

# The Spiritual Landscape of Antonio de Calancha: The Destructions of Jerusalem, Palestine and Vilcabamba, Peru (69–1572 AD)

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In 1572, Spanish forces entered the Neo-Inca State of Vilcabamba, laid waste its settlements, killed large numbers of its population and dragged off the young emperor Tupac Amaru for public execution in Cuzco. The pretext for this invasion, according to the Augustinian chronicler Antonio de Calancha, was the gruesome martyrdom of his co-religious, the Augustinian friar Diego Ortiz, after the sudden death of the preceding Inca emperor Titu Cusi Yupanqui in 1571.<sup>1</sup> Titu Cusi took ill after a religious festival and Ortiz, knowing how precarious his position was without Titu Cusi's protection, attempted unsuccessfully to cure him with his knowledge of herbs. On Titu Cusi's death, his wife, the Inca *coya* (queen) Doña Angelina, ordered Ortiz's immediate arrest, torture and execution. A few days later, the new Inca Tupac Amaru confirmed these orders and they were carried out with all their ensuing consequences. While Vilcabamba's landscape (lush cloud forest and high mountains) could not be further removed from the rolling desert hills and escarpments of Palestine, Antonio de Calancha narrates the account of Ortiz's martyrdom and Vilcabamba's subsequent destruction in a framework increasingly difficult to separate from the death of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem in 69 AD. Not only does Calancha map his account of Vilcabamba's demise directly onto that of Josephus' account of Jerusalem (thereby constructing a unitary historical landscape), he conceptualises these two events in a spiritual landscape that has

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profound implications on the way Christian histories of the time (and perhaps subsequently) might be read.

Calancha's spiritual landscape, as seen in his history of the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz and the destruction of Vilcabamba, arguably telescopes the entirety of history into one key moment in time and the events that surround that moment. In Calancha's account we do not just see 'place' as a way of bridging historical gaps in time as Tim Cole suggests in this issue, it collapses the chasm entirely.<sup>2</sup> As such, it ties into T. S. Eliot's notion, described in his poem *Burnt Norton* of 'time present and time past' as being 'perhaps present in time future and time future contained in time past', cited by Pauline Hanesworth, also in this issue.<sup>3</sup> Yet we should not look for the explanation of Calancha's collapse of time into a single spiritual landscape in twentieth-century poetry (although the continued existence of this spiritual framework in modern poetry is arguably significant), as Calancha would have vehemently disputed Eliot's next line: 'If all time is eternally present, all time is unredeemable.'<sup>4</sup> Rather we should seek to understand his account in the Neoplatonic conceptualisation of a spiritual landscape that incorporates space (or place) – of itself necessarily bound within linear, teleological time (*chronos*) – into the eternal, divine present (*kairos*). This Neoplatonic time, derived from Plotinus' (d. 270 AD) *Ennead* III, was developed by Saint Augustine (d. 470 AD) as he grappled with key philosophical questions relating to the creation of the Universe.<sup>5</sup> This was the theological tradition in which both Diego Ortiz and Antonio de la Calancha were immersed; this was their spiritual landscape in which they lived and interpreted history and it was a history delimited and defined by the Neoplatonic solution to a theological paradox – the question of eternity (a single moment) within time.

The following article, then, aims to investigate how this eternal moment within time played out in the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz and the subsequent destruction of Vilcabamba. In comparison with other articles in this edition, this will not be so much an investigation of *physical* landscapes – as what was important to Antonio de la Calancha (and, arguably, his martyred) colleague, was not so much *where* these events took place, or in what physical landscape. Rather, what mattered was how the *when* was conceived or, in other words, how the temporal landscape which was intertwined with very different physical landscapes came together in a single, unitary spiritual landscape. The goal of the article, then, is to trace how Calancha and Ortiz envisaged their own spiritual landscape. By exploring this Augustinian spiritual landscape, we will consider how Antonio de la

Calancha was able to collapse events that took place in the sixteenth century onto the history of first-century Palestine, and how the destruction of the place of Vilcabamba mapped onto that of Jerusalem in 69 AD. In so doing, the article will first look to outline the Neoplatonic, Augustinian understanding of time before applying it to our reading of Calancha's account of the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz and the destruction of Vilcabamba in 1572.

### **The Augustinian Temporal Landscape**

In Book XI of his *Confessions* Saint Augustine attempts to engage with the philosophical question 'What was God doing before he made heaven and earth?'<sup>6</sup> For him, the question was important because it lay at the heart of the controversy between himself and the Manichaeists. From the Manichaean perspective it was far more reasonable to believe that there were two eternal powers – Good and Evil – constantly striving against each other throughout time, than to believe that there was only one power – God – who created everything out of nothing. Where then did evil come from (as why would God create such a thing)? What was God doing before creation? Indeed, it was this reasoning inadequately countered by the anti-intellectual fideism of the North African clergy that persuaded Augustine as a young man to join the Manichaean sect.<sup>7</sup> It was Neoplatonic philosophy, however, that enabled Augustine to develop an argument against the Manichees and return to Christianity. According to the rationale he developed, 'Evil' had no ontological existence – it was an absence of good not a created being – and prior to Creation time did not exist.<sup>8</sup> So, to ask what God was doing before creation would be an illogical question since there was no 'before'.<sup>9</sup> Time was intrinsically linked to space as created by God in the first moment.

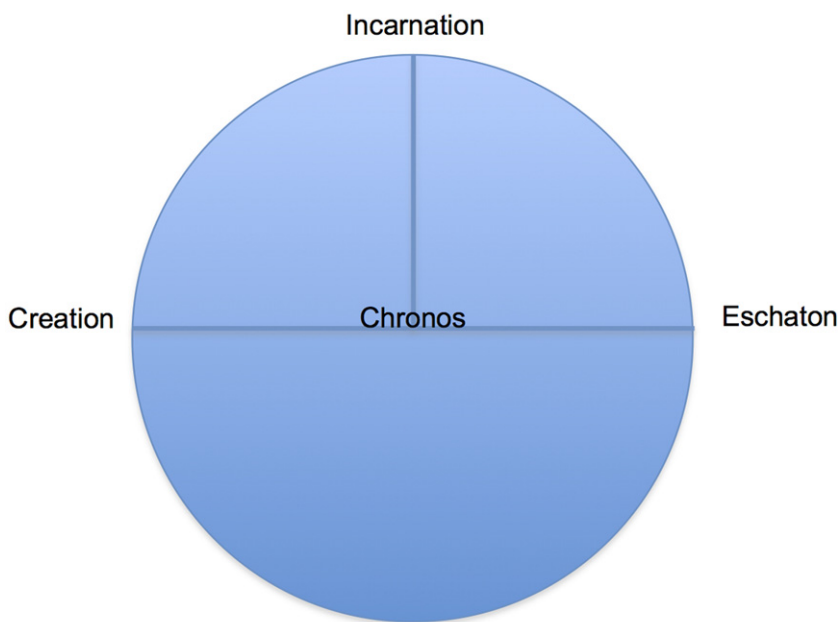
The problem for Augustine was that he then needed to define time and outline what was, for him, a suitably rational temporal landscape. Yet how was this possible when it was not, in itself, measurable; rather, it was just a fleeting moment that had already gone by. Neither did past time exist as such (for it had already passed) nor did future time exist (because it had not yet arrived).<sup>10</sup> The only way, according to Augustine, to grasp time and measure it would be to consider it as the motion of created beings (whether spiritual or material) and the passing of the future through them into the past.<sup>11</sup> That passing of an anticipated future left an imprint or memory by which, through a distension (or stretching) of the mind we might piece together an historical narrative that made sense to us.<sup>12</sup> In order to make sense of the world around us this distension was necessary, yet it required us to

focus our attention on anticipating the future and remembering the past rather than on the eternal and divine present. In this way it hindered effective contemplation of the divine and rooted us in materiality. According to the framework for this temporal (and, necessarily, spiritual) landscape, this distension distorted us; this was our mortality that distanced ourselves (creation) from God, who was immutable, unchanging and eternal.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, there was still hope: just as our inclusion within time was a consequence of the fall, according to Augustine, it was the Incarnation of Christ that was to set us free from time itself.<sup>14</sup>

### **Kairos and Chronos**

‘In the beginning was the Word [and] the Word was made flesh [and] lived among us.’<sup>15</sup> This short description of the Incarnation from John’s gospel neatly encapsulates the paradox (or mystery) that so interested Augustine. In essence, it describes the entry point of the eternal, the divine, who encompassed and sustained (but was not limited by) creation, and life into teleological time. This was a *kairic* moment (or rather, *the kairic* moment) in chronology – the merger of *kairos* and *chronos*.<sup>16</sup> This, together with Jesus’ death and resurrection, is the Augustinian redemption of time that T. S. Eliot so despaired of, when the eternal becomes teleological and when the teleological becomes eternal. This is the moment that allows Calancha to telescope events that took place in sixteenth-century Peru into those of first-century Palestine in one, unitary spiritual landscape.

From Calancha’s perspective (and by extension, that of other chroniclers, thinkers and theologians of the early modern Hispanic world familiar with Augustinian Neoplatonism) that *kairic* moment was the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ in first-century Palestine. The crucial point is that because this is considered *the* ‘moment’ in history in which the eternal and the immutable became a part of *chronos* or teleological time, all other events whether preceding or following will be directly related to it. In Augustinian terms, all other events will be part of the distension of that one event, either through anticipating it (as prophetic suggestions of what was to come) or by remembering its imprint (as reflections of what has happened). Those preceding or subsequent events which have the strongest significance and which link most closely to the divine *kairic* ‘moment’ of the Incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ would logically tend to reflect it more closely. If, according to the Neoplatonic framework, all life and all creation emanates from God (who is immutable and unchanging), then the Incarnation is the equivalent of the divine drop



*Fig. 1* Circumference = Divinity containing Creation (Space, Time and Life)

in the pond that sends out ripples (reflections) across the surface. Those ripples are both the grace that emanates from God's action in the world (the *kairic* moment of Creation and Incarnation described by John 1: 1, 14 and cited above) and the preceding and subsequent events that 'anticipate' (prophesy) and 'remember' (reflect) that central moment.

To add further complexity to this spiritual landscape, if we consider that all creation (and hence *chronos* – or teleological time) is sustained and contained by the eternal and immutable divinity (which perhaps could be represented diagrammatically as a circle with a diameter line through its centre (Fig 1)), then it follows that there is only one act of creation which encompasses what we call Creation, the Incarnation, and the end of all things (or the Eschaton).

This would imply that while we (as part of historical materiality and a chronological progression) would consider the moment of Creation, the Incarnation and the Apocalypse to be separate events, from a Neoplatonic perspective, they are somehow the same *kairic* event. As such, events in first-century Palestine (the Incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth) contain the moment of

Creation, together with the fall and redemption of humanity, just as the events described in Genesis depict the Incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus.<sup>17</sup> By extension, the apocalyptic events described by St John in the Book of Revelation reflect the events that took place in Palestine at the time of Jesus: the Incarnation and the Second Coming mirror each other, while similarly, the destruction of Jerusalem in 69 AD and the battle at the end of days are manifestations of the same *kairic* event.

How, then, does this Neoplatonic philosophy link to the death of Diego Ortiz? How does Calancha's account of the destruction of Vilcabamba in 1572 tie in with Josephus' account of the destruction of Jerusalem in 69? The answer lies in the narrative framework that Calancha uses to describe these events – in effect, the spiritual landscape in which these events take place. From Calancha's perspective, Ortiz's martyrdom and the subsequent destruction of Vilcabamba were *kairic* moments that manifested the death of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem. The following section, therefore, after briefly describing the respective contexts, will explore this spiritual landscape in closer detail in an attempt to better understand this early modern collapse of time into one single, yet multiple, event.

### **Diego Ortiz and the Destructions of Vilcabamba and Jerusalem: The Spiritual Landscape in Teleological context**

In 66 AD, a number of Jewish factions in Palestine rebelled against Roman hegemony and this rebellion was brutally suppressed by the soon-to-be Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. Galilee was the first region to be put to fire and sword. Following his appointment as commander of the Jewish forces there, the Pharisee Josephus, after organising a stiff resistance during the siege of Jotapata, ordered his compatriots to: 'fight to the death, not for a birthplace that could still be saved, but for one that was already lost yet must be avenged'.<sup>18</sup> Notwithstanding this order, he was captured under rather ignominious circumstances while hiding in a cave underneath the city.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, under the patronage of Vespasian and Titus, he went on to chronicle the siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 69–70.<sup>20</sup>

Approximately fifteen hundred years later, in 1532, a small Spanish force under Francisco Pizarro entered the north of Peru by way of Tumbes on the coast. They pushed inland and by luck, clever politics (on the part of both the Spanish and their indigenous allies), and sheer audacity, within a couple of years they had effectively decapitated

the Inca empire and seized control of a vast territory stretching from what is now Ecuador, down to the centre of Chile.<sup>21</sup>

In 1536 the then Inca, Manco, and onetime ally of the Spanish, in a last-ditch attempt to regain control of his empire raised a huge rebellion and laid siege to Cuzco.<sup>22</sup> The Spanish were nearly wiped out, but at the final hour they were saved by internal divisions in the indigenous forces, indigenous allies who continued to fight alongside the Spanish because they hated the Incas, Spanish relief forces and, once again by a great deal of luck (or, as they would see it, divine providence – with the apparent intervention of the Virgin Mary and Santiago on the side of the Spanish to lift the siege at a critical point).<sup>23</sup> The Neo-Inca state in Vilcabamba, north east of Cuzco – to where Manco Inca fled after his failed uprising – lasted (as a pale shadow of the former Inca empire) until its destruction in 1572.<sup>24</sup> In that year the Spanish invaded, destroyed the Neo-Inca state and executed the last Inca, the youth Tupac Amaru.<sup>25</sup>

### **Diego Ortiz, and the Destructions of Vilcabamba and Jerusalem: The Spiritual Landscape Envisaged**

As we can see, the destructions of Jerusalem and Vilcabamba are two entirely different histories that take place in utterly different physical landscapes with nearly 1500 years of separation between them. Nevertheless, on reading Calancha's account of the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz and the destruction of Vilcabamba, in places, it becomes difficult to separate the visual imagery of this particular death and the widespread destruction that followed from that of the death of Christ and the devastation of Palestine by the Romans. As the reader reaches the climax of the narrative, the imagery flicks so quickly from Vilcabamba to Jerusalem that what happens in both becomes one and the same event – the same *kairic* moment depicting the redemptive sacrifice of Christ and the Eschaton as it was played out, not at the end of time, but in 1571–2 and 69 AD.

To build the case for this assertion, the following section will provide examples from Calancha's depiction of the Eschaton – or rather, his spiritual landscape as he envisaged it occurring – in the physical and teleological landscapes of Vilcabamba and Jerusalem. These will be supplemented with what amounts to a parallel reading of both texts in order to help provide information that would have been apparent to Calancha's own readership. The opening example is a reference by Calancha to Josephus' report of Jews escaping the city of Jerusalem in the latter days of the siege: 'Soldiers go

into Vilcabamba and they don't leave any gold or silver, killing in order to rob *haciendas*, cutting people open to find gold.<sup>26</sup> In counterpoint to Calancha, Josephus writes:

The rumour ran around the camps that the deserters were arriving stuffed with gold. The Arab unit and the Syrians cut open the refugees and ransacked their bellies . . . in a single night nearly two thousand were ripped up.<sup>27</sup>

While Calancha continues:

With fire and sword they [the Spanish] began the destruction, killing not only those who resisted but also those who surrendered. The Indians burned their own towns and the Spanish tore them to pieces. The Queen or *Coya* Doña Angelina could not escape like Berenice the sister of King Agrippa did and so she died a disastrous death.<sup>28</sup>

This reference to Berenice flicks the reader right back from Vilcabamba to Jerusalem to just before the start of the uprising when a series of minor conflicts were exacerbated by the heavy-handed policing of the city by the Roman procurator, Gessius Florus, who massacred a substantial number of the population after a riot. Assuming her royal position would serve as a shield, Berenice pleaded for restraint but according to Josephus, barely escaped with her own life.<sup>29</sup>

Calancha proceeds with his own narrative by continuing to juxtapose Jews and Incas in the same sentences:

Just as for the Jews with Florus it was useless for the Indians to try to resort to bribery because whoever carried the bribes never came back because they were killed. All the priests or sorcerers of the *huacas* [gods] were put to the sword or they killed themselves.<sup>30</sup>

This killing of the Inca priests intentionally merges in the mind of the reader with the killing of the priests of the Temple in Jerusalem, who, according to Josephus:

came down and were taken by the guards to Titus, whom they begged to spare their lives. He replied that the time for pardon was past, that the one thing that that would have justified their being spared had gone, and that the duty of priests was to perish with their sanctuary. Then he pronounced the sentence of death.<sup>31</sup>



## *The Spiritual Landscape of Antonio de Calancha*

In short, the overall tenor of the disaster and carnage in the physical landscapes of both Vilcabamba and Jerusalem is clear from the manner of Calancha's conclusion to the paragraph:

Thousands of Indians of all ages and sexes were found dead. All that could be heard were laments and sighs. Death, famine and misfortune were all around. All the towns were abandoned and even today they have not been repopulated. Even in this it seems like the punishment of Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup>

It is clear that Calancha wishes these two catastrophic events to be considered together. While of course being carried out by different peoples and taking place at distinctive points in teleological history in physical landscapes that could not be more different from each other, according to Calancha, these catastrophes played out in the same ways and, crucially, for the same reasons. These very different material and historical landscapes (both separate points on the chronology) were in fact part of the same spiritual landscape (the same *kairic* moment). By way of an explanation, Calancha continues:

It was imprinted in the memory of those who were from there and those who were from elsewhere that such an atrocity and such lamentable occurrences were sent by heaven as retribution and punishment: there [Jerusalem] for the killing of Christ and here [Vilcabamba] for the killing of fray Diego.<sup>33</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that in Calancha's mind, the primary reason for the respective carnage in Jerusalem and Vilcabamba was divine punishment for the killing of Christ and the killing of Christ's vicar respectively. At this point, then, it is worth turning to the person and involvement of Diego Ortiz to see how clearly the *kairic* figure of Christ is manifested in Ortiz's martyrdom.

With the sudden death of the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui after a ritual celebration involving feasting and drinking, Ortiz was seized by the military captains on the orders of the *coya* – Titu Cusi's royal widow – having been accused of poisoning him.<sup>34</sup> Amidst beatings and torture which began the long and gruesome process of his martyrdom, they demanded he say Mass to resurrect the Inca: 'If he [truly] died of illness' they said, 'then resurrect him because didn't you preach that this your God Jesus Christ has the power to resurrect the dead.'<sup>35</sup>

Fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith were often 'lost in translation' during the initial stages of evangelisation and even subsequently. Indeed, how to adequately translate Christianity into a

form that would be understood while still satisfying the requirements of the current orthodoxy, and then to adequately teach it, sparked numerous controversies in the sixteenth century that were to rage on through the seventeenth.<sup>36</sup> In this particular case, it is not difficult to see how explanations of Christ's resurrection, the anticipated bodily resurrection of the rest of humanity at the end of time – both of which are articles of faith contained in the Catholic Creed – will have been confused with fray Diego's emphasis on the liturgy of the Mass as both the most efficacious prayer available, and also a re-enactment, or re-living, of Christ's incarnation, sacrifice and resurrection.<sup>37</sup> Confusion aside, however, the Inca captains' demand that Ortiz say Mass and, more importantly, the friar's subsequently tearful celebration (if celebration is the right word) of the Liturgy are highly significant in this account of his death.<sup>38</sup> The situation of the Mass in this point of Ortiz's martyrdom exposes teleology to another *kairic* moment – the celebration of the Liturgy itself. In the words of Gideon Goosen, liturgical time 'is redeemed time which is celebrated in the liturgy, that is, time that has been redeemed by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ . . . It is a liminal experience . . . not unlike the experience of time standing still'.<sup>39</sup> In other words, Ortiz's celebration of the Mass at the behest of his executioners allowed the penetration of chronological time by the eternal present – the *kairic* moment in which Creation happened, the Word became flesh, died and was resurrected.

The links between Ortiz and *kairos* go further still. According to Calancha, Ortiz responded to the captains using Christ's words saying: 'What have I done to you that you treat me so?'<sup>40</sup> In this reply, Ortiz (through Calancha) is conflating the words of the Old Testament prophet Micah with the liturgy for Good Friday.<sup>41</sup> The Good Friday prayer known as the Reproaches reads as a dialogue between God and his people. More accurately, it is an accusation flung down by God at their feet: 'My people, what have I done to you? How have I afflicted you? Answer me! Did I not lead you out of the land of Egypt? And for that you erected a cross for your Saviour.'<sup>42</sup>

Ortiz's use of God's reproach to his people therefore, acts as another *kairic* moment in the very person of the friar. In the first instance, it is liturgical, so reinforces the 'liturgical time' mentioned above. In addition to this, in Augustinian terms we see a conflation of remembrance of the past, the present moment and anticipation of the future (prophecy): Micah's words were both past event (as he delivered them in a certain time and place) and prophecy (of the crucifixion of Jesus, and also in the prophetic condemnation of the people of Israel

and by extension, from the Christian perspective, all sinful humanity). This leads to the future expectation of divine punishment. Ortiz's appropriation of these words is similarly *kairic* as he 'remembers' past *kairic* events (Micah's words to the people of Israel and the crucifixion of Jesus), lives the present moment of persecution (like Jesus), and prophetically condemns his Inca executioners thereby anticipating their future punishment.

Thus, in this *kairic* moment, Ortiz assumes the persons of prophet, Christ and martyr as Calancha goes on to say:

The martyr's pain reached this extreme because . . . his beloved Christ commanded it to be so, so that he appears just like Him in every way and so that he could claim before the Eternal Father and before the world exactly what Christ claimed and what David prophesied: 'whip blows and travails rained down upon me, they laughed and made fun of me. I looked this way and that for someone to console me but I could not find him. What terrible pain!'<sup>43</sup>

In this last quotation, the prophet whose persona Ortiz is now assuming is David, while as a martyr, he stands before God as Christ. It is important to clarify at this point that Calancha was not saying Ortiz (in body and soul) was, indeed, Christ. Rather, he is establishing a framework – or rather, envisaging a spiritual landscape – through which it becomes possible to telescope history into one *kairic* moment. By the same token, when Ortiz on other occasions 'shouted from the rooftops his abhorrence of child-sacrifice, of turning Catholics into apostates and the sensualities of the Inca', Calancha describes him as another Jeremiah who did the same against Zedekiah.<sup>44</sup> Further on, he depicts him as another Tobias (for disobeying the emperor and burying the dead).<sup>45</sup> Similarly, after he refused to attend an Inca religious festival that, among other things, involved feasting and drinking, Calancha closely paraphrases scriptural accounts leading up to the passion of Jesus, writing: 'from that day on, just like the Jews did for Christ, they looked for the day and the occasion to kill the Blessed friar'.<sup>46</sup> These are not just figurative analogies to be used as points of comparison; what Calancha is doing is conflating time into one point, a spiritual landscape that relives numerous *kairic* manifestations of the moment of Incarnation and redemptive sacrifice, and establishes Ortiz's martyrdom as one such.

Having presented Ortiz's persecution as a *kairic* moment that manifested the passion of Christ, it remained for Calancha to bring the moment to a close with the Eschaton. Like Christ, Ortiz was killed

and, as a consequence, according to Calancha: 'God began to unsheathe his sword of wrath, to a certain extent tempered by his mercy, in the same way as he did against Jerusalem, punishing them little by little to see if they would repent'.<sup>47</sup>

Given the lack of repentance apparent in both peoples, according to the central tenet of Judeo-Christian history, the punishment for such offence to God was destruction. This is the final *kairic* moment prophesied in history by the destruction of Jerusalem (recorded as prophecy by Jesus in the Gospel of Mark<sup>48</sup> and as an historical event by Josephus) and back in Peru we see it also in the destruction of Vilcabamba. This is the last key piece in the construction of Calancha's spiritual landscape – the Eschaton that brings all to an end.

In front of the walls of Jerusalem, Josephus tries to persuade the Jewish defenders to surrender to save the city and its sanctuary crying out: 'You wretched people! ... listen ... and realise that you are fighting not only the Romans but God as well.'<sup>49</sup> As a result of this war in which Jewish factions fought amongst themselves as well as the Romans (and, according to Josephus, against God's will), Jerusalem itself was utterly destroyed and hundreds of thousands of Jews in Palestine were massacred or enslaved. The leader Simon was taken to Rome for the triumphal procession and execution in the Mamertine gaol.<sup>50</sup>

Vilcabamba's end as depicted by Calancha repeats these events. The invading army, the Spanish, just like the Romans while not itself holy, acts as God's instrument and destroys the sacrilegious with fire and sword. The Inca Tupac Amaru was taken to Cuzco in triumph and then executed. The end penned by Calancha for Vilcabamba blurs into that penned by Josephus for the Jews of Palestine (and vice-versa).

Josephus, for example, puts words into the mouth of Eleazar the leader of the Sicarii shortly before the Jewish mass suicide in the fortress of Masada: 'We ought ... to have read the mind of God and realised that His once beloved Jewish race had been sentenced to extinction ... God himself has taken away all hope of survival.'<sup>51</sup> Josephus concludes his narration: 'Such was ... proof, if ever there was one, of the providence of God, who executes judgement on the wicked.'<sup>52</sup> Calancha writes, meanwhile:

But now the wrath of heaven wanted to pour out its harshness on seeing so little repentance ... All is tragedy if you consult the fates that the world venerates ... But all is fortune if we look to the light of heaven and see the lightning strikes of divine providence and its blessed lesson.<sup>53</sup>

The words might be slightly different this time, but the message is the same: trust in material things and ignore divine providence and you will experience the wrath of God and, ultimately, destruction at the end of days – the final manifestation of the *kairic* moment, as *chronos* comes to an end.

**Conclusion: The Spiritual Landscape of Antonio de la Calancha**

Calancha's account of the martyrdom and the destruction of Vilcabamba through the framework of the crucifixion of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem seemingly depicts two unrelated historical events that take place in utterly different physical landscapes with nearly 1500 years of history separating them. Nevertheless, they are not just connected; they are conflated in a single spiritual landscape into one *kairic* moment – centred in first-century Palestine – which was the 'moment' of the Incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Christ followed by the destruction of Jerusalem. From the perspective of sixteenth-century chroniclers of history and, in particular, those who viewed the world from within an Augustinian framework, this moment of *kairos*, penetrating linear time (or *chronos*) from the eternal and divine present, of itself was the same *kairic* moment of Creation. This *kairic* moment that took place in first-century Palestine was the divine drop in history that rippled out through time – it was the first drop. Preceding events anticipated it and reflected it in a prophetic way. Events that followed, meanwhile – such as the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz and the destruction of Vilcabamba – echo that moment, but also in a way that prophesies the coming of the end of time, the final battle and the Judgement of Christ – the Eschaton – which will be the final manifestation of *kairos* that brings an end to human history. From the perspective of Calancha and others of his time and place, this is a unitary spiritual landscape that contains both linear time and the eternal present, in which the history of humanity is condensed into a single, eternal moment.

**Notes**

1. An account of the martyrdom of Ortiz in 1571 and the destruction of Vilcabamba in 1572 can be found in book IV of Calancha, Antonio de la (1639), *Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustín en el Perú, con sucesos egeñplares en esta monarquía*, Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, pp. 806–40. All subsequent translations of the text are my own, taken from the 1639 edition. A more recently published and widely available Spanish version is, Calancha, Antonio de la (1978), *Crónica moralizada*, ed. Prado Pastor, Ignacio, vol 5, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, pp. 1771–893. Calancha's account of the destruction of Vilcabamba

- does not reflect the more political machinations at work here. See Hemming, John (1993), *The Conquest of the Incas*, London: Macmillan, pp. 305–19, 395–438 for more details.
2. See Tim Cole's contribution to this issue.
  3. See Pauline Hanesworth's article in this issue.
  4. Lines 1–5 of Eliot, T. S. (1944), 'Burnt Norton' in *Four Quartets*, London: Faber, pp. 7–13.
  5. For Plotinus, see Plotinus (1995), *Enneads III: 6: On the Impassivity of the Bodiless*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. For Augustine's discussion of time, see book 11 of Augustine, St. (1991) *Confessions*, ed. and trans. Owen Chadwick, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 221–45. For a highly accessible essay on Augustine's development of Plotinus in his discussion of time, see Teske, Roland (1996), *Paradoxes of Time in Saint Augustine*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press.
  6. Augustine, *Confessions*, pp. 228–9.
  7. Teske, *Paradoxes of Time*, pp. 9–15.
  8. For a full exposé of this topic, see also, Evans, G. R. (1991), *Augustine on Evil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Augustine's definition of 'evil' as without ontological existence was taken up by St Thomas Aquinas and re-affirmed within Catholic Tradition. See Question 1, Articles 1–3 of Aquinas, Thomas (2003), *On Evil*, ed. Brian Davies and trans. Richard Regan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 55–75.
  9. Teske, *Paradoxes of Time*, pp. 13–15.
  10. *Ibid.* pp. 24–5.
  11. This is only a basic résumé of Teske's persuasive location of Augustine's discussion in Plotinus' Neoplatonic philosophy. Unfortunately, thorough discussion of this theme is beyond the scope of this article although the framework itself serves well to analyse and illustrate Calancha's account.
  12. *Ibid.* pp. 28–45.
  13. *Ibid.* pp. 10, 29–30.
  14. *Ibid.* p. 30.
  15. John, 1: 1, 14 (*Jerusalem Bible Popular Edition* (1968) London: Darton, Longman and Todd).
  16. If *kairos* represents the immutable, unchanging, eternal time of God, a *kairic* moment is when that unchanging, eternal divinity breaks into chronological time. It has also been defined by Gideon Goosen as 'God's moment of action'. See Goosen, Gideon (2008), *Spacetime and Theology in Dialogue*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, p. 84.
  17. Redemption might be harder to see in Genesis, but it is there as a prophetically *kairic* moment in the stories of Noah, Abraham and Isaac, just as these events lead teleologically towards the principal *kairic* moment of the Incarnation.
  18. Josephus (1981), *The Jewish War*, trans. and ed. G. A. Williamson and E. Mary Smallwood, Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, p. 210.
  19. *Ibid.* pp. 217–22. Those who were hiding with him were adamant they should all commit suicide. Josephus, who was unable to persuade them otherwise through rhetorical eloquence, tricked them into drawing lots for the order of death while ensuring that his would be the last one to be drawn. *Ibid.* pp. 317–22.
  20. For further reading on Josephus, see: Rajak, Tessa (2002), *Josephus*, London: Duckworth; Schwartz, Seth (1990), *Josephus and Judean Politics*, Leiden: Brill; and Feldman, Louis and Hata, Gohei (eds) (1987), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*,

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- Leiden: Brill. For Josephus' patronage by and interaction with Rome, see Edmondson, Jonathan, Mason, Steve and Rives, James (eds) (2005), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
21. This is a simplistic résumé. For Spanish-indigenous alliances see in particular: Stern, Steve (1981), 'The Rise and Fall of Indian-White Alliances', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 61:3, pp. 461–491. Unlike for the destruction of Jerusalem there are a number of surviving chronicles of the conquest written by Spaniards who were either on the first expeditions or arrived in Peru shortly after. A significant proportion has been translated into English. See for example: Pizarro, Hernando (1969), *Carta relación de Hernando Pizarro a los Oidores de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo sobre la conquista del Perú* [1533], Juan José Vega (ed.), Lima: Ediciones Universidad Nacional de Educación (La Cantuta); Pizarro, Pedro, (1969) *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*, trans and ed. Philip Means, New York: Kraus. Other commonly cited chroniclers are Cieza de León, Pedro (1998), *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, trans. and ed. Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, Durham and London: Duke University Press; Betanzos, Juan de (1996), *Narrative of the Incas*, trans. and ed. Ronald Hamilton and Dana Buchanan, Austin: University of Texas Press; Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro (2007), *History of the Incas*, trans. and ed. Brian S. Bauer, Austin: University of Texas Press.
  22. Manco's son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, while ruler of the Neo-Inca state in Vilcabamba and under the direction of Diego Ortiz's colleague and co-missionary, fray Marcos García, wrote his own version of these events in an account to be sent to Philip II of Spain. See: Yupanqui, Titu Cusi (2006), *History of How the Spaniards Arrived in Peru*, trans. and ed. Catherine Julien, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.
  23. See Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, pp. 184–213; Yupanqui, *History*, pp. 90–143 and, for an illustrated version of the miraculous intervention by Mary and Santiago, see Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe (1615), *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, fols. 401 [403]–405 [407] << <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm> >> [accessed, 14/01/2013]. As might be expected, the legend of these miraculous interventions grew up later, becoming firmly established towards the end of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this article these later legends illustrate an important point – that this was never considered just a material landscape. It was also a spiritual landscape in which Providence and divine entities moved and had a direct impact on the outcome of events. As such, these historical narratives from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru avoid the modern dichotomy between spirituality and materiality highlighted by Chris Pearson in this issue. For both Spaniards and indigenous Andeans, in the sixteenth century there was no dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual landscapes precisely because they were the same landscape. This is significant, because viewing the landscape of the central Peruvian highlands in this way may help understand later happenings in Vilcabamba as they were recorded by chroniclers such as Antonio de la Calancha.
  24. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, pp. 228–46, 287–333, 395–423; Yupanqui, *History*, pp. 121–59.
  25. Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, pp. 424–35.
  26. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 835.
  27. Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 334–5.
  28. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 835.
  29. Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 152–3.



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30. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 836.
31. Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 363.
32. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 836.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid. pp. 812–14.
35. Ibid. p. 814.
36. For the polemic of translation in the Andes, see in particular Durston, Alan (2007), *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
37. For a slightly later catechism which discusses this point in particular see Tercer Concilio Provincial [1584] (1985), *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instruccion de indios* (facsimile), Luciano Perena ed., Madrid: CISC, pp. 97–8, 107–9. Prior to this mendicant orders and other missionary priests would have developed their own ‘unauthorised’ catechisms. The standardisation of the catechism in the authorised 1584 version was to bring under control the proliferation of minor (but potentially significant) variations in translation. See Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, pp. 53–104.
38. Calancha describes witness statements to the effect that Ortiz wept so bitterly during the Mass (as a result of pain and shock) that his vestments and missal were saturated. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 816.
39. Goosen, *Spacetime and Theology*, p. 84.
40. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 814.
41. Micah 6: 3–5.
42. See the *Impropria* (Reproaches), part of the ‘Adoration of the Cross’ in the Good Friday Liturgy (1960), in *The Ideal Daily Missal*, ed. S. P. Juergens, Malines: S.P., pp. 583–5.
43. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 823. He is citing and adapting Psalm 35: 15 rather than Psalms 14 and 62 which are referenced in the margin notes.
44. Ibid. p. 810.
45. Ibid. p. 811.
46. Ibid. p. 812. Compare with John 11: 53.
47. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, p. 828.
48. Mark 13: 2 ‘There shall not be left a stone upon a stone that shall not be thrown down.’
49. Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 318.
50. Ibid. pp. 371–7, 386.
51. Ibid. p. 399.
52. Ibid. p. 408.
53. Calancha, *Coronica moralizada*, pp. 830–1.



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