

## **Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en Perú, Con sucesos egeplares en esta monarquía**

Dedicada a Nuestra Señora de Gracia, singular patrona i abogada de la dicha Orden  
Compuesta por el muy reverendo Padre Maestro Fray Antonio de la Calancha de la  
misma Orden [...]

Tomo 1

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Con Licencia

En Barcelona: Por Pedro Lacavalleria, en la calle de la Librería

## **Moralized Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru, with Exemplary Occurrences in this Kingdom**

Dedicated to Our Lady of Grace, Singular Patron and Advocate of the  
aforementioned Order.

Composed by the very Reverend Father, Maestro Fray Antonio de la Calancha of the  
same Order [...]

Volume 1

Year 1638

With permission

In Barcelona: by Pedro Lacavalleria, in the street of the Bookshop

## **Libro cuarto, de la Coronica Moralizada del Orden de San Augustine en el Perù con sucesos egenplares vistos en esta Monarquia**

### **Capitulo Primero. De la vida i virtudes del bendito Martir fray Diego Ortiz, martirizado en Vilcabamba**

[783]1. Libros son, dijo mi santo Tomas de Villa-Nueva<sup>1</sup>, esos cielos donde puso sus caracteres la omnipotencia, i en que estàn como en renglones los astros que contienen soberanas clausulas. Alli pueden leer ocultas sabidurias, i ver milagros en las menores letras. O que admirable es (añade el Santo!) o que ermoso es cada periodo! Los cielos son, dijo David, los libros que cuentan las glorias de dios, i cada firmanento es un libro que escrivio con sus manos, i cada uno publica lo que sus manos izieron; las letras, que son el Sol, Luna i estrellas, nos admiran, i no sabemos leer los misterios que nos apuntan. Este lugar escogi de proposito, [...] para escrivir la vida deste ilustre Martir; porque si señalò Dios para lugar del Sol al quarto cielo, me parecio poner al Sol de mi Coronica en el quarto libro; que si el cielo del Sol es libro misterioso, en éste mi libro resplandecerà otro Sol Peruano, pues cada renglon de su vida, dirà los rayos de la gracia, donde alunbrando animas, veremos

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1 Serm. De nativ. Virg. Mariae. *O quam mirus et quam pulcher, quos caracteres habet tam pulchros, Solem, Lunam, stellas, coelum, et Vnde in Psalmo: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum annunciat firmamentum. Nos quasi parvuli admiramur pulchritudinem characteris, et nescimus et intellegere.*

## Book 4, of the Moralised Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru, with Exemplary Occurrences witnessed in this Kingdom

### Chapter 1: Of the Life and Virtues of the Blessed Martyr fray Diego Ortiz, Martyred in Vilcabamba.

[783]1. Books, said my Saint Thomas of Villanova, are those heavens in which Omnipotence placed his letters, and which contain the very stars organised into sovereign clauses on the lines of the page.<sup>2</sup> There, one can read hidden wisdom, and see miracles in the smallest of letters. Oh how admirable it is (adds the Saint!); oh how beautiful is each section! David said the Heavens are the books that recount the glories of God, and each firmament is a book that he wrote with his hands, and each one publishes that which his hands wrote; the letters—which are the Sun, Moon and stars—look at us<sup>3</sup>, and we do not know how to read the mysteries that they annotate for us. I deliberately chose [...] to write the life of this illustrious Martyr in this section; because if God placed the Sun in the fourth heaven, it seemed best to me to place the Sun of my Chronicle in the fourth book.<sup>4</sup> If the heaven of the Sun is a mysterious book, in my book another Peruvian Sun will shine forth, because each line of the Martyr's life will demonstrate the rays of grace that illuminate souls, and in which we will see the art of Omnipotence. If the Sun first gives light in the East, our Sun which honours us rose

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**2** *Sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*: 'Oh, how wonderful and how beautiful are her characters—the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky, whence the Psalm says: 'See how the heavens proclaim God's glory and how the firmament demonstrates the work of his hands'. We admire the beauty of these characters as if it were a small child, and our ignorance becomes understanding'. The Psalm cited is Psalm 19:2. Saint Thomas of Villanova (d.1555) was a friar of the reformed Augustinian Order who was appointed archbishop of Valencia in 1544. The reforms he implemented in his archdiocese to a great extent anticipated those of the Council of Trent (1545-63) even though he did not attend the Council in person. He was beatified in 1618 by Pope Paul V (r.1605-21) and canonised in 1658 by Alexander VII (r.1655-67). For the Augustinian reforms in Spain and the history of the order more broadly, see Basilio Estrada Robles, *Los Agustinos Ermitaños en España hasta el siglo XIX*. (Madrid: Editorial Revista Agustiniana, 1988); and David Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians from the Protestant Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia, 1518–1648* (Villanova, Pa.: Augustinian Historical Institute, 1979).

**3** Lit. '*nos admirā*'. They admire us. It looks like it should read 'we admire them'. Nevertheless, that would be written '*las admiramos*'.

**4** This is a reference to Ptolemaic cosmology, which placed the earth at the centre of the universe which was made up of eleven concentric spheres or heavens containing the astral and planetary bodies. Each of these heavens was governed and moved by an angel, with the exception of the outer sphere or Empyrean Heaven, which was stationary. From the earth outwards were: 1) the Moon, 2) Mercury, 3) Venus, 4) The Sun, 5) Mars, 6) Jupiter, 7) Saturn, 8) the Firmament (containing the stars), 9) The Crystalline Heaven, 10) the Prime Mover, 11) The Empyrean Heaven.

los primores de la omnipotencia. Si sale a dar luzes desde el Oriente el Sol que nos alunbra, salio a dar mejores luzes desde éste Occidente nuestro Sol que nos onra; i mas estima Dios a este [784] Sol que acà le nace, que a ese Sol que sin dar pasos atras sienpre le obedece. La Iglesia canta lo que el Espiritu santo alunbra, i dice que Cristo es Sol.<sup>5</sup> Verase en la vida i muerte de nuestro Martir, quan parecido fue a Cristo soberano, pues naciendo en una aldea imitando sus obras, murio afrentosamente en un palo. Del Sol dice san Dionisio<sup>6</sup>, que obra en las criaturas admirables efetos. Siendo para los vivientes padre provechoso i amigo afable, pues renueva, cria, guarda, perficiona, divide, calienta, abriga, fecunda, aumenta muda, planta i vivifica. El que imita al Sol Cristo convirtiendo animas, aze lo que el Sol, dice Berchorio<sup>7</sup>, influyendo aumentos, con los rayos de su doctrina, renueva pecadores, aziendo que lo seco, a que les redujo

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<sup>5</sup> In festo nativ. Virg. *Ex te enim ortus est Sol iustitiae Christus Deus noster.*

<sup>6</sup> Dionys. de divin. nom. *Renovat, nutrit, custodit, perficit, réfovet, fœcundat, auget, mutat, plantat et vivificat.*

<sup>7</sup> Berchor. reduc. lib. 5. cap. 28. *Per radios doctrinae terreum peccatorem facit renovari, et floribus, virtutibus adornari. Nutrit per praedicationem, et eleemosynam, custodit subditos per diligentiam, refovet per compassionem, fœcundat per praedicationem, auget per meritum cumulationem, mutat malos per conversionem, plantat fidem, vivificat per vitae gratiae, vel æternæ gloriæ procurationem.*

to give greater light here in the West<sup>8</sup>; and God holds the Sun that rose here in greater esteem [784] than that Sun which always obeys him and never moves backwards. The Church, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, sings that Christ is the Sun.<sup>9</sup> It can be seen how alike our Martyr was to the Sovereign Christ in his life and death; because, after being born in a village in imitation of his works, he died shamefully on a tree.<sup>10</sup> Saint Dionysius says that the Sun has admirable effects on creatures, as it is a benevolent father and affable friend for the living because it renews, cares for, guards, perfects, separates, warms, shelters, fertilises, grows, changes, plants, and invigorates.<sup>11</sup> According to Bersuire<sup>12</sup>, the person who imitates Christ the Sun by converting souls does the same as the Sun by stimulating growth with the rays of his doctrine, renewing sinners, and drying them out to reduce their

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**8** This idea links to the Advent liturgy and the expectation of the coming of Christ, the bringer of light. Advent antiphons known within the Catholic world as the ‘Great’ or the ‘O’ antiphons, are sung the week before Christmas. Note in particular the words of the fifth antiphon sung on the 21<sup>st</sup> December, which begins: ‘O Orient, splendour of eternal light, and Sun of Justice! Come and enlighten them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death’.

**9** *On the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*: ‘for out of you rose the Sun of Justice, Christ our Lord’.

**10** This is a reference to Philippians 2:8 ‘and he humbled himself by being obedient unto accepting death, even death on a cross’. The ‘shame’ was due to the fact that crucifixion was a method of execution associated with criminals and slaves. The previous verse describes how the divine Christ took on the human nature, and that of a slave. The following verse explains how God subsequently raised him up.

**11** Dionysius, *On the Divine Names*. Calancha is referring to a section that talks about the ‘Good’: ‘the goodness of the transcendent God [...] gives light to everything capable of receiving it, it creates them, keeps them alive, preserves and perfects them. Everything looks to it for measure eternity, number and order. It is the power which embraces the universe. It is the Cause of the universe and its end [...] It is responsible for the origins and life of perceptible bodies, nourishing them and causing them to grow, perfecting them, purifying them, and renewing them [...] It draws and returns all things to itself, all the things that see, that have motion, that are receptive of illumination and warmth, that are held together by the spreading rays’ (Pseudo-Dionysius, ‘The Divine Names’, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. and ed by Colm Luibheid and Paul Rorem (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), pp.74-5). Until the sixteenth-century the works of Pseudo-Dionysius were widely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the apostle of Saint Paul (Acts 17:34). Even when it was accepted that Pseudo-Dionysius was more probably from the fifth or sixth century, his three major works, the neo-platonic meditations *The Divine Names*, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* continued to be highly valuable to the Catholic tradition.

**12** Berchorius, *Reductorium morale*, book 5, chapter 28: ‘Through the rays of the doctrine of earth, the sinner is renewed, and flowers of virtue adorn him. He is nourished by preaching, and by mercy, diligently cares for those under him, is renewed by compassion, fertilised by preaching, grows by collecting merits, changes the wicked through conversion, plants the faith, is given life by grace or by procuring eternal glory’. Pierre Bersuire (Petrus Berchorius) c.1290-1362 was a Benedictine monk attached to the household of Cardinal Petrus de Pratis at Avignon. The *Reductorium morale* was a significant moralized encyclopaedic work based on a previous work, *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus. Bersuire is perhaps most well-known in modern times for his translation of Livy into the French vernacular, which J. Engels suggests was written in gratitude to the French king John II (1350-64) who intervened on his behalf during a trial for heresy in Paris. For a more detailed biography see J. Engels, ‘The World Map by Petrus Berchorius (14<sup>th</sup> Century)’, *Imago Mundi*, 20 (1966): 86.

el pecado, vuelva a reverdecer con la penitencia, i brote flores de virtudes con que le adorne la gracia; cria al modo que la madre dando leche quando niños, i comida quando grandes, siendo sus ijos los pobres, guarda por su diligencia a los subditos, porque los resabios de otros planetas no les ofendan, o las influencias del mundo, Demonio i carne no los lastime; perficiona lo defectuoso, divide lo bueno de lo malo, abria i dà valor con su compasion al desvalido, aze con su predicacion fecundo al arbol seco, aumenta con sus consejos al virtuoso, muda a vida Catolica al que convierte de vida Gentilica, planta la Fè, i vivifica con vida de gracia, o con seguros i promesas de la gloria. Otro efeto obra quando parece que nos deja, i es morir el sol en su Occidente, porque todo duerma i procure descanso. Quereys saber (dice David)<sup>13</sup> como se llama el sol, quando muere en su Occidente? Pues sabed, que se llama el señor; de suerte que no quiso que al sol llamasen señor quando le vemos i nos alunbra, sino quando le vemos ir del mundo, i que parece que nos deja; de Cristo se dijo esto, porque no quiere que lo llamemos señor

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13 Psalm. 67. *Qui ascendit super occasum Dominus nomen illi.*

sin.<sup>14</sup> They put forth green shoots again with penitence, and flowers of virtues bloom adorned by grace. This person cares like a mother who gives milk to her small children and food when they are older—the children are the poor. He diligently guards those he is responsible for, so that the vices of others<sup>15</sup> do not offend them, and so the influences of the world, devil and flesh do not harm them.<sup>16</sup> He perfects the defective, separates the good from the bad, shelters and gives courage to the defenceless with his compassion. He fertilises the dead tree with his preaching, builds up the virtuous with his advice, and converts the gentiles<sup>17</sup> so that they live a Catholic life. He plants the Faith, and invigorates [others] with a life of grace or with sureties and promises of glory. He works another effect when it seems like he leaves us, which is that the Sun dies in the West because everything sleeps and seeks rest. David says, ‘do you want to know what the Sun is called when it dies in the West? Well, know that it is called the Lord’.<sup>18</sup> In that way he shows that [God] did not wish for the Sun to be called Lord when we see it and when it shines on us, rather when we see it depart the world and it seems that it is leaving us. This was said about Christ, because he does not want us to call him Lord when he is born, rather at the time he did the greatest good for us,

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**14** For seeds to have a better chance of germination, they are first dried before planting. In Peru (and throughout Latin America) seeds are still dried in the sun.

**15** Lit. *otras planetas* – ‘other planets’. The reference here is to the sun, the carer, protecting the earth from the other astral bodies that circle the earth (in Ptolemaic cosmology).

**16** This triple aversion to the devil, the world and the flesh, was a trope in Christian mysticism which aimed towards ecstatic union with God. Mystics could approach this union by undergoing a series of spiritual exercises seen as ascending a ladder to the beatific vision. This ascent would progressively enable the mystic to detach him or herself from the chains that held him or her back—in particular, the pleasures of the flesh, the material world, and of course, the devil. The final rung (ecstasy) was a gift from God and there was nothing a mystic could do to initiate it. Mysticism underwent a revival in the sixteenth-century Hispanic world under the particular influence of people like fray Luis de Granada, Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross and Ignatius of Loyola (among others).

**17** Lit. *gentiles* – ‘gentiles’. Calancha uses the scriptural term ‘gentiles’ rather than the Latin term ‘pagan’ to refer to non-Christians. The choice of term is common in religious chronicles and letters of the period and while it may read strangely in English (as anglophone tradition would almost exclusively understand the term in the context of the Jews referring to non-believers) the use of the term ‘gentile’ to refer to non-Christians was as normal as we would use the term ‘pagan’ in the same context. To this day, in certain rural Peruvian communities, you might hear the term used in reference to non-Christian ancestors and spirit-deities (*huacas*). Calancha’s choice to use the term is likely to have been an unconscious one. Nevertheless, whether conscious or not, it demonstrates the contemporary Christian understanding of the ‘New Covenant’ established by Christ with his people and sees those within Christian tradition as the legitimate inheritors of the Old Testament Judaic tradition. Those outside the New Covenant would generally be classified as gentiles, apostates or heretics.

**18** Psalm 67 [vulgate edition]. The cited text corresponds to Psalm 68:5, ‘and he who ascends over the west, the Lord is his name’. Calancha appears to have paraphrased the psalm extremely loosely to make it fit what he was trying to say.

quando nace, sino al tienpo que nos izo el mayor bien quando muere; i èl mesmo dijo<sup>19</sup> a los que le oian: Quando vieredes que se entra el Sol en su Occidente, aguardad la tenpestad i la borrasca; o porque se cunpliria lo que acabava de decir, que apartaria al ijo de la madre, i al ermano de la ermana convirtiendolos, o que vendrian mil calamidades a los que le crucificaron. Todo quanto emos dicho, se verà en nuestro Martir.

2. Nacio el bendito P.F.Diego en el pueblo de Getafe dos leguas de Madrid, naciendo entre sus lodos este rubi precioso, i en aldea tan corta este Grande, que tuvo el tuson de la Fè. Pero quien se onra de nacer en Cortes, despues que Cristo nacio en Belen? I si allà nace Dios para morir por el onbre en aldea, nace nuestro frayle para morir por Dios en esta aldea: nace David umilde para la corona de Rey, i en Getafe nace nuestro F.Diego en casa umilde para la corona de Martir;

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<sup>19</sup> Luke 12: *Cum videritis nubem Orientem ab occasu: Statim, dicitis, nimbus venit, et ita fit.*

which is when he dies.<sup>20</sup> He himself said to those who heard him: ‘When you see that the Sun disappears in the West, wait for the storm and the squall’<sup>21</sup>; because what Christ has just said [in the rest of this scriptural passage] will come true, either that through conversion the child will be separated from the mother, and the brother from the sister, or that a thousand calamities will descend on those who crucified him.<sup>22</sup> All this we have said, and it will be seen in the case of our Martyr.

2. The blessed father fray Diego<sup>23</sup> was born in the town of Getafe, two leagues from Madrid<sup>24</sup>; this precious ruby was born in the midst of mud, and this little village gave birth to a giant that nurtured the young Faith. But who can be proud of being born in a palace, after Christ was born in Bethlehem?<sup>25</sup> And if God was born there in a village to die at the hands of men, our friar was born in this village to die for God.<sup>26</sup> David was born humbly and was crowned king while in Getafe our fray Diego was born in a

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**20** The temporality of the tenses is confusing in the text, as Calancha uses the present tense to refer to Christ’s birth which implies that Christ is currently being born or is regularly born. At the same time, Calancha uses the preterite tense to refer to the good his death *did* for us, but uses the present tense to suggest that his death is current, frequent or ongoing. As such it is not entirely clear whether the event referred to is being prophesied by David as a future event yet to come, currently ongoing and willed by God, or has been fulfilled by Christ in the past. This is entirely in keeping with the *kairos* framework outlined in the introduction. All these ways of reading the text are possible.

**21** Luke 12:54: ‘When you find a cloud rising out of the west, you say at once: “There is rain coming”, and so it does’. Again Calancha has been rather free in his paraphrasing of scripture in order to make his metaphor work. The context of this passage from Luke is Christ preaching that one can never know the hour of God’s coming and so one should always be attentive. This particular excerpt in context could be glossed as ‘if you see the signs, you can tell what is about to happen’. Calancha intends the excerpt as a rather tenuous link between the metaphor of Christ (and by extension Diego Ortiz) as the life-giving sun that is recognised as it sets (dies), and the dissention caused by proselytism together with the calamities that will fall on Vilcabamba as a result of Ortiz’s martyrdom.

**22** Here Calancha is referring to slightly earlier verses of the same chapter (Luke 12: 51, 53): ‘Do you think that I have come to bring peace on the earth? No, believe me, I have come to bring dissension. The father will be at variance with his son, and the son with his father, the mother against her daughter, and the daughter against her mother, the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law’.

**23** ‘Fray’, from the Latin *frater*, literally translates as ‘friar’, but it is commonly used as an honorific rather than a category like ‘Doctor’; e.g. fray Diego would be like Doctor Foster. Calancha generally uses the term in conjunction with the honorific *padre* meaning ‘father’ which signifies Diego Ortiz’s sacerdotal status. Not all friars were or are priests (and those who were not or are not are referred to as *hermano* or ‘brother’) but the two main Augustinian protagonists of this text, Diego Ortiz and Marcos García were priests and so would be referred to with the honorific *padre* or ‘Father’. As ‘Father’ and ‘fray’ or even ‘Father’ and ‘friar’ read strangely together in English in most cases I have chosen to leave the titles in Spanish: e.g., *Padre fray Diego*.

**24** Approximately 11km. A league roughly equated to 5.5km.

**25** Lit. *quien se onra de nacer en Cortes*, ‘who can take honour from being born in Court’.

**26** This is the beginning of the discourse that continues throughout Calancha’s hagiography of Diego Ortiz that seeks to prove beyond all doubt that Ortiz’s life and death was truly in *imitatio Christi*—in imitation of Christ.

ambas son aldeas junto a las Cortes de los Reyes Ierusalen i Madrid; i si quiso nacer Cristo a vista de la Corte, fue para azer desdeñes a la magestad, i aplausos a la pobreza, menosprecios a la ostentacion, i onras a la umildad, dando a ver los favores para que se conociesen sus misterios, i se echasen de ver mejor sus baldones i desprecios. Pensavan los Reyes Magos (como advierte S. Leon Papa<sup>27</sup>) que se avia de ir a buscar a un Rey que nace a una ciudad Real donde los Reyes se crian, i que la estrella los encaminava a la Corte, mas fue discurso umano, que el venir Cristo como siervo; i el escoger estado umilde, no fue para juzgar como Rey mundano, sino para ser juzgado como onbre plebeyo, i asi escogio para nacer a Belen umilde, i para morir a Ierusalen sobervia, dando a entender, que las Cortes matan a Dios con ofensas i en las aldeas pobres onran a Dios con caricias, i sin duda el esconderse la estrella al tienpo que entravan en Ierusalen los Magos, i no querer Dios que entrase en ella, i que ne saliendo ellos caminase la estrella a Belen, i alli tomase asiento, fue decirnos, o que en las Cortes de los Reyes si sobran magestades de mundo, faltan luzes de cielo; o que donde se gobiernan las cosas por razones de estado, i se guian por comodidades del siglo, no tienen entrada gobiernos del cielo, i sobran advertencias donde las verdades faltan; huyen las estrellas que quian a los Santos de semejantes Cortes, corridas de que no azen caso de cosas celestiales, ni encaminan sus pasos buscando a Cristo, i asi donde no sirven no parecen, i en las aldeas donde la senzillez camina al cielo, asisten como en casa propria las estrellas que guian i encaminan,

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27 Serm.1.de Epiph. *Magi quidem humano sensu significatum sibi Regis ortum existimaverunt in civitate Regia esse quarendum sed servi susceperat formamet non iudicare venerat, sed iudicari; Bethleem præelegit nativitati, Hierosolyam passioni.*

humble dwelling and was crowned Martyr.<sup>28</sup> Both [Bethlehem and Getafe] are villages adjoined to the courts of the kings of Jerusalem and Madrid; and if Christ had wanted to be born in sight of the court it was to show contempt for ostentation and honour for humility, disdain for majesty and to applaud poverty, thereby revealing his favours so that his mysteries might be known; and his disdain and contempt would be all the more obvious. The Three Magi (as Pope Leo the saint mentions<sup>29</sup>) thought they had to search for a king who was born in a royal city, and that the star was guiding them to the court, but this was a human way of thinking: Christ coming as a servant, and choosing to be born so humbly, was so as not to judge like an earthly king but to be judged as an ordinary man. And so he chose humble Bethlehem in which to be born and proud Jerusalem in which to die, giving to understand that [royal] courts kill God by committing offences, and that in poor villages God is honoured with affection. Without doubt, the fact that the star hid itself when the Magi entered Jerusalem, and the fact that God did not want them to go into that city, and that when they left Jerusalem the star guided them to Bethlehem and stopped there, meant that even if earthly majesty abounds in the courts of kings, they still lack the light of heaven; or that those who govern using reason of state<sup>30</sup>, and who are guided by the fashions of the day, have no opening for the governance of heaven, and where truths are lacking, there are warnings to excess. The stars that guide the Saints flee from such courts—bullfights<sup>31</sup> whose participants neither search for Christ nor pay heed to heavenly things—and so these stars do not appear to those who do not serve.

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**28** The tradition of the ‘crown of martyrdom’ is scriptural, coming in particular from: James 1:12, 1 Peter 5:4, and Rev: 2:10. These passages all refer to those who are persecuted for Christ being awarded the ‘crown of life’ or the ‘crown of glory’. In painting it is often represented as a victor’s wreath awarded to athletes in classical games or to Caesars when they entered Rome in triumph. According to scriptural tradition both David and Christ (born of David’s line) were born in Bethlehem.

**29** Sermon 1 on the Epiphany: ‘Wise men came believing that as he was a king he would be born in the city of kings and so they asked [for him there]; but he took the form of a slave and had not come to judge but to be judged; Bethlehem was chosen for his birthplace; Jerusalem for his death’. There was more than one Pope St Leo but it is most likely that Calancha is referencing Pope St Leo the Great (r.440-61 A.D.) who was pope at a time of particular doctrinal upheaval for the Church and social upheaval for the remnants of the western Roman empire.

**30** Here Calancha is joining with clerical colleagues such as Giovanni Botero (d.1617) and Tommaso Bozio (d.1610) in the disapproval of the rise of Machiavellian ‘reason of state’ in order to govern. Machiavellianism was considered at best amoral and at worst, immoral. Neither were acceptable for Christian princes. Given the bent of the rest of Calancha’s chronicle, however, the person who he appears to be attacking here is Titu Cusi, who, as we have seen, was a remarkable statesman. The only other statesman he criticises is Francisco de Toledo for ignoring the counsel of numerous churchmen and executing the Inca Tupac Amaru.

**31** Lit. *corridas* meaning ‘bullfights’. The sense here is one of profanity and satisfying material desires.

i nacen Santos sin las [785] magestades que ofuscan; i no sin misterio ordenò Cristo, que ningun Apostol suyo naciese en la Corte de Ierusalen, sino en aldeas i pueblos de las dos Galileas, superior que se llamò de los Gentiles, i la inferior que llegava asta Samaria anbas al Setentrion; [...] Al fin ningun Apostol nacio en la Corte; porque quando sugetasen al mundo con sabiduria i prudencia, no pensasemos que eran bachilleres de Corte i palaciegos de Curia, sino letrados de cielo con fondo, o aforro de aldeanos; discrecion que enseña Dios, porque la mundana, como dijo el Espiritu santo<sup>32</sup>, es enemiga de Dios, i asi no quiere ganar amigos santos, con el caudal de sus enemigos loquaces. Por esto quiso Dios que naciese nuestro bendito fray Diego en aldea entre villanage, porque en todo se pareciese a Cristo, i en convertir animas a sus sagrados Apostoles.

3. Por dichosa i afortunada se deve tener aquella aldea de Getafe, pues nacio en ella el primero que murio martir en este Nuevo mundo [...] Que no se deve llamar onrada, ni dichosa una ciudad porque en ella nacieron Enperadores i Reyes, sino porque nacen los Santos, i solo uno que nace, levanta a magnifica Corte a la mas pobre aldea. Pregunta Erodes a los Dotores de Ierusalen (quando turbados todos escuchavan a los Reyes Magos) que en que pueblo o ciudad avia de nacer Cristo? I respondieronle, que segun la profecia de Micheas<sup>33</sup>, avia de nacer en Belen [...] pueblecillo el mas pequeño de Iudà; i ellos añadieron<sup>34</sup>, que naceria en Belen, que en ninguna manera seria pueblo pequeño sino grande i magnifico, i Corte de los Principes, o la mayor de las mas principales. Es aqui que uno la llamò minima i pequeñita, i muchos la llamaron magnifica i magestuosa.

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<sup>32</sup> Ad Rom. 8 *Quoniam sapientia carnis inimica est Deo.*

<sup>33</sup> Cap 5. *Et tu Bethleem Ephrata parvulus es in millibus Iudà.*

<sup>34</sup> Matth. 2. *Sic enim Scriptum est per prophetam: et tu Bethleem terra Iudà nequam minima es in Principibus Iudà.*

In the villages where simplicity leads to heaven, the stars that guide us and put us on the right path assist as if they were in their own homes, and saints are born without the [785] majesty that blinds people. Not without mystery did Christ ordain that no Apostle of his would be born in the court of Jerusalem, rather they would come from the villages and towns of the two Galilees—Upper Galilee which was Gentile and Lower Galilee which reached all the way to Samaria—both in the North. [...] Ultimately, no Apostle was born in the court because when the world is subdued by wisdom and prudence, we should not think that those who did it were graduates of the court or courtiers of the Curia, rather they were learned men of heaven with a background of villagers. God gives us this insight because worldly things, as the Holy Spirit said, are his enemies.<sup>35</sup> And so he does not want to win so many saintly friends from among his loquacious enemies. For this reason God wanted our blessed fray Diego to be born as a villager in a village so that in all things he could resemble Christ and convert souls to be his sacred Apostles.

3. One must consider that village of Getafe to be blessed and fortunate, because the first to die as a martyr in the New World was born there.<sup>36</sup> [...] A city should neither be honoured nor considered blessed because emperors or kings are born there, rather because Saints were born there, and even if only one is born, the poorest village can be raised to the [heights of the] most magnificent court. After listening in consternation to the Magi, Herod asked the learned men of Jerusalem in what town or city was Christ to be born. And they replied that according to the prophet Micah<sup>37</sup>, he was to be born in [...] the little town of Bethlehem, the smallest town in Judea; and that in no way would Bethlehem be a small town but a great and magnificent court of princes, the greatest of the great.<sup>38</sup> It is here that while one called it minimal and small, many called it magnificent and majestic.

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**35** Romans 8:7: ‘the one who has understanding of the passions [flesh] is an enemy of God’. The *New Advent* translates this as ‘natural wisdom is at enmity with God’. The tenor of Calancha’s argument here is dangerously radical.

**36** This is not in fact true. As just a few examples mentioned by fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinia), three Tlaxcalan (Mesoamerican) neophyte boys (Cristóbal (d.1527), Juan and Antonio (d.1529)) were martyred for destroying idols or images of indigenous deities (*Historia de los Indios*, tratado 3, cap. XIV, pp.264-74). The superior of the Jesuit mission to Florida, Pedro Martínez was killed in 1566 and considered to be the Jesuit protomartyr of the New World. Of course it would always have been open to interpretation who was to be acclaimed as a martyr and who was not. Each order would put forward its own candidates. Nevertheless, Diego Ortiz was certainly not the first to be believed to have been killed ‘for the faith’ or ‘in odium fidei’ in the Americas.

**37** Micah 5:1-2: ‘Bethlehem-Ephrata! Least do they reckon you among all the clans of Judah?’

**38** Matt. 2: 5-6: ‘as it has been written by the prophet: And you Bethlehem, of the land of Judah are far from least among the princes of Judah’.

Bien claro se ècha de ver el encuentro i la oposicion; pero salen la Glosa<sup>39</sup>, i Lira<sup>40</sup>, i dicen, que todo es uno, la sustancia la mesma, aunque encontradas las razones; i sucedio así, para que se reparasen el misterio, i ese declara con excelencia san Geronimo<sup>41</sup> [...] con que Getafe se puede llamar dichoso, pues siendo mas su lodo que sus casas, es mas onrado por tener este Martir, que las Cortes de los Monarcas donde no à nacido un Santo.

4. No è podido saber quien fueron sus padres, aunque el ser natural de aquella aldea, arguye umilde prosapia, pero antigua linpieza, tanto por la alcuña de Ortiz, que es de idalgos abolengos en Castilla, teniendo su raiz en Vizcaya, como por aver sido Religioso Augustino, que prueba linpieza para serlo. Poca parece que fue la nobleza, i caudal de nuestro bendito frayle.

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39 In Matth. *Et si non verba, veritatem sensus quodammodo ponunt.*

40 Lira. *Licet videatur esse contrarietas in verbis, tamen est eadem sententia.*

41 In Matth. *Pro eo autem quod Propheta dixerat: Nequaquam minima es in millibus Iudà, volens ostendere parvitatem eius quantum ad populi multitudinem, dixerunt: Nequaquam minima es in millibus Iudà, volentes ostendere magnitudinem dignitatis provenientem ex dignitate Principis nascituri: quasi dicerent Magna es inter civitates ex quibus Principes prodierunt.*

The juxtaposition and opposition is absolutely clear in the *Gloss*<sup>42</sup> and in Lyre<sup>43</sup>, and they say that all is one, the substance the same, even though they look alike they are opposites: and this is how it happened so that the mystery might be noticed. Saint Jerome also skilfully explains this [...]<sup>44</sup> Thus, Getafe can call itself blessed, because while it has more mud than houses, it is more honoured to have this Martyr than the courts of the monarchs where no Saint has been born.

4. I have not been able to find out who his parents were, although being a native of that village would suggest humble ancestry, but an ancient purity, as much for the lineage of 'Ortiz', which is descended from lesser nobility<sup>45</sup> in Castile (originating in Vizcaya), as much as for having been a member of the Augustinian Order which needs proof of purity of blood in order to join.<sup>46</sup> The nobility and wealth of our blessed friar seems to be limited.

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**42** The *Gloss*, or the *Glossa Ordinaria* was one of the most influential mediaeval Bible commentaries in existence. By Calancha's time, the precise details regarding the authorship of the commentary had been forgotten, notwithstanding attempts by Johannes Trithemius (d.1516) to locate its author in the ninth century. More recent (twentieth-century) scholarship appears to concur that the *Gloss* was in fact begun in the twelfth century by Anselm of Laon and continued after his death in 1117 by his brother Ralph and student Gilbert of Auxerre. If Anselm has the accolade for initiating the project and for taking on the lion's share of the work, it should be noted that it was more than a lifetime's work and thus became a collaborative project, with Anselm's own commentary being developed by subsequent exegetes in later editions. See Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 17-38. Smith charts the development of the *Gloss* and lists its most likely contributors. See also Alexander Andr ee, 'Anselm of Laon Unveiled: The *Glossa Super Johannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Bible', *Mediaeval Studies*, 73 (2011): 217-60.

**43** Nicholas of Lyre (or Lyra) (d.1349) was a Franciscan exegete who wrote his own comprehensive bible commentary, *Postilla literalis super totam Bibliam* c.1320. Due to its accessibility, his commentary quickly became and long-remained highly influential amongst biblical scholars.

**44** [Commentary] on Matthew. Calancha also cites St Paul and David (the Psalms) here to back up his argument.

**45** 'Hidalgos' or 'hijos de algo' (lit. 'son/child of someone [important]) were the lesser nobility of Spain (and, in particular, Castile). This social group began to expand notably in the late middle-ages and early sixteenth-century as *hidalg a* was awarded for services to the Crown and, during the civil war of succession fought between the forces of Isabela of Castile and Juana la Beltraneja (1475-9), and then subsequently, the final stages of the reconquest and seizure of the last Moorish kingdoms (Málaga (1487) and Granada (1492)) in Iberia by Ferdinand and Isabela. Being made an *hidalgo* meant that an individual and his descendants would be exempt from taxation and so *hidalguia* became a much sought after form of social mobility.

**46** A preoccupation with *limpieza de sangre*, or 'purity of blood' became particularly prevalent in sixteenth-century Spain with the final Christianisation of the kingdoms. During the previous century numerous *conversos* (Jews that had converted to Christianity) had risen to high rank at court and in the Church. Such relative success created its own jealousies and, when thousands converted after being given the stark choice to convert or go into exile, they were considered theologically suspect by so-called 'Old-Christians'. As a result, with increasing frequency, Spanish institutions (religious orders, universities) required a certified lineage to prove that the person was descended from 'Old-Christians' and therefore was not theologically suspect.

Si se diera a escoger a cada uno el nacimiento i su suerte, dijo Seneca<sup>47</sup>, ninguno naciera umilde, sino de sangre noble, todos fueran Reyes, nadie escogiera ser pobre, todos fueran prosperos, i ninguno plebeyo, cada uno escogiera felicidades, i no uviera un desdichado; pero como a quien dan no escoge, vive i nace cada uno con lo que Dios le reparte, i asi nadie deve jactarse de lo que le dio la naturaleza, vituperando al que le cupo menos; que como dijo el Filosofo: Nadie merece, ni pierde por [786] lo que le dio la naturaleza, antes se enfada mucho Seneca<sup>48</sup>, de que uno se precie de noble no siendolo; no ay cosa mas cruel dice, que no naciendo noble, azerse Cavallero, i alega un antiguo Proverbio: No ay cosa tan aspera como que el pechero se aga noble, i el plebeyo se suba tan alto, que trepe a Cavallero, es necio el que que esto aze, porque en su mano està ser mejor que los Reyes, como coja otra vereda; i esa advierte san Crisostomo, i dice<sup>49</sup>: Mas grandeza es subir por las virtudes a ser ilustre un onbre bajo, que ser de ilustre sangre, si es de malas costumbres i de contentible espiritu, que descaecer is ignominia, i subir por virtudes es alteza. Por lo menos ganò nuestro bendito frayle esta nobleza magestuosa, si acaso no nacio de noble prosapia; i si no tuvo deudos en lugares altos èl los subio a todos en lugares supremos. Todo lo dice el Derecho Canonico en un Decreto<sup>50</sup>, i es de san Gregorio: El que desea esclarecer su fama, i que luzga con estimacion su nonbre, no las sillas en que mandan, no la nobleza de sangre que se estima, no las patrias lustrosas en que nacen, les dà el aplauso i eterniza su fama, sino la idalguia de las costumbres buenas, la nobleza de las virtudes santas, la pureza de la fê, i el credito de su buen egenplo, esto quando luze, las magestades mas preclaras del mundo se escurecen;

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47 Seneca de sentent. orat. *Si possens homines facere sibi sortem nascendi, nemo esset humilis, nemo egenus unusquisque foelicem domam invaderet.*

48 Ibid. *Eis qui non natisunt nobiles, sed facti, nihil crudelius iuxta illud: Asperius nihil est humili, eum surgit in altum.*

49 In Matth. *Melius est de contemptibili genere clarum fieri, quam de claro genere contemptibilis nasci.*

50 Distim. 40. *Nos qui præsumus, non exlocorum, vel generis dignitate, sed morum nobilitate innotescere debemus, nec urbium claritate, sed fidei puritate.*

According to Seneca<sup>51</sup>, if everyone were able to choose their birth and their fate, no-one would choose to be poor, rather all would be prosperous and no-one a plebeian; everyone would choose happiness, and there would be no unfortunates. Nevertheless, as no-one can choose, each and every one of us is born and lives with what God shares with us, and so no-one should boast about what nature gave him or her, nor condemn those who have received less. As the Philosopher<sup>52</sup> said: ‘No-one deserves nature’s gifts, nor loses out’. [786] In fact Seneca becomes rather annoyed that someone might pretend to be noble without actually being so. ‘There is nothing more brutish,’ he says, ‘than to become a knight while not having been born noble’. And he refers to an ancient Proverb: there is nothing cruder than the commoner who becomes noble, and the plebeian who climbs so high that he can become a knight. He who does this is stubborn, because he aspires to be greater than kings—as if he could choose another path. Saint Chrysostom warns of this, saying: ‘When one is lowly it is better to climb to illustrious heights through the virtues than to be of illustrious blood if that means to be of wicked habits and contemptible spirit: it is ignominious to fall into wicked habits while to climb through the virtues is greatness’.<sup>53</sup> At least our blessed friar won majestic nobility this way even though he was not born of noble lineage. Even though he had no relatives in high places, he raised everyone [around him] to supreme heights. This is all affirmed in a decree of Canon Law by Saint Gregory: ‘To those who desire to increase their fame, and to make their names illustrious, it is not thrones that give authority nor nobility of blood that is esteemed, nor does fame come from being born in illustrious lands; rather it comes the nobility of good customs, purity of faith and the credit of good example. When these things shine the brightest worldly majesty falls into shadow;

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**51** Seneca (Lucius Annaeus) was a Roman Stoic philosopher and orator (born c.3 BC). After a long and eminent career in which he incurred the enmity of both the emperors Caligula and Claudius, he was accused of plotting against the emperor Nero, his former pupil, and ordered to commit suicide in 65 AD.

**52** ‘The Philosopher’ would normally refer to Plato, but in this case appears to be referring to Seneca.

**53** John Chrysostom was born in Antioch in 349 A.D. and schooled there. His theology and exegesis were pragmatic and opposed to the more allegorical interpretations of the School of Alexandria and he was markedly ascetic. He was appointed Archbishop of Constantinople in 397 A.D. and soon came into conflict with the Patriarch of Alexandria. He had the support of the common people and, for a time, the empress Eudoxia, but when he preached against her he was forced into exile to Cappadocia. He died in 407 A.D. and soon afterwards became venerated as a saint.

pero si se eslabonan estas noblezas del anima con aquellas idalguias de la sangre, seran Lunas que de dia i noche canpean, i a todo resplandecer califican.

5. Tanpoco è podido averiguar los egercicios de su niñez, que aun en esto se parece a Cristo nuestro Redentor, que asta los doce años no dejò noticias de lo que obrò, i de alli asta los treynta ignoramos la suma de maravillas que izo. Salio nuestro siervo de Dios muchacho de su patria, i fuese a otro pueblo de Castilla a criar, como Cristo de Belen a Nazaret, que està en Galilea la inferior; i segun la graduacion de leguas que pone en su tabla Pedro Layestain, obrada por Cristiano Scrot, que en su teatro de la tierra pone Abraan Ortelio, i es la tabla noventa i siete; ay de Belen a Nazaret veynte i seys oras de camino, algo mas o menos se devio de apartar este siervo de Dios del pueblo donde nacio; de alli salio para Sevilla, o llevado de algunos deudos, o deseoso de aumentos temporales; al fin si el motivo se ignora, que fueron medios de su predestinacion, nos asegura vivio de asiento algun tienpo en la ilustre ciudad de Sevilla, teatro del mundo i alondiga de todas las naciones; tomò el ábito muy moço en aquel gran Convento de Sevilla, Casa de ilustres varones, erario de letras, observancias i virtudes.

But if these nobilities of the soul are linked to noble blood, they would be moons that journey by day and night and shine at full brightness.

5. I have not been able to find out about his childhood either, and even in this he seems like Christ our Redeemer, who until he was twelve left no trace of the things he did, and from then until he was thirty we are ignorant of the marvels he worked. Our servant of God left his hometown as a youth and went to be raised in another town in Castile, like Christ left Bethlehem for Nazareth which is in upper Galilee and—according to the workings of Peter Laicksteen’s and Christian Schrot’s table of distance in leagues (table 97), cited by Abraham Ortelius in his *Theatre of the World*—the journey from Bethlehem to Nazareth takes approximately twenty six hours.<sup>54</sup> It must have taken this servant of God roughly the same time from when he left the town where he was born. From there he left for Seville, perhaps travelling with some family members or desirous of material gain. If in the end we do not know his motives (which were the work of providence<sup>55</sup>), we are assured that he lived for a time in Seville, theatre of the world and melting pot of all nations.<sup>56</sup>

He took the habit at a very young age in that great convent of Seville, house of illustrious men and treasury of learning, [religious] observance and virtue.<sup>57</sup>

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54 Abraham Ortelius (d.1598) was a ground-breaking Flemish cartographer who published in Antwerp (1570) what ostensibly became known as the first modern atlas containing seventy maps and descriptive text the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The work, dedicated to Philip II of Spain, was rapidly disseminated throughout Europe and translated into numerous vernaculars (including English: *The Theatre of the Whole World*, 1606). The Spanish edition, *Teatro de la tierra universal* was published in 1588. On the recommendation of his friend the theologian and librarian of the Escorial, Benito Arias Montano, in 1573 Ortelius was appointed as royal geographer to Philip II. See Julia Domínguez, ‘¿Qué grandeza es mandar en un grano de mostaza, o qué dignidad o imperio el gobernar a media docena de hombres tamaños como avellanas?: La visión celestial de Sancho y el *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* de Abraham Ortelius’, *Hispanofila*, 166 (2012): 19-37 (20-1). See also Lucia Nuti, ‘The World Map as an Emblem: Abraham Ortelius and the Stoic Contemplation’, *Imago Mundi*, 55 (2003): 38-55. ‘Pedro Layestain’ and ‘Cristiano Scrot’ as Calancha refers to them (referenced by Ortelius as ‘Petrus Laicstein’ and ‘Christianus Schrot Sonsbebensis’ in the *Theatrum*) were seemingly contemporaries of Ortelius as he cites them as contributing cartographers and also their jointly worked Map of Judea with distance tables and descriptions, published in Antwerp that same year (1570): ‘Petrus Laicstein, *Judæam perlustrans eius loca descripsit, quam descripsit, quam descriptionem Christianus Scrot in Tabulam redegit. Extat Antuerpiæ apud Hieronymum Cock. 1570*’. See Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp: s.p., 1570), pp.x, xii.

55 Calancha uses the term *predestinación* or ‘predestination’. By this he is referring to the active unfolding of God’s plan for the world (and by extension, for Ortiz himself) in Ortiz’s life and actions even though that ‘plan’ was unknown to Ortiz. This is part of the *Kairos* framework that collapses time and in which Ortiz becomes Christ and Christ becomes Ortiz.

56 Lit. *alhóndiga* – ‘corn exchange’. Calancha uses the descriptor to give a sense of a world trade centre and cosmopolitan metropolis.

57 ‘To take the habit’ means to enter a religious order (such as the Augustinian order) and to take particular vows. The type and severity of vows depend from order to order and might also depend on the level of initiation. The habit itself was a religious garb that distinguished the wearer as a member of a particular order. A member was entitled to wear the habit once he or she had taken the appropriate vows and been accepted as a member of the order. The Augustinians take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

Ya desde aqui expresarèmos sus pasos, i medirèmos sus acciones; mostrò siete luzes el candelero de su anima, muy digna cada una de esparcir resplandores en el templo de Dios, como las siete del candelero de oro que mandò Dios azer para el Sancta sanctorum a Moises<sup>58</sup>; mostrò luz en la umildad profunda, en la caridad abrasada, en la paciencia Religiosa, en la oracion continua, en el silencio cuerdo, en la castidad onesta i en la obediencia ciega; i si a cada calamo o caña deste candelero mandò Dios poner una taça o vaso de oro a la forma de una nuez, i eran seys las cañas o calamos, que Beda dice<sup>59</sup> que son las virtudes de los justos; i en ser en figura de las nuezes quiso advertirnos Dios (añade Beda) que las virtudes son como la nuez amargas por la corteza, i dulces en lo interior que a esta propiedad, i no a la forma miran estas prevenciones de Dios) i asta que la nuez se quiebra, nunca lo dulce interior se manifesta, i muerto el justo se miran sus dulçuras [...]; no pide el martirio tantas virtudes antecedentes para que uno sea Santo, como requiere la vida del que es Confesor; porque el martirio, como dice el Decreto<sup>60</sup>, encierra todo lo que el Bautismo, i todas las virtudes Teologales, i se aze un martir abitaculo del Espiritu santo, i muere con Cristo.

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**58** Exod.25: Et facies et lucernas septem, et pones eas super candelabram seyphi, quasi in nucis modum per calamos singulos.

**59** Sup. Hunc locum, ut ait Marius. *Sicut nux dulcem quidem habet fructum interius, sed non hunc ostendere foras nisi fracta testae duritia potest, sic iustorum vita præsens ita suavitatem gratiæ intimo corde conservat.* Et caetera ad longum.

**60** De consec. dist.4. cap. cathecumenum, & cap. Baptismi vicem.

We can trace his steps and measure his actions from this point on. The seven-armed candelabra of his soul lit its candles, each one more than worthy of shining in the temple of God, like the seven lights of the candelabra that God ordered Moses to make for the Holiest of Holies.<sup>61</sup> Light shone out of his profound humility, the way he embraced charity, his religious patience, his honest chastity and his blind obedience.<sup>62</sup> At every branch or arm of this candelabra God ordered a cup or vessel of gold in the form of a walnut, and there were seven arms or branches that Bede says are the virtues of the just.<sup>63</sup> By their form God wished to highlight (adds Bede) that the virtues are like walnuts, with bitter shells but sweet on the inside (and it is this characteristic rather than the form that God's instructions focus on). The sweet interior will not be accessible until the nut is broken. Similarly, it is not until the just are dead before their sweetness is recognised. [...] Martyrdom does not ask for so many prior virtues before one might become a saint, as the life of a Confessor does; because, as the Decree says, martyrdom encompasses all that Baptism and the Theological virtues<sup>64</sup> entail, and a martyr becomes a space for the Holy Spirit and dies [together] with Christ.

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**61** Exodus 25:31-39 (or specifically, verses 33 and 37). Calancha has juggled the order of these verses, again to try to fit his rhetoric about Ortiz's early life into the scriptural metaphor: 37 'And make seven lamps and mount them on the lamp-stand', 33 'on each branch, [of the stand] cups shaped like almond flowers'. The Holiest of Holies refers to the tabernacle in the Jewish temple where the presence of God resided. The seven branched candelabra, or *menorah* was the candelabra that Moses was instructed to make from pure gold by God and use alongside his portable altar while the Jews wandered through the wilderness. The *menorah* was also used in the temple in Jerusalem and became an important symbol of Judaism. Seven-branched candelabra are also used in the Catholic liturgy at certain times of the year.

**62** Religious obedience is more complex than Calancha is giving the impression here. The term 'obedience' has its root in the Latin '*ob audire*' implying a willingness to listen. Indeed, it would have been understood that there was a duty to listen to someone with rightful authority. Nevertheless, if the person in authority ordered obedience to something that was clearly unjust or went against faith or morals, then there would be no (religious or moral) obligation to carry out what was ordered, the opposite in fact. Monastic obedience refers to the monk's desire to seek God and it is his superior's role to facilitate that by acting as a spiritual advisor. Monastic obedience to the superior is part of that religious dialogue. Apostolic obedience on the other hand requires vows to be made and links to the scriptural passage cited above (Philippians 2:8) 'and he was obedient unto accepting death, even death on a cross' and this implies total obedience to the will of God. Obedience to the superior in this context is an exercise of humility and supreme virtue. Practically it also binds the community together.

**63** Bede was an English monk who lived between the seventh and eighth centuries in the monastic community at Jarrow, Northumbria. He is famous for his prolific writings that include ecclesiastical history, chronicles of his own time, poetry, astronomy and the natural world. He was canonized in 1899. He also wrote a treatise on 'Time' in which he explains how to calculate it based on observation of the sun and the moon. The final sections discuss the 'six ages of the world', the future and the Eschaton. See Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. and ed. by Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

**64** The three theological virtues, 'faith, hope and charity' are the character qualities associated with salvation. They differ from the cardinal virtues 'prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance' because unlike the latter, the former come from the gift of God's grace and thus cannot be attained by human action alone. This link with grace is why Calancha is associating the theological virtues with baptism which confers grace on the baptised.

Pero porque se vean fuera del martirio sus eroicas virtudes quando confesor, digamos su vida, sepamos su santidad. Tuvo la penitencia rigurosa, la abstinencia aspera la mortificacion abatida, la pobreza Evangelica, el sufrimiento santo, i el zelo de las animas Apostolico. Estos vasos que llenava la gracia, i bevia en vinos celestiales la gloria, tenian la corteça de nuez, aspera, denegrada i fastidiosa, amargan al apetito, i enfadan al amor proprio, quebròse la nuez con el martirio, i vieronse las dulçuras interiores, este es el guerto de las nuezes à [787] que convidava el esposo, i el que admirava a la sabiduria de Salomon. Estas luzes, i estos vasos conocieron los que le trataron, i veremos, en las acciones de su vida, ojala obraràmos al resplandor destas luzes, i beviera nuestra imitacion del licor destes divinos vasos.

6. Llamavase fray Diego Ruiz Ortiz, úso de mi Religion, solo quando ay dos Religiosos de un nonbre, añadir otra alcuña para distinguir en las patentes las personas, pero no aviendo este encuentro no consiente reduplicados titulos porque sabe a siglo, i lo tiene la vanidad por ceremonia. Desde que entrò a ser Religioso mostraron sus obras la perfeccion de sus deseos, i al modo de un arbol destas Indias, cuya fruta es sabrosa sin malicia i saludable llamada Palta que da primero el fruto que produzga las ojas, ò como el durazno en el Perú, que se quaja de flores antes que produzga una oja; asi éste varon primero dio a conocer los frutos saçonados de sus virtudes, que le viesen las ojas de sus obras exteriores, porque la umildad fue tanta, i el silencio tan grande, que encubriendo su tesoro, calificava sus quilates, i por lo sonbrio de sus demostraciones, conocian los atentos las luzes claras de los perfetos rayos que salian por disimulados resquicios. Ganò el credito de virtuoso quando novicio, de observante quando profeso i de egenplar varon quando mas moço.

But we can better understand his sanctity because we can see his heroic virtues even while he was a confessor—in his life that is—without referring to martyrdom. He underwent rigorous penance, bitter abstinence and relentless mortification. He lived a life of evangelical poverty, saintly suffering and apostolic zeal for souls. These cups filled by grace and from which he drank [heavenly] glory in celestial wines had the shell of a nut, bitter, dark in colour and difficult to deal with and, as such, they lessen the appetite and irritate one's self-esteem. The walnut was broken by martyrdom and then his sweet interior became visible; this is the walnut grove that [787] the husband who admired the wisdom of Solomon offers the invitation to.<sup>65</sup> Those who had dealings with [Ortiz] recognised these lights and these cups, as we shall also see over the course of his life story. Let us hope that we might work by the brightness of these lights and we might drink a similar liquor from these divine cups.

6. He took the name fray Diego Ruiz Ortiz—it is the custom of my Religious order that when there are two friars of the same name, a second lineage should be added to distinguish them in the registers, but when this is not the case then it is not permitted to reproduce titles because it seems antiquated, and vanity [can quickly] become a tradition. From the time he became a friar his work demonstrated the perfection of his desires, just like a tree of these Indies called *palta*<sup>66</sup>, whose fruit is tasty, without heat, and healthy, and which first produces the fruit and then the leaves. Or it was like the peach in Peru, which fills with flowers before it produces a single leaf. Similarly, this man first demonstrated the ripe fruits of his virtues before showing the leaves of his exterior works. His humility and silence were so great that by covering up his treasure he stamped it with a hallmark of purity. The clear light of perfect rays shone through hidden cracks and could be seen even through the shadows of his actions. He won renown for being virtuous while still a novice, for being observant when he professed<sup>67</sup>, and of being an exemplary man even while he was still very young.

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<sup>65</sup> Calancha is referring here to the 'Song of Solomon', also known as the 'Song of Songs' 6:11.

<sup>66</sup> Avocado, known as *palta* (from Quechua) in the Andes, and *aguacate* (from Nahuatl) in New Spain and Central America.

<sup>67</sup> 'Observant' refers to becoming one of the members of the hermits of the Order of Saint Augustine who were characterised by their ascetic practices in a bid to reconnect with the monastic way of life of the original hermit community founded by Augustine of Hippo. To 'profess' means to take the obligatory vows of the order.

Oyò tocar la caja de la conversion destos infieles, i que el Padre fray Diego Gutierrez (que fue desde Perù a España) i tras èl, nuestro gran Padre fray Iuan de san Pedro (que caminò a lo mismo siendo Provincial) conducian gente, i azian leva de ministros, ponderando la meritoria conquista destos idolatras. Ofreciose el bendito Fr. Diego, ò obligòle a ofrecer el ardor de su caridad, i el zeloso aumento de la Fè, alientos que le criò la gracia para medios ordenados al glorioso fin de su dichosa corona [...] Pasò al Perù el año de mil i quinientos i cinquenta i nueve, con los once excelentes (que ya digimos) que trujo el Padre Provincial fray Iuan de san Pedro, pequeña conpañia, pero valiente egercito, que a los pocos destas calidades, i a otros once de valerosos coraçones aseguró Cristo por san Lucas<sup>68</sup> vencimientos gallardos, vitorias soberanas, i posesion de Reynos [...].

7. Luego que llegò al Perù tratò de aprender la lengua de los Indios, mas ansioso de saber sus vocablos que los codiciosos de buscar sus minas, juntava material para dar comienço a su edificio, i alegrava a los Religiosos tanto el verle tan solícito en aprender las lenguas para salir a priesa a la conversion de animas, que colegian de sus cuydados los afectos, i aseguravan de su consistencia crecidos provechos; mucho le aprovechò el estudio, pero lo breve en que la supo decia, que el dueño de todo era la gracia. El año de mil i quinientos i sesenta i tres le nonbrò el Capitulo Provincial, siendo el Vicario el Padre fray Diego de Dueñas por dotrinante del pueblo, i anejos de Ianacache; éste en la antigüedad fue gran pueblo, i la Corte de aquella comarca la universidad de la idolatria i el deposito de los echiceros; vino a menos poblacion [...]

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<sup>68</sup> Cap. 12. *Nolite timere pusillus grex, quia complacuit patri vestro dare vobis regnum.*

He heard the drum beat calling for those who would convert these pagans.<sup>69</sup> He heard that Padre fray Diego Gutiérrez (who went from Peru to Spain) and after him, our great Padre fray Juan de San Pedro (who walked the same path whilst Provincial) were taking people and were recruiting ministers by talking about the meritorious conquest of these idolaters. The blessed fray Diego volunteered, or rather, his burning charity and zeal in the faith obliged him to volunteer. This was inspiration created by grace to bring about his glorious end [in which he was given] his blessed crown [...] He reached Peru in 1559 with the eleven excellent men (we have already mentioned<sup>70</sup>) that the Father Provincial fray Juan de San Pedro brought with him—a small company but a valiant army—as Christ, through Saint Luke<sup>71</sup> and another eleven brave hearts secured gallant defeats, sovereign victories and the possession of kingdoms [...].

7. When he reached Peru he attempted to learn the language of the Indians, more anxious to know their vocabulary than the greedy were to look for their mines. He gathered material in order to begin building and it made the friars happy to see him so anxious to learn languages so he could quickly leave to convert souls. They concluded that his care would produce affection and that his constancy would produce better results. His studies served him well, but the speed with which he learned suggested that this was due to the workings of grace. In the year 1563, the Provincial Chapter with Padre fray Diego de Dueñas as Vicar, named him parish priest of the town and outlying regions of Yanacache.<sup>72</sup> In ancient times this was a great city and the court of that region was the university of idolatry and the seat of sorcery. The population has since shrunk [...]

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**69** Lit. *oyó tocar la caja de la conversion destes infieles* – Beating a drum would be a standard part of the ceremony of recruiting troops. The term ‘infiel’ (lit. ‘unfaithful’) equates to the Islamic term ‘infidel’ and essentially means non-believer. In the American context ‘pagan’ is perhaps the most appropriate term to use.

**70** Calancha is referring to the third group of Augustinians to arrive in Peru in 1559 (Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, lib.2, cap.XXI, fols.418-19). The twelve friars were: Andrés de Santa María (returning as Provincial) Diego Gutiérrez, Francisco del Corral, Diego Ordóñez, Francisco Martínez de Viedma, Diego de Corrales, Pedro Ruiz, Juan de Luque, Hernando de Cantos, Melchor de Acosta, Diego de Segovia and Diego Ortiz.

**71** Luke 12:32, ‘Do not be afraid, you, my little flock. Your Father has determined to give you his kingdom’.

**72** Lake Yanacache lies to the north west of Cuzco, beyond Urubamba and close to Ollantaytambo.

està al norte de Chuquiago, i al nornorueste del Cuzco, oy tienen los Indios a todo aquel terreno de Ianacache suma veneracion, como los que guardan la seta de Maoma, a la montaña de Gatera, donde èl se retirò a guardar su ipocresia con borla de santidad; asi pensaron los Indios de aquellas montañas, que su legislador avia vivido en Ianacache, que quiere decir, sal negra. Aqui entrò por obediencia nuestro fray Diego Ortiz, plantò la artilleria de la fè, asi en el pueblo de Ianacache como en diversos, aconpañando al Padre fray Diego de Dueñas. Andavan en la conversion de Indios divididos en sierras, i retirados en quebradas, contumaces en sus idolatrias, i licenciosos en el despeño de sus vicios; avianles començado a dotrinar a los principios de su conquista, i [788] avianse écho peores que fueron en su gentilidad, pues entonces el levitico de sus Ingas, i el miedo de sus castigos los enfrenava a huir del adulterio, a temer el urto, a tenblar del omicidio i a escusar la mentira, i despues animandose con el mal egenplo de aquellos araganes vagabundos, que les rezavan la dotrina, llamados Vijaraycos, de quien dejamos dichas sus ocupaciones, i sus daños:

Today the Indians hold the entire territory of Yanacache to be sacred just like the mountain of Hira for those who follow the sect of Mohammed, where he retired to cloak his hypocrisy with the mockery of sanctity.<sup>73</sup> In the same way the Indians of those mountains thought that their law-giver had lived in Yanacache, which means ‘black salt’.<sup>74</sup> Our fray Diego Ortiz entered here under obedience and set up the artillery of the faith in Yanacache just as in many other towns, accompanying Padre fray Diego de Dueñas. They journeyed far to convert Indians obstinate in their idolatries and licentious in their vices, scattered by mountains and isolated in river valleys. Their catechesis had already been started at the beginning of the conquest, and [788] they had been made worse than they were even as gentiles, because then the Inca laws and the fear of punishment caused them to flee from adultery and to fear theft, tremble at homicide and to refuse to lie. Afterwards, lazy vagabonds called *Vijaraycos* (whose occupations and harm they cause we have already discussed) preached doctrine.<sup>75</sup>

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73 By ‘Gatera’, Calancha appears to be referring to Mount Hira where Mohammed is said to have received his first revelations while praying in a cave on the mountain (610 AD). Hispanic Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held Islam to be a Christian heresy.

74 Teresa Gisbert speculates that this ‘law-giver’ refers to someone linked to the legend of Tunupa or even Tunupa himself. See, Teresa Gisbert, ‘Diego Ortiz, Yanacachi y la entrada en Vilcabamba’, in *Etnicidad, economía y simbolismo en los Andes: II congreso internacional de etnohistoria. Coroico*, ed by Silvia Arze, Rossana Barragán, Laura Escobari, et al. (Lima: Institut français d’études andines, 1992), pp.195-209, para.39, <<http://books.openedition.org/ifea/2301?lang=en>>, [last accessed, 04/08/15]. Also Teresa Gisbert, *El paraíso de los pájaros parlantes: la imagen del otro en la cultura andina* (La Paz: Plural Editores, 2001), pp.54-5. Tunupa was an Andean fire god linked to the eruption of volcanoes who was sacrificed on the orders of the supreme Andean god, Viracocha (Gisbert, *El paraíso* p.15). During the sixteenth-century, he became associated with the legend of the apostle Saint Thomas who was believed by some to have evangelised the region.

75 According to Ludovicus Bertonio’s *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara* (Juli, Chucuyto: Francisco del Canto, 1612), vol.2, ‘*vichikh vichikhanactatha*’, means, ‘to go roaming from one place to another’ while he renders ‘*sarayco tumayco*’ as ‘vagabond’ (see the online edition (Leipzig: B.G.Teubner, 1879), pp.310, 384, <<<https://archive.org/details/vocabulariodela00bertgoog>>>, [last accessed, 04/08/15]). Calancha appears to be using a compound of *vichikh* and *sarayco* to refer to roaming catechists, whom he refers to as ‘vagabonds’. Gisbert reasons that these ‘catechists’ were, ‘without doubt part of the great movement known as Taki Oncoy’ (Gisbert, ‘Diego Ortiz, Yanacachi’, para.40; Gisbert, *El paraíso*, pp.54-5). Taki Oncoy was a supposed indigenous reaction to Christianity that spread throughout the central and southern Andean region in the 1560s and which was violently suppressed by the priest Cristóbal de Albornoz. Nevertheless, given the questions raised about the movement by Gabriela Ramos and the alternative explanation suggested by Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, the link between these catechists and the movement (if indeed such a movement existed), and the opposition of these preachers to Christianity is not so clear (See Gabriela Ramos, ‘Política eclesiástica y extirpación de idolatrías: Discursos y silencios en torno al Taqui Onqoy, in *Catolicismo y Extirpación de idolatrías, siglos XVI-XVII: Charcas, Chile, México, Perú*, ed. by Henrique Urbano and Gabriela Ramos (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos ‘Bartolomé de las Casas’, 1993), pp.137-68, (pp. 140-58); and, Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs *Del paganismo a la santidad; la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo 1532-1750* (Lima: IFAE, 2003), p.104). This is notwithstanding Gisbert’s argument that, ‘we should not forget that Molina tells us that this [movement] spread throughout the entire *Audiencia of Charcas* (today Bolivia)’ (Gisbert, ‘Diego Ortiz, Yanacache’, para.40; Gisbert, *El paraíso*, p.55).

i siguiendose a estos otros Curas, que ya por el alboroto de las guerras, ya por la desordenada atencion de sus codicias, ni arrancavan vicios, ni senbravan preceptos: caminavan los Indios à mas desdicha, i a menos salvacion; enpeoravanse su remedio, endureciase su voluntad, faltava el zelo en los Curas, i acriminavase en los Indios su condenacion. Lamentable daño quando el medio es la peste, i lo que à de ser el remedio, viene a ser la mayor enfermedad. Tristes desafueros llamava Isaías<sup>76</sup> à estos, llorando la ruina de los Sacerdotes, i ponderando la miseria de los feligreses; vinieron (dice) tus edificadores destruyendote. Lastimoso pensar, que el arquitecto albañil que està pagado para levantar un palacio, se trueque en demoledor i derribe todo el edificio! Destruyen pues los malos Dotrinantes à los Indios, no predicandoles que pequen sino obrando de manera que se destruyan. Mira que andas entre escorpiones dijo Dios a Ezeziel<sup>77</sup>; i en vez de escorpiones leen los Ebreos. Mira que abitas entre abrojos, i para vencer i matar a estos escorpiones, le dice en el capitulo quarto, que junte polvo i tierra, i les dè con ella. Resmas de sermon encierran éstas dos palabras, i es un fiel retrato de un infiel Dotrinante; los escorpiones se engendran de cangrejos muertos como dice Plinio<sup>78</sup>, i este metamorfoseos dice que se aze, quando el Sol pasa por el signo Cancro, que es figura de cangrejo, pero Ovidio en sus versos dice, que se aze ésta generacion sin limitarla desde los veynte i dos de Junio ásta los veynte i tres de Julio, que es el tienpo que anda el Sol en éste signo de Cancro<sup>79</sup>; todo el año dice Ovidio<sup>80</sup>, que quitando los braços del cangrejo, i enterrando el cuerpo, sale de lo enterrado un escorpion mortifero. Triste cosa, que siendo el signo Cancro el que puso Dios para que causase un modo de umedad, i frio tenplado en la tierra, convenientisimo al nutrimento, al aumento i vida de los vivientes, con que se crian, crecen i llegan a la perfeccion, que les es necesaria para conservarse i permanecer en estado

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**76** Isaiae.49. *Venerunt structores tui destruentes te.*

**77** Cap 2. *Cum scorpionibus habitas, Hebraeo et Cum tribulis habitas.*

**78** Lib.5.c.26 apud tufum sup. Ecclesiasti. *Sole Cancri signo transeunte, Cancri exanimati corpus in scorpionem mutatur.*

**79** Sic omnes Astrologi.

**80** *Concava littoreo, si demas brachia Cancro. Caetera supponas terræ de parte sepulta. Scorpius exhibit, caudaque minabitur una.*

These [catechists] were followed by other priests, who, due to the chaos caused by the wars and the disordered attention they gave to their lusts, neither uprooted vice nor planted good precepts. Because of this the Indians were heading more towards misfortune than to salvation; their will hardened, the priests lacked zeal and the Indians condemned themselves. It is lamentable when the method is the plague and, what should be the remedy becomes the greatest sickness. Isaiah called them ‘sad outrages’, while lamenting the ruin of the priests and contemplating the misery of his parishioners; your builders (he says) came to destroy you. It is terrible to think that the architect who is paid to build a palace, becomes a demolisher and flattens the entire building! Bad priests destroy the Indians, not by preaching that they sin but rather working in such a way as to destroy them: God said to Ezekiel<sup>81</sup> ‘take care because you walk amongst scorpions’ (and in place of scorpions read ‘the Hebrews’); ‘be careful because you live amongst thistles’. And, in order to kill those scorpions and win, [God] tells [Ezekiel] in the fourth chapter that he should ‘gather up dust and earth and strike them with it’. Many sermons have been written about these words, [because] they are a faithful portrayal of an unfaithful priest. Scorpions are born from dead crabs as Pliny says<sup>82</sup>, and this metamorphosis takes place when the sun passes through the sign of Cancer (which takes the form of crab). But Ovid in his verses does not limit this generation of scorpions to between 22 June to the 23 July (when the sun travels in the sign of Cancer).<sup>83</sup> He says [instead] that it happens the entire year round: and that a deadly scorpion is generated by pulling off the arms of the crab and burying the body. It is a sad thing, that with God creating the sign of Cancer to cause humidity and temperate cooling of the earth, such poisonous qualities circulate in the crabs as to give rise to venomous scorpions, [particularly because this temperate climate caused by Cancer is] so necessary for the nourishment and the growth of life and of the living, with which they mature and reach perfection.

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**81** Ezekiel 2:6.

**82** Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) was a writer, natural philosopher, retired military commander and friend of the Emperor Vespasian. His only surviving work was the encyclopaedic *Naturalis Historiæ* (*Natural History/History of Nature*). He died during the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.

**83** Margin note: According to all astrologers.

Pero que mucho que el signo i el animal Cancro, nunca anda caminando adelante, ni bolviendo atras, sino de lado, i con pasos tuertos, siendo este su movimiento proprio? Iuan Ravisio en el epitome de su cornucopia dice que en una Isla ázia Cartagena Gaule egalata, es de propiedad la tierra, que a los escorpiones mas venenosos de Africa en tocandoles esta tierra los mata luego. Eso le dice Dios à su Profeta: Mira que esos Sacerdotes son ya escorpiones, fueron cangrejos, eran los pasos de su vida tortuosos, nunca an ido adelante en la virtud, jamas an buelto el páso atras en sus delitos, cayeronseles los braços para obrar virtudes, i los favores que les influyò (quando en otros sirve de aumento, vida, perfeccion i permanencia) a ellos les trueca en escorpiones, solo dandoles con tierra mueren, ò con la de su conocimiento, ò con la de su sepultura. Mirad dice san Pablo<sup>84</sup> (ablando con la metafora del Cancro) que las palabras i obras de los malos Dotrinantes, es como el Cancro. San Crisostomo lo entendio de una enfermedad, el Griego la llamò gangrena, llamada por los medicos Cancro (i lo apoya su raiz Griega) que si no se remedia a los principios, pudre i se come todo un cuerpo. Pero san Anselmo lo entiende del animal cangrejo, que engendra escorpiones. Huid (dice san Pablo) de Dotrinantes que si no los quitan al principio de sus precipitaciones, son como la enfermedad del Cancro, que destruyen cuerpos, i enpodrecen animas, i son como el animal, pues obligan con su mal egenplo a que se buelvan escorpiones sus feligreses; que un Cura con los pasos de Cancro, solo engendra obstinados con la condicion de escorpiones. Pero en el sentido corriente de Ezequiel, llamar Dios a los malos Dotrinantes escorpiones i abrojos, advirtiendole con Apolodoro a quien alega Plinio<sup>85</sup> que la leche del escorpion es veneno criando sus ijos con sus continuos tosigos siendo

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<sup>84</sup> 2. Ad Timoth. 2. *Sermo eorum ut cancer serpit. Proserpit. Graecis est, pastionem habebit.*

<sup>85</sup> Lib.11.c.25. *Venenum in modum lactis effundunt: nam quo lactari videntur etenutriri, moribuntur.*

But what does it mean that the [star]sign, Cancer, and the crab, never walk forwards or backwards, but rather that their particular movement is sideways and with crippled steps? In the summary of his *Cornucopia*, Juan Ravisio says that on one island towards Cartagena Gaule Egalata, the soil has such properties that it kills the most poisonous scorpions of Africa.<sup>86</sup> This is what God says to his prophet: See that these priests are now scorpions. They were crabs, and the steps they took in life were torturous. They never walked forwards in virtue; they have never stepped back from their crimes. The arms with which they would have done virtuous things have fallen off and the favours that influenced them (when in others they serve to increase life, perfection and permanence) have transformed them into scorpions. They will die only if struck with soil, whether this be the soil of their learning or that of their tombs. ‘See’ says Saint Paul<sup>87</sup> (using Cancer as a metaphor) ‘that the words and works of the wicked preachers, are like Cancer’. Saint Chrysostom understood the term ‘Cancer’ as a sickness which, if not cured at the very beginning, putrefies and consumes the entire body—the Greeks called it gangrene, and the medics, ‘cancer’ (which has a Greek root). But Saint Anselm understood it as the animal, the crab which spawns scorpions.<sup>88</sup> ‘Flee’ (says Saint Paul) ‘from preachers who are like a Cancer (the sickness) which if you do not cut them off at the very beginning, destroy bodies and cause souls to rot’, and they are [also] like the animal because they cause their faithful to turn into scorpions by their bad example; a priest who walks like a crab only gives rise to obstinacy with the nature of scorpions. But in the current meaning of Ezekiel, God calls the wicked preachers scorpions and thistles, which is a warning: Pliny (for example) cites Apollodorus<sup>89</sup> when he asserts that a scorpion’s milk is, in fact, a non-stop flow of venom on which they raise their offspring.

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**86** Juan Ravisio, or Jean Tixier de Ravisi, was a French Renaissance humanist scholar (d.1524) who taught rhetoric at the college of Navarre. He mentions this land of Carthage Gaule Egalata and the effect it has on scorpions in his *Officina Ioannis Ravissi Textoris Nivernensis [...] Eiusdem Ravisij Cornucopiæ libellus [...]* (Venetiis: Petrum Ricciardum, 1605), fol.314v.

**87** 2 Timothy 2:17.

**88** Anselm of Canterbury (also known as Anselm of Aosta after his place of birth, and Anselm of Bec after the monastery he joined) (d.1109) was a Benedictine monk, philosopher and theologian who was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093 after previously serving as Abbot of Bec in Normandy. He is best known for his ‘ontological proof’ [of the existence of God].

**89** Book 11, Chapter 25. Pliny in fact states that Scorpions reproduce by laying eggs and larvae, but he does cite Apollodorus: ‘Apollodorus informs us that the poison is of a white colour’. Calancha appears to have read more into what Pliny wrote than was intended. See Pliny, *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. and ed. by John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855) vol.III, book XI, chap.30 [25], p.30 <<https://archive.org/stream/naturalhistoryof03plin#page/n51/mode/2up>> [last accessed, 29/11/14].

[789] rejalgar lo que parece leche, fue decir: Vive atento, despierta el cuidado, que esos tales quando parece que con las palabras dan leche de doctrina para criar sus subditos, i las animas que a su cargo tienen, es veneno, que con sus obras crian, i tosigo que con sus costumbres infunden. I si los abrojos son unos instrumentos de guerra echos en un quadrangulo, como dijo Vegecio<sup>90</sup>, que por qualquiera parte que les toquen yeren i atraviesan con las puas; asi son, dice Dios, esos malos ministros que sirven de maquinas al Demonio, con que destruye lo mas robusto; por qualquiera parte que les toquen abren el anima de sus feligreses; si huyen de su codicia, dan en otra esquina con su sensualidad, i escapando de su glotoneria, dan en la quarta esquina de su total descuydo.

8. Destas confesiones tuvo mucho que destruir el bendito fray Diego, era tan vigilante en la enseñanza de los malos, como padre i protetor de los pobres, acerrimo destruidor de idolatrias, bolcan de fuego en reducir idolatras, i un Angel de paz en atraer perdidos, azia solo la causa de Dios a quien amava; i Dios le dava los efetos por logro de su mercancia; alindava el templo con adornos de altares, i enamorava a los desaficionados con musicas i flores, atraialos con amor, i reñiales con severidad; todos los medios intentava, i pocas diligencias se le perdian, bajavase a ocupaciones umildisimas curando Indios, i subiase a contemplaciones soberanas, despues de aver servido a pobres, que estos altibajos los moldes tuvieron en Cristo, i nadie crece sino se achica. Mas estimava el bendito F. Diego bolver i desenbolver un Indiezillo enfermo, que verse al onbro de un Potentado; aqui mirava la vanidad, i alli el provecho.

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<sup>90</sup> Lib.3. *Stimulos illos ferreos formæ quadrangulæ, qui in bello adversus equitatum spargi solent, in quodcunque latus incubuerint infestum semper aculeum protendentes.*

[789] The warning, therefore, was this: stay alert; be very careful. While they give the appearance of raising the souls in their charge on the milk of catechesis, in fact, the work of such [priests] as these is venom and poison infects their traditions. And if thistles are like weapons of war in the formation of a square, as Vegetius says<sup>91</sup>, (inasmuch as when touched from whichever side, they wound and pierce with their barbs), so are those wicked ministers, God says, who serve as machines for the devil to destroy even the strongest things. Wherever they touch they cut open the souls of their faithful. If their parishioners flee from their greed, they strike from another corner with their sensuality, and [if parishioners] escape from their gluttony, in the opposite corner [the priests] lash out with their utter carelessness.

8. The blessed fray Diego had to destroy a great deal of these beliefs and practices; he was as vigilant in the teaching the wicked, as he was father and protector of the poor, relentless destroyer of idolatries and fiery volcano in reducing<sup>92</sup> idolaters, and an Angel of peace in attracting the lost to the cause of his beloved God alone. God gave him the goods for the successful sale of his merchandise. He decorated the church with altar adornments and courted the unreceptive with music and flowers. He attracted them with love, and scolded them with severity. He tried everything and very little was wasted. He lowered himself to the humblest of labours by curing Indians of their ailments and then ascended to sovereign contemplation after serving the poor: the model for these peaks and troughs was Christ himself, and no-one can grow without first becoming small. Fray Diego much preferred attending a little Indian who was sick, than being seen alongside someone who was powerful. He considered the latter to be vanity; the former, useful.

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**91** Book 3. Flavius Vegetius Renuatus was the first Christian Roman to write on military affairs (*De Re Militari* or the *Epitoma rei militaris*) in the latter part of the fourth century AD. Vegetius (as cited by Calancha) is referring to the military formation in which javelins (or spears) bristle out from all sides of the square. This formation was highly effective against cavalry and was used (in one form or another—using spears, javelins, pikes and then bayonets) until the nineteenth century after which the importance of cavalry, and respective countermeasures were superseded by trench and mechanised warfare. In Calancha's time the equivalent formation would have been used by the Spanish *tercio*, a mixed battalion of pike and crossbowmen or pikemen and musketeers.

**92** Lit. *en reducir*. The term 'reducing' in this context can be read with multiple meanings. Idolaters, as Calancha saw them, might be reduced in number by Ortiz's missionising, they might be worn down and their capacity to resist reduced. Nevertheless, the most likely intended meaning is theological, that resistance to God (through pride, obstinancy, ignorance) and the will of the individual was won over (reduced) to that of God. By the same token, the settlements known as *reducciones* (reductions) that in Spanish-controlled Peru were implemented in earnest by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581, d.1582) had both a secular, literal meaning (indigenous people were concentrated—reduced—into these new townships), and a theological meaning (by which indigenous people would be won over (reduced) to the will of God).

La flor que mas se descollava entre sus virtudes, i en la que celebraron mas sus perfecciones fue su profundisima umildad, solo la obediencia le podia vencer a que se sentase en presencia del Prior, porque estimava el Sacerdocio para ser perfeto, i no se valia dèl en los puntos que tocavan à la umildad; el lego mas umillado i el donado mas abatido, ni le igualavan en las sumisiones, ni le alcançavan en la servidunbre; todo lo obrava con alegria, i à todo estava incansable para las obediencias; como otro se corriera de verse afrentado, se corriera el buen Religioso de verse favorecido [...] Achicavase el santo frayle con el menor Indiezito, con cada uno se igualava [790] traça con que a muchos reducía. No descansava su zelo, ni se cansava su animo quando via rebeldes, i allava trocados los que contava por reducidos, començava de nuevo, i doblava las postas, negociando con Dios su ayuno, oracion i disciplinas el fuego para el mas elado, i la piedad para el mas endurecido. Vencio muchas dificultades, i salio en muchos reducidos a la fê con vitoria, facilitando imposibles. Enbiòle la obediencia al Convento de Chuquiago, donde estuvo algun tiempo; recogiose una noche tenprano en su celda, i maliciaron unos moços seglares, que a la saçon estavan con èl, que su recogimiento era a desonesta ocupacion.

The flower that most stood out amongst his virtues and in which his perfection was most celebrated was his profound humility; only obedience could make him sit in the presence of the Prior,<sup>93</sup> because he held the priesthood to be perfect and because he was so humble he did not take advantage of his or other priests' positions. The most humble layperson and the lowliest tertiary could not match his submissiveness nor reach his level of service.<sup>94</sup> He happily carried out all his tasks and his obedience was utterly unquestionable—just as others would flee from being affronted the good friar would flee from being favoured.<sup>95</sup> [...] The holy friar humbled himself to accompany the lowliest little Indian—he was every person's equal; [790] a trait that won over many.<sup>96</sup> His zeal did not wane nor did his spirit flag when he was confronted by rebellion and when he found that those he had converted had reverted, rather he started over again and redoubled his efforts. With his fasting, prayer and penitence he negotiated fire from God to thaw the most frozen and mercy for the most hardened. He overcame many difficulties, achieved the impossible, and was victorious in converting many to the faith. He was sent to the Convent of Chuquiago where he stayed for a while.<sup>97</sup> One night he retired early to his cell and some secular youths who were with him at that time had their suspicions that he was engaged in dishonest activities.<sup>98</sup>

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**93** In other words, Calancha is saying that Ortiz was so humble he had to be ordered to stop avoiding being in the presence of important people.

**94** A 'tertiary' is a lay member of a religious order, some of whom take vows (if they live in community). They dedicate themselves to the service of God and to the order. Franciscan tertiaries were particularly common in the Hispanic world but there were also tertiaries belonging to the other mendicant orders.

**95** At this point Calancha continues the theme by introducing a scriptural metaphor of a tower whose base in a ravine is so deep that the bottom cannot be seen while the top stretches up to the heavens. He compares the base of the tower to the profundity of Ortiz's humility while his virtues stretch up to the heavens. Other heraldic symbols and architectural features are explained as part of this metaphor in which he cites David, Aponius (who wrote an extensive commentary on the *Song of Songs* in the fifth century), Abbot Rupert (of Deutz)—a Benedictine monk (d.1129), Brocardo (who, if Calancha means Jacopo Brocardo, was a c.16<sup>th</sup> millenarian writer who, interestingly enough, became a Protestant in the 1560s. This would have interesting implications for what we know about the circulation of texts in Hispanic America) and Cristiano Adricomio Delfo (or Christian Kruik van Adrichem / Christianus Crucius Adricomius Delphus—d.1585), a Catholic priest who left his native Holland (Delft) due to the wars of religion and who wrote on the life of Christ, the beatitudes, and a *Theatrum* (encyclopaedic atlas) of the Holy Land amongst other things.

**96** Calancha again uses the term 'reduced'. Lit. 'a trait that *reduced* many people'.

**97** Lit. *Enbiòle la obediencia al Convento de Chuquiago* – 'obedience sent him to the Convent of Chuquiago'. Calancha here is referring to the fact that Ortiz was instructed to go to this convent by his superior and his vow of obedience precluded the possibility of saying no.

**98** By 'secular', Calancha means youths that had not taken vows within the order. These were most likely boys who lived within the convent while undergoing catechesis and being educated. The implication is that these suspected 'dishonest activities' were sexual.

Azecharonle por unos trascorrales, i allaronle en una cruel i sangrienta diçiplina; confusos del caso, i desengañados de su malicia, se fueron a èl, i arrojandose a sus pies le pidieron perdon teniendole despues en la opinion que merecia su gran virtud. Cada uno piensa de otro como obra, i dice que aze lo que èl iziera. Donde yo irè, dijo Cirsto por san Iuan Evangelista en el capitulo otavo a los Iudios no ireys vosotros, i era al cielo: i ellos izieron éste discurso: A despeñarse va Cristo, que es cosa a que no irèmos nosotros. Colige sienpre el malo, que arà el justo lo que el iziera, i que no arà lo que èl no aze.

9. Fue el bendito fray Diego Religoso sin letras, estudiò poco, i convirtio a muchos. Ordenòlo Dios asi, para que provando muchos años de curso en las escuelas de la umildad, le graduáse Dios en Teologia infusa, i luziesen sus letras soberanas a la sonbra de su idiotismo, i su ciencia celestial al lado de su ignorancia. Suele dar Dios mas espirtu, i palabras concluyentes para convertir animas a un idiota, que a un eminente letrado, porque el fruto no se atribuya a la eloquencia i sabiduria umana, i se conozca que el dueño del vencimiento es solo Dios i su gracia. Tres ò quatro Apostoles solos tenia Cristo quando Natanael vino con san Felipe<sup>99</sup> a buscar a Cristo; era tan santo, que quando le vido venir Cristo dijo a los que le aconpañavan: Veys aqui al verdadero Israelita, en quien no ay dolor ni daño. Santidad fuerte era la suya, pues conocio Cristo que se le podia decir tan superior alabança en su presencia, sin que le derribase a sobervia la vanagloria<sup>100</sup>. I al pie de esta onra le dijo Natanael: Maestro, tu eres ijo de Dios, i Rey de Israel, confesion que dicha por san Pedro tienpos despues, merecio que la pagase Cristo con decir: Pues yo te elijo por primer piedra de mi Iglesia, i cabeça de mi Apostolado.

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<sup>99</sup> Ioann.c.I.

<sup>100</sup> Ioann. 1. *Et dicit de eo: Ecce verè Israelita in quo dolus non est.*

They spied on him from the inner courtyard, and they found him engaged in a cruel and bloody penance.<sup>101</sup> With their case confounded and their malicious suspicions undone, they went to him and threw themselves at his feet asking for forgiveness. Thereafter they held him in the esteem that his great virtue deserved. Each person thinks he knows how the other acts and says that the other does what he himself would do. ‘You will not go where I go’, said Christ through John the Evangelist in the eighth chapter to the Jews, and what he meant was to heaven: but they created the discourse that ‘Christ was going to throw himself from a height, which is something we would not do’. The wicked always project onto the just the actions that they themselves would do.

9. The blessed fray Diego was not learned—he studied little [but] converted many. God ordained this to be so, so that by spending many years studying in the school of humility, he would graduate after being infused with the Theology of God’s grace. After this, his supreme literacy and his celestial knowledge would shine out of the gloom of his idiocy and ignorance. God often gives an idiot more spirit and more conclusive arguments for the conversion of souls than he does to an eminent man of learning, because results do not come from eloquence and human wisdom, rather they come from grace because God alone is the Lord of victory.<sup>102</sup> Christ only had three or four apostles when Nathanael and Saint Philip came to look for him.<sup>103</sup> [Nathanael] was so holy that when Christ saw him approaching he said: ‘See here the true Israelite, in whom there is no malice nor harm’. His was a powerful holiness, because Christ knew that he could speak such superior praise in Nathanael’s presence without causing him to fall into pride and vainglory.<sup>104</sup> And after being honoured in this way, Nathanael said to him: ‘Teacher, you are the son of God and King of Israel’. When Saint Peter said this a long time later, Christ rewarded him by replying: ‘Well, I choose you for the cornerstone of my Church and head of my Apostolate’.

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**101** Lit. *cruel i sangrienta diçiplina* – ‘cruel and bloody discipline’. Discipline refers to the devotional practice of self-mortification (usually through flagellation). This was done both as penance for sin and also as contemplation on the Passion of Christ. It was a way of becoming closer to Christ and better understanding his suffering.

**102** This comment taps into the early mendicant methodology in the Americas. True conversion was not possible through reason; rather it was believed that conversion happened because of the power of divine grace. Later missionaries such as the Jesuits did not deny the power of grace but they certainly placed much more emphasis on the power of reasoned persuasion.

**103** John 1:45.

**104** John 1:47.

Porque pues (dice mi Padre san Augustin<sup>105</sup>) no escogio, ya que no por cabeça, por Apostol a tan santo varon, pues le confesò primero que san Pedro? I responde: Era Natanael erudito, docto, gran letrado de la ley, i el Teologo mas sabio, i no quiso elegirle, por mostrar la vizarria de la Fè, i la omnipotencia de la gracia, pues con instrumentos de idiotismo rendia Catedraticos de universidades; i porque la eficacia de su dotrina, i los argumentos de su predicacion no se atribuyese a la ciencia de sus estudios, sino a la valentia de la gracia, i asi perdio Natanael por docto, lo que Pedro i Felipe medraron por idiotas. Quiso umillar (añade Augustino) a los sobervios, i asi no escogio oradores para ganar pescadores, sino ganar con pescadores Enperadores. Destos fue el bendito fray Diego, idiota por naturaleza, i sabio por la gracia.

10. Despues de aver dotrinado convirtiendo muchos, i dando à Dios algunas cosechas de alegria, le sacò la obediencia destos Indios, i lo llevò à la predicacion de los Indios de Puna, repartimiento de Don Bernardino de Meneses, una jornada de Potosi, donde obrò como en Ianacache, i no le lastimò a la virtud de su pobreça la abundancia de aquellas minas, mas ricas entonces que Potosi aora. El tratava solo de beneficiar las animas donde tenia sus minas, i encerrava su tesoro. Dichoso minero, pues cada golpe de barreta, le dava una joya, i cada ensaye de ley, le aumentava el mayorazgo. Mucho le doleria ver a sus Indios toda la semana trabajando, i el dia de fiesta bebiendo, pero no perdia rato, en los socabones los buscava, i de las borracherias los divertia, poco fruto llegava a saçon,

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**105** Aug. tract. 7. In Ioañet habetur in cathena S. Tho. *Quæritur autem quare Nathanael, cui tantum testimonium perhibuit filius Dei inter duodecim Apostoles non inuenitur? Intelligere autem debemus ipsum eruditum fuisse et peritum legis, propterea noluit illum Dominus inter discipulos ponere, quia idiotas elegit unde confunderet mundum, volens enim superbiorum frangere cervices non quæsivit per oratorem, piscatorem, sed de piscatore, lucratus est Imperatorem.*

So why (asks my father Saint Augustine<sup>106</sup>) did he not choose as saintly a man as Nathanael to be either the head of his Church or as his Apostle if he [Nathanael] made this assertion before Saint Peter did? Augustine replies: Nathanael was erudite, learned, well-educated in law, and the wisest theologian. Christ, therefore, did not want to choose him in order to demonstrate the generosity of the faith and the omnipotence of grace. This is because university professors are bested with instruments of idiocy; and the effectiveness of their catechesis and preaching is not down to the extent of their learning, but rather the power of grace. And so, because he was learned, Nathanael lost what Peter and Philip gained for being idiots. Christ wanted to humble the proud (adds Augustine) and so he did not choose orators to win over fishermen; instead, he chose fishermen to win over Emperors. The blessed fray Diego was like these; an idiot by nature but a wise man through grace.

10. After having converted many through catechesis and presented some fruitful harvests to God, he was instructed to leave these Indians in order to preach to the Indians of Puna, the *repartimiento* of Don Bernadino de Meneses, one day away from Potosí.<sup>107</sup> He worked there just as he did in Yanacache. The virtue of his poverty was not harmed by the abundance of those mines, which at that time were richer than those of Potosí are now.<sup>108</sup> He tried only to benefit souls, which were his mines, and in which he buried his treasure. He was a fortunate miner because every strike of his pick<sup>109</sup> freed a jewel and every test for purity increased his earnings. It pained him greatly to see his Indians working all week and drinking on feast days, but he did not waste time. He sought them out in the tunnels and drew them away from drunken gatherings but it bore little fruit.

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**106** Augustine, Treatise 7, On John.

**107** With the suppression of the *encomienda* by the crown in the sixteenth-century, the *repartimiento* was devised as a way of exploiting indigenous labour within the colonial system. This was a system of forced labour based on the earlier Andean collective labour for the Inca or the community called the *mita*. Mine-owners and landowners could and did apply to the viceroy for a *repartimiento* to work their mines or their haciendas. Indigenous communities within a certain distance of the silver mines in Alto Peru (now Bolivia) and the mercury mines in Huancavelica were obliged to send quotas of miners.

**108** The silver mines in Potosí, Alto Peru, were the richest to be discovered in the Americas. To exploit them, the viceroy Francisco de Toledo institutionalised and massified the *mita* (forced labour) system in which 13,500 adult males were forced to work in the mines each year. Many thousands died annually due to the terrible conditions they were forced to work under. Nevertheless, significant numbers also did not return to their communities by choice and became *forasteros*, while many seekers of fortune travelled to Potosí of their own accord. By 1600 the population had grown to 100,000 and Potosí became the largest city (in terms of population) in the western world.

**109** Calancha uses the term *barreta* meaning a 'small, pointed crowbar'. Presumably Calancha is referring to an instrument used by miners for more precise work than a pick.

llorava tan continuos impedimientos i consolavase con Dios, que siendo todo suyo, permitia los daños. Salio de Porco, i vino a un Convento huyendo sienpre de ser Prelado, ni de estar por mayor; que la ambicion no negocia coronas de martirio, aunque si un Prelado [791] es bueno, bastale por martirio el serlo, i si es malo, es martir del Demonio. El decreto, es de san Gregorio, dice<sup>110</sup>, que los lugares i oficios no se an de amar por lo que ellos son, i que se an de amar por los meritos que en ellos se ganan, i es mas seguro huir de su peligro, que medrar en su enpleo. Mandòle la obediencia venir al Cuzco, donde era Sup[e]rior, i gran amigo suyo el Padre fray Iuan del Canto, a quien yo comuniqué algunos años, i por quien llorava cada dia, la causa de sus lagrimas veremos en la vida del Padre fray Iuan. En el Cuzco servia en todo oficio umilde, i sucediale en el de Sacristan, que huia de las mugeres como de un leon, i por no verlas mirava ò al suelo ò à otra parte, i solia decir, que solo el oirlas ablar, era suficiente para matar a un anima. Sus miedos no eran tan solamente por huir ocasiones i peligros de ofender a Dios, sino que tenia miedo de cosas muy ordinarias, como oir ruidos, ver sonbras i otras niñezes, i llegava a tanto, que no se atrevia a ir a la Iglesia de dia, como uviese de ir solo, porque era medrosisimo. O traças de Dios, ordenadas para que si le viesen despues tan sobremanera animoso, atribuyesen a la gracia el valor soberano, que contradecia su naturaleza! San Pedro tienbla en el Palacio de Cayfas mucho mas de una mugercilla, que del frio que pondera el Evangelista, que le tenia a la lumbre calentandose<sup>111</sup>; i si ésta le aze tenblar tambien le aze salir, i al coger la puerta le obligò otra a que su miedo le iziese perjurar<sup>112</sup>. No tiene animo Pedro (dice Crisostomo<sup>113</sup>) para resistir a las amenazas de las dos moçuelas. Pero quando le amenaçaron?

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**110** Dist. 12. Cap. Novit. *Non enim pro locis res, sed pro rebus loca amanda sunt.*

**111** Ioann. 18. *Erat autem Simon Petrus stans, et calefeciens se.*

**112** Matth. 26. *Exeunte autem illo ianuam, vidit illum alia ancilla, et ait his qui erant ibi; et hic erat cum Iesu Nazareno et iterum negavit cum iuramento.*

**113** Chrisost. homil. 85. *vilis puellæ minas non sustinet.*

He lamented such continuous obstacles, but he took consolation in God who allowed such harm [to happen] as he belonged to [God] alone. He left Porco<sup>114</sup> and came to a convent fleeing (as always) from being made a prelate and from being promoted<sup>115</sup>; ambition does not win crowns of martyrdom, although if a prelate [791] is good, it is enough to be one to be a martyr, while if he is bad, he is a martyr of the Devil. Saint Gregory's decree says that one should not love positions and offices for themselves, rather that they should be loved for the merits that these gain, and it is a surer thing to flee from danger than to prosper in its employ. Obedience brought him to Cuzco where Padre Juan del Canto, a great friend of his and with whom I was in contact for a few years, was Superior. He wept for him daily (the cause of these tears we can see in the 'life of Padre fray Juan').<sup>116</sup> In Cuzco he served in every humble office and followed this with the office of Sacristan. He fled from women as one would from a lion and so as not to see them he looked at the ground or elsewhere. He often said that merely hearing them speak was sufficient to kill a soul. His fears caused him not just to flee from occasions or dangers that might offend God, rather he also was afraid of very ordinary things, such as noises, shadows and other childish things, and it reached such a point that he did not dare to go to the church by day on his own because he was so terrified. Oh mysteries of God, so ordered to demonstrate such a dramatic change, and so that the sovereign courage that so contradicted his nature must be attributed to grace! In the Palace of Caiaphas Saint Peter trembled much more than a little girl—the Evangelist suggests this was due to the cold, as he was warming himself at a brazier<sup>117</sup>; but if that made him tremble, it also made him go outside, and on reaching the door he was so afraid that someone else forced him to commit perjury.<sup>118</sup> Peter has no courage (says Chrysostom<sup>119</sup>) to resist the threats of these two young girls. But when did they threaten him?

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**114** Porco is a mining complex that lies just to the south west of Potosí.

**115** The word 'prelate' usually refers to a bishop, but in this case it means a superior clergyman within the order itself. Ortiz may have been asked to take on higher responsibilities within the convent, for example.

**116** The implication here is that Juan del Canto wept for Diego Ortiz. Calancha in fact explains this below, p.205 (book 4, chapter 3, §.1, p.800). The reason, it would seem, is that Canto wept for the fact that he was not considered worthy by providence of being a martyr, while Ortiz was.

**117** John 18:25.

**118** Matthew 26:71-2.

**119** Chrysostom, Sermon 85.

Solo que era Dicipulo de Cristo le digeron, es asi; pero fue tal su miedo, que cada palabra ò cada vista le parecia amenaza de muerte: sino es que llame Crisostomo amenazas de muerte al peligro de caer, pues para los santos lo mesmo es oir ablar dos palabras a una muger sin modestia, que estar oyendo amenazas de muerte contra la castidad. Esto considerava nuestro Padre fray Diego, para tener el miedo a las mugeres, i huir de que le llegasen a ablar; pero ser timido era traça de Dios, como lo fue en san Pedro, para que quien los viese despues echos Ercules en la valentia, i Sansones en la fortaleza, pensasen que no eran brios umanos, ni resoluciones naturales, sino como dijo san Pablo, valor que infunde la gracia, i restos que gana el orgullo de la Fè. En el Cuzco se estava contento con servir a la obediencia llevando gages de la umildad, i dando enteros reditos a la oracion; en la sacristia tenia sus recreos, i sienpre estava ocupado en sus adornos; pero en medio de sus mayores contentos le apurava un escrupulo, que aviendo venido de España a la conversion de los Indios, se estava en el Cuzco. Diole una gran enfermedad, i en ella izo promesa i voto, con licencia de su Prelado, de ir a predicar a infieles, i morir entre ellos. Que en esto tambien se parecio a Cristo nuestro Redentor, pues si vino al mundo por el bien de las animas, este Religioso pasó a este Nuevo mundo por lo mismo, i Cristo izo juramento de morir por los pecadores entre los onbres, como dicen David<sup>120</sup> i san Pablo<sup>121</sup> que en este acto de eroica caridad imitò à Cristo nuestro Salvador muriendo por ganar animas.

11. Enbiaronle el año de mil i quinientos i sesenta i seys, a la conversion de los Indios de Capinota, de cuyos barbaros Uros emos dicho su brutalidad, i emos encarecido poco su dureçeca en la fè, i su retiro en el agua.

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**120** Psal. 109. *Iuravit Dominus, et non pœnitebit eum, tu es Sacerdos in æternum.*

**121** Ad Hebr.7. *Alij autem quidem sine iureiurando Sacerdotes facti sunt, hic autem cum iureiurando per eum qui dixit ad illum; Iuravit Dominus, et non pœnitebit eum etc. Hoc fecit semel se ipsum offerendo.*

They just said that he was a disciple of Christ—but Peter’s fear was such that each word or each glance seemed like the threat of death: unless by ‘threat of death’ Chrysostom meant the risk of falling [into sin], because for the saints it is the same to listen to the words of an immodest woman than to listen to threats of death against chastity. Our Padre fray Diego [must have] considered this in order to have such fear of women and to flee from those who wanted to speak with him. But timidity was part of God’s design, just as it was in Saint Peter so that whoever saw them later with the courage of Hercules and the strength of Samson<sup>122</sup> would think that this was no human energy nor natural resolve, but rather (as Saint Paul said) courage spread by grace and pride in the faith. In Cuzco he was content to serve obedience with humility and prayer; his recreation was in the sacristy and he was always busy with its adornment. But the heart of his contentment was pierced by a scruple, that having come from Spain to convert Indians, he was [still] in Cuzco. He suffered a severe illness during which he made a promise and vow, with licence from his superior, to go and preach to the pagans and die amongst them. In this too he was like Christ our Redeemer, for if He came to the world for the good of souls, this friar journeyed to this new world for the same reason. And Christ swore to die for the sinners amongst men as David<sup>123</sup> and Saint Paul say,<sup>124</sup> so in this act of heroic charity he imitated Christ our Saviour by dying to save souls.

11. In the year 1566 he was sent to convert the Indians of Capinota<sup>125</sup>: we have already mentioned the brutality of the barbarous Uros from the region, and dealt a little with their resistance to the faith and their retreat into the water.<sup>126</sup>

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**122** Hercules (Heracles) was the son of Jupiter (Zeus) and a mortal woman and was thus a demi-god. In order to prove his worth and become immortal he was told to carry out twelve tasks that no other mortal could do. He completed these (herculean) tasks successfully and was admitted to Olympus. Samson was an Israelite who was gifted with divine strength (Judges 16). His strength would not leave him unless his hair was cut. He remained undefeated in his battles with the Philistines until he was seduced by Delilah who learned the secret of his strength cut his hair while he was sleeping and handed him over to his enemies.

**123** Psalms 109 [Psalms 110:4].

**124** Hebrews 7:20-21.

**125** Capinota is in present day Bolivia, roughly 200 km from the city of Oruro, which, in turn, lies on Lake Uru Uru. Oruro is the hispanization of the name Uru Uru. The Uros that Calancha refers to were of this region although their communities were (and still are) also located in and around Lake Titicaca.

**126** The Uros also inhabited Lake Titicaca and famously made (and still make) floating islands out of reeds on which to live. Calancha appears to be inferring that in order to avoid the exigencies of the Spanish conquest and/or Christian evangelisation they retreated into the lakes.

Era Vicario suyo el Padre fray Rodrigo de Vera, gran ministro en la conversion de los Indios, ambos trabajaron dias i noches, i no se les fue sin pesca el continuar las redes. A pie iban a buscar los Indios con los frios destenplados, i con los bochornos del Sol calurosos, sin mas comida que la artura que les dava la conversion, ò la enmienda de un anima. Tiene Cristo nuestro Señor ministros, que aprendiendo dèl, van a los poços a vuscar Samaritanas, mas encendidos del amor de las animas, en quien està su comida, que de los ardores del Sol, quando mas los abrasa.

12. A su ocidente le llamava como al Sol aquel primer mobil Dios, que criò los cielos; que el decimo si mueve los otros siendo su movimiento del oriente al ocidente, aze que el de los otros nueve cielos sea al contrario, aziendolos caminar desde el ocidente al oriente; del oriente del Padre caminò Cristo al ocidente de la Cruz, i a nuestro fray Diego Ortiz lo va llevando ya al ocidente del martirio [792] para que camine al oriente eterno de la vista de Dios. Al pueblo i valles de Ianacache le buelve la obediencia por el año de sesenta i siete, venia mas diestro i entrò con el coraçon mas fervoroso, allò medrados sus ijos algo, i experimentò grandes dureças en los ya bautizados, pero en los que no estavan convertidos conocio rabias de que uviese buelto a su comarca, que al lagañoso, o lastimado en la vista (dice san Augustin ablando en casus semejantes) es aborrecible la luz, i enfadosos los rayos del Sol: por mas que estudiava acariciarlos, les dejava enemigos, ya no procuravan sino ofenderle o no oirle; muchos agravios le izieron, i asta oy vulgarmente dicen los pocos Indios que alli an quedado, que el averlos Dios consumido, fue porque sus antepasados juntandose onbres i mugeres apedrearon al santo Religioso. El gran frayle que ya llevaba en tantos trabajos el noviciado del martirio, salio a profesar, en el cunplir el voto de morir por Cristo.

They travelled on foot to look for Indians through severe cold and the blistering heat of the sun without any food other than the plentiful sustenance that conversion of souls gave them. Christ our Lord has ministers who, learning from him, go to the wells to look for Samaritans, more enflamed by the love of souls (which is their food) than by the heat of the sun when it is at its strongest.

12. To the west, God who created the heavens, named the prime mover just as he named the sun; [and said] that the tenth [heaven—the prime mover], which moves from east to west, causes the other nine heavens to move in the opposite direction, from west to east.<sup>127</sup> So, from the east of the Father, Christ walked to the west (which was the Cross) and our fray Diego Ortiz is [also] carrying it now to the west (which is his martyrdom) [792] so that he can travel to the eternal east which is the beatific vision.<sup>128</sup> Obedience brought him back to the town and valleys of Yanacache in the year of [15]67. He was more experienced [by then] and he went back there with renewed energy. He found his children somewhat changed and experienced substantial resistance in those who had already been baptised. But in those who had not converted he was confronted by rage against the fact that he had come back to their region, just like the light and the rays of the sun hurts the bleary-eyed or those who have damaged vision (says Saint Augustine talking about similar cases). No matter how affectionate he tried to be, he made them into enemies; now they persistently tried to offend him or to ignore him. They insulted him frequently, and even today the few Indians that remain there commonly say that God has destroyed them because their ancestors (both male and female) tried to stone the holy friar. The great friar, who was already undergoing his noviciate in martyrdom with all these hardships, left [Yanacache] to profess by fulfilling the vow to die for Christ.<sup>129</sup>

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**127** Calancha here is referring once again to Ptolemaic cosmology with the ten moving heavens. The outer sphere—the Empyrean heaven—is stationary, while the prime mover (the next to outer sphere) begins and somehow causes the movement of all the others. Other commentators attributed this movement to angels. It should not be thought, however, that these ideas were mutually exclusive, given the fact that the angels were also a hierarchy that (in neo-platonic thought) mediated the divine grace that was passed on to the next hierarchy. The connection between the hierarchy of angels who moved the heavens was as immediate as it was between the heavens themselves.

**128** See above for notes on the Solar Christ. The beatific vision was the goal of all mystics and is the neo-platonic understanding of heaven and life-after death in which humans are eternally in the presence of God.

**129** The noviciate is a preparatory stage in religious life prior to taking one's final vows (professing).

Mientras camina a Vilcabamba, i le tiene la obediencia en el Cuzco, ponderemos que fue Dios apocando de manera los Indios, que ni tienen pueblo, ni à quedado en èl un Indio, aunque se ven las calles, i casas de su poblacion; ay algunas estancias de ganados que son de Españoles, i estàn en ellas algunos Indios pastores, i qual ò qual familia entre aquellas soledades. Estos pocos son los que confiesan a quantos les preguntan, el porque de su destruicion, que à sido castigo del cielo, porque onbres, i mugeres apedrearon al santo Religioso, i a fuerça de piedras lo echaron de su tierra. No seria èste castigo porque pidio vengança el siervo de Dios, que el primero grado para la corona del martirio es pisar la vengança, i pedir para sus enemigos el perdon, i se agradan en parte los santos en que aya mas ofensores, porque aya mas con quien repartir el ruego que por ellos azen a Dios. Que misterio encierra (dice santo Tomas<sup>130</sup>) el ser una criada la primera que acusa a san Pedro, i le aze negar siendo mas conocido de otros onbres, i que estos le pudieran reconocer mejor? I responde, que lo permitio Dios porque tambien mugeres pecasen en la muerte de Cristo, i las vieses ser delinquentes en su pasion, para que tambien èste sexo, como el del varon entrase en la Redencion, i en aquella suplica que Cristo izo a su Padre en la Cruz pidendo por los que le ofendian, i rogando por los que le agraviavan. Indios i Indias persiguen i apedrean al siervo de Dios, èl ruega por ellos i ellas; pero Dios castiga los ofensores aniquilandolos, si bien cobraria algunas animas, que nunca se bolvio sin fruto la oracion del que ruega por sus enemigos.

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**130** In cathena sup. Matth.26. & est Rabani. *Quid sibi yult, quia prima prodit eum ancilla, cum viri magis eum potuerint recognoscere? Nisi quod iste sexus peccare in nece Domini videretur, ut eius passione redimeretur.*

As he journeys to Vilcabamba (obedient as always to Cuzco) we might wonder about the fact that God was causing the numbers of Indians in the region to decline to the extent that the town is completely deserted, even though you can still see the streets and the houses of the settlement.<sup>131</sup> Sometimes you might see cattle belonging to Spaniards and with these you might see Indian herdsmen and perhaps an isolated family here or there. Those few [who remain] confess to those who ask why they were destroyed that it was the punishment of heaven, because men and women stoned the holy friar and with rocks they drove him out of their land. This punishment would not have been because the servant of God asked for vengeance, as the first step towards attaining the crown of martyrdom is to reject vengeance and to ask for forgiveness for ones enemies. In part, the saints are thankful when there are more people to offend them because there are more for whom to ask God for forgiveness. What mystery is encompassed (says Saint Thomas<sup>132</sup>) by the fact that a girl servant was the first to accuse Saint Peter and cause him to deny Christ even though he was better known by other men and they would have been better able to recognise him? He replies that God allowed it so that women also sin in the death of Christ, and are seen to participate in the crime of his passion so that both sexes might be redeemed by that plea for forgiveness that Christ made on the Cross to his Father on behalf of those who had offended and hurt him. Indian men and women persecute and stone the servant of God while he prays for all of them. But God punishes the offenders by annihilating them, even if he does win some souls, because the prayer of the one who prays for his enemies would never go unheard.

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**131** Pandemics sweeping the Americas at regular intervals caused catastrophic population decline in the sixteenth century. See Cook, *Born to Die*, pp.95-165.

**132** Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea [The Golden Chain]* Matthew 26. See <<http://www.catecheticsonline.com/CatenaAurea.php>> [last accessed, 29/11/14].