.

12. Bramavan los furiosos carniceros, viendo que no podian matarle, i repetian Mananguañunca; no moriria, inmortal deve de ser. Echò mano a una acha o alfange Iuan Tupa, uno de los verdugos, i diole una mortal erida en el cerebro, de que cayò el Martir santo, quedò sin abla, pero no perdio la vida, i viendole con parasismos lo arrastraron un rato, i bolvio el mesmo verdugo a darle [825] otro golpe con el machete o alfange, de que llegò al vltimo punto de la vida, i entre espirar i estar muerto, la cabeza bajo, i los pies levantados, le metieron un palo por debajo de las ingles, i se le sacaron por el cerebro a la nuca. Testigos ay que declaran, que aun no avia espirado, i nuestro archivo en la relacion que esta Provincia enbiò al Ilustrisimo don fray Alejo de Meneses nuestro frayle Arçobispo de Braga, Virrey de Portugal, i Presidente despues del Consejo de Portugal en la Corte de Madrid, que pidio para la Coronica general, dice en el parrafo 14. (Deviole de sacar de las primeras informaciones, que enbiò el Virrey don Francisco de Toledo a su Magestad) las palabras siguientes: «Despues de esto le traspasaron con un palo largo por las partes naturales, asta que con mas de dos palmos saliese por el colodrillo, i teniendo desta manera al fortisimo i valerosisimo Martir, incáron el palo en tierra, poniendole la cabeça ázia bajo, diciendole, que mirava mucho al cielo, porque el soldado de Cristo deseoso de imitar a su Capitan en los tormentos i en la vitoria, pedia fuerças i favor al cielo, en quien tenia puestos los ojos, i viendo que aun con todos estos martirios estava como una roca combatida de las olas del mar con una invencible paciencia le echaron encima mucha tierra i piedras, con que le dejaron cubierto, i con este cruelisimo suplicio dio su anima al Señor, por cuyo amor tanto padecio por los años de setenta i uno». Otros declaran de oidas, que antes de enpararle avia ya muerto. En palo muere el Sacerdote santo, porque en todo se parezca a Cristo, i si ya avia espirado, sera remedo de la lançada, que a Cristo se la dieron despues de aver espirado;

12. The furious predators were raging due to the fact that they could not kill him and they kept repeating *Mananguañunca*: ‘he just won’t die! He must be immortal’. Juan Tupa, one of the executioners, grabbed an axe or a scimitar and gave him a fatal blow on his head, which caused the holy martyr to fall, and he was unable to speak, but he did not die. And seeing him convulsing they dragged him a short way and the same executioner gave him a second [825] blow with the machete or scimitar⁴⁹⁰ which took him to the edge of death, and in-between his last breath and dying, with his head down and his feet up they impaled him on a pole below his groin and pushed it out at his neck. There are witnesses who declare that he still had not expired, and our archive in the report that this Province sent to the Most Illustrious don fray Alejo de Meneses our friar the Archbishop of Braga, Viceroy of Portugal and afterwards President of the Council of Portugal at the Court of Madrid⁴⁹¹, which was collated for the general chronicle, says the following words in paragraph 14 (they must have been taken from the first reports sent by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo to his Majesty): ‘After this they impaled him on a long pole through his private parts, until more than two hand-spans came out at the back of the skull.⁴⁹² And in this way holding the tremendously strong and courageous martyr, they drove the pole into the ground, head first, saying that he looked too much at the sky, because this soldier of Christ, desirous of imitating his captain in these tortures and in victory, asked for strength and favour from Heaven on which he kept his eyes fixed. And seeing that with these torments he was invincibly patient like a rock beset by the waves of the sea they covered him with a great deal of earth and stones, and with this most cruel torture he gave his soul to the Lord, for whose love he died in the year [15]71’. Others declare they heard that before he was impaled he was already dead. The holy priest died on the pole because all things he is similar to Christ, and if he had already expired, it would be in imitation of the spear that was thrust into Christ after he died.

490 Incas would never have used a scimitar or anything like it. Their most common weapons were spears, arrows, slings, and maces. Calancha is most likely using the term so that his readership will associate the killers of Diego Ortiz with the Turks, whom they believed to be enemies of God.

491 After a short conflict, the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were united under Philip II in 1580. Portugal remained part of the Hispanic Empire until 1640. Alejo (Aleixo) de Meneses (d. 1617) was an Augustinian friar, archbishop of Goa (from 1595) and then Braga. He was viceroy of Portugal between the years 1614-15.

492 Teresa Gisbert draws attention to how the Augustinian chronicler Alonso Ramos Gavilán (d. c.1639) signals a parallel between the execution of Ortiz and the ritual sacrifice of the deity Tunupa by impalement. See Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia del Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* [1621] (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1988), p.60; and, Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes*, p.52.

ultimo extremo de las crueldades herir al ya difunto, i corage de los Demonios cebarse en cosas muertas. Tiendenlo en el camino, i obligan a todos los onbres i mugeres, que pasen por encima, i pisen la boca i ojos del santo Sacerdote. Tiendenlo en el camino, i obligan a todos los onbres i mugeres, que pasen por encima, i pisen la boca i ojos del santo Sacerdote. Cortanle la cabeça, i ponenla sobre unas peñas, i arrojan el cuerpo a que lo coman bestias i aves carniceras, i con tenerle asi, no creyeron que uviese muerto. Temieron que avia de bolver a la vida, i dijo uno de los sacrilegos: Mirad como estàn los ojos de aquel enbustero mirando al cielo; no sea que pida vengança o resucite. O perros, luego puede Dios resucitar, i sabe vengar a sus siervos? Enterremoslo en un hoyo; la cabeça cayga abajo, i queden los pies arriba, no sea que mirando al cielo se duela dèl, i le libre de nuestras manos: esto dijo don Diego Aucalli, que despues quedò gobernando la Provincia. Parecioles bueno el consejo, i arrojando la cabeça al centro, écharon el cuerpo derecho, quedando los pies arriba, i llenaron de piedras el hoyo, arrojando dentro salitre i chicha, i otras cosas de supersticion; ceremonia Gentilica, que usavan para castigar a los blasfemos contra sus Idolos, i a los que tenian por malditos, i quedavan en sus anales por infames: rito con que decian ellos, que aplacavan a sus Idolos.

13. Esta es la pasion i martirios, que tuvo el Protomartir del Perú. Amargo caliz bevio, i pocos Martires tiene la Iglesia, que ayan padecido tantos, i tan diferentes martirios. I si con cada uno destes se onra un Santo martir, i pide por justicia una corona, dozenas de coronas merece nuestro Martir, pues padecio lo que dozenas de Santos no padecieron; i si santo Tomas refiriendo la sentencia de Origenes dice⁴⁹³,

⁴⁹³ Origen, in cathe.S.Th.in cap.26. Matth. sup. Illa verb. *Transeat à me calix iste, ait: Bibit calicem totum, qui paritur pro testimonio quidquid fuerit et illarum, essudit autem atrapiens, qui negat ne alto quid pariat.*

It is the ultimate extreme of cruelty to wound someone who is already dead and is a demonic rage that causes the tormenting of dead things. They stretch him out on the ground and force all the men and women to walk over him and step on the mouth of the holy priest. They cut off his head and place it on a rock and they throw his body to be eaten by the wild beasts and carnivorous birds. And even having done all this, they still did not believe that he had died.⁴⁹⁴ They feared he would come back to life, and one of those sacrilegious [Indians] said: ‘look how the eyes of that trickster are looking to Heaven. He might be asking for vengeance or to be resuscitated. Oh gods!’⁴⁹⁵ Could God resurrect him and would he be able to avenge his servants? Let’s bury him in a pit with the head pointing downwards and the feet upwards as with all his looking up we don’t want heaven to take pity on him and free him from our hands.’ This is what don Diego Aucalli, who afterwards became governor of the province, said.⁴⁹⁶ This advice seemed good to them and after throwing the head into the middle, they cast the body in vertically with the feet pointing upwards and then they filled the pit with stones and scattered saltpetre and chicha and other superstitious things onto it; a pagan ceremony that they used to punish those who blaspheme against their Idols and those they believe to be cursed and who are marked in their history as loathsome: it is a rite which they said they would appease their Idols.

13. This is the passion and martyrdoms that the Protomartyr of Peru suffered. He drank a bitter chalice and the Church has few martyrs that have suffered so many and such diverse torments. And if any one of those could create a holy martyr, and out of justice be awarded a crown⁴⁹⁷, our martyr deserves dozens of crowns because he suffered more than dozens of Saints. And Saint Thomas [Aquinas] referring to Origen says⁴⁹⁸

494 Perhaps this is an indication of the very different relationship Andean and in particular Incaic society had with death in which dying (and the process of mummification) merely made a powerful person more permanent. It certainly did not stop their interaction with the living and their influencing daily life (either benignly or malignly). Calancha seemingly misunderstands this and reads it from an incredulous Christian perspective. See Salomon’s essay cited in the introduction (note 70), ‘The Beautiful Grandparents’, pp.315-54.

495 Calancha actually uses the term ‘dogs’ lit. ‘perros’ which could translate as a curse word: ‘Oh ****!’

496 See the ‘Declaración of don Alonso de la Cueva’ in Bauer et al. *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.87.

497 This refers to the crown of martyrdom but ‘corona’ also translates as ‘wreath’ or equally appropriately, ‘halo’ (of sanctity).

498 Origen, in Aquinas *The Golden Chain*: Matthew chapter 26.

que aquel derrama el caliz de Cristo, i el que el cielo le ordena, que niega la verdad por no padecer, i aquel lo beve todo, que por la verdad padece; nuestro Martir beviò todo el caliz, i merecio todo el premio, pareciendose en casi todo al caliz de su redentor, pues no solo padecio un martirio, con que avia bebido el caliz de Cristo, sino todos los generos de martirios que en ese caliz se encierran; que asta sacarlo a matar fuera del pueblo quiso Cristo que se asemejase a èl; i si esto significò en nuestro Redentor lo que advirtio Augustino⁴⁹⁹, que lo dispuso el Padre asi, porque supiesemos, que el morir fuera de la Ciudad, i fuera de sus muros, significava que moria, no por solo un pueblo, sino por todo el mundo: acà muere tambien en el campo, porque entendamos, que murio para Patron deste Perù nuevo mundo, i que en èl tiene este Reyno el legitimo i mas antiguo Patrocinante; i porque entremos desenbaraçados al capitulo en que è de referir su invencion, i quando állaron su cuerpo para [826] colocarlo, i è de contar sus milagros con otras portentosas maravillas, que fue casi un año despues de su muerte, porque entonces entraron los Españoles a Vilcabanba a prender al Inga, mientras damos tiempo a la letura para que entremos a ver su cuerpo i sus milagros; sepamos las visiones, que acabado de martirizar al santo fray Diego vieron los Indios; i los oraculos que respondieron los Demonios, i sabremos las muertes del Padre fr. Marcos Garcia, que no emos dicho nada dèl despues que lo desterrò el Inga, i dejò al santo fray Diego en la predicacion de Vilcabanba, i lo dejamos en el Cuzco, veremos el fin que tuvieron los verdugos, el Inga i todos aquellos pueblos, que todo lo dira el capitulo siguiente.

⁴⁹⁹ Serm.130 qui est primus in Parasceve. *Propterea enim extra Civitatem, et extra muros, ut intelligas quoniam communis est hostia progenere humano.*

that Christ's chalice is spilled by the one who [...] denies the truth in order not to suffer, and the one who drinks it all suffers for the truth. Our martyr drank the entire chalice and deserved the entire prize as it seemed in almost everything like the chalice of his Redeemer, for not only did he suffer martyrdom, (in which he drank the chalice of Christ) but [he suffered] all the types of martyrdoms that that chalice contains. Christ wanted him to appear like himself even in the fact that they took him outside the town to kill him. And as Augustine noted,⁵⁰⁰ this meant that the Father arranged it like this for our Redeemer so that we know that his dying outside of the City and outside of the walls signifies that he died not only for one people but for the entire world. Here [in Vilcabamba] [fray Diego] also dies in the countryside so that we understand that he died to become Patron [Saint] of this Peru in the New World, and that in him this kingdom has its oldest and most legitimate patron: and so we go proudly to the chapter in which I will refer to his cult and when they found his body to lay it to rest [826] and I must count his miracles [together] with other portentous marvels that occurred nearly a year after his death because the Spanish then entered Vilcabamba to seize the Inca. While we give time to reading so that we can see his body and his miracles, let us hear about the visions that the Indians saw as soon as they had finished martyring the holy friar Diego and the oracles that the demons spoke. We will [also] learn about the death of Padre fray Marcos García, who we left in Cuzco and about whom we have said nothing since he was exiled by the Inca and when he left the holy fray Diego with the task of preaching in Vilcabamba. We shall see the end that awaited the executioners, the Inca and all those populations. All this shall be spoken about in the following chapter.

⁵⁰⁰ Sermon 130.