

Capitulo VIII. Refierese la muerte del Inga Tupac Amaro, que sentenciò a muerte al santo Martir; los estragos que izo Dios en los Indios de Vilcabanba, i la muerte del Padre fray Marcos Garcia

[831]1. Todo es lastimas este capitulo, si se consulta con la fortuna que venera el mundo; engaños de la ignorancia, que llama fortuna a lo que es eterna providencia. Pero todo èl serà venturas si le miramos a la luz del cielo, i a los rayos de la divina providencia, i del dichoso escarmiento. Sepamos los fines del Rey Tupac Amaro, ultimo de los Ingas, i remate de su Monarquia.

2. Tupac Amaro se entrò a las montuosas sierras de Vilcabanba, comarca defendida por naturaleza, si le quitan las puentes de los rios, i le taján los caminos de los montes; diligencia que izieron sus ermanos i su padre, con que se conservaron todo el tiempo que quisieron, sin que los Españoles les dañasen, ni los que les seguian los viesen. Deseando la paz enbiò el Virrey al Padre Fray Gabriel de Oviedo (que fue Catedratico en esta Real universidad de Lima) Dominico, i al Licenciado Garci Rodriguez, y a otras onradas personas con Indios principales del Cuzco; i llegando al rio de Acobanba, le enbiaron enbajada al Inga con ocho Indios, dandole a entender a lo que venian; mataron a seys Indios, huyeron los dos a dar la nueva al Padre Oviedo i a Garci Rodriguez, que luego se bolvieron al Cuzco. Ofreciose a ir con la mesma enbajada Atilano de Anaya, amigo i correspondiente del Inga, i llevòle treynta cargas de presentes; i aviendo llegado a la puente de Chuquisaca, le enbiò orden el Inga, que dejase la gente que traia i pasase solo. Izose asi, i mataron a Atilano, i fue a dar aviso de su muerte un negro suyo. Ningun medio de paz fue efectivo, antes los Indios salian a enboscadas, cogian presas, matavan Españoles, i azian a su salvo las retiradas. En esto se ocupava Tupac Amaro, creciendo su abilantez al tamaño de sus presas, i el animo de sus Indios al igual de sus robos:

Chapter 8. Refers to the death of the Inca Tupac Amaru, who sentenced the holy martyr to death; how God ravaged the Indians of Vilcabamba; the death of Padre fray Marcos García.

[831]1. This chapter is pure pain if read in terms of the fortune that the world so values; these are ignorant deceptions that call fortune what is in reality eternal providence. But everything is good fortune if read in the light of heaven and with the rays of divine providence, and in terms of a blessed lesson. We will read about the end of the king Tupac Amaru, last of the Incas, and the end of his monarchy.

2. Tupac Amaru retired to the forested mountains of Vilcabamba, a region defended by nature if the bridges over the rivers are taken away and the mountain paths are cut. His brothers and father were diligent in doing this, so that when they needed to they could conserve everything without the Spanish being able to harm them and so that those who were following them would not be able to find them. The viceroy, who wanted peace, sent the Dominican priest fray Gabriel de Oviedo (who was a professor in this Royal University in Lima⁵⁵³), and the Licenciado Garci Rodríguez and other notable people with noble Indians from Cuzco and on reaching the Acobamba river, they sent an embassy to the Inca with eight Indians making known why they had come. They killed six Indians and the remaining two fled to give the news to Padre Oviedo and to Garci Rodríguez who then returned to Cuzco. Atilano de Anaya, friend and correspondent of the Inca offered to go on the same mission and took with him thirty [mule] loads of presents. When he reached the Chuquichaca bridge⁵⁵⁴ the Inca told him to leave behind the people he was bringing as an escort and to continue alone. He did this and they killed Atilano, and one of his black [slaves] went to give word of his death.⁵⁵⁵ No attempt to make peace was effective, rather the Indians went out on raids and ambushes, took prisoners, killed Spaniards, and avoided capture by retreating. Tupac Amaru busied himself with this and his insolence grew the more prisoners he took, and the morale of his Indians grew with each assault.

553 The University of San Marcos was founded by royal decree in May 1551.

554 Bauer notes this is called the Chuquichaca bridge (*puente Chuquichaca*) avoiding confusion with Chuquisaca, Calancha's place of birth (present day Sucre). See map.1 in Bauer, *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.24.

555 See the introductory essay for a brief chronology and references.

ellos llamavan esto defensa de su derecho natural, i nosotros saltar caminos. Por mas tiempo de un año intentaron el Virrey don Francisco de Toledo i su antecesor, reducirle a la obediencia del Rey con medios de paz i promesas de rentas; pero sacudia toda conveniencia que le tratavan, diciendo, que el escarmiento en su ermano Sayri, le acordava el poco bien que por dar la obediencia le avia venido, los agravios que entre Españoles tuvo, i lo poco e estos disgustos le dieron de vida, como si no bastára en trueque de mayores Reynos, conocer la Fè de Cristo i el anparo de nuestros Reyes Catolicos; no se dispuso medio eficaz que mejorase su intencion, pareciendole que el trato Español era promesa aparente, i cautela engañosa. Considerò el Virrey que el medio de las armas era el inportante, puesto que el de la paz i promesas no era suficiente, deseoso de castigar la cruelisima muerte de nuestro bendito Martir, las de sus enbajadores, i los robos i muertes de los nuestros. Salio el Virrey de Lima año sesenta i dos, dos años i meses despues de su llegada que fue año de sesenta i nueve,

They call this the defence of their natural rights, and we call it highway robbery.⁵⁵⁶ For more than a year⁵⁵⁷ the viceroy, don Francisco de Toledo, and his predecessor tried to reduce Tupac Amaru to the obedience of the king [of Spain] with offers of peace and promises of pensions, but everything they tried was rejected, saying that the lesson of his brother Sayri, reminded him of how harmful such obedience could be, given what he suffered amongst the Spanish, and how little life these sufferings gave him, as if it were not enough to make an exchange for greater kingdoms, learn the faith of Christ and enter under the protection of our Catholic monarchs.⁵⁵⁸ There was no hope of him agreeing to the viceroy's wishes as it seemed to him that Spanish negotiations were baseless and founded on deceitful promises.⁵⁵⁹ The viceroy thought that the use of force was the only way forward given that offers of peace and promises were proving fruitless and given that he wished to punish the most cruel killings of our blessed martyr, the ambassadors he had sent and the robberies and killings of our people. The viceroy left Lima in the year 1572, two and a half years after his arrival (which was the year '69).

556 With this one sentence Calancha appears to directly refute the arguments of those, following Bartolomé de las Casas, who proposed that the Spanish had no right to conquer the Americas, or who questioned the Spanish invasion of Vilcabamba in 1572 by Francisco de Toledo. As part of the polemic that had been generated in the Spanish court for and against the institution of the *encomienda* in the mid-sixteenth century, las Casas wrote what might arguably be one of his most controversial works, *De Regia Potestate*, or 'The Right of Self-Governance'. The work was not published in Spain due to the Inquisitorial censor; nevertheless, the manuscript reached the Viennese Ambassador who, after consultation with German jurists, published it in Frankfurt in 1571. According to Luciano Pereña et al., this work was used as an instrument to undermine Spanish rule in Sicily and Naples, the north of Italy, and also Flanders. See Bartolomé de las Casas, *De Regia Potestate: O derecho de autodeterminación*, trans. and ed by Luciano Pereña, J.M., Perez Prendes, Vidal Abril and Joaquin Azcarraga (Madrid: CSIC, 1984), pp.ix-x, and passim. For a Spanish edition of his most famous work, see Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apología o declaración y defensa universal de los derechos del hombre y de los pueblos*, trans. and ed by, Vidal Abril Castello et al. (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000). For an English edition, see Bartolomé de las Casas, *In Defense of the Indians*, trans. and ed by Stafford Poole (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992). In the context of Calancha's discourse that the invasion of Vilcabamba was divine punishment for the Incas' crimes against Diego Ortiz and (here) against Spanish rule in Peru, his later critique of Toledo for his regicidal execution of Tupac Amaru seems somewhat contradictory unless understood in the framework of the collapse of time wherein Tupac Amaru himself takes on the mantle of the martyr and the Christ figure.

557 The timing seems somewhat awry here if Titu Cusi died sometime in 1571 and the invasion took place in mid-1572. The invasion was ordered immediately after the killing of Atilano in fact. Francisco de Toledo did not intend to waste time on niceties.

558 See the introductory essay for context regarding Sayri Tupac, and the impact his death had on Titu Cusi.

559 As his brother Titu Cusi did. Tupac Amaru, it would seem, had learned from his brother and was trying to follow his same policy. Unfortunately, he had run out of time.

siendo uno de los motivos principales de su viage la sugesion deste Inga, que mostrando estar aficionado a nuestra Fè i pidiendo Religiosos que se la enseñasen aborrecia Españoles, llamando bestias fieras a los seculares; traia cuydadosos los pueblos, i muy inquietos a todos los Indios que se mostravan serviciales de temor, i nos deseavan la muerte por vengança. Proveyò auto en el Cuzco don Francisco de Toledo, para azer guerra a Tupac Amaro en treynta de Julio de mil i quinientos setenta i dos, auto que se izo con acuerdo del Cabildo, i de personas graves; porque demas de los daños que azian, era el ultimo fin de los Españoles, que traçacavan alçamientos decir si nos saliere en contra de lo que deseamos, nos iremos con Tupac Amaro. Izo el Virrey reseña de la gente del Cuzco, enbiò al Capitan Iuan Alvarez Maldonado, a quien el Rey nuestro señor avia nonbrado por Governador i Adelantado de la Provincia de Opatan, que avia de conquistar, i diole soldados de la compañia de los gentiles onbres arcabuzeros de la guarda de este Reyno, para que cogiese el páso de la puente de Chuquisaca, [832] i se inpidiese el pasage. Nonbrò por Capitan General i su Lugarteniente a Martin Urtado de Arbieta vezino del Cuzco, encomendero de Guancallo; i por Capitanes a Martin de Meneses, encomendero de Guayqui; a don Antonio Pereyra encomendero de Conbapata; Capitan de la artilleria a Ordoño de Valera. Nonbrò por Capitan (que lo era de su guarda) a un Cavallero del ábito de Alcántara Martin Garcia Oñes de Loyola, soldado brioso, arriscado, cuerdo, i años antes conocido en lustrosos servicios echos al Rey; obligò a ir el Virrey a todos los vezinos encomenderos i lanças, izo mas de docientos i cincuenta onbres, con voz que ivan a Chile, por tener menos cuydado al Inga i a sus espias dobles, i estabanlo tanto, que desde la salida de Sayri Tupac, los caminos estaban faciles, los barrancos llanos, i las puentes comunes; ofrecieronse muchos Cavalleros, è Indios Cañares a servir en la ocasion.

One of the principal reasons for his journey was the subjugation of the Inca, who, while seeming to show enthusiasm for our faith and asking for friars to teach him, still detested Spaniards calling the secular Spaniards ‘fierce beasts’.⁵⁶⁰ He kept all the towns in a state of alert and all the Indians who were serving him were unsettled by fear, and they wanted us dead out of revenge. Don Francisco de Toledo made a public declaration of war on Tupac Amaru in Cuzco on the 30th July 1572, a declaration that he proclaimed with the agreement of the Council and notable people, because aside from the hurt that Tupac Amaru had caused them, Vilcabamba was always the last resort of Spaniards who were plotting rebellion. These would say, ‘If things go against us we’ll join Tupac Amaru’.⁵⁶¹ The viceroy carried out a census of the population of Cuzco, and sent Captain Juan Álvarez Maldonado—who the king our lord had named as governor of the province of Opatan that he had to conquer—to take the pass of the bridge of Chuquichaca and impede the crossing of the enemy. He gave him soldiers from the company of gentlemen harquebusiers of the guard of this kingdom for this purpose. [832] He named Martín Hurtado de Arbieta, citizen of Cuzco and *encomendero* of Guancallo as his captain general and lieutenant, and Martín de Meneses *encomendero* of Guayqui and don Antonio Pereyra *encomendero* of Combapata were named as captains. Ordoño de Valera was named as captain of artillery. As captain of his guard he named a knight of the habit of Alcantara Martín García Oñes de Loyola, a spirited, daring, yet prudent soldier who years before had made a name for himself in illustrious service to the king. The viceroy ordered all the citizens, *encomenderos* and lancers participate in the expedition; there were more than 250 men. They put it about that they were going to Chile so that the Inca and his spies would be less careful. They had lowered their guard so much so that since Sayri Tupac left Vilcabamba, the roads were easy, the ravines had been levelled and the bridges numerous.⁵⁶² Many gentlemen and many Cañari Indians put themselves forward to serve on that occasion.⁵⁶³

560 Again, this is following Titu Cusi’s own politics to the letter. It was a wise strategy, but impossible under the circumstances.

561 This is particularly revealing and is part of the human (non-divine) reason for the destruction of Vilcabamba.

562 This is possible, but unlikely, given Titu Cusi’s tight control of the province.

563 As mentioned in the introductory essay, the Cañari, an ethnic group from present-day Ecuador, were old enemies of the Incas and long-standing allies of the Spanish against them. They had saved the Spanish from annihilation at the hands of Inca armies on more than a few occasions and fought fiercely alongside them.

Con toda priesa entrò el egercito en Vilcabanba; Gaspar Sotelo con setenta escogidos soldados cogio el paso al Inga por Avancay, i don Luis Pimentel por el valle de Mayamarca, distrito de Guamanga con cincuenta Guamangueses; i sabido por Tupac Amaro, con aceleracion tratò de prevenirse, i juntò su gente para defenderse. Subidos en los montes arrojavan infinidad de galgas los Indios, municion con que otras vezes avian desbaratado nuestros egercitos; pero ivan ya prevenidos nuestros Españoles, con que no izieron tantos daños los Indios: formaron canpo, aunque no con orden de milicia. Era su General Atagualpa Inga, i el Maese de Canpo Curipaucar, valiente i animoso Indio este es el que fue verdugo, i prendio a nuestro martir fray Diego. Salieron con lanças, macanas i flechas con tan grande animo, brio i determinacion, como si fueran soldados diestros de Flandes, sino con fuegos con temeridad. Tenia la vanguardia Loyola con los criados del Virrey, i con los Cavalleros ofrecidos. Diose la batalla junto a un rio llamado Coyaochaca, sitio a proposito para los Indios, porque los nuestros no podian marchar sino de uno en uno, siendo los lados asperas sierras, en que estavan enboscadas de Indios. Tocaron unas tronpetillas que ellos llaman Tarquis, i arremetieron tan furiosos dando tal priesa a las flechas i lanças que tuvieron en gran aprieto a los nuestros, ya porque se juntaron tanto, que no dejavan jugar los arcavuzes, i solo se valian de espadas i rodela, ya porque las galgas que arrojavan de lo alto eran grandisimas, i en numerosa cantidad; entravanse los Indios por las bocas de los arcabuces. Vn Indio estuvo luchando gran rato con Loyola, i a no cortarle las piernas otro Indio de los nuestros, se despeñáran ambos; trabòse sangrienta batalla, quedaron eridos muchos Españoles i tres muertos, i de los Indios muchos. Tocò a recoger Curipaucar, i al punto se desaparecieron los Indios; siguiolos Loyola, el Inga Tupac no se allò en la batalla, ni se izo con su parecer; marchò el canpo, i cada dia se venian Indios al nuestro.

The army entered Vilcabamba as quickly as possible. Gaspar Sotelo took 70 soldiers via Abancay while don Luis Pimentel [entered] through the Valley of Mayamarca in the district of Guamanga with 50 *Guamangeses*.⁵⁶⁴ And as soon as Tupac Amaru heard about this he rapidly tried to prevent it and gathered together his people to defend themselves. From high up in the mountains⁵⁶⁵ the Indians threw down an infinite number of large rocks. On previous occasions this type of ammunition had destroyed our armies but our Spaniards were expecting it this time so the Indians were unable to do so much damage. They made camp, although not with the order you might expect of a trained militia. Their general was Atahualpa Inca and their fieldmarshal was Curipaucar, a valiant and spirited Indian who was the one who seized and executed our martyr fray Diego. They moved out with lances, maces and arrows with as much spirit and determination as if they were skilful soldiers of Flanders, rather than fired up by recklessness. Loyola commanded the vanguard with the servants of the viceroy and the volunteer knights. Battle was joined next to a river named Coyaochaca, an ideal place for the Indians because our soldiers could only march in single file as both sides were extremely steep and the Indians were waiting in ambush. They sounded some small trumpets that they call *tarquis* and they charged so furiously giving so much impetus to their arrows and their lances that our [troops] were in real difficulties; in part this was because they were so close together that the harquebuses could not be used while only swords and shields could be; in part this was also because the rocks that they threw down from on high were huge and in such quantity. The Indians ran straight at the muzzles of the harquebuses. One Indian was fighting for a good while with Loyola, and if another of our Indians had not cut his legs both would have fallen over the cliff. A bloody battle developed and many Spaniards were wounded, three killed and many Indians were also killed. Curipaucar sounded the call to regroup and instantly the Indians disappeared with Loyola pursuing them. The Inca Tupac was not present in the battle, nor was he seen anywhere. The Spaniards broke camp and every day Indians joined our side.

⁵⁶⁴ Guamanga is now known as 'Huamanga' and *guamangeses* refers to people of Huamanga.

⁵⁶⁵ '*Subidos en los montes...*': *monte* can translate as 'forest/woodland' or 'mountain'. In this context they both could be correct, given the terrain and the flora of the region.

Veynte leguas un rio abajo izieron la retirada, i aziendo con toda priesa balsas los nuestros, que muchos eran mestizos siguieron el alcance; todo fuera sin fruto, i el egercito no iziera efeto, si el Inga (traças de Dios) no considerase, que no siendo culpa la natural defensa, ni traicion el conservar su legitimo derecho, le arian los partidos que a su ermano, con que pasaria la vida, i sino fuese con Reyno ni abundancia, por lo menos con quietud i razonable pasadia (queriale ya Dios castigar el delito écho contra su martir) quiso mas fiarse de los que le buscavan, que esconderse por aquellas montañas donde le seguian; diose a los Españoles, i ellos recogieron todos los Indios que de su sangre le aconpañavan, i a sus mugeres i dos ijos i una ija que consigo tenia; quedòse Arbieto en Vilcabanba, entrò triunfante en el Cuzco Martin Garcia de Loyola onrado con los prisioneros, i ellos con esperanças de mejor fortuna con los Virreyes. Fue preso en la fortaleza, edificio de piedra de admirable juntura sin mezcla, que si antes fue palacio destos Reyes, ya era carcel deste Inga.

3. Don Francisco de Toledo, siendo su Asesor el Dotor Loarte, Alcalde del crimen de Lima, criò luego Fiscal que le acusase los delitos referidos, i la muerte del Santo. Prendio a todos los mestizos de mas de veynte años, i sentenciò a muerte al Inga Tupac Amaro: admirò a todos la sentencia, llamandola injusticia. Toda la ciudad clamò al Virrey pidiendole clemencia, las Religiones misericordia

Twenty leagues further down Tupac Amaru's troops retreated across a river and our soldiers (many of whom were mestizos) made rafts as quickly as they could and continued with the pursuit.⁵⁶⁶ It would have all been in vain and the army would have had no effect if the Inca (a sure sign of divine intervention) had not thought that—with it being neither wrong to defend oneself according to natural law nor treason to conserve one's legitimate rights—they would grant him the same life-long concessions as they had done for his brother. And even if these concessions did not amount to a kingdom or great wealth, at least they would leave him to live out his life in relative tranquillity (but God now wanted to punish him for the crime committed against his martyr). And so Tupac Amaru chose to trust those who were hunting him rather than hide in the mountains where they were pursuing him. He gave himself up to the Spanish, and they rounded up all his Indian relatives that were with him⁵⁶⁷ and his wives and two sons and a daughter who were also with him. Arbieto stayed in Vilcabamba, while Martín García de Loyola led a triumphal entry into Cuzco honoured by his prisoners, and these with the hope of better fortune under the viceroys.⁵⁶⁸ Tupac was imprisoned in the fortress—a stone building of remarkable construction that does not use mortar, that if it once was the palace of these kings it was now the prison of the Inca.⁵⁶⁹

3. Don Francisco de Toledo, with Doctor [Gabriel de] Loarte, the public prosecutor of Lima, as his legal council, acted as the prosecutors who would accuse Tupac of the abovementioned crimes and of the death of the Saint. Toledo ordered all the mestizos over the age of 20 to gather and sentenced the Inca Tupac Amaru to death.⁵⁷⁰ All were amazed at the sentence, calling it unjust. The entire city cried out to the viceroy pleading for clemency, the religious orders for mercy

566 Twenty leagues is approximately 110km.

567 *Todos los Indios que de su sangre le acompañavan...* lit. all the Indians of his blood who were accompanying him.

568 As described here by Calancha, this is very much in the style of the Roman Imperial triumphs that, in the time of the Republic were granted to particular generals by the Senate after they returned victorious from campaigning. Compare for example with accounts of the the Triumph of Titus and Vespasian after their victorious campaign in Palestine, in Josephus, *The Jewish War*, pp.372, 384-6.

569 Calancha refers here to the fortress of Sacsahuaman which overlooks the city of Cuzco. The stones, larger than a man, are cut to fit each other precisely and Calancha is right, it is a remarkable example of engineering and stonework. The fortress, which played a significant role in the siege of Cuzco in 1536, would never have been used as a palace. He says this for rhetorical effect.

570 It is not clear why he only summoned the 'mestizos' here. The implication is certainly one of lack of trust. The death sentence was an exemplary one and, it would seem, directed at the mestizos gathered. A further implication is that this was because a number of mestizos supported the neo-Inca state over that of the Spanish and worked closely with Titu Cusi and Tupac Amaru.

[833] i el santo Obispo fray Augustin de Coruña puesto de rodillas le pidio la vida, i no le conmoviò con sus lagrimas, ni con amenazas del cielo, que fueron profecias. El Virrey continuò el castigo, nuestro fray Augustin tratò de la conversion del Inga, que con valientes razones apelava i se valia dèl, para que el Virrey lo remitiese a España, i nuestro Rey atendiese a su justicia. Pero ni tuvo entrada la conmisericacion, ni efeto los ruegos cansancios umanos quando Dios queria la vengança de su martir, i el provecho del Inga.) Nuestro santo Obispo i los Religiosos de nuestro ábito no dejaron un momento al preso, obrando mucho en esto el Padre Alonso de Barçana de la Conpañia de Iesus, gran siervo de Dios i excelente lengua, i Cristoval de Molina Clerigo i nuestros frayles, predicandole con instancias, persuadiendole con razones; a que tambien concurrían las demas Ordenes santo Domingo, san Francisco i la Merced; redujose al bautismo con estraña devocion, i gran conformidad con la voluntad de Dios, aunque en la carcel no se quiso bautizar.

4. Al pobre Principe sacaron en una mula con sogas al cuello i las manos atadas, i un pregonero delante que iba pregonando su muerte por tirano, i traydor a la Magestad Catolica) ceremonias todas, que se avian écho con nuestro santo Martir, excepto la onra de llevarlo en mula) tan desalentado iba, que la abla no podia formar. Ivan todas las Religiones aconpañandole, i un sin numero de Indios llorando a voces, preguntò: Que era lo que aquel pregonero decia? I respondiendole que pregonava la culpa porque le matavan, que era ser traydor, lo izo llamar, i le dijo: No digas eso, pues sabes que es mentira, que ni è sido tirano, ni traydor al Rey;

[833] and the holy Bishop fray Agustín de [la] Coruña got on his knees and begged for Tupac Amaru's life.⁵⁷¹ Neither his tears nor his threats of divine punishment (which were in fact prophetic) moved the viceroy and he continued with the execution. Our fray Agustín tried to convert the Inca, appealing to the force of argument to persuade the viceroy to send Tupac Amaru to Spain so that our king could take charge of administering justice. But neither his sympathy nor his pleas had any effect, as they were just human vanities given that God wanted to avenge his martyr as well as benefit the Inca. Our holy bishop and the friars from our order⁵⁷² did not leave the prisoner for a moment. Father Alonso Barzana of the Society of Jesus, a great servant of God and superb linguist, together with Cristóbal de Molina a cleric and our friars worked hard, preaching to him and persuading him with opinions and arguments. The other Dominican, Franciscan and Mercedarian orders also worked together with us on this. He was reduced to baptism⁵⁷³ with remarkable⁵⁷⁴ devotion and with great conformity to the will of God, although he did not wish to be baptised inside the prison.

4. They hauled the poor prince out on a mule, with a rope around his neck and his hands tied and in front of him walked a town crier proclaiming his death for tyranny and for treason against his Catholic Majesty. These were all ceremonies that they had done to our holy martyr, with the exception of the honour of being carried on the back of a mule. He was so dejected that he could not even speak. All the religious orders and an uncountable number of loudly lamenting Indians were accompanying him. He asked, 'what was that that the town crier said?' And they replied saying that he was proclaiming his guilt and why they were going to kill him, that he was a traitor. So Tupac [Amaru] called to the town crier and said: 'Don't say that, because you know it is a lie and that I have not been a tyrant, nor a traitor to the king.'

571 Agustín de la Coruña y Gormaz was one of the original twelve Augustinian friars to go to Mexico in 1533. He was appointed bishop of Popayan in 1564, taking possession of the diocese in 1566, but in 1567 travelled to Peru to be present at the Second Council of Lima (1567-8). He died in 1590. See Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, trans. and ed by Brian S. Bauer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 227.

572 *Los religiosos de nuestro ábito...* lit. the religious [men] of our habit.

573 This is a literal translation of *redujose al bautismo*. Normally I would translate this more neutrally as 'he was converted' but in actual fact, given the extreme and constant psychological pressure exerted on Tupac Amaru (due to the perceived urgency and importance of the task) 'he was reduced to baptism' seems entirely appropriate.

574 Calancha uses the term *estraña* [extraña] meaning 'strange'. It is almost strange that Calancha thinks Tupac's capitulation 'strange' under the circumstances. The term might more appropriately (albeit still problematically) be rendered as 'marvellous', referring to the apparent providential nature of the conversion.

di que muero porque el Virrey lo quiere por mis culpas, i diras verdad. El amor de los Indios era grande, las lagrimas de todos muchas, i la confusion lastimosa; pideronle los Religiosos les mandase callar, i con una magestuosa severidad alço el braço derecho con la mano abierta, que le desataron para solo aquesto, i puesto junto al oido, la fue bajando poco a poco asta el muslo, i al punto callaron todos de manera, que ni un tosido, solloço ni palabra se oyò, quedando la plaça con el silencio, que si no uviera persona. El Virrey que lo estava mirando desde una ventana, aunque encubierto, i los Españoles quedaron admirados de tal obediencia, i los Indios rendidos a tal mandato. Pusieronle en el cadalso, i alli pidio el bautismo; bautizòlo nuestro Obispo fray Augustin de Coruña, i vidose una maravilla, que al punto cobró tan gran esfuerço i tan alegre brio, que conocieron todos que eran valentias de la gracia. Pusose por nonbre no don Felipe (como otros dicen) que no an visto como yo la suma de las informaciones que tengo conmigo, sino don Pablo, porque supo que siendo noble; avia muerto degollado; viendo al verdugo con el alfange en la mano, ni le turbò la pena, ni le alterò el cuchillo, aziendo umildes adoraciones a un santo Cristo i a la Virgen, sufrio el dolor con grandeza de animo, i la afrenta i tormento con valor Real; atendiendo con increíble silencio la innumerable multitud, dijo en alta voz el Inga con autoridad magestuosa i valor magnanimo, ablando con los Caziques: Apoes (señores) aqui estays presentes los que governays todos los quatro suyos (quatro partes de mi Reyno) sabed, que ya soy Cristiano i me è bautizado, i quiero morir en la ley de Cristo, que es el Dios verdadero; i porque è de morir os decláro, que todo lo que asta aqui os emos dicho yo i los Ingas mis antepasados, que adorasedes al Dios Punchao, al Sol, guacas, piedras, rios, montes i vilcas, es todo falsedad; i quando os deciamos que nos ablava el Sol, o el Idolo era mentira, que nunca nos ablò, que era un pedaço de oro o piedra; i mi ermano Cusitito me advirtio, que quando os quisiese mandar algo, me entrase solo al tenplo del Dios Punchao, i al salir digese, que nuestro Dios lo mandava; i este engaño fuimos eredando todos: Cristo es el verdadero Dios, i su Padre i el Espiritu santo, que criaron todas las cosas, i dan el premio i el castigo. Perdonadme los engaños en que os è tenido, yo muero por mis culpas:

Say rather that I die because the viceroy wants me to die for my faults, and you would be telling the truth'. The Indians' love for him was so great, the tears were so many and the tumult was so pitiful that the friars asked him to order them to be quiet, and with majestic severity he raised his right arm with his hand open (they had untied him just for this reason) and with it next to his ear he lowered it slowly down to his thigh and, at that, all fell so silent that not a cough nor a sob nor a word could be heard. And the square fell as silent as if there were not a person in it. The viceroy, who was watching from a covered window and the Spaniards were amazed at such obedience and that the Indians were so willing to comply with this order. They placed him on the gallows and there he asked for baptism. Our Bishop fray Agustín de [la] Coruña baptised him and there witnessed a marvel, that at that instant, he recovered such spirits and such energy that all knew it to be the work of grace. He was not named don Felipe (as people who have not seen the summary of the reports that I have with me say) but rather he was called don Pablo, because he knew that [Saint Paul] had been decapitated because he was a noble.⁵⁷⁵ Seeing the execution with the sabre in his hand did not disturb his calm, nor did the knife upset him. Instead he humbly venerated a holy Christ and Virgin. He bore his pain with great spirit and the insult and torture with royal valour. The multitude watched in incredible silence. In a strong voice the Inca spoke with majestic authority and magnanimous bravery to his *caciques*: '*Apos*⁵⁷⁶ and Lords, those of you who govern the four *suyos* (the four parts of my kingdom) are here present. Know that I am now a Christian and I have been baptised and I wish to die within the Law of Christ, who is the true God. And because I have to die I declare to you that everything that I and the Incas my ancestors have said about worshipping the god Punchao (the Sun), *huacas*, stones, rivers, mountains and shrines, is all false. And when we told you that we spoke to the sun, or to an Idol, that too was a lie. They never spoke to us, they were just lumps of gold or of stone. My brother Titu Cusi advised me that when I wanted to order you to do something, I was to enter the temple of the god Punchao alone and on coming out I was to tell you that our god ordered it. And this deception we all inherited. Christ is the true god [as is] his Father and the Holy Spirit, who created all things and they are the ones who reward and who punish. Forgive my deception of you. I die for my sins.

⁵⁷⁵ *Avia muerto degollado...* Because he was a Roman citizen, St Paul was decapitated rather than mutilated, tortured and crucified.

⁵⁷⁶ *Apu* or *apo* is the Quechua term for great Lord.

creed en Iesu Cristo, i quedaos a Dios, i con animo Real aguardò el golpe. Cortaronle la cabeça, i confundiose la tierra con alaridos, con sentimiento de todos quantos lo vian, i no menor de nuestro Rey Felipe; pues al entrar don Francisco de Toledo a besarle la mano, lleno de esperanças de superiores mercedes le [834] dijo (segun se platica) id os a descansar a vuestra casa, que yo no os enbiè al Perù a matar Reyes, sino a servir Reyes; i otro dia le izo que pagase ciento i veynte mil ducados que avia cobrado de mas en su renta, cobrando en pesos ensayados, lo que avia de cobrar en ducados; de que murio a manos de la tristeza, echado a los pies de su caida. La muerte deste Rey Inga fue el año de mil i quinientos i sesenta i dos por Mayo.

5. A treynta y seis Indios de la sangre Real, los mas llegados a los Reyes Ingas, desterrò el Virrey a Lima, i con ellos a los dos ijos del muerto, i a la niña que recogio el Arçobispo don Geronimo de Loaysa, dentro de dos años murieron en Lima los treynta i cinco dellos, i sus dos ijos, i dentro de año i medio los que quedavan. Desterrò el Virrey todos los mestizos fuera del Perù, i murieron en tierras ajenas, pobres i lastimosos. A una ija del Inga don Diego Sayri Tupac doña Beatriz Coya casò el Virrey con Martin Garcia de Loyola, a quien mataron siendo Governador los Indios de Chile, i tuvo una ija llamada doña Maria Coya, que casò con don Iuan Enriquez de Borja, que oy es Marques del Estado de Sayri Tupac, llamado de Oropesa, en el valle de Yucay cinco leguas del Cuzco.

Believe in Jesus Christ and may God be with you.’ And with royal spirit he awaited the blow. They cut off his head and shrieks filled the land due to the emotions of the people who were watching. The disapproval of our King Philip was no less because when don Francisco Toledo entered [his presence] to kiss his hand filled with the hope of receiving great favours he told him [834] (according to what they say): ‘Go to your house and rest. I did not send you to Peru to kill kings but rather to serve kings’. And shortly after he made him pay back 120,000 ducats⁵⁷⁷ that he had been paid in expenses, charging him in silver pesos, what he would have claimed in ducats. As a result of this he died in miserable poverty, cast down by this fall to his feet. The death of this Inca king was in May of the year 1572.

5. The viceroy exiled 36 Indians of royal blood to Lima, and with them went the two sons of the dead man and the girl who was taken in by the Archbishop don Jerónimo de Loaysa.⁵⁷⁸ Within two years 35 of them had died in Lima, as did his two sons, and within a further year and a half the rest had also died.⁵⁷⁹ The viceroy exiled all the mestizos from Peru and they all died in foreign lands, impoverished and miserable.⁵⁸⁰ He married doña Beatriz Coya, daughter of the Inca don Diego Sayri Tupac, to Martín García de Loyola, who as Governor of Chile was killed by the Indians there. They⁵⁸¹ had a daughter called doña Maria Coya, who married don Juan Henríquez de Borja who is now the Marquis of the estate of Sayri Tupac, called Oropesa, in the valley of Yucay five leagues⁵⁸² from Cuzco.

577 1 ducat is equivalent to 375 maravedís. A ducat was a gold piece of 23¾ carats (Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, p. 501). 120,000 ducats was a substantial sum.

578 Loaysa had founded residences for unmarried women. It is to be presumed that the princess was housed in one of these residences rather than in the Archbishop’s personal retinue.

579 This is taken from Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Commentaries*, but Hemming argues that ‘it is nonsense, a fabrication designed to show that Carlos Inca’s son Melchor Carlos was the only survivor of the royal house’. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, p.437.

580 This would have been a practical impossibility, although he did head a campaign to purge mestizos from positions of influence and religious and state institutions. What is presumably meant here is that Toledo exiled those mestizos who were captured on the side of the Inca in the assault on Vilcabamba. Hemming traces this to Garcilaso de la Vega. Garcilaso had become friends with the Maldonado brothers who were living in exile in Spain after their involvement of the so-called ‘mestizo plot’ of 1566 and had blown the accounts of the punishment of mestizos and discrimination against them out of all proportion. It is to be remembered that Garcilaso himself was a mestizo. See Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, pp.329-30, 437-8 for more on this.

581 The subject is unclear here. Calancha says *tuvo una ija* meaning ‘he had a daughter’ or ‘she had a daughter’. Given the respective importance given to patrilineage it is most likely Calancha is referring to Loyola. In actual fact, the Marquisate of Oropesa was granted to their daughter doña Ana María Lorenza de Loyola y Coya in 1614 and not to her husband, Juan Henríquez de Borja.

582 Approximately 27.5 km.

Esta sola señora i sus ijos an quedado, porque solo su aguelo Sayri Tupac, dio la obediencia a nuestro Rey, i murio en paz. De toda esta sucesion de Reyes, solos estos permanecen; porque don Melchor Carlos Inga ijo de Paullu hermano de Manco, que se bautizó i llamó don Cristoval no eredava, i la borla del Rey le dio Almagro por leal a los Españoles, pero no por sucesion de sangre, pues vivia Manco: don Melchor Carlos fue a España a recibir mercedes del Rey, murio del ábito de Santiago, i un ijo que dejó legitimado, murio despues. Con que se cunplió el pronostico del Inga Guaynacpac, que les predijo, avian de percer todos los de su decendencia; pero que perdiendo su Monarquia, serian dichosos en conocer otra ley, i otro Dios mejor que el de sus antepasados; pronóstico que repite en varias partes de sus Comentarios Garcilaso; i vieron los Indios lo que el oraculo de Vilcabanba les dijo, quando el incendio i la culebra. Asta Guascar Inga fueron treze los Ingas, i durò su Reyno, como dice el Padre Blas Valera casi seycientos años, asta quinientos es lo mas cierto; i desde que entraron los Españoles uvo seys; Manco, i sus tres ijos Sayri Tupac, Cusitito i Amaro, que se llamaron don Diego, don Felipe i don Pablo, i sus dos nietos que murieron niños. En este don Pablo acabò toda la linea de varon. Lo que contra este suceso de Tupac Amaro i sucesion de Reyes i sus nonbres digere Garcilaso, no tiene culpa, porque ya estava èl en España, i debieronle de dar siniestras relaciones encontradas; que la escuridad con que lo dice lo manifesta. Lo que ya déjo dicho, consta de informaciones que yo è visto, echas por Virreyes i Audiencias; al fin acabò con don Pablo toda ésta Monarquia. Postres tragicos de principios grandes i magestuosos, ordinarios platos de la fortuna, i legitimos ijos de los tienpos, oy tienen por viles a los que fueron magnanimos, i ellos se envilecen porque todos los oprimen, lastimas que oy

Only this lady and her children have survived because only her grandfather Sayri Tupac paid fealty to our king and died in peace. Of this entire lineage of kings only these remain, because don Melchor Carlos Inca, son of Paullu, brother of Manco, who was baptised and called don Cristoval did not inherit.⁵⁸³ The royal fringe was given to him by Almagro as a reward for his loyalty to the Spanish, but not because of blood lineage because Manco still lived. Don Melchor Carlos went to Spain to receive favours from the king and died in the habit of Santiago.⁵⁸⁴ He left one legitimate son who died later. With this, the prophesy of the Inca Huayna Capac was fulfilled when he said that all of his line were going to perish, but in losing their monarchy they would be fortunate in coming to know another law and another God, better than those of their ancestors. This was a prophecy that was repeated in various parts of Garcilaso's *Commentaries*, and the Indians saw [with their own eyes] what the Oracle of Vilcabamba told them when the serpent caught fire. Up to Huascar there were 13 Incas, and their kingdom lasted, according to Father Blas Valera, nearly 600 years, 500 is more likely.⁵⁸⁵ Since the Spanish arrived there have been six: Manco and his three sons Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi and [Tupac] Amaru (who were called don Diego, don Felipe and don Pablo), and Manco's two grandchildren who died young. Don Pablo was the last male of the line. Despite the criticism of what Garcilaso wrote about Tupac Amaru and the succession of kings and their names, he could not be held responsible because he was already in Spain, and he must have been sent incorrect reports; the vagueness of his account demonstrates this. What I have already said is supported by information that I have seen, written by viceroys and *Audiencias*. In the end this entire dynasty ended with don Pablo: tragic desserts of great and majestic princes—ordinary dishes of fate and legitimate sons of those times. They now consider those who were noble to be base, and they have become base because everyone oppresses them—these are tragedies that today

583 There is a slight confusion here. Melchor Carlos was the grandson of Paullu Inca and son of Carlos Inca who was Paullu's son.

584 This implies that he was given the honour of being made a knight of Santiago which was open only to high-ranking nobility.

585 In actual fact, the empire of Tawantinsuyo, which began with Tupac Yupanqui Pachacutec lasted less than 150 years from rise to fall. Blas Valera was a mestizo (b.1544) who entered the Jesuit order in 1568 when they first arrived in Peru. He was bilingual and therefore played a key role in the development of catechetical texts and in the Third Council of Lima (1583). At the same time he was a fierce apologist for Andean history and this brought him into conflict with his Jesuit superiors, in particular, José de Acosta. He was imprisoned that same year in 1583 and sent into exile in Spain where he was killed in Malaga during an attack by English pirates in 1597 (see especially, Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera S.J.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

(como los Indios) lloran las Monarquias de Griegos, Cartaginenses i Romanos. Periodos del tiempo los llaman los Astrologos, i castigos de sobervios, limites de tiranias, i secretos de la eterna providencia los llama la Escritura.

6. Quando entrò el Capitan Martin Urtado de Arbieto con el campo Real, i Martin Garcia de Loyola prendio al Inga, i despues quando entrò conquistando aquellas Provincias interiores, el Governador Martin Urtado de Arbieto se vieron, sino en tanto numero, en proporcionado cotéjo, iguales sucesos a los que se lloraron en Ierusalen; si allà como afirma Iosefo⁵⁸⁶ entrò Floro Capitan nonbrado por Neron, i codicioso de coger los tesoros de los Iudios metio a sáco la plata de las mercancias, i aviendole antes dado ocho talentos, gran suma para coécho, no sirvio para aplacarlo, sino para encenderlo, pues sienpre la codicia padece achaques de idropesia, creciendo la sed como dijo Iuvenal⁵⁸⁷, quanto mas se bebe; pasaron a cuchillo a los que abitavan aquella parte de la ciudad, sin perdonar a los niños de leche, alli murieron solos seycientos i treynta, porque los demas huyeron a los montes, salio a rogar a Floro⁵⁸⁸ Berenice ermana del Rey Agripa, pidiendole piedad para sus Ierosolimitanos; pero si perdonò alguno, fue por coechos grandes [835] i a los demas desquartzava, i a la misma Berenice la mandò despedaçar; crueldad que se egecutára, si ella no huyera. Todos le echavan descomulgadas maldiciones, i Floro egecutava las maldiciones en los que se las decian. Salen los Sacerdotes i Levitas con gran copia de ciudadanos a recibir con fiestas, musicas i sumisiones a un egercito que venia contra ellos de Cesaria, i ni adulaciones, ni musicas los enfrenaron, porque pasavan a cuchillo a los que no se huyeron: paguen los sentimientos que azian quando el dia de Ramos salieron los niños a recibir a Cristo, con morir a manos de los mismos a quien los Sacerdotes salieron a recibir. Querer contar los estragos, muertes i lastimas que embiò Dios a Ierusalen en castigo de la muerte de Cristo, era intentar escribir tomos de tragedias lastimosas.

586 De bello lib.2. c.14

587 Satyr. 13. *Crecit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia cræcit, et minus hanc optat, qui non habet.*

588 Iosephus ibid.cap.15.

(just like the Indians) are also lamented of the dynasties of the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Romans. The Astrologers call this ‘periods of time’ whereas Scripture calls it ‘punishments for the proud’, ‘the end of tyrannies’, and ‘secrets of eternal providence’.

6. When Captain Martín Hurtado de Arbieta entered [Vilcabamba] with the royal army, and Martin Garcia de Loyola seized the Inca, and when he later conquered those interior provinces, people witnessed similar events to those that they lamented in Jerusalem—if not in comparable quantity at least in comparable proportion. As Josephus affirms⁵⁸⁹, Florus (named Captain by Nero) greedy for the treasures of the Jews, entered [Jerusalem] and looted the silver from the traders. And even though he had been given 8 talents (a very large sum for a bribe), this did not serve to placate him, rather it fuelled his greed, for covetousness always suffers from attacks of dropsy—as Juvenal says⁵⁹⁰, the more you drink the more thirsty you become. All those that lived in that part of the city were put to the sword and not even the breastfeeding babies were spared. Only 630 died there because the rest fled to the hills. Berenice, the sister of the King Agrippa went out to beg Florus⁵⁹¹ to stop, asking him for mercy for her fellow Jerusalemites; but if he spared any, this was because of enormous bribes [835] and everyone else he cut into pieces and he even ordered that Berenice be cut into four pieces and this would have been cruelly carried out had she not fled. Everyone cursed him angrily but Florus carried out those curses on those who said them. The Levite priests go out with a large crowd of people with festivities, music and submissiveness to welcome an army from Caesaria that had marched against them, and neither flattery nor music slow them down because they put all those who did not flee to the sword. By dying at the hands of those who the priests went out to receive, they are paying for the sentiments that they expressed on Palm Sunday when the children went out to welcome Christ. To recount the atrocities, killings and tragedies that God inflicted on Jerusalem to punish the death of Christ would be to write [entire] volumes of painful calamities.

589 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 14.

590 Juvenal, *Satire* 13. ‘The love of wealth grows, the more wealth one has, and the one who does not have [wealth] desires less’. Juvenal was a satirical poet who wrote in the late first and second centuries A.D.

591 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 15. The Agrippa referred to here is Agrippa II (Marcus Julius), also known as Herod Agrippa II (d. c.100 A.D.).

Al Pontifice Ananias⁵⁹² i a Ezequias su ermano, con otra multitud mataron los mismos de su ley. En Cesarea mataron este día veynte mil Iudios sin que uno quedase vivo⁵⁹³. Destruyen a Palestina, i en solo lopen degollaron ocho mil i quatrocientos, i los Damacenos a diez mil Iudios.⁵⁹⁴ Viendo semejantes estragos en los Iudios, huyeron los Cristianos a diferentes regiones⁵⁹⁵, fuga que pondera san Epifanio⁵⁹⁶, i la mayor parte se recogieron en aquella parte que se llama Pella; lugar donde ya otros Catolicos se avian recogido antes, advertidos de lo que dijo Cristo⁵⁹⁷. Entra Tito ijo de Vespasiano, i eran tantos los Iudios que cada día mandava crucificar, que como digimos, i afirma Iosefo⁵⁹⁸ faltavan espacios donde poner Cruces, i faltavan Cruces para poner tantos cuerpos; i pensando los Romanos que escondian oro en los vientres los Iudios en oro potable, abrieron las entrañas a dos mil, quitandoles la vida por buscarles en las entrañas el oro. Tantos mandò matar Tito, ya al hierro, ya a la anbre, que Maneo Lazaro llevò por minuta aver sacado muertos al campo desde catorze de abril, que començò el asedio, asta las calendas de Iulio, ciento i quinze mil i ochenta, sin otro gran numero que los parienes enterraron, i sin sesenta mil guerfanos que perecieron. Los vivos davan voces, i decian lo que les dejò profetizado Cristo⁵⁹⁹: Montes caed i enterradnos; collados abrios, i escondednos. Al fin quemaron las ciudades, i no dejaron piedra sobre piedra en los edificios. [...]

7. Todo esto tiene visos con lo que sucedio despues que muriò en un palo nuestro bendito Martir, si bien las alusiones son diversas; Martin Pando fue el caudillo, i el que governò las crueldades del martirio del Santo, por comision de la Reyna viuda, i del Inga Tupac, convidandose èl a prender, a ser verdugo i a martirizar; pues vaya Martin Garcia de Loyola a la prision del Inga, i egecute los castigos del cielo Martin Urtado de Arbieto i sus egercitos, para que corresponda el castigo a la culpa,

592 Idem lib.2.cap.18.

593 Idem lib.2.cap.19.

594 Cap.25.

595 Cap.25.

596 Epiphan. Hæresi 29 & 30.

597 Matth.24. *Cum ergo videritis abominationem desolationis stantem in loco sancto, qui legit, intelligat. Tunc qui in Iudea sunt, fugiant ad montes.*

598 Vbi supra.

599 Lucæ 23. *Tunc incipient dicere montibus: cadite supernos, et collibus: operite nos.*

The High Priest Ananias, and his brother Ezequias were killed by their own followers together with a mob.⁶⁰⁰ That day in Caesaria they killed 20,000 Jews and left none alive.⁶⁰¹ They destroy Palestine, and in Jopen alone they decapitated 8400 and the Damascenes killed 10,000 Jews.⁶⁰² When they saw such atrocities committed against the Jews, the Christians fled to different regions.⁶⁰³ Saint Epiphanes ponders this flight⁶⁰⁴ and the majority gathered in that place called Pella, a place where other Catholics had already gathered (warned by Christ, prophesising the punishments that would fall on Jerusalem for his death, to leave the towns and flee to the hills).⁶⁰⁵ Enter Titus son of Vespasian and he ordered the daily crucifixion of so many Jews as we and Josephus have already said⁶⁰⁶, that they ran out of space to erect crosses and they ran out of crosses on which to hang so many people. Thinking that the Jews hid the gold they could carry by swallowing it and keeping it in their stomachs, they cut open two thousand, taking their lives simply to look for gold in their insides. Titus ordered so many to be killed, either by the sword or by starvation that, since the beginning of the siege on 14 April until 1 July, Maneus Lazarus recorded carrying out 115,080 dead bodies to the fields for burial. That is not counting the other huge number that families buried themselves, and without counting the 70,000 orphans who also died. Those who were still alive cried out the prophecies that Christ left them⁶⁰⁷: ‘Mountains will collapse and bury us; open the passes and let us hide’. In the end they burnt the cities, and they did not leave a single stone standing. [...]

7. All this has overtones of what happened after our blessed Martyr died on a pole, even if the allusions are different. Martín Pando was the leader and the one who controlled the cruel martyrdom of the Saint, commissioned [as he was] by the widowed queen and the Inca Tupac to seize him, and to be his executioner by martyring him. Well it was Martín García de Loyola who imprisoned the Inca and the one who carried out the punishment from heaven was Martín Hurtado de Arbieta and his armies, so that the punishment corresponds to the guilt

600 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 18.

601 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 19.

602 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 25.

603 Josephus, *The Jewish War*, book 2, chapter 25.

604 Epiphanius. *Against Heresies*, 29 & 30. Epiphanius of Salamis, was bishop of Salamis (Cyprus) at the end of the fourth century. He is best-known for his work the *Panarion* or *Adversus Hæreses* (*Against Heresies*) and for his controversies with the followers of Origen.

605 Matt. 24:15-17.

606 See above.

607 Luke 23:30.

i el egecutor de la pena tenga el mesmo nonbre que el autor del delito; i si se llamò Tito, el que arruynò del todo a Palestina, i acabò tantos millares de Iudios;acà se llamò tambien Tito el Inga que començò a perseguir i a martirizar al santo Martir, i a su conpañero fray Marcos, i fue la piedra del escandalo con que izeron capa, i sirvió de ocasion para dar color a su infidelidad, i encubrir el odio que tenian a nuestra ley. Entran en Vilcabanba los soldados, i no dejan oro ni plata, quitando vidas por robar aziendas, abriendo entrañas por descubrir el oro, a fuego i sangre entrò el estrago, pasando a cuchillo no solo a los que se resistieron, pero tambien a los que se entregaron; los Indios mesmos quemaron sus pueblos, i a ellos despedaçaron los Españoles. La Reyna o Coya Doña Angelina no pudo escaparse como Berenice la ermana del Rey Agripa, i asi murio desastrada muerte; i como a los Iudios con Floro, no les valia a los Indios el dar coechos, pues recibido el que traian, no bolvian, porque les matavan; a todos los Sacerdotes, ò echizeros [836] de las guacas pasaron a cuchillo, o ellos se matavan. Los Indios bautizados que eran muchos, o se avian ya acogido al Cuzco, ò se retiraron a lo oculto de las montañas, como los de Ierusalen a los retiros de Pella. A millares de todas edades i sexos se allavan Indios muertos; todo era lamentos i suspiros, i todo muertes, anbres i desdichas. Asolaronse todos los pueblos, sin que asta oy se ayan abitado, que aun asta en esto se parecio este castigo al de Ierusalen, quedando en las memorias de los propios i estrangeros, que tal estrago i tan lamentables casos los avia enbiado el cielo en pena i castigo; allà por la muerte de Cristo, i acà por la muerte de fray Diego.

8. Sepamos ya del siervo de Dios el Padre fray Marcos Garcia, que despues que el Inga le afligio con persecuciones, i lo quiso matar, i al fin lo desterrò al Cuzco, donde le dejamos, no se à écho memoria dèl.

and so that the executioner of the sentence has the same name as the author of the crime. And if it was Titus [Tito] who destroyed Palestine completely and caused the death of thousands of Jews; here also Titu [Tito] was the name of the Inca who began to persecute and martyr the holy martyr and his companion fray Marcos, and this was the start of the scandal that they turned into a cloak and this served to mask their infidelity and to cover up the hatred they felt towards our law. Soldiers go into Vilcabamba and they leave neither gold nor silver, killing in order to rob possessions, cutting people open to find gold. With fire and sword they began the destruction⁶⁰⁸, killing not only those who resisted but also those who surrendered. The Indians burned their own towns and the Spanish tore them to pieces. The queen or *coya* doña Angelina could not escape like Berenice the sister of King Agrippa did and so she died a disastrous death.⁶⁰⁹ And just as for the Jews with Florus it was useless for the Indians to try to resort to bribery because whoever carried the bribes [to the Spanish] never came back because they were killed. All the priests or sorcerers [836] of the *huacas* were put to the sword or they committed suicide. The many baptised Indians had either gathered in Cuzco or they had hidden themselves in the mountains, just like the [Christians] from Jerusalem retreated to Pella. Thousands of Indians of all ages and sexes were found dead. All that could be heard were sobs and cries of lament. Death, famine and misfortune were all around. All the towns were abandoned and even today they have not been repopulated. Even in this it seems like the punishment of Jerusalem and it was imprinted in the memory of those who were from there and those who were from elsewhere that such an atrocity and such lamentable occurrences were sent by heaven as retribution and punishment: there [in Jerusalem] for the killing of Christ and here [in Vilcabamba] for the killing of fray Diego.

8. We have already heard about the servant of God Padre fray Marcos García, who was finally exiled to Cuzco after the Inca began to persecute him and wanted to kill him. There we left him, and so far nothing more has been said about him.

608 The phrase used is: '*a fuego y sangre*', lit. 'with fire and blood'.

609 The implication is that Angelina Polanquilaco was killed when Vilcabamba was sacked. Much as Calancha may have wished this to be true, it was not. She was one of those who gave a witness statement in 1595. See the 'Declaración de Angelina Polan Quilaco' in Bauer et al., *Muerte, entierros y milagros*, p.68. Interestingly she denied being an eyewitness and refused to give any further information. Calancha, if he used the other testimonies as sources, would have had access to this testimony as well.

Luego que se supo en el Cuzco que avia muerto martir el bendito fray Diego, i los gloriosos triunfos de su martirio, eran grandes i continuos los tormentos que por instantes padecia, el Padre fray Marcos, considerando que fue el primer Predicador que se atrevio a entrar a ojos de un Rey idolatra, aborecedor de Cristianos, i cuchillo de Españoles, i que padeciendo un sin numero de trabajos en introducir la Fè, levantar Iglesias, fundar escuelas, avia convertido al Inga i a su muger, i bautizadoles, i a mucho numero de Indios, i que al cabo de tantas persecuciones no avia merecido la corona de martir, que tanto avia deseado. Esta consideracion le llenava de lagrimas, aconpañándole en ellas el Padre fray Iuan del Canto, que estando ya para entrar en las montañas, se le negò la licencia; todo era llorar, todo padecer, i pudierase consolar con lo que dijo Cristo⁶¹⁰ ablando de la persecucion en que se verian los justos, que estarian dos trabajando en el campo, i escogiendo Dios al uno, dejaria al otro. Los que predicán la fè son estos, [...], esplica san Geronimo⁶¹¹, lo que a dos labradores, que aviendo trabajado el uno tanto como el otro, i senbrado casi lo mismo, cogerà el uno mas trigo, i el otro no tanto, i por esto escogerà Dios al uno para mayor corona, dejando al otro para que tenga menor premio; asi lloraria el Padre fray Marcos el no aver sido escogido para morir en el martirio, aviendo entrado primero a cultivar aquella tierra, i aviendo senbrado mucho mas grano en mas de un año que entrò antes que el Padre fray Diego, siendo èl quien primero metio la reja, i barbechò sus montañas, padeciendo soles, frios, anbres, afrentas, tormentos i persecuciones. Lloraria pues, no aver cogido tanto fruto, que mereciese la onra de aver muerto en el martirio como su conpañero; pero debierase consolar, con que sino merecio tanto premio, se le daria Dios muy grande; i que si èl avia entrado primero en Vilcabanba avia Padre fray Diego senbrado en otras Provincias años antes que èl començase a convertir animas, i que paga Dios los servicios que se le aze en otras tierras, en los pueblos donde menos trabajaron los justos. España pagò servicios de Flandes, i el Perù servicios de España,

610 Lucæ 17. *In illa nocte erunt duo in lecto, unus assumetur, et alter relinquetur.*

611 In cap.24. Matth. *Duo in agro pariter invenientur eumdem habentes laborem, et quasi parem se-mentem, sed fructus laboris non æquè recipientes.*

As soon as he heard that the blessed fray Diego had been killed and about the glorious triumphs of his martyrdom, Padre fray Marcos began to suffer continual torment as he contemplated the fact that he was the first preacher who had dared to meet face to face with an idolatrous king, hater of Christians and knife to the Spanish⁶¹², and that he [fray Marcos] suffered innumerable hardships trying to introduce the faith, constructing churches, founding schools. [He was also tormented when he considered] that he had converted the Inca and his wife, baptising them and many more Indians and [that] after all those sufferings he was not worthy of the martyr's crown that he had so desired. These thoughts filled him with tears, and in this he was accompanied by Father fray Juan del Canto, who was all ready to go into the mountains but was refused permission at the last minute. They were afflicted terribly by this and all they could do was cry and take consolation in the words of Christ⁶¹³ when he talked about the persecution that the just would suffer. Two people would be working in the fields and God would choose one but leave the other: these are those who preach the faith, [...] explains Saint Jerome⁶¹⁴. Just as when two farm-labourers work as hard as each other and plant practically the same, one will end up with more wheat and the other not as much, so God will choose one for a greater crown, leaving the other to receive a lesser reward. And so Padre fray Marcos shed tears for the fact that he had not been chosen to die as a martyr even though he had been the first to cultivate that land, and having planted much more grain than Padre fray Diego in [little] more than a year after he had entered. As it was he who had first used the ploughshare to till his mountains, suffering heat, cold, hunger, insults, torments and persecutions, he would cry for the fact that he did not harvest so much fruit, or, in other words, unlike his companion, he was unworthy of dying as a martyr. But he should take consolation from the fact that if he was unworthy of such a great reward, the one God would give him would still be great. And even though he had gone in first to Vilcabamba, Padre fray Diego had already been planting and sowing in other Provinces for many years before fray Marcos began to convert souls. And God would reward the services he provided in other lands, amongst the populations where the righteous worked less. Spain paid for the services of Flanders, and Peru [paid for] the services of Spain.

612 This is, of course, a rhetorical exaggeration.

613 Luke 17:34.

614 On Chapter 14, Matthew.

i ultimamente se pudiera consolar, con que ay muchos santos confesores, a quien no escogiendo los Dios para el martirio, tienen mas gloria que otros martires. Leyerá las revelaciones de santa Getrudis, i mitigára la pena, pero no era posible, porque las conversaciones ordinarias de los religiosos i de los vezinos del Cuzco eran ablar del martir, i luego era seguida consecuencia el decirle, que avia sido desgraciado; otros le baldonavan de cobarde, como si el ser martir se diese a escoger, i no lo uviese negado Dios a grandes santos que caminaron a Reynos ereges, i a Reyes Moros, como el gran Patriarca san Francisco i san Antonio de Padua que por ir en busca del martirio, dejò el ábito de san Augustin, i la Religion de Canonigo Reglar, i no quiso Dios que fuesen martires en la obra, aunque lo fueron en el deseo. Otros Religiosos le decian algunas sinraçones, ya que avia huido porque no lo matasen, ya que si le desterraron, pudo bolverse, i como el afligido frayle no avia de andar satisfaciendo a cada uno, ni a cada sinraçon, vivia corrido, andava como afrentado; que si leyeran en el Brevario las liciones de la vida del gran Pablo primer Ermitaño i segundo Bautista de los yermos, admiracion de la santidad, i un gigante de la Iglesia i de la gloria, calláran pues huyendo de la persecucion que los idolatras azian a los Cristianos, i temiendo a los [837] Enperadores Decio i Valeriano, se fue huyendo a la inferior Tebayda, i se ocultò en sus breñas sin aver padecido lo que en las montañas de Vilcabanba padecio el Padre fray Marcos: san Felix Presbitero de Nola huye de la persecucion, i se esconde entre dos paredes, i porque no le allen los que le buscan, cria instantaneamente una tela de araña que lo oculte, aziendole este favor quando otro pensára que merecia castigos; que conocio muy bien nuestro Redentor en el guerto de Getsemani, quan disculpado està el miedo con nuestra naturaleza, i el temor de la muerte con nuestra carne,

Lastly he could take consolation from the fact that there are many saintly confessors who, although God did not choose them to be martyrs, have more glory than some who were martyred. He might have read the revelations of Saint Gertrude to lessen his pain but this was not possible because all the talk in Cuzco amongst religious and ordinary citizens was about the martyr.⁶¹⁵ And then it was a simple step for people to start saying that he had been a disgrace and then others to insult him for being a coward, as if martyrdom was something that could be chosen and as if God had not denied it to great saints who journeyed to heretic kingdoms and to Moorish kingdoms, like the great patriarch Saint Francis and Saint Anthony of Padua, who in order to look for martyrdom gave up the habit of Saint Augustine⁶¹⁶ and the Order of Regular Canons, and God did not want them to be martyrs in their work even though they were in their desires. Other clergy insulted him saying that he had fled so that he would not be killed and that even though he had been exiled he could have returned. And because the afflicted friar could neither satisfy each and every person nor each insult, he turned in on himself and went around as if always insulted. If they were to read in the Breviary the lessons of the life of the great Paul, the first Hermit and second Baptist of the wilderness—admiration of holiness and a giant of the Church and of heaven—they would be silenced because fleeing from the persecution that the idolaters inflict on the Christians, and fearing [839] the Emperors Decius⁶¹⁷ and Valerian⁶¹⁸ he fled to Upper Thebaid without having suffered what Padre fray Marcos suffered in the Mountains of Vilcabamba. Saint Felix Presbyter of Nola flees from persecution and he hides between two walls, and so that those who are searching for him do not find him, a spider's web is instantaneously created [across the gap] which hides him, and this favour is done for him even though others may think he deserved to be punished. Something that our Redeemer knew very well in the garden of Gethsemane was how pardonable fear is and, in particular, the fear of death given our nature and our flesh,

615 St Gertrude the Great was a Benedictine nun (d. c.1302) and both a mystic and a writer. Calancha here is referring to her widely circulated hagiography: *The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude*. This work continues in wide circulation. For a very recent re-edition see: St Gertrude, *The Life and Revelations of Saint Gertrude: Virgin and Abbess of the Order of St. Benedict* (Eastford: Martino Fine Books, 2014).

616 Saint Anthony of Padua (d.1231) was an Augustinian but became a Franciscan after being inspired by the Franciscans who were martyred in Morocco in 1220.

617 Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius was Roman Emperor A.D. 249-51. He began persecuting the Church in an effort to reinstitute paganism and regain control over worship by reintegrating it with the cult of the emperor.

618 Publius Aurelius Licinius Valerianus was Roman Emperor A.D. 253-60. The persecution of Christians during his rule is alleged to be because he came under the influence of an anti-Christian faction in the Roman court.

i luego que sale Felix i se buelve sin tener quien le persiguiese, aze milagros, canonizale la Iglesia, i azele fiesta a catorze de Enero; pero pelear con vulgo (que le ay de clavo pasado en las Religiones) es dolorida cosa, i martirio disimulado. Lo que debe un justo es, desear el martirio, i azer para conseguirle lo posible, que el obtenerlo està a voluntad de Dios, que como dueño lo reparte, dando esta corona al que quiere, quitandola muchas vezes al que la desea. El Padre fray Marcos començò la empresa, i abriò los caminos primeros en la espiritual conquista; èl dio tienpos antes que el Padre fray Diego las baterias, i trabajò en los asaltos, i como el martirio no es pleyto de acreedores, no merecio por mas antiguo, lo que quiso dar Dios al mas moderno, i como determina el Enperador Iustiniano en el paragrafo *illud quæsitum*⁶¹⁹; si uno hiriese a una bestia fiera, liebre, jabali ò toro, i la fuese siguiendo, i no la cogiese, i otro la corriese despues i la alcançase, pregunta cuya seria? I responde, que del segundo, porque acontece varias vezes que sucedan cosas que el que lo trabajò no lo consiga, i el que menos lo afanò se le lleve; i mejor lo dijo al proposito san Pablo⁶²⁰, que favores de aquesta esfera, no son del que los quiere, ni del que corre tras ellos, sino de aquel a quien Dios se los dà de gracia, estendiendo su misericordia en el que quiere, apiadandose del que su clemencia escoge. Esto podian considerar los que solo tratavan de afligir al Padre fray Marcos, sin mirar con ojos de siglo umano secretos de providencia eterna.

9. Al fin huyendo de tantos sinsabores, ya que no podia borrar de sus discursos el dolor i la causa de sus tristeças, pidio licencia para irse por Conventual al Convento de Chuquisaca; i llegando a un rio, doliendose Dios de los rios que continuamente tenia en sus ojos, yendole vadeando, se aogò.

619 Instituta de rerum divisione: *Illud quæsitum est, an si fera bestia ita vulnerata sit, ut capi possit, statim tua esse intelligatur. Respondit, quia multa accidere solent ut eam non capias.*

620 Ad Rom.9. *Miserebor cuius misereor: et misericordiam præstabo cuius misererebor. Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei.*

and as soon as Felix comes out of hiding after the persecution ends he becomes a miracle worker.⁶²¹ The Church canonised him and his feast day is on the 14th January. But to fight with the majority (and these disputes happen all the time in the religious orders) is a painful thing and a hidden martyrdom. What a righteous person should do is desire martyrdom and do whatever is possible to achieve it, knowing that this is in the hands of God, the owner who shares it out, giving this crown to whoever he wants and on many occasions taking it away from those who desire it. Padre fray Marcos began the enterprise and opened the first paths in the spiritual conquest. He began the bombardment long before Padre fray Diego and led the first assaults, but because martyrdom is not a competition that can be won; as the veteran he did not deserve what God wanted to give to the new recruit. The Emperor Justinian asks in the paragraph *The Inquiry*⁶²²: ‘If someone wounds a wild beast, hare, boar or bull and hunts it down but does not catch it and another hunts it later and does catch it, the question would be to whom does it belong?’ And he replies, it would belong to the second person because it often happens that the one who works on something does not manage to achieve it and the one who works on it the least manages to take it. And Saint Paul phrases it better⁶²³ saying that the favours of that world do not belong to those who want them nor to those who chase after them, rather to those to whom God gives them through his grace, extending his mercy to the ones he wants, taking pity on those his mercy chooses. Those who tried to hurt Padre fray Marcos might consider this without trying to look at the secrets of eternal providence with human eyes.

9. Finally, fleeing from so many troubles, given that he could not wipe away the pain and cause of his misery with arguments, he asked permission to go to the cloistered Monastery of Chuquisaca, and as he reached a river, God was moved by the rivers [of tears] that continually were in his eyes, and wading across he drowned.

621 Felix of Nola was imprisoned during the Decian persecution but escaped after purportedly being freed by an angel. After assisting his bishop Maximus, he was again being hunted and escaped by crawling into a hole and a spider wove a web over the top, which had the effect of making the soldiers think no one could be there. He apparently hid in a dry well for six months until the persecution ended, when he came out of hiding and returned to his work. By then, however, his lands had been confiscated so he sustained himself in poverty and shared what he had with the poor.

622 Justinian, *The Institutes*, book 2, part 1 ‘On the order of things’. Flavius Anicius Julianus Justinianus was emperor between 527-65 AD.

623 Romans 9:15-16.

O secretos inconpreensibles! O altos consejos de Dios! Yo tengo por certisimo, que el morir a priesa i aogado fue, por no querer Dios que padeciese mas de lo innumerable que tantos años avia padecido, i darle desde las aguas de aquel rio donde se aogò la gloria, pagandole fuera de otros servicios, los grandes meritos que ganò quando el Inga le izo caminar dos leguas con el agua a la cinta; que Dios es gran pagador, i sienpre proporciona las pagas en la mesma moneda que admitio los recibos; ganòle muchas animas, padecio por Cristo afrentas, i en agua sufriò el martirio, pues vaya del agua al cielo. Asi lo creo, i asi lo espero.

Oh incomprehensible secrets! Oh high councils of God! I am absolutely sure that his swift death by drowning was because God did not wish him to suffer any more than the many years he had already suffered and to give him access to heavenly glory from the waters of that river, paying him for (aside from the other services he had rendered) the great merits he won when the Inca made him walk two leagues with the water around his waste.⁶²⁴ God always pays what is due and always in the same currency as the invoices are charged. He won many souls, he suffered insults for Christ and in water he suffered martyrdom, well, in water he goes to heaven. That is what I believe and that is what I hope.

⁶²⁴ Approximately 11 km.