

Cap.VII. Refierense dos formidables visiones en que declaró el Demonio el fin de aquellos pueblos, i que se acabaria la generacion del Inga; los castigos de Dios en los verdugos, i la muerte lastimosa deste Inga.

1. Enterrado el santo Martir con las ceremonias que merecian los blasfemos, cubierto de piedras como si fuera Absalon el patricida, que solo montones de piedras merecio por sepultura, i un hoyo infame por entierro⁵⁰¹, creyeron aquestos Indios que adulavan a sus Dioses, i que obligavan a sus Reyes con arrojar cada uno su piedra, como lo pensaron los Iudios quando cubrieron de piedras el cuerpo de Absalon. Aqui se devio de querer vengar el Demonio de las afrentas que alli izieron a su Absalon: pero aora veremos, que a su pesar confiesa su dolor, i violentado publica sus engaños; los capitanes verdugos quedaron tan atemorizados de aver muerto al santo Martir, que cada uno temia la muerte sin aver quien los matase, el terror los tuvo sobresaltados, tan temblando, que llenos de confusion era todo miedo, temblores i fatigas mortales: reçagos que deja sienpre el injusto omicidio, i mas quando se aze en varones santos: Cain lo diga, pues de todos tienbla. Convocan a todos sus echizeros mas doctos, i a los adivinos i encantadores mas diestros, i azen que consulten al Demonio, i se estremem en su diabolico arte asta saber lo que sucederia del Inga, de los capitanes i de aquella Provincia. Iuntanse todos, egercitan sus artes diabolicos, continuan sus encantos, i diceles el Demonio: El azedor de todas las cosas està muy enojado por lo que aveys écho en la muerte de su Sacerdote, i por ella à de asolar Dios a todos quantos le ofendieron; destruirà la generacion del Inga, porque la sangre de su Sacerdote està clamando ante su justicia. Declaran los echizeros con alaridos tristes el lamentable oraculo al Inga, i a los capitanes; i aumentando sus sobresaltos por momentos aguardavan sus castigos.

⁵⁰¹ 2.Reg.18 *Tulerunt Absalon, et proiecerunt eum in saltu in foveam grandem, et comportaverunt super eum acervum lapidum magnum nimis.*

Chapter 7. Recounts two formidable visions in which the devil declared the end of these towns and peoples and that the lineage of the Inca would end. [He also] declared the punishments God [would visit] on the executioners and the piteous death of the Inca.

1. Once the holy martyr had been buried with the ceremonies that blasphemers deserve, covered with stones as if he were Absalom the patricide who deserved no more than a mound of stones as a sepulchre, and a loathsome pit in which to lie.⁵⁰² Those Indians that flattered their gods and earned the patronage of their kings by each one throwing a stone, thought exactly the same as the Jews when they covered the body of Absalom with stones. Here the devil must have wanted to avenge the insults that were committed there on his [servant] Absalom. Yet we shall now see that to his regret he confesses his pain and is forced to reveal his tricks. The executioner captains were so terrified that they had killed the holy martyr that each became afraid of death even though there was no-one to kill them. Their terror caused them to tremble and shake so much that all was fear and confusion, trembling and terrible fatigues. These are side-effects that unjust homicide always causes and all the more so when it is holy men who are killed. Cain says it, because he trembles in fear of everyone.⁵⁰³ They gather together their most knowledgeable sorcerers and their diviners and most skilful enchanters and they make them consult the devil and they take their diabolical art to the point where they find out what will happen to the Inca, his captains and that entire province. They carry out their invocations, they practice their diabolical arts and continue their enchantments and the devil tells them: ‘The maker of all things is very angry because of what you have done to his priest and because of this God will annihilate all those who offended him. He will destroy the Inca lineage because the blood of his priest cries out for justice.’ The sorcerers declare this lamentable oracle to the Inca and his captains with sad shrieks and every so often their fright would increase as they awaited their punishment.

⁵⁰² Margin note: 2 Kings 18. *Tulerunt Absalon, et pro itcerunt eum in saltu in foveam grandem, et comportaverunt super eum acervum lapidum magnum nimis.*

⁵⁰³ This refers to God’s cursing of Cain after he slew his brother Abel (Genesis 4:9-15). Cain was cursed to wander the world as a fugitive but he was afraid, so God gave him a token of his protection, known as the mark of Cain.

Otro dia a visperas sucedio, que se quemava una casa grande donde se juntavan a sus borracheras, i donde se consultò al Demonio quando dio aquella respuesta. Al incendio corrieron todos con gemidos, llantos i voces, viendo que se quemava la casa de sus festines, i la sinagoga donde consultavan al Demonio, i en que dava sus oraculos. Ya quando concurriò la multitud, estaban los techos quemados, i a vista de todos pasò por entre las brasas i fuegos una gran culebra, que una i muchas veces se paseò sin quemarse por entre lo mas ardiente del incendio. Tal fue el espanto de los Indios, que el orror los dejò absortos, i la admiracion confusos. Buelven a juntarse los adivinos, echizeros i encantadores, consultan al Demonio (que esa era la culebra que andava en el fuego; que mucho que no se quemase, si las brasas con su cama ordinaria, i las llamas su continuo pasto?) Tardanse los echizeros en azer sus conjuros echan el resto en sus encantamentos, i despues de arrojar suspiros, suplicas i lamentaciones, preguntando lo que significava el incendio, i el pasearse entre el fuego la culebra? Les respondió el Demonio; significa, que à de venir presto sobre vosotros gran castigo a fuego i sangre por la muerte del Sacerdote. Todo sucedio como presto veremos, i mientras pasa el tiempo, acordemonos que asta en esto quiso nuestro Redentor, que se asimilasen los terrores despues desta muerte; anuncios de la destruicion de aquella Provincia, a los que se vieron en Ierusalen despues de la suya, i antes de la asolacion de aquella Provincia de Palestina. Lean formidables casos en Iosefo⁵⁰⁴, que refieren el Cardenal Baronio⁵⁰⁵, i el Padre Barradio⁵⁰⁶, en el año 68 del nacimiento de Cristo, antes que destruiesen

504 Lib. 7. de bello c.12.

505 Annal. Eccles. Anno Christi 68.

506 Barra.to.3.lib.9.c.11.

A few days later in the evening⁵⁰⁷ a large house (in which they gather for their drunken ceremonies and where they consulted the devil when they asked him for his answer) caught fire. All ran to the fire moaning, sobbing and shouting when they saw that their festival house and synagogue where they consulted the devil and in which he gave his oracles was burning. And by the time the crowd had gathered, the roof had already burned and in the sight of all a great serpent slithered through the embers and flames and it passed many times through the hottest part of the fire without burning itself.⁵⁰⁸ The horror and shock of the Indians was so great that they were left utterly captivated, amazed and confused. The diviners, sorcerers and enchanters gathered together again and they consulted the devil (who must have been the serpent that was moving through the fire because it had spent so long in there without burning that it was as if the embers were its bed and the flames were its grass). The sorcerers took a while over their invocations, and even longer over their enchantments. After breathing sighs, entreaties and lamentations, they asked him what the fire and the serpent moving through it meant. The devil replied: 'It meant that very soon a great punishment of fire and blood will descend upon you because of the death of the priest.' This all happened, as we shall soon see and, as time passes, let us remember that even at this point our Redeemer wanted them to take note of these terrors after this death through announcements of the destruction of that province just like those that were seen in Jerusalem after his own [death] and before the destruction of that province of Palestine. Formidable cases can be read in Josephus⁵⁰⁹, in the year 68 after the birth of Christ, (Cardinal Baronius⁵¹⁰ and Father Barradio⁵¹¹ refer to them) before the

507 Calancha uses the term 'a vísperas' which literally translates as 'at vespers' (or at the time of evening prayer before monks and nuns went to bed).

508 See the 'Declaración de Alonso de la Cueva', in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.87-8. Cueva cites the indigenous witness, don Diego Aucalli. This event has been interpreted or understood as an Amaru, a great serpent and harbinger of a *Pachacuti* or cataclysm that would bring the present cycle of history to an end. Calancha did not understand it this way of course. The serpent from within the context of his Christian faith was a favourite form of the devil going right the way back to Genesis and the appearance of the devil to Eve in the Garden of Eden.

509 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Book 7, chapter 12.

510 Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*: Anno Christi 68 (the year of Christ 68).

511 Barradio Vol.3. book 9, chapter 11.

[827] a Ierusalen los Gentiles. Aparecio una cometa sobre la Ciudad en forma de espada, que permanecio un año, i juntandose los Iudios a la fiesta de los Azimos a ocho de Abril aparecio un fuego o luz, que durò media ora, i alunbrò a todos a las nueve de la noche, i este dia llevando una vaca al sacrificio pario la vaca un cordero. La puerta Oriental del templo interior, que era de bronze, i solo veynte onbres la podian abrir i cerrar, estando con aldavas i trancas de hierro, que entravan en marmoles, se abrio a las seys de la noche, sin que la tocasen manos. Déjo aora las voces de un plebeyo, que acomodarè despues. Pasados los dias de la fiesta un dia antes de entrarse el sol, se vieron carros de hierro i de guerra, i egercitos armados, que por el ayre paseavan la Ciudad. En la fiesta de Pentecostes oyeron los Sacerdotes en lo intimo del templo, despues de un gran ruido unas voces que decian: vamonos de aqui. Eran los Angeles, que guardavan el templo de Ierusalen, i le dejavan desierto; cunpliendose en estas visiones lo que Cristo dijo⁵¹², anunciando la destruicion de Ierusalen en castigo de su muerte: No quedará piedra sobre piedra, avrà guerras i muertes de unas naciones contra otras, temblores grandes, pestilencias, anbres i visiones orribles en los ayres, que mostraràn el cielo, i otras grandes señales, dejando desierto el templo los Angeles de su guarda⁵¹³, cosas que precederan antes de su destruicion, i en castigo de mi muerte, i de su ingratitude.

2. Por si alguno deseâre saber si pueden los Demonios alcançar las cosas futuras, i profetizar los casos por venir, supuesto que vemos suceder lo que algunas vezes dijeron; dirè en breve lo que convenga. Santo Tomas dice, que aunque los Angeles anuncien algunas cosas, que estan distantes de nuestra noticia; esto no es profecia, porque en nada convienen con nuestro estado: i los onbres⁵¹⁴,

512 Luc.21. *Venient dies in quibus non relinquetur lapis super lapidem, qui non destruat.*

513 Matth.23. *Ecce relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta.*

514 3.p.q.7.art.8.in corp. *Si igitur Deus, aut Angeli, vel etiam Beati cognoscunt, et annuntiant ea, quæ sunt procul à nostra noticia: hoc non pertinet ad prophetiam, quia in nullo nostrum statum attingunt.*

[827] gentiles⁵¹⁵ destroyed Jerusalem, a comet appeared above the city in the form of a sword and remained there for a year, and when the Jews gathered for the feast of Azimos⁵¹⁶ on the 8th of April a fire or light appeared that lasted a half hour and lit everything up at nine o'clock and that day, while taking a cow for sacrifice the cow gave birth to a lamb. The eastern door to the inner temple which was made of bronze and which could only be opened and closed by twenty men and which had iron latches and chains that were attached to marble pillars opened at six o'clock in the evening without anyone touching it. I will leave for later the laments of one of the plebeians. When one of the feast days had passed, just before the sun had set, iron war chariots and armed infantry were seen in the sky marching over the city. During the feast of Pentecost the priests in the inner sanctuary of the temple heard a loud noise and then voices saying 'let us leave this place'. They were the Angels who guarded the temple of Jerusalem and they left it deserted. These visions fulfilled Christ's words when he announced the destruction of Jerusalem in punishment of his death⁵¹⁷: 'No stone will remain on stone, there will be wars and deaths caused by one nation against the other, powerful earthquakes, plagues, famine and horrible visions that heaven will reveal in the sky and other great portents. The Angels sent to guard the temple shall leave and these are the things that shall precede its destruction in punishment of my death and of your ungratefulness'.⁵¹⁸

2. If one of you wishes to know whether demons can know of future events and prophesy things that are to come, given that we sometimes see what they have predicted come true; I will explain in brief. Saint Thomas says that although that angels announce certain things that are far from our knowledge, this is not prophesy because in no way are they like us in their being; neither men⁵¹⁹,

515 By 'gentiles', Calancha is referring here to the Roman legions (which also included Syrian and Arab contingents according to Josephus (*Jewish War*, pp. 334-5).

516 The Feast of Azimos was the feast of the first spring harvest celebrated to commemorate the beginning of the first reaping of the barley. To prevent evil spirits from the previous year from infiltrating the new year all the old flour and leavening agent (fermented flour and yeast) was thrown away and new flour is left for seven days to ferment. During this period (the seven days of the festival) the Jews ate only unleavened bread (as there would be no new leavening agent ready). The festival was often linked with the Passover and took place at the same time of year.

517 Luke 21:6.

518 Matthew 23:38.

519 Aquinas, *Summa Theologicæ*, Part 3, question 7, article 8.

los Angeles ni los Demonios no pueden saber las cosas futuras, ni contingentes, o lo que en lo por venir à de suceder, i declarandose mas, pone⁵²⁰ dos modos, que puede aver en el conocimiento i juicio de los futuros contingentes, el uno es conocer las cosas en sus causas, i asi pueden conocer las cosas futuras, que proceden de sus causas por cierta ciencia, como que saldra el sol mañana, i tambien lo que produziran esas causas, no con certeza, sino por congetura, como el medico aze juicio en las enfermedades. Otro modo ay, i es conocer las cosas futuras en si mismas, i este modo de conocer compete a solo el infinito saber de Dios, i es proprio de su Divinidad: tanto que para provar Isaias quan falsos eran los oraculos de los Idolos, Demonios verdaderos, Dioses de mentira, i lo que en su nonbre decian sus Profetas, les dijo⁵²¹: Ea anunciad lo que andando el tienpo à de suceder, i sabremos, que son verdaderos Dioses los que adorays, i que tambien soys Dioses vosotros si las decis, i provando que nuestro Dios era el verdadero, dijo antes⁵²², lo que alegò Dios para provar, que èl solo era verdadero Dios, i fuera dèl eran falsos quantos Demonios i onbres se introduzian Dioses, i dice; quien sera semejante a mi? Diga las cosas futuras, i los sucesos por venir como yo ágo, i como en tiempos atrasados tengo dicho por mis Profetas al pueblo de Israel. De manera, que es tan proprio de Dios el anunciar cosas futuras, que otro que èl no tiene ciencia de lo por venir, i sirve de egecutoria a su Diuinidad. El profetizarlas los onbres nace de que Dios se las revela, sirviendo de arcaduz, ministro o instrumento para que las digan, o prediquen a los que Dios quiere que las sepan. En aquel primer modo de saber cosas futuras, que pone santo Tomas [se sabe] de principios naturales i necesarios, i que se originan de la naturaleza, como es saber si avrà seca i esterilidad en los canpos, o fertilidad i abundancia en los frutos, podra saber los generos de enfermedades que an de venir, pestes, calenturas, abortos i los demas achaques de nuestra naturaleza; i tambien si avrà lluvias, tenblores, serenidad de tienpos, vientos contrarios, tenpestades, alteracion del mar, o corrupcion de aguas, i otras diferentes inmutaciones de los elementos.

520 I.p.q.57.ar.3. *Vno modo in causa sua, et sic futura, quæ ex necessitate ex causis suas proveniunt per certam scientiam cognoscuntur, ut solem oriri oras, etc. alio modo cognoscuntur futura in se ipsis, et sic solius Dei est futura cognoscere.*

521 Isai.41. *Annunciate, quæ ventura sunt in futurum, et sciemos quia Dijestis vos.*

522 Idem cap.4: *Absque, me non est Deus, quis similis, mei? vocet, et anunciet, et ordine exponat mihi, ex quo constisti populum antiquum ventura, et quæ futura sunt annuntiet eis.*

angels nor demons can know future or possible things or what is to happen; and clarifying some more he suggests two ways that there can be knowledge of future possibilities⁵²³; the first is to know the causes of things and so by a certain science they can know future things that come from particular causes, like that the sun will rise in the morning. And they can also know what will produce these causes, not with certainty but via conjecture, like a doctor makes a judgement about cases of sickness. Another way is to know future things in themselves, and this method of knowing is part of the infinite knowledge of God, and this is proper only to his divinity; so much so that in order for Isaiah to prove how false the oracles of the idols were, that they were true demons and gods of lies and what the prophets were saying in their name, he told them: ‘prophesy that which will come to pass with the passing of time; and we will know that the ones you worship and your yourselves (if you say so) are true gods’.⁵²⁴ Then, by announcing what God had told him, he proved that our God was the true one and that, besides him, all others were false—whether demons or men passing themselves off as gods. And God said: ‘who is similar to me? Tell things of the future and what will come to pass, as I do and as in times gone by I have told the people of Israel through my Prophets’.⁵²⁵ In such a way it is quite right and proper that God announces future things that others do not have the knowledge of, and it serves as the final proof of his divinity. The ability of men to predict future things is born of the fact that God reveals them; men simply act as a channel, minister or instrument to speak them or preach whatever God wants them to know. In that first way of knowing future things that Saint Thomas writes about, everything [is known] from natural and necessary principles which originate in nature, such as the knowledge of whether there will be a drought or poor harvests, or fertility and abundance in the fruits of the fields. One can know the types of illnesses that will appear; plagues, fevers, abortions, and other ailments of our nature; and also one can know if there will be rains, earthquakes, tranquil weather, contrary winds, storms, high seas, or contaminated water and other changes in the elements.

523 Aquinas, *Summa*, part 1, question 57, article 3.

524 Isaiah 41:23.

525 This is miss-cited. The reference should be Isaiah 44:6-7.

Todas estas cosas puede conocer antes que vengan el Demonio i sus echizeros o sequazes, i no solo las pueden saber echizeros i Demonios, pero de ordinario las conocen i las alcançan los onbres doctos i los Astrologos entendidos, i nos las dejan en sus libros, en sus efemerides i lunatios, alcançanlas mejor, i conocenlas con mas presteza los Angeles i los Demonios que los onbres, porque (como dijo santo Tomas⁵²⁶) entienden ellos las causas de cada cosa mejor i mas, [828] i con universalidad mayor, i perfeccion mas scientifica, que los onbres i los Demonios no perdieron por el pecado las gracias naturales. Donde està la dificultad, i lo que à menester mi proposito es, como saben los Demonios lo por venir, pues an dicho varias cosas, no siendo destas materias, que dejamos dichas, sino muchas que tocan i dependen de la voluntad de Dios, i del libre alvedrio? A esto satisfaze la Glosa⁵²⁷ de Nicolao de Lira con la sentencia de mi Padre san Augustin, con decir, que permite Dios muchas vezes, que los Demonios digan a los onbres, i les revelen algunas verdades incognitas, o rastreandolas por las cosas naturales, congeturando i arguyendo, i asi como esto es adivinar, dicen cien mentiras a buelta de una verdad o permite Dios (por los secretos de su providencia) que los Angeles gloriosos revelen a los Demonios algunas cosas que dios les revelò a ellos, i que violentados, i por fuerça las digan a los onbres por mas que les atormenten el publicarlo, para que se desengañen los onbres malos oyendolas a los mismos Demonios a quien obedecen, o a los falsos Profetas en quien fian. Vease en Balaan Profeta del Demonio, a quien por permission Divina le revelaron los Angeles los favores, santidad i glorias del pueblo de Dios, i mal que quiso las uvo de pregonar. Lo mismo vemos en la Fitoniza, quando Samuel, i en la otra quando san Pablo i en las legiones de Demonios, que confesaron a Cristo por verdadero Dios, sirviendose entonces la violencia Divina de la malicia diabolica, para que los pecheros de la culpa, i los villanos del infierno fuesen testigos de abono en las pruebas que estava aziendo en el mundo esta i aquella santidad.

526 I.p.q.57.at.3.in corp. *Iste modus cognoscendi futura adest Angelis, et tanto magis quam nobis: quanto magis rerum causas, et universalius, et perfectius congnoſcunt.*

527 In cap.22 Numer. *Patet igitur, quod Dæmones à Deo permissi, possunt hominibus aliquas veritates revelare eis incognitas. Tum quia Dæmonum cognitio naturalis ad plura se extendit, quam humana. Tum quia secundum Augustinum 2. Super Genes. Ad litteram plura de supernaturalibus veritatibus à sanctis Angelis aliquando Dæmonibus revelantur, quas possunt ulterius hominibus revelare à Deo permissi. Et infra. Et compulsus est pronuntiare, quod nolebat videlicet sanctitatem et prosperitatem populi Israel.*

All these things can be known before the devil and his sorcerers or henchmen even come into consideration. And not only sorcerers and demons can know these things but ordinarily learned men and knowledgeable astrologers can as well and they leave us their knowledge in their books, in their almanacs and calendars. Angels and demons can know these things better and faster than men because (as Saint Thomas said) they understand the cause of each thing better and with [828] greater universality and more scientific precision than men.⁵²⁸ And demons did not lose their natural graces as a result of their sin. What I am arguing and where the difficulty lies is how can demons can know what is to come when they say certain things not of the nature we have just been talking about but which touch on and depend on the will of God and on free will? This [question] is answered by the commentary of Nicholas of Lyre on the statement made by my father Saint Augustine when he said that on many occasions God allows demons to say things to men and reveal hidden things. They either work them out through natural ways, conjecturing and reasoning just as if they were guessing and they wrap a thousand lies around a truth. Or, God (through the secrets of his providence) allows glorious angels to reveal to the demons certain things that God revealed to the angels and, under duress, the demons are forced to tell men no matter how much it tortures them. This is so that wicked men can be disabused [of their errors] by listening to the very demons that they obey or the false prophets that they trust. You can see this with Balaam, the devil's prophet, to whom God permitted angels to reveal the favours, holiness and glory of the people of God, and however bad he thought it was he still had to preach them. We see the same in Fitoniza through Samuel, and also via Saint Paul, when the legions of demons confessed that Christ was the true God. And so divine violence made use of diabolical malice, so that these repositories of guilt and villains of hell might bear witness to the holiness that was moving in the world.

⁵²⁸ Aquinas, *Summa* part 1, question 57, article 3.

De todo esto se saca que los Demonios i echizeros, que anunciaron despues de la muerte del santo Martir la destruicion de la generacion del Inga, i las muertes, lastimas incendios i destruicion de pueblos de aquella Provincia. O lo alcançaron por congeturas entonces no muy dificultosas, o permitio Dios, que los Angeles santos, a quien Dios revelò la destruicion de aquellos Indios, lo revelasen al Demonio, para que a su pesar, i conpelido lo digese a sus sequazes, i sus echizeros lo publicasen en los pueblos, para que la misma boca del Demonio que adoravan jurase en abono de la Fè, que ofendian, i pregonasen la santidad del Santo que matavan.

3. Luego que martirizaron al Santo fray Diego, començo Dios a desenbaynar la espada de su ira, con ciertos respetos a su misericordia, al modo que se uvo con Ierusalen, dandoles castigo poco a poco, por ver si se arrepentian, o se enmendavan. Pero si a Ierusalen acabò de castigar pasados mas de quarenta años despues de su muerte; acà en Vilcabanba no aguardò un año para destruirlos, ni un mes para començar a castigarlos. Entra una enfermedad como peste, que à dozenas se llevaba cada dia en cada pueblo los onbres, los niños, las mugeres i los viejos, todo era lamentos en las casas, i destruicion general en las familias. Vino tal anbre, que perecian, no solo Indios, pero murieron todos los ganados, i solo aullidos de bestias se oian por los montes, porque agostò el cielo labranças, guertas i canpos. Langosta i otras savandijas talavan, unas las comidas, que estaban en las éras, i otras las que se avian encerrado en los graneros. Si antes avia copia de mosquitos por ser tierra de montañas, aumentò Dios tanto esta plaga, que cubria los ayres, i desesperava las gentes. Viendo cada qual las desdichas de su casa, i oyendo todos los pueblos los lamentos de sus lastimas, se maldecian unos a otros, diciendo: Maldito seas, que tu fuiste de los que se allaron en la muerte del Santo; i lo mesmo le bolvia a decier el que rabioso queria responder.

From all this we understand that devils and sorcerers after the death of the holy martyr announced the destruction of the Inca's line, and the deaths, misfortunes, fires, and destruction of the towns of that province. They either worked this out from not very difficult conjecture, or God allowed holy angels to whom God revealed the destruction of those Indians to subsequently reveal this to the devil so that however much he regretted it he would be forced to tell his henchmen. And his sorcerers made it public knowledge amongst the general population, so that the very same mouth of the demon that they worshipped would swear to the credit of the faith that they offended, and preach the holiness of the Saint that they killed.

3. As soon as they had martyred the holy fray Diego, God began to unsheathe his sword of wrath, to a certain extent tempered by his mercy, in the same way as he did against Jerusalem, punishing them little-by-little to see if they would repent. But if he finished punishing Jerusalem more than forty years after his [Christ's] death, here in Vilcabamba he did not wait a year before destroying them, nor a month before beginning their punishment.⁵²⁹ A plague-like sickness started that took the lives of dozens of people every day from each of the towns: men, children, women, old people—only laments could be heard from the houses due to the widespread destruction of the families. Such a famine came that not only Indians perished but also all their livestock, and only the howling of beasts could be heard in the hills because the heavens exhausted agricultural labours, gardens and fields. Locusts and other insects cut down the food that was in the fields, and others consumed the food that was stored in the granaries. If there were copious mosquitos before due to the fact that this was a land of mountainous forest, God increased this plague so much that they filled the sky and the people despaired. As they saw the misfortunes that had befallen their houses and as all the towns heard the laments caused by their hurts, they began to curse one another saying: 'Curse you! You were one of those who was present at the death of the Saint!' and the other would reply furiously with the same thing.

⁵²⁹ Note the difficulty with distinguishing between Christ and Ortiz: 'if God punished Jerusalem more than forty years after *his* death, here in Vilcabamba he did not wait a year'. His, might refer to God, to Christ (who is God) and, to a certain extent (within the framework of the collapse of time), to Ortiz, the 'vice-Christ'.

En juntas que azian Indios i Indias alçacan el alarido, diciendo; Malditos sean los que mataron al Santo amigo del Criador; las muertes i desdichas que padecemos enbie el Dios del Padre Sacerdote a las casas i familias de los que injustamente lo mataron. A esta manera acumulavan maldiciones, gemidos, llantos i plegarias, todo era lamentos, todo muertes.

4. Quisieron huir los capitanes verdugos del furor de la plebe, como si pudieran huir de la ira de Dios; unos se escondian, otros se huyeron a tierras remotas. En breves semanas se vieron en algunos lastimosas muertes, advirtiendo sus desastrados fines los mismos Indios, que declaran en las informaciones. Curipaucar murio blasfemando despues que dio la batalla al campo Real, en que como presto veremos [829] fue Maese de Canpo. Manacotana dentro de poco le cortaron la mano, i despues murio malamente. Paucar Inga de la sangre Real, Chegue i Gualpa Yucra murieron despeñados, Iuan Tupa, que le dio con la acha o machete al Santo, se fue huyendo a los Chunchos la tierra dentro, porque los Indios no le matasen, viendo que todos clamavan contra èl, i allà lo cogio otro Indio llamado Sucte, i le cortò la cabeça por la garganta, afrenta grande entre ellos. Rimache Yupangui, fue preso por los del Cuzco, i traído a Lima donde murio rabiando. Iuan Quispe vivio con el braço seco cincuenta i seys años, para que fuese testigo de su culpa. Al mestizo Martin Pando, lo mataron los Indios con varios tormentos, poco despues que egecutò los martirios en el santo Martir. Guandopa, Camarco[,] Tumi, Atoc, Sotic i Paloc murieron desastradamente, porque se matavan unos a otros; desdichas que sucedieron entre los Judios.

In gatherings Indian men and women would begin to shriek: ‘Cursed be those who killed the Saint, friend of the Creator! May the God of the Father Priest send the deaths and misfortunes that we are suffering to the houses and families of those who killed him so unjustly. In this way curses, groans, crying, and prayers mounted up—all was laments—death was everywhere.

4. The executioner captains wanted to flee from the fury of the populace, as if they could flee from the wrath of God. Some hid themselves, others fled to remote lands. In a short space of time some began to die terribly, the Indians themselves testifying to their messy deaths in the enquiry. Curipaucar died blaspheming after he gave battle to the royal troops in which as we shall shortly see, [829] he was the commander. Within a short space of time Manacotana had his hand cut off and afterwards he died horribly. Paucar Inca, of royal blood, Chegue and Gualpa Yucra died by falling from cliffs, Juan Tupa, who struck the Saint with an axe or a machete, fled into the interior to the Chunchos⁵³⁰ so that the Indians [in Vilcabamba] would not kill him, seeing that everyone was clamouring against him, and there he was caught by another Indian called Sucte who cut off his head at the throat—a great insult amongst them. Rimache Yupanqui, was captured by those from Cuzco and was taken to Lima where he died raving.⁵³¹ Juan Quispe lived with his withered arm for fifty-six years so that he could bear witness to his guilt. The Indians killed the mestizo Martín Pando with various tortures shortly after he tortured the holy martyr. Guandopa, Camarco[,] Tumi, Atoc, Sotic, and Paloc, died horribly because they killed each other—misfortunes that also happened to the Jews.⁵³²

530 ‘Chunchos’ was the term used by the Incas to refer to the Amazonian ethnic groups. It carried with it implications of barbarism.

531 Not all of Calancha’s ‘ends’ for these protagonists can be confirmed and some do not appear to be true. Juan Quispe did survive and was interviewed in the 1595 enquiry, nevertheless, according to Hemming, Curi Paucar (Paucar Inca) and four other (un-named) captains were sentenced to be hanged in Cuzco, in 1572. This sentence was carried out for Curi Paucar and one other, but the other three sentenced caught a fatal illness while in prison and were not hanged despite the fact that they were brought out in blankets for the execution (Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, p.427).

532 See the introductory essay for a brief comment on how Josephus himself avoided committing suicide. Josephus describes how, when the city of Gamala fell, the desperate inhabitants flung themselves into the ravine rather than be killed or captured by the Romans, similarly in the fortress of Masada, all those who had taken refuge there committed suicide after the urging of their leader Eleazar (*Jewish War*, pp.239, 398-404).

Pues como dice el Cardenal Cesar Baronio⁵³³, refiriendo los casos lastimosos que vido, i afirma su autor Ebreo Iosefo⁵³⁴, i algunos cuenta Cornelio Tacito⁵³⁵. En el dia de los Azimos, aviendose escondido tres facciones de gentes, se mataron unos a otros, quedando vivas la de Iuan i la de Simon muertos en el templo, porque en el templo ofendieron a Dios; a millares matò la peste i la anbre, tanto que los Iudios que salian a comer yervas del campo, a doze de Mayo los pasò a cuchillo Tito, i mandò cercar la ciudad con parte de su egercito puesto en cinco conpañias para que no allasen sustento en los campos donde le allavan las bestias, i a los que cogian los ponian en Cruces, i faltavan palos para crucificarlos, i no avia espacio de tierra donde cupiesen los crucificados, escogiendo los cercados por menos malo morir en Cruz, que morir de anbre; traça del cielo, para que pagasen la pena en Cruz, por aver sido su culpa poner en Cruz a Cristo. El estiercol de las bestias llegò a ser sustento de Iudios, i no se tenia por desdichado el que tenia un plato de estiercol. Los mas que solicitaron la muerte del divino Redentor de nuestras animas murieron despedaçados, i acabaron rabiosos, como presto veremos; i porque en todo se asimilen los sucesos del Martir a los de Cristo; acà se vido quemar la casa de los Sacerdotes echizeros i el templo de sus Idolos; Los mas que solicitaron la muerte del divino Redentor de nuestras animas murieron despedaçados, i acabaron rabiosos, como presto veremos; i porque en todo se asimilen los sucesos del Martir a los de Cristo; acà se vido quemar la casa de los Sacerdotes echizeros i el templo de sus Idolos; si en Ierusalen se vido quemado el templo, i las casas Reales de Agripa, i del Pontifice Ananias, i en fuego se quemaron las librerias de sus libros, con que se iran cotegando estas desdichas con las de Vilcabanba.

5. Vn caso parece que corrio parejas en lo mas despues desta muerte, con el que sucedio despues de la de Cristo. Un onbre plebeyo, dice Iosefo⁵³⁶, i refiere Baronio⁵³⁷, siendo rustico, quatro años antes que començasen las desdichas de Ierusalen, i las guerras que la asolaron, quando la ciudad estava toda en paz, i los Iudios en sosiego i opulencia, en la fiesta de los tabernaculos, quando estavan disponiendo su solenidad, de repente començo a clamar, diciendo:

533 Annal. eccles.tom.I, ab anno 68 usque ad annum 72.

534 A secundo libro, usque ad 72.

535 Cornel. lib.5, histor.

536 Lib.7, c.12.

537 Vbi supra.

For, as the Cardinal Caesar Baronius⁵³⁸ says referring to the dreadful cases that the author Josephus the Hebrew⁵³⁹ saw and affirmed (and some of them are told by Cornelius Tacitus⁵⁴⁰), on the day of Azimos three different factions had hidden and began to kill one another. The faction of John survived and Simon's faction was killed in the temple, because in the temple they offended God. Thousands were killed by the plague and the famine was so great that the Jews went out to eat the grass in the fields. Titus put them to the sword on 12 May and he ordered part of his army to lay siege to the city in five companies so that they would not be able to find sustenance in the fields where the animals were. Those they captured were crucified and they [soon] ran out of wood with which to crucify them and there was no space to erect any more crosses, as the besieged thought it was better to die on the Cross than die of hunger. This was an artifice of God, so that they pay the penalty for having placed Christ on the Cross by being crucified themselves. The dung of beasts became the sustenance of the Jews and the one who had a plate of dung was not considered unfortunate. The others who asked the divine Redeemer of our souls for death died cut to pieces and their lives ended raving as we shall soon see. And because in all things the events of the martyr appear like those of Christ, here we saw the burning of the house of the sorcerer priests and the temple of their idols while in Jerusalem we saw the temple and the royal houses of Agrippa and the High Priest Ananias burned and their libraries of books consumed the fire. And so these misfortunes [in Jerusalem] are collated with those of Vilcabamba.

5. There is one case that really runs parallel to what happened after this death [of Diego Ortiz] with that which occurred after the death of Christ. Josephus⁵⁴¹ (cited by Baronius) says that four years before Jerusalem's misfortunes and the wars that destroyed it began, when the city was at peace and the Jews were calm and living in luxury, during the feast of the Tabernacle just when they were getting ready for the ceremony, a commoner⁵⁴² suddenly began to cry out saying:

538 Baronius, *Annales*, vol. 1 from the year 68 until 72.

539 Baronius, *Annales*, book 2, until 72.

540 Cornelius Tacitus, *Histories*, book 5. Tacitus was a first century Roman senator and historian whose most famous works are his *Annals* and his *Histories* which chart a narrative history from Tiberius through to Domitian.

541 Josephus, book 7, chapter 12.

542 Calancha uses the term *plebeyo* – lit. plebeian.

Vozes dan del oriente, voces del ocidente, voces de los quatro vientos, i voces contra Ierusalen i contra el templo, voces contra los recién desposados i contra sus esposas, voces contra todo este pueblo de Israel; esto repetia en cada calle i barrio, andandolos todos, i dejando tenbroles con sus gritos orribles. Cogenle los nobles de la Republica, açotanlo, afligenlo porque cãlle, i dava mas voces repitiendo lo mismo. Prendenle los Magistrados, i llevanlo al Iuez i Prefecto de los Romanos, i aze que le desuellen con açotes asta que le descubrieron los guesos; i a cada golpe repetia: Ay de ti Ierusalen! ay de ti templo! ay de ti pueblo de Israel! En esto perseverò siete años i cinco meses, i con dar cada dia estos clamores, siendo espantosas las voces, no se enronqueciò la voz, ni se desflaquecio su espiritu i murio quando entrava el asedio i se començò la destruicion, i fueron sus ultimas razones: Ay de ti Ierusalen! ay de mi! casi otro tanto sucedio despues de la muerte e nuestro Martir en Vilcabanba. Un Indio no plebeyo, sino de los principales, Capitan de los primeros, i que fue despues Governador de la Provincia llamado don Diego Aucalli viejo de sesenta años, i el que advirtio que enterrasen al Martir la cabeça abajo, viendo tantas anbres, pestes, muertes, fugas i espantos, se bolvio otra vez tan de veras a Cristo, que azia vida de Santo, i merecio ser predicador Evangelico. Esta conversion se le deve al Martir, que devio de negociar en la Cruz, quando pedia a Dios, que perdonase a los que le ofendian. I si [830] en Ierusalen se convirtio S. Estevan oyendo a Cristo en la Cruz, i fue uno de los que pidio al Padre, quando dijo: Perdonalos Señor, que ignoran lo que azen; i como dice mi Padre san Agustin⁵⁴³, san Estevan se allò al pie de la Cruz, quando murio nuestro Redentor, i alli aprendio a pedir perdon para sus enemigos. Martirizavan a Estevan, i era Pablo el que guardava las capas a los que le apedreavan, para que mejor i mas desenbaraçadamente le pudiesen apedrear,

543 Aug.serm.93.de diversis.

‘laments can be heard from the East, cries from the West, laments from the four winds and cries against Jerusalem and against the temple, cries against the newlywed bridegrooms and their wives, cries against this entire people of Israel!’ This he repeated in every street and district and he walked through them all causing earthquakes with his horrible cries. The nobles of the Republic arrest him, whip him and torture him to shut him up but he shouted all the more repeating the same thing. The Magistrates seize him and take him to the Prefect and Judge of the Romans and they flay him with lashes until his bones can be seen. And with every blow he repeated: ‘Woe unto you Jerusalem! Woe unto the temple! Woe unto you people of Israel!’ He persevered in this for seven years and five months, and in all that time, shouting out these horrendous cries every day, his voice never went hoarse nor did he lose spirit. He died when the siege ended and the destruction began and his last words were: ‘Woe unto you Jerusalem! Woe unto me!’⁵⁴⁴ Something very similar happened after the death of our Martyr in Vilcabamba. A seventy-year-old noble Indian⁵⁴⁵ called don Diego Aucalli, who was one of the most senior, Captain of the Lords and afterward Governor of the province, on seeing so much famine, so many plagues, deaths, so many who fled, and so much terror, warned that the martyr should be buried upside down. Yet he truly returned to Christ and lived the life of a saint, and deserved to be a preacher of the Gospel. This conversion is owed to the martyr who must have negotiated on the Cross when he asked God to forgive those who trespassed against him.⁵⁴⁶ [830] Saint Sebastian converted after hearing Christ on the Cross in Jerusalem and was one of those about whom he asked the Father saying: ‘Forgive them Lord, they know not what they do’—and, as my father Saint Augustine says⁵⁴⁷, Saint Sebastian was to be found at the foot of the Cross when our Redeemer died—and there he learned to ask forgiveness for his enemies. Sebastian was martyred and it was Paul who minded the cloaks of those who were carrying out the stoning so that they could stone him unencumbered.⁵⁴⁸

544 Josephus writes that he was killed by a stone from a siege engine. Calancha’s summary is fairly faithful to Josephus’ own account, down to the final words of Jeshua, the unfortunate prophet (Josephus, *The Jewish War*, pp.361-2).

545 Calancha says, ‘*un indio no plebeyo*’ (lit. a non-plebeian Indian’).

546 Once again we see the blurring of identities between Ortiz and Christ.

547 Augustine, Sermon 93.

548 Calancha appears to be confusing St. Stephen (the first Christian martyr stoned to death c.34 AD with St. Paul—then Saul—looking on approvingly) with both St. Sebastian, who was a Roman soldier and also a martyr, killed in the third century (c.286-7), and the Roman centurion who was on guard at the foot of the cross and who recognised Jesus as the son of God at the moment of his death (Matt. 27:54). St. Stephen is believed in Christian tradition to have been one of the first deacons supporting the work of the apostles in Jerusalem. He was accused of blasphemy under Jewish law and was then stoned to death. See the biblical account in Acts 6:1–8:2. St Sebastian, according to Christian tradition, was a Roman soldier discovered to be a Christian in 286 AD during the reign of Maximian who ruled in the West (r.286-305) and Diocletian in the East (r.284-305). He was ordered to be executed by being shot by arrows but survived and was later clubbed to death.

i allí pedia Estevan la conversion de Pablo. A un tiempo, dice Augustino, quebravan con piedras el vaso de Estevan, i sus ruegos labravan el vaso de Pablo; allí negocia su conversion la suplica del Protomartir, i acà en Vilcabanba nuestro Protomartir la conversion de don Diego; dava voces a los Indios, i deciales: Dejad la adoracion de vuestros Idolos i confesad a Cristo, este es el Dios verdadero, i vuestras guacas Demonios de mentira; ay del idolatra! Ay desta Provincia! Solo Cristo es verdadero Dios; considerad quantos castigos enbia, porque matamos a su Santo. Yo è corrido antes de aora, militando con los Reyes Ingas toda la tierra desde Quito asta Chile, i è visto que los Ingas degollavan a muchos de los adivinos i profetas de las guacas, i que mas poderosos eran con los Idolos, i nunca vide castigos del cielo, i aora vemos lastimas tristes, anbres, langostas, incendios i muertes. Todo esto enbia el cielo porque matamos su Sacerdote, todos nos maldecimos unos a otros porque le martirizamos. Esto no es evidente prueba, de que la ley que nos enseñava era la verdadera, i el bautismo con que nos lavava, era el que nos convenia? Consideradlo bien que estays ciegos, bolveos a Cristo, que favorece a sus amigos, i castiga a los que los ofenden. Ay de nosotros, i que de daños nos esperan! ay de los que a Iesu Cristo no conocen por Dios! ay de nuestra tierra i de nuestros ijos, i que de trabajos i desdichas nos an de venir, porque matamos al Santo, siendo tan crueles con quien fue nuestro Padre, i padecio por enseñarnos el camino del cielo! Estas i otras razones repetia el Indio cada dia; pedianle que callase los otros Capitanes, i dava mas voces; reprimiale el Inga, i dava mas clamores, que le duraron asta que entraron a destruirlos nuestros Españoles: i sin duda ganò su predicacion muchas animas, pues Dios no alunbra a un idolatra, i lo convierte de apostata a predicador, para que se queden los ciegos sin luz que los aproveche; i suele ganar mas con uno destes, que con grandes Santos;

And it was there that Sebastian asked for Paul to be converted. On the one hand (says Augustine), the vessel that was Sebastian was smashed with stones, while on the other his petitions haped the vessel that was Paul. There, his conversion is negotiated with the petition of the protomartyr⁵⁴⁹ and here in Vilcabamba our own protomartyr negotiated the conversion of don Diego [Aucalli]. He cried out to the Indians and said to them: ‘leave aside the worship of your Idols and confess to Christ, this is the true God, and your demon *huacas* [are] lies. Woe to the idolater! Woe to this province! Only Christ is the true God; Consider how many punishments he will send because we killed his Saint! Long have I journeyed as a soldier for the Inca kings, travelling the length of the land from Quito down to Chile and I have seen how the Incas slit the throats⁵⁵⁰ of many of the diviners and prophets of the *huacas*, and the most powerful were with the idols and I never saw punishments from heaven. And now we are seeing terrible afflictions, famine, locusts, fires and deaths. All this is sent by heaven because we killed its priest. We curse each other because we martyred him. Is this not sufficient proof that the law which he taught us was the truth and that the baptism with which he cleansed us was the one that was of most benefit? Consider well that you are blind. Return to Christ who favours his friends and punishes those who offend him. Woe to us and to the harm that awaits us! Woe to those who do not know Christ as God! Woe to our land and to our children, and to the afflictions and misfortunes that will happen to us because we killed the Saint, being so cruel with one who was our father, and who suffered in order to teach us the road to heaven!’ The Indian repeated these and other arguments on a daily basis. The other captains asked him to be quiet but he shouted even louder. The Inca reprimanded him and he cried out even more, and this continued until our Spaniards went in to destroy them. And without doubt this preaching won over many souls, because God would not enlighten an idolater and convert an apostate into a preacher simply so that the blind would stay without light that could guide them.⁵⁵¹ And one of these can often convert more people than great Saints.

549 ‘Protomartyr’ means the first to be martyred.

550 *Degollaron*. This could also translate in the sixteenth century as ‘decapitated’ (*decapitaron*).

551 Calancha is basing this on the testimony of don Alonso de la Cueva, who in turn was relaying what don Diego Aucalli had told him. Not surprisingly, Calancha is filling in a significant number of gaps and extrapolating for the purposes of his narrative. Nevertheless, a significant amount of detail that talks about Aucalli’s conversion as a result of the plagues that fell on Vilcabamba after Ortiz’s death is in the testimony. See the ‘Declaración de Alonso de la Cueva’, in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, pp.87-8.

llenas estàn desto las Escrituras, porque en algunos puede mas el grito de uno que fue de su faccion, que las voces del que no tuvo su seta. El Inga Tupac, aunque no igualò a sus antecesores en agudeza de ingenio, era de razonable entendimiento; labrò en su anima la consideracion de los grandes daños que a su Provincia avian venido por la muerte del Martir, ponderava las razones que don diego Aucalli vozeava con gritos; cabavan en su temor las respuestas del Demonio, quando les anunciò su destruicion, i enbiavale Dios luzes de inspiraciones, con que si no se convertia del todo, mostrava deseos de convertirse, deseando frayles nuestros para tratar de la Fè; todas eran ganas ineficazes, i guardava Dios su remedio para el dia de su trabajo, i su mejor ventura para la ocasion de su mayor desdicha.

6. Dos años durò el castigo del cielo dando avisos a unos en los lastimosos estragos de otros; pero si convesavan todos que era en pena del martirio de su siervo, se endurecia la contumacia de los rebeldes, quando mas oian i experimentavan castigos, amenazas i estragos. Desperdiciaron muchos Indios los llamamentos soberanos, si bien otros se aprovecharon convertidos. Pero ya la ira del cielo a quien tenia la misericordia rebalsada, quiso derramar sus rigores viendo las pocas enmiendas, i deseando castigar los insultos, convocò los egercitos Españoles, para que fuesen egecutores de su sentencia, a cuyas manos pagasen el Inga, i aquellos pueblos el enorme delito de la muerte del Martir, i las barbaras crueldades de los iniquos idolatras. Verase mucho lastimoso en el siguiente capitulo, i como castigando Dios al Inga, le izo relevantes misericordias ijas de la piedad divina, i alcançadas de los ruegos del Martir santo, quando pedia perdon a Dios por sus enemigos.

Scripture is full of such examples because sometimes the cries of one who was of their faction can do more than the shouts of one who was not of their sect. The Inca Tupac [Amaru], although he did not equal his predecessors in sharpness of wit, was nonetheless reasonably intelligent, and began turning over in his soul the great harm that had come to his province as a result of the death of the martyr. He pondered the arguments that don Diego Aucalli shouted out, and the answers the demons gave him when they announced his destruction only deepened his fear. God sent him flashes of inspiration to the effect that even if he did not completely convert, he showed willingness to convert, and wanted our friars to teach him the faith.⁵⁵² All these desires were useless, and God kept his remedy for the day of his agony and his greatest fortune for the occasion when he was most unfortunate.

6. For two years punishment from heaven rained down, sending warnings to some through the terrible disasters that befell others. But if all confessed that this was retribution for the martyrdom of their servant, the rebels became even harder in their obstinacy even as they heard about and witnessed the punishments, threats and havoc. Many Indians wasted these sovereign calls [for repentance] even if some took advantage and converted. Yet now the wrath of heaven (which overflows with mercy) wanted to vent its full rage on seeing how few mended their ways. And, wanting to punish the insults done, it summoned the Spanish armies to execute its sentence, at whose hands the Inca and those peoples would pay for the enormous crime of the death of the martyr and the barbarous cruelties of the iniquitous idolaters. In the next chapter you will see many terrible things, and how while God punished the Inca, he was also merciful as a result of divine compassion and how he was touched by the pleas of the holy martyr when he asked God to forgive his enemies.

⁵⁵² Arguably Tupac Amaru is engaging in the same reason of state as Titu Cusi Yupanqui in order to avoid a Spanish invasion.