

Andrew Redden, tr. and ed.,

The Collapse of Time: The Martyrdom of Diego Ortiz (1571) by Antonio de la Calancha [1638]. Warsaw: De Gruyter, 2016. Pp. 391. Hb, \$196.

In recent years, scholars of the early modern period, such as A. Lavrín (2014), R. Cimbalista (2014), U. Strasser (2015), A. Cañeque (2016), A. Coello (2016), and P. Gwynne (20018), among others, have turned their gaze to hagiographies and accounts of martyrs who died with a reputation of sanctity in the Americas and the Philippines. In this documented volume, Andrew Redden delves into the missionary work and subsequent violent death of fray Diego Ortiz (1571) in the independent Inca state of Vilcabamba (Peru). Unfortunately, the Inca emperor Titu Cusi Yupanqui suddenly died after a ritual celebration involving feasting and drinking, and the Augustinian friar was accused of poisoning him. Friar Antonio de la Calancha's chronicle, *Crónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú* (Barcelona, 1638), recounts the horrific martyrdom that Ortiz suffered after unsuccessfully attempting to cure Titu Cusi with his knowledge of herbs, the subsequent invasion of Vilcabamba, and the capture and execution of the last claimant of the Inca throne, Tupac Amaru, in 1572.

In his remarkable book, Andrew Redden offers us the concluding observations about Ortiz's martyrdom that have been presented in his previous research: Calancha's collapse of time into a single spiritual landscape (Andrew Redden, "The Spiritual Landscape of Antonio de Calancha: The Destructions of Jerusalem, Palestine and Vilcabamba, Peru (69–1572 AD)," *Cultural History* 2.2 (2013): 134). As the rolling desert hills and escarpments of Palestine could not be separated from the death of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem in 69 AD, Ortiz's martyrdom could not be further removed from Vilcabamba's landscape (lush cloud forest and high mountains) either. The reconstruction of these tragic events by Calancha, according to Redden, reveals how different sixteenth-century historians of the religious orders conceptualized history. In Calancha's Neoplatonic account, what really mattered was not so much the physical space where his confrere was martyred, but rather "how the temporal landscape which was intertwined with very different physical landscapes came together in a single, unitary spiritual landscape" (Redden, "The Spiritual Landscape of Antonio de Calancha..." 134). As a result, time collapsed and both places—Jerusalem and Vilcabamba—seemed to live into the eternal, divine present.

In a well-documented introduction, Redden presents an overview of the conquest and colonization of the Inca Empire, or Tawantinsuyu, which confirms the years of chaos and turmoil that followed Atahualpa's death in 1533. Using a wide-range of primary and secondary sources, Redden goes through the

impact of epidemic diseases among the Incas, Atahualpa's mysterious execution, Manco Inca's siege of Cuzco and his subsequent death in 1536 at Vitcos, and the beginning of the civil war between the Pizarrists and Almagrists factions. In analyzing these historical events, Redden aligns with scholarship that emphasizes the importance of Spanish-native alliances rather than the glorious epic described in the primary sources (Wayne E. Lee, *Empires and Indigenes. Intercultural Alliance, Imperial Expansion, and Warfare in the Early Modern World* (New York & London: New York University Press, 2011)). Likewise, Inca leaders (Manco Inca, Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi Yupanqui) are not seen as naïve and innocent sheep as so simplistically described by the Dominican priest Bartolomé de Las Casas. Rather, they participated in political factionalism as the Spanish did (25). In 1539, Vilcabamba emerged as the capital of an independent Neo-Inca state, from where Titu Cusi, as his penultimate ruler, began "playing an expert game of political brinksmanship" (30). Redden offers a close look at Titu Cusi's agency in dealing with the Spanish in Vilcabamba. In the accords of Acobamba (August, 1566), he agreed to baptize his son, Don Felipe Quispe, but did not surrender the city, thereby demonstrating his profound distrust of the viceroy's intentions. Being aware of the theological debates that privilege the right of all humanity to come to know and worship God over the right of princes to rule their own kingdoms, Titu Cusi decided to choose two Augustinian friars to initiate Christian evangelization in Vilcabamba. By doing so, "we see once again the astute figure of a ruler at pains to protect his kingdom and to preserve his authority within it" (35). In this same way, Titu Cusi's resolution to exile friar Marcos after his desecration of Puquiura's shrine to the sun of Yurac Rumi, close to Vitcos, while allowing fray Diego to remain in Puquiura under close watch, should be considered as a "masterful compromise of statecraft" (52).

However, what makes Redden's edition innovative is his interpretation of Calancha's account in the light of an Augustinian spiritual landscape. By placing it in a neo-Platonic framework, the Spanish friar describes the martyrdom of Diego Ortiz as the Passion of Christ, thereby turning him into a Christological figure. Redden's interpretation of Calancha's chronicle transforms time into a devotional space where the destruction of the Neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba (1572) by the Spanish is equivalent to the destruction of Jerusalem. As a result, teleological time (*chronos*) collapses, allowing for the eternal, divine present (*kairos*) to be grasped. This *kairic* moment in which the eternal divinity breaks into chronological time—the merger of *kairos* and *chronos*—was the incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth in first-century Palestine. Not surprisingly, on reading Calancha's account of the life and death of Diego Ortiz and the following destruction of Vilcabamba, physical landscapes and

events are juxtaposed to reproduce the same spiritual landscape, that is, the same *kairic* moment (62).

As a recognizable hagiography, Calancha's account is an interesting narrative as well. In seventeenth-century Peru, religious orders competed among themselves to elevate to the altars their most illustrious members. The reforms established by Pope Urban VIII in 1635 required only evidence that a martyr had been virtuous in life and had indeed died defending the faith. Thus, the cause-and-effect relationship between the "martyrdom of Vilcabamba," for instance, and the triumph of Christianity after the execution of Tupac Amaru in Cuzco (1572), would favor not only Ortiz's canonization but also the opportunity for the Augustine order to propagate a martyrological culture in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

As Redden points out, Calancha's inclusion of Ortiz's martyrdom account in his *Crónica moralizada* (1638) was a strategy to avoid any suspicion of promoting his veneration before official recognition of the church. However, Urban VIII's 1634 regulations equally affected all religious orders. For instance, Jesuit chronicles, such as Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas's *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith amongst the Most Barbarous and Feared Peoples of the New World* (Madrid, 1645), Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista espiritual del Paraguay* (Madrid, 1939), and Alonso de Ovalle's *Histórica relación del reino de Chile* (Rome, 1646), also included the heroic lives of their missionaries in the frontier spaces of northeastern Mexico, Paraguay, and southern Chile. Therefore, these procedures should be understood not only as a veiled attempt to promote their canonization, but also as the result of a fierce competition among the religious orders for "fabricating" their own saints (P. Burke, 1984; A. Turchini, 1984; K. Woodward, 1990).

Let us not forget that after the death of Rose of Lima (1617), the Jesuit provincials and rectors began to promote the beatification of their exemplary men. Not surprisingly, historical accounts, hagiographies, and martyrologies mushroomed as an attempt to monopolize the growing spiritual economy in seventeenth-century Peru. A case in point were the heroic deaths of Jesuit missionaries Roque González de Santa Cruz, Alonso Rodríguez, and Juan del Castillo who were martyred in the Guaraní reductions at the hands of shaman Nezá in 1628 (Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *La conquista espiritual del Paraguay*, Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1639). The ordinary process of the three Jesuit Fathers opened in 1629, but the cause was suspended for three centuries until Pope Pius XI beatified them, achieving sainthood in 1988 by John Paul II in the city of Asunción. Consequently, besides considering Ortiz's scriptural exegesis, Calancha's *Crónica moralizada* should have also

been placed in a dodged competition among religious orders for achieving sanctity.

All things considered, Redden has appropriately provided annotated historical and analytical footnotes for the reader that help to understand the political, religious, and social contexts of seventeenth-century Peru. In sum, this is an excellent edition in parallel texts that additionally contains a detailed biographical list of principal protagonists and a useful index. No doubt this work will contribute to a better understanding of the martyrdom literature in the Americas.

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