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Shifting Panoramas: Contested Visions of Cuzco’s 1650 Earthquake

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Hanging for more than three centuries in the cathedral of Cuzco, Peru, a wall-sized panorama pictures a dramatic moment in that city’s history: the calamitous earthquake of 1650 (Fig. 1). Throughout the cityscape, ceramic tiles cascade from rooftops and buildings collapse into clouds of dust, while animals and people frantically escape into the shelter of open spaces. Yet orderly files of mendicants process toward the central plaza, others rescue religious images from their crumbling temples, and priests draw crowds of penitents to crucifixes. The text at the bottom of the canvas accompanies a portrait of its patron, who gazes across the cityscape toward a miraculous apparition in the sky. The words give temporal scope to the gripping scene depicted above:

Thursday, March 31, 1650, at an hour and a half past noon, this city was overcome by an earthquake that lasted for as long as three Credos with such force and violence that it knocked down the churches, convents and houses of almost the entire city, having followed during the entire afternoon and night 400 earthquakes and for all that year more than 1,600 aftershocks, at the beginning very strong and afterward they remitted but still very risky, which caused great fear and tribulations in the residents of this city. Since the Sovereign Queen and Lady of the Remedies with her Sovereign Son had not intervened, they placed it [the painting] in the doorways of this church for three days, with which the rigor of its justice diminished. And as a perpetual reminder of this calamity she is taken out the 31st of March in procession, to remember the event of ruin that fell upon this city. And don Alonso Cortés de Monroy, native of the kingdoms of Trujillo, commissioned the painting of this canvas for perpetual memory of the event that fell upon this city.1

The painting is a civic-sized ex-voto measuring almost 11 feet high and 15 feet wide (3.34 x 4.62 meters), and though it carries no date or artist’s signature, it was probably created soon after the calamity.2 Don Alonso de Monroy y Cortés, whose name indicates his noble Spanish heritage, was surely the author of its text and set certain guidelines for its imagery. Yet a disparity can be discerned between the verbal and visual representation of two sacred images in the painting. As reported, Our Lady of the Remedies (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios), a miraculous painting of the Virgin and Child, was positioned in one of the three arched entrance-ways to the cathedral, yet only the back side and roof of this building appear at the bottom of the painting, next to the text block. An apparition of the Virgin descends into the city from the upper left, yet this figure has no material presence within the cityscape. What can be seen instead is a life-size crucifix in the Plaza de Armas facing the cathedral. It resembles a miraculous statue now known as Our Lord of the Earthquakes (Nuestro Señor de los Temblores) (Figs. 2, 3), though this image is not mentioned in the text.

The ex-voto announces itself as a perpetual memorial, but it leaves unresolved many questions that arise when its textual and pictorial narratives are compared. It is one of the earliest city views of Latin America, and importantly, its perspective was taken from the hill that

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1 Ex-voto of Cuzco’s 1650 Earthquake, ca. 1651, oil on canvas, 10 ft. 11½ in. x 15 ft. 2 in. (3.34 x 4.62 m), Cathedral of Cuzco (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Daniel Giannoni)

2 Ex-voto of Cuzco’s 1650 Earthquake, ca. 1651, oil on canvas, 10 ft. 11½ in. x 15 ft. 2 in. (3.34 x 4.62 m), Cathedral of Cuzco (artwork in the public domain; photograph by Daniel Giannoni)
overlooks the indigenous artisans’ district of San Blas (Fig. 4). Though we do not know the ethnicity of its artist, the painting’s hegemonic perspective offers a revision of Inca ceremonial and social order that are explicitly rendered in the colonial Spanish architecture. In Inca times the Plaza de Armas was part of a much larger hourglass-shaped twin plaza called Huacaypata and Cusipata, which was divided by the Huatanay River and organized according to Andean moiety divisions of *anan* (upper) and *urin* (lower). The Spanish colonists constructed new buildings along the Huatanay, transforming the Huacaypata into the Plaza de Armas in order to make it conform to a more European model of an ideal city. The same was done to the Cusipata to create the Regocijos Plaza for the town council (*cabildo*), and, beyond Regocijos, a third plaza was constructed in front of the Franciscan church, identified in the painting by the toppling gray bell tower and vaulted architecture. While the irregular outline of the original twin plaza can be perceived in the city even today, the artist forced the streets into a gridlike pattern. Despite this orthogonal integrity, the lines of the streets never converge at any single vanishing point, evoking the rumbling, chaotic toll of the earthquake. Presenting the experiential viewpoint from above San Blas must have been seen as adequate compensation for the drawbacks of minimizing the cathedral’s presence and obscuring the Remedios image. This perspective allows Cuzqueños and others who see the painting to readily envision themselves within the pictorial space, that is, to become superior witnesses of the past event.

The 1650 temblor is without doubt the worst catastrophe that has hit this highland city. Of Cuzco’s twenty or so churches, monasteries, and hospitals, only Santa Clara, San Juan de Dios, and the cathedral remained standing. Adding to the destruction were the devastating droughts and crop failures that followed for a year afterward, and the city’s population plummeted. Yet Cuzco then experienced an unparalleled florescence of artistic activity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Scholars recognize that the earthquake was the catalyst that ushered in what some have called the Andean Baroque, a style of art and ritual life that combines Christian subject matter with indigenous imagery and ritualized spaces. Such a movement depended on the resiliency of Andean values in their new Christian guise as they were expressed and maintained in ritual. The earthquake painting demonstrates that this resiliency found its way into both the verbal narrative and the mental contemplation of miraculous images. As well, this great social transformation made room for a generation of competing narratives that eventually favored Temblores over Remedios as the primary intercessor against earthquakes.

I argue that this painting enabled Temblores to gain in prominence during the middle colonial period (1650–1750), but it could do so only by moving across the fissures that emerged between the text and image of the painting as a continual memorial of the...
While both Remedios and Temblores were evoked during personal crises and natural disasters, their miraculous powers were experienced along two discrete registers of social intercourse: Spanish bureaucracy and local commemorative ceremonies. Whereas Remedios’s legitimacy was documented from its Spanish origins to its proven miracles, Temblores’s origin was enshrouded in legend, free from documentary history and thus from Spanish authorial claims. As the ritual performances of images in the Plaza de Armas catalyzed social memory, the narratives that unfolded from them often diverged and competed with one another, especially within Cuzco’s heterogeneous population. Thus, while the earthquake painting claims to reflect “for perpetual memory” the catastrophic event, the disjunction between its textual and pictorial content has allowed Temblores to occupy the privileged devotional space once reserved for Remedios. This is not only because the text in the earthquake painting is a historical document to be read only by the literate, but also because it is disjoined from the action that the image depicts, which continues to participate in the ritual life of the city. In other words, unwritten narratives have popularized Temblores in a way that was not available to Remedios, whose history, ironically, was well documented. Yet the blanks and inconsistencies in these records offer some purchase toward understanding how local religion was stabilized along alternative narratives that eventually befitted Temblores as divine intercessor.

FROM OUR LADY OF THE FORSAKEN TO OUR LADY OF THE REMEDIES
The name of the painting of the Virgin changed from Desamparados (Forsaken) to Remedios (Remedies) in one of the most unusual twists of logic to accompany a sacred image. Monroy had brought the painting to Cuzco four years before the earthquake when he himself had experienced a miraculous intervention through the painting. At that time a local artist added Monroy’s coat of arms at the bottom of the canvas and an inscription that reads, “Don Alonso D. Monroy carried this image of Our Lady of the Remedies to this cathedral in the city of Cuzco [and to] the illustrious bishop, lord and doctor don Juan Alonso Ocón on the fourteenth of December in the year 1646” (Fig. 5). The painting is copied directly from the patron saint of Valencia, Spain, a miraculous statue known there as Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados. It emphasizes the sculptural nature of the original by depicting curtains that part to reveal the Virgin wearing an embroidered red robe and coif standing on an altar. The Christ child holds a cross as he gazes affectionately at his mother. As she looks toward the viewer, she reaches down toward one of two infants—the desamparados or forsaken—who are kneeling and floating in the air. Their bodies are cut in several places, including their necks, recalling the forsaken children of the Massacre of the Innocents. As the painting’s iconography is readily traceable to its Valencian prototype, it would have been considered to have the
same thaumaturgical properties; however, there is no record of its performing miracles until Monroy’s incident. Monroy, who was neither forsaken nor insane,9 had a stab wound that was miraculously healed by the Virgin when she spoke to him from the painting. Such an act already expanded the miraculous image’s role and could have been the reason for the revision of the painting’s name. Nonetheless, the narrative about this imported image cuts against the grain of many of the contemporary iterations of the Virgin, which retained their original Spanish names even after they performed new miracles in the Americas, often despite significant changes in iconography. Attempts by the artist Diego de Ocana to promote the Spanish sculpture of the Virgin of Guadalupe through his painted copies in Peru were met with similar questions of authenticity and domain, which he fervently defended along theological grounds, which he made relevant by incorporating Andean materials into its production.10 In addition to Remedios’s new epithet and chapel in the cathedral, the painting received not only the inscription but also the silver repoussé crowns. Each of these three acts—the renaming, the textual inscription, and the silver appliqués—localized the image as an Andean miraculous intercessor in profoundly different ways.

As with other apocryphal narratives about miraculous images in Cuzco, Remedios “chose” to go to that city through miraculous intervention, though her story is earlier than most. The narrative, which was established in paintings and documents, describes the cult figure’s transformation from a passive copy to an active agent who guided her own destiny to Cuzco. Although other miraculous images in that city garnered similar narratives of agency, narratives about Remedios hinge on the devotee, Monroy, who was directly affected by a miracle that was effected by the image. In the earthquake painting, Monroy guides our attention to the apparition of the Trinity and Virgin in the sky, from where she descends into the city supported by three putti—two of them gaze up at her as the third guides the group downward—while looking toward the Trinity and gesturing toward her heart and the city (Fig. 6).11 This apparition can be linked to the miraculous painting of Remedios through the coif and the flowing, brownish-red mantle lined in blue. She is not accompanied by the Christ child here because the presence of the Holy Trinity was necessary to complete the petition for disaster relief; a second incarnation in this composition would have been heretical. Consequently, the figure acquires a more animated quality, and the three putti, whose arms emerge from the clouds, seem to be guiding her much as if she were a processional statue.12 Nevertheless, nobody in the Plaza de Armas seems to notice her. Instead, everyone is attentive to the nearby crucifix.

This was not the first painting to celebrate the miracles of Remedios, nor was it the last. When Monroy first brought the miraculous image to Cuzco in 1646, Bishop Juan Alonso Ocón (r. 1642–51) commissioned a series of six paintings celebrating it to be hung in the parish church of Santa Ana. This parish is identified by its tall ceremonial arch in the upper-right corner of the earthquake painting, even though it is actually much farther away (Figs. 1, 4). Because the parish is located at the edge of the city on the road to Lima,
its church welcomed guests with numerous paintings that documented the city’s ceremonial history. Though Bishop Ocón’s Santa Ana paintings are now lost, fortunately their texts and/or images were copied at least two times in the mid-eighteenth century. The first instance is a textual transcription by the mayor (corregidor) and chronicler of Cuzco, Diego de Esquivel y Navia, in his Noticias cronologicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco (1749) (App. 1). The second is found in a series of paintings executed under the patronage of Bishop Juan de Castañeda Velasquez y Salazar (r. 1749–62) (App. 2). The latter paintings were created when Castañeda moved the Remedios Chapel in the cathedral to its present location—the first on the epistle (right) side from the main entrance. The Noticias lists six Santa Ana paintings, yet Castañeda’s series contains eight. The latter still hang on the interior jambs of the chapel’s entrance, four on each side, and thus serve as the introduction to the Remedios Chapel (Fig. 7a–h). In these paintings, Castañeda changed the scope and function of Ocón’s series by omitting some of the scenes it contained and adding others, and by reorganizing the original texts that accompanied the images. Though each series describes the evolving status of the cult figure as her name was changed from Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, each does so differently by emphasizing its particular bishop’s patronage. We can gather a more complete story of the lost Santa Ana series by correlating these sources, which reveal as much about the history of Remedios as they do about the varied intentions of two Spanish bishops, a century apart, to promote the image in two different colonial climates. According to the Noticias, the first
scene in the Santa Ana series is set on Christmas night in 1645 in Huancavelica, a notorious mercury-mining town on the road between Lima and Cuzco, where Monroy served as a crown-appointed trustee (*encomendero*). It depicted Monroy in a crowd listening to musicians when, so the *Noticias* say, a mulatto stabbed him in the neck. The second painting showed Dominican monks carrying him to a bed underneath the painting of Remedios. These two scenes do not appear in Castaneda’s series; however, they appear at the bottom of another canvas in the Remedios Chapel (Fig. 8). This unusual image features a swirling heavenly vision of Saint Michael in the center gazing up toward the Trinity, represented by three identical figures of Christ holding the key to the kingdom of heaven and seated behind a jewel-encrusted lectern embellished with the monogram of Mary. Thirteen winged figures in a semicircle pray facing the center, while winged heads of cherubim complement them in another semicircle. Mary, Joseph, and Saint John the Baptist are on the left praying toward the Trinity, and Joachim and Anne appear similarly on the right; the lowest register is occupied by Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Francis of Assisi. While ostensibly copied from the first two paintings of the lost Santa Ana series, these two small scenes of Monroy’s tragedy are relegated to marginalia in the lower corners of this divine vision, adjacent to blank cartouches that are cut off by the frame. Likewise, Castaneda’s exclusion of these scenes from his series effectively minimizes the agency of Monroy that was so prominent in Ocón’s Santa Ana series.
The third and fourth of the lost Santa Ana paintings stressed the transition of the miraculous image from Valencia to Cuzco. In the third, Monroy lay in bed, pale and wounded, gazing at the painting of the Virgin from which he hears a "patent voice [voz patente]." This scene was recopied into another large canvas in the chapel, where the miraculous painting speaks through a banderole winding sinuously from painting to penitent (Figs. 9, lower left, 10): "Alonso, llebame a la cathedral, de la ciudad del Cuzco" (Alonso, take me to the cathedral of the city of Cuzco). According to the Santa Ana narrative he responded, “Señora mia, si como me habéis dado vida, me dais salud, os llevaré adonde me mandas” (My Lady, as you have given me life, you have given me health; I will take you where you command). He then recovered without medicine but with a wound that left only a scar and a speech impediment. The Santa Ana narrative then elaborated on Remedios’s translation to Cuzco, which began with a solemn procession from the chapel of Saint Sebastian in the hospital of San Juan de Dios to the great cathedral, where Bishop Ocón received Monroy and the painting. The narrative then looked back in time to recount that the painting had been copied from the Valencian Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados before moving to and staying in Mexico for thirty years, in Lima for twelve years, in Huancavelica for thirteen years, and finally to Cuzco, “where she decided to remain for the good and protection of this city.”

Castañeda reordered these scenes, which today appear out of sequence, into a strict chronology, beginning with a view of the walled city of Valencia and continuing with a ship under
A depiction of Monroy’s miracle in Huancavelica follows, though the text of that painting carries on with the description of the image’s sojourn (Fig. 7c). This departs from the arrangement of inscriptions in Ocón’s original series (App. A), and consequently Monroy’s voice is lost.

The transformation of the painting’s name and identity was apparently complete when Monroy fulfilled his vow to take the image to Cuzco. After his processional entrance into the city, the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities recorded his testimony in order to validate that the miracle-producing painting was not a hoax or a trick of the devil. Present during this testimony were Bishop Ocón and don Vasco Contreras y Valverde, the dean of the cathedral, who recorded it in his *Relación de la ciudad de Cusco* (1649). Importantly, a year before the great earthquake, Contreras y Valverde remarked that Remedios could be responsible for relieving the city from earthquakes as well as plagues and other natural misfortunes. His validation of the image’s extended powers was warranted not only by Monroy’s status as *encomendero* but also by his scar and speech impediment.

I took his declaration, warning him first about the excommunication that befalls those who publish false miracles, and under it he declared that which I have related, and he showed the sign of the injury in his tongue, which left him with some difficulty in pronunciation. Although this miracle, not by this [alone] would be authentic, the injury, the stammering and sincerity of the subject give strong evidence to be true, moreover that he offered information about it in the said document from religious and lay witnesses who were present at the case.

Monroy was obviously physically damaged by the incident in Huancavelica, and his voice never fully recovered. Along with his mouth and throat revealing signs of a miraculous recovery, his voice registered more authoritatively than his testimony, and he spoke with such “sincerity” that the dean was convinced of Remedios’s miraculous powers. Moving through the formal procedures to authenticate the image, Cuzco’s two leading religious authorities documented the miracle performed by Remedios and recorded the new narrative in the Santa Ana paintings.

The lost Santa Ana paintings thus served as testimony of Remedios’s supernatural powers as much as they lured viewers into the city to personally witness the miraculous painting. Whereas the first four of these paintings tied Monroy’s destiny to that of Remedios, the last two culminated with the fulfillment of his vow. The fifth proclaimed that the image was immediately recognized and worshipped by everyone in the city in a great celebration, and then waxed on about how she was exalted:

with thunderous applause from the whole city, for they recognized the benefit that they have in her, for she asked from her very mouth to be brought to this city; without doubt to show her benevolence, using her compassion in her intercession with her Holy Son, as experienced in the great earthquakes that happened in this city four years after she arrived, that the wrath of Our Lord God was manifested because of our sins, and without any doubt would have destroyed it if not for the intercession of Our Lady of the Remedies: and this benefit must be present in our memory to serve Him all our lives and to be slaves of this Lady and Queen of the Angels.
This description, chronicled in the Noticias and city annals for the year 1646, anachronistically alludes to the great earthquake of 1650 while, at the same time, suggesting that it derives from the narrative of the 1646 painting. Yet this inconsistency should not be surprising, given that Esquivel y Navia often added flourishes like this in his Noticias and, as we shall see, especially when the topic was Temblores.

Castañeda did not replicate the ceremonial entrance as part of his series, but this scene does appear as part of the large canvas mentioned above, juxtaposed with Monroy’s miracle scene (Figs. 9, lower register, 11). This scene combines two separate moments of the image’s triumphal entry—a civic performance and the ritual procession of the image. The procession is led by ecclesiastic standard-bearers who move around a sunken plaza toward an archway, ostensibly the arch of Santa Ana, where finely clad indigenous standard-bearers wait to join in. The Remedios painting has been taken out from under a baldachin, followed by Bishop Ocón, who appears just behind it wearing a red mantle, and Monroy, identified by his particular mustache and hairstyle, farther behind. In the plaza, indigenous and African musicians accompany a mock battle between Spanish and indigenous soldiers. Ladies look from balconies hung with bright tapestries, while a dark-skinned boy and woman draw water from the fountain. The conflation of civic and ceremonial space is underscored in this imagined scene, which looks nothing like the plaza of Santa Ana or any other in Cuzco. Additionally, the crowd is marked by a racial division, as the figures watching the spectacle in the plaza are painted in the same darker palette as the indigenous standard-bearers. In contrast, the foreground procession is performed and observed by Spanish magistrates, and except for a few key actors in the scene, they are so conventionalized that many of them have identical facial features.

Bishop Ocón’s series began a visual dialogue with pilgrims, from Santa Ana to the cathedral, where they could anticipate an encounter with the miraculous image. The sixth and final painting showed the bishop establishing a brotherhood (cofradía) to guard over the miracle-working figure. Narrating from the painting, Esquivel y Navia’s Noticias tell us that the bishop commissioned the series to be hung in the parish church.
The next day the illustrious lord don Juan Alonso de Ocón, bishop of this city, ordered that both cabildos of this city come together in front of this Sovereign Queen of the Angels, just like the secular cabildo and the canons did, because one and all had the great fortune to be considered her servants, and all the gentlemen and lords of the entire city followed their example. And today they have forgotten this benefit, that they must be committed to this Sovereign Queen and Mother of sinners, to whom the devout consecrate these paintings.26

In text and image, this painting legitimized Remedios and urged its viewers toward the center of Cuzco, where they “must be committed to this Sovereign Queen and Mother of sinners.” Bishop Ocón took advantage of Santa Ana, the portal to the city, by directing the traveler through the painting’s voyage from Valencia, to Mexico, Lima, Huancavelica, and, finally, Cuzco, as the Virgin increasingly gained agency through the painting. On arriving in Cuzco, beginning at the hospital of San Juan de Dios and moving on to the cathedral, she acquired her new name and an extension of her domain, which now ranged from Monroy’s personal catastrophe to citywide calamities. The principal subjects of this narrative—first Monroy, then the Virgin, and finally Cuzco—emphasize the cult figure’s destination in the cathedral and its eventual dominion over earthquakes, plagues, and floods. Castañeda apparently had this scene copied as the fourth in his series, and its text paraphrases the Santa Ana narrative while documenting the date December 15, 1646, for the dedication of the cofradía (Fig. 7d). This would have been the day after her arrival and the day on which Contreras y Valverde performed the validation ceremony mentioned above. Together, the two events legitimized the image’s divine power and constituted an official cult, which were sanctioned by the cabildo as they were recorded in narrative paintings and textual inscriptions.

Bishop Ocón’s now-lost paintings had promoted the travels and miracles of Remedios as witnessed by multiple honorable Spanish magistrates. Nonetheless, by Bishop Castañeda’s time her popularity had receded to such an extent that he felt the need to revive and reshape it. His fifth canvas, which shows the cathedral’s facade, depicts the 1650 earthquake and refers textually to Monroy’s ex-voto (Fig. 7e). Christ and the Virgin appear in clouds hovering over the scene, though the text discusses the procession depicted in the painting.

On March 31 in 1750 at 1:00 in the afternoon, an earthquake hit for the duration of three credos, during which befell much ruin to the religious temples, monasteries and houses, finishing with the same violence that it began. At that moment this image was taken out to the center of the plaza, and it was considered piously that because of her intercession the said earthquake finally ceased, [and in] memory and remembrance the large painting that is in the sacristy of this Holy Cathedral Church was commissioned to be painted.

The curious error of the year may refer to the centennial celebration, at which time, it states, Monroy’s earthquake painting was in the cathedral’s sacristy. However, the scene derives neither from Monroy’s painting nor from its text. Remedios is absent from the facade, although the Virgin appears as an apparition in the sky, where she turns her attention to Christ, who is holding a lightning bolt aimed at the city—a detail that will be discussed below. The artist clearly favored Christ as intervener and the Virgin as intercessor in a way that is more subtly presented in the earthquake painting.

To further the revival of Remedios’s cult, Castañeda added to his series subsequent miracles that are not found in any other source. The first occurred as the Jesuits were installing the bell of La Compañía (The Company [of Jesus]; Fig. 7f). The text states that the
supporting beams began to crack, so people prayed to Remedios, who fixed them. The Jesuits responded by saying a novena for the image “in perpetuity [en adelante].” Although this miracle is not dated, it is the first and only mention of any relationship between Remedios and the Jesuits. La Compañía, which is located at the corner of the Plaza de Armas next to the cathedral, was destroyed in the quake but rebuilt between 1651 and 1668. It does not appear in Monroy’s painting—a much simpler structure stands in that place—perhaps in response to a rivalry between the Jesuits and the cabildo that came to a head during this time (Fig. 1). As the impressive height of the new Compañía threatened to overshadow the grandeur of the cathedral, the cabildo petitioned the king to order the Jesuits to stop construction, but the Jesuits completed their mission as litigation slowly proceeded from Spain to Rome. The greatest contender on the side of the cabildo was none other than don Vasco Contreras y Valverde, the dean who, as witnessed above, validated Monroy’s miracle. This suggests that Contreras y Valverde had some input regarding the earthquake painting and that, a century later, Castañeda noticed the omission and attempted to bring the Jesuits into the fold.

Overall, Castañeda’s visual campaign in the new Remedios Chapel shifted the Virgin’s domain from natural disasters such as earthquakes, plagues, and floods to small-scale catastrophes and personal calamities, such as the one originally bestowed on Monroy. In this continued effort to acknowledge Remedios’s power to protect all segments of the city’s population, he added another miracle that was bestowed on an indigenous devotee (Fig. 7g). This painting illustrates Remedios above her altar in the chapel, and its inscription narrates how, in 1761, an Indian was hanging a painting when he accidentally fell off the ladder; however, thanks to Remedios, he landed safely. Castañeda died in 1762, so these paintings were likely his final commission. The eighth and final painting is a portrait of him holding his heart before Remedios’s altar, and the text confirms that he “offers his Heart, that which is at the foot of the Altar table in this Chapel” (Fig. 7h). This was not an uncommon practice of spiritual sovereignty in Europe and the Americas during this time, and it effectively consecrated the chapel under his patronage of Remedios.

With heart in hand, the bishop appears again wearing round spectacles at the lower left corner of the large tripartite canvas (Fig. 9). The three parts form a complex typology that connects the Virgin’s first and last moments, her naming and ascension. While the lower register juxtaposes Monroy’s miracle with the ceremonial entrance of the painting, a banquet scene spans the upper register. The child Mary appears at a large table, while Monroy and Castañeda, dressed in acolyte robes, place a crown on her head. Two angels hold another crown, supported on a cushion, above her head, alluding to her future coronation in heaven. The coronation of the child Mary was not a new theme in Cuzco. It was part of the Litany of Mary, songs that were surely sung in the chapel, based on an apocryphal account of her childhood. A series of canvases celebrating the Litany of Mary, currently in the chapel of La Linda in the cathedral, is attributed to the important late seventeenth-century indigenous artist Francisco Chivantito. In this series, a scene identical to Castañeda’s coronation scene appears with the caption, “On the eighth day they gave the holy name of Mary to the young infant celebrated in a solemn feast, to which Saint Anne summoned some priests, without whom this sacred name cannot be found, that which he writes in his book.” In these paintings, the pair of crowns represents the full cycle of Mary’s life, from her naming ceremony to her final ascension, which dovetails with the name change from Desamparados to Remedios as the Virgin made her way into Cuzco. Here, Castañeda moved one step further to include himself among historical and biblical personages and as equal in status with the long-deceased Monroy. Appearing on Mary’s right, he is in the privileged position in Christian iconography, and the scribe to his right dutifully records the event. Though Castañeda never claimed to
have had a vision of Remedios, his series explicitly brings the miracles up-to-date by including constituents from more varied social classes from the city, as he underscores his pious service by donating his heart to the new altar. Yet, as we know, despite this effort to demonstrate the Virgin’s relevance to Cuzco, Temblores somehow prevailed.

ANDean SPACE AND EVIDentiARY FRAMES
The hill above San Blas provides a natural vista over the cathedral and into the Plaza de Armas (Figs. 1, 4), making this view part of the shared identity of Cuzqueños. The earthquake painting takes advantage of this position to reveal a theme of chaos and order in the city’s architecture and among its people. It is one of the earliest city views in Spanish America, created out of the emergent need to pull the city and its citizens together after a major crisis. Richard Kagan has analyzed the civic view through the dialectic of urbs, the ordered architectural space of the city, and civitas, the moral rectitude of its people as creators of and actors within that ordered space. In particular, he argues that the earthquake painting is “a devotional painting meant for didactic purposes” that presents “a graphic illustration of the efficacy of vocal prayer” and thus serves as a reminder of the city as a “Christian Republic.” Framed this way, Kagan contends, the painting emphasizes civitas over urbs, but the image’s inversion of disorder and order complicates such a binary of urbs and civitas. While the streets and plazas evoke colonial control, the architecture itself is clearly crumbling apart, and while people are frantically scattering through the plazas, regular files of mendicants move calmly toward the plazas and priests draw large crowds with smaller crucifixes. Nonetheless, the Spanish coat of arms with the royal crown and Golden Fleece floats above the city as if to stake an imperial claim on the “Christian Republic.” Like a seal of approval, it also mediates between two other celestial images—an animated sun, commonly seen in Andean iconography during this era, and Monroy’s miraculous vision—and thus between indigenous and Spanish causalities.

The Plaza de Armas is the central stage on which the city’s collective effort to persevere through the disaster is displayed. However, regarding the painting only as a didactic illustration elides the fact that Cuzco’s multicultural audience would continually have had divergent personal engagements with the natural vista and the represented space. In other words, contemporary reality shows that the intentions set out in the painting do not match its reception. Stella Nair’s discussion of Chivantito’s Virgin of Montserrat (1693) in the nearby town of Chinchero shows how this artist’s visual description of a miraculous Spanish Virgin can carry out a religious and political agenda in Peru. Unlike those of Remedios, Montserrat’s name and iconography were consistent with her prototype in Spain. Chivantito incorporated a view of the town of Chinchero while celebrating the Spanish prototype of the Virgin of Montserrat, which is localized through the inclusion of Inca architecture and situated within Andean domains of ritual space. His landscape highlights the intermediary roles of indigenous chiefs, musicians, and women, who mark cultural difference and signal Andean social heritage within new colonial spaces. Our anonymous artist of the earthquake painting paid less attention to the sacred mountains surrounding Cuzco, which even today have personal names and animated stories in Andean lore. In the painting, they serve merely as a backdrop for the narrative that unfolds in the center. Furthermore, the artist forced the irregular streets of Cuzco into a grid, befitting Spanish ideals of an ordered city, and downplayed any vestige of the massive Inca stone walls that supported the crumbling Spanish buildings. These heavy stone walls still survive and define much of the old city, and they certainly would have testified to the resiliency of the Inca state through a sense of urbs. In accordance with this reorganization of space and in order to localize a new narrative, the artist magnified the three plazas
and included the parish church of Santa Ana at the extreme upper right, even though it is much farther away in actuality.

Certainly, the dean of the cathedral, Contreras y Valverde, was involved in the creation and display of the earthquake painting. He and Monroy worked with Bishop Ocón to produce the miracle narrative about Remedios in 1646. Kagan describes Contreras y Valverde as a “militant creole” who set out to highlight the “Christian Republic” from a local perspective but for a Spanish criollo audience.35 Monroy, however, was from Trujillo, Spain, and probably had little involvement in the city. Yet it is important to note that Contreras y Valverde’s 1649 Relación does not discuss Temblores or any other crucifix, though it does record Remedios’s validation ceremony and establish its reputation to protect people from earthquakes, plagues, and other natural disasters. The central paradox thus reemerges when comparing Contreras y Valverde’s text with the painting, for while his Relación betrayed a blind spot regarding Temblores, the artist visually emphasized the crucifix.

The painting seems to have been adapted from another document, the Relación del terremoto del Cuzco, printed and circulated by the royal printer Julien de Paredes in 1651.36 This is likely the same source that Esquivel y Navia cites as Tratado de temblores by Antonio Robles Cornejo, a Spanish physician who was in Cuzco at the time of the earthquake.37 If this was the case, then Robles was apparently unaware of the cult of Remedios, for he does not mention her at all. Instead, his narrative creates an ocular perspective over the city, much as the earthquake painting does, by opening with the time and duration of the quake and moving through its multiple episodes. The narrative presented by the Relación appears to have been a guideline for the pictorial layout of the painting. Both detail people’s terror and acts of contrition, and they describe several processional images taken out of collapsing structures. The first procession was of the Holy Sacrament, and then Nuestra Señora de la Soledad (Our Lady of Solitude) was taken from the church and convent of La Merced and around the Plaza de Armas, “returning close to its house. Because the Convent fell they placed it in front of the principal portal.” In the earthquake painting, the church of La Merced appears in the second plaza (Regocijos) at the lower left, where priests carry out their sacred image as the building collapses (Fig. 12). Paredes then discusses a crucifix taken from San Juan de Dios to the plaza, around which “a large crowd of people gathered.” Later, when the main cathedral began to crack open at the choir, they again “took the Holy Sacrament to the plaza and had a general procession of penitence, where many of the religious orders and clerics came out, in which went more than one thousand persons in penitence.” The scene unfolding in the magnified Plaza de Armas features a monstrance under a canopy and a large crucifix, emphatically out of scale, with the crowd of one thousand (or innumerable) people rendered as a semicircular mob of heads (Fig. 3). Robles noted other acts of contrition, such as barefoot priests covered in ashes and flagellating themselves. Such behavior appears throughout the painting in all three plazas. In particular, one barefoot penitent at the upper left of the Plaza de Armas contemplates a skull while holding chains for self-mortification (Fig. 3), and priests in all three plazas hold up smaller crucifixes with smaller groups of penitents reaching toward them.

The religious tone of Paredes’s 1651 Relación carries with it a political message, as a relación was a printed and circulated relation of events that formed part of the controlling arm of the patrimonial bureaucratic state. This genre, printed at official presses and circulated
throughout the colonies, reorganized a system of reports from the colonies into an imperial ideological framework that was disseminated from center to periphery. Their legitimacy was “granted through the alienated political codes that have become a simulacrum of seigniorial power.”

Paredes’s *Relación* of the earthquake, as an arm of imperial rule, stands out as both a legitimizing document and a symbol of political order. Perhaps Paredes and his source chose not to cite Contreras y Valverde’s 1649 *Relación* because they objected to his attempt to center this genre on the city of Cuzco rather than the imperial seat of Madrid, but it is possible that they did not know about it at all. Nonetheless, the earthquake painting participates in the rhetorical structure of the *relación* by replicating Paredes’s account. Interestingly, however, whereas the painting’s text and all other local descriptions calculate the duration of the earthquake in terms of how long it took to recite the Apostles’ Creed (*credo*), Paredes placed it at seven and a half minutes. It is unclear whether or not this calculation is based on his personal recitation of the creed, but it seems incredibly long.

If we consider the painting as a space for continued thought and interaction, alternative narratives may be woven into the urban fabric it represents. Ritual enactments in commemorative ceremonies would embed Temblores with a meaning that does not reside in printed texts or painted images but, rather, was mobilized through rituals, how they were performed and experienced, their emotional appeal, and the oral narratives that revolved around them. Whereas printed texts were part of the Spanish bureaucratic state, social memory in the Andes had subsumed such evidentiary sources to these performances. Antonio Cornejo Polar has shown how verbalized texts and actual documents were incorporated metalinguistically into Andean performances, as they emulated the lettered class of colonial rule but incorporated the local political desires of the performers. Rather than serving as directives for the performance, “texts [that] continue to [be] represented and accepted by social groups [are] seemingly capable of transcending their linguistic opaqueness in order to find a passionately ritualized, symbolic meaning beyond the words.” As certain local narratives are lifted up in performance, corresponding images similarly manifest previously unascribed meaning, operating alongside texts and incorporating them symbolically if not also performatively. Such a disjunction between multiple narratives of the same event is evident in the earthquake painting, for the image can be read according to its textual inscription or followed pictorially according to Andean narratives and concepts. Its text draws attention to the miraculous apparition in the sky, yet the prominent crucifix within the cityscape confirms local presence, and local witness, of the divine.

A closer examination of some of the figures in the plazas reveals more responses to the quake that do not appear in Paredes’s *Relación*. The independent Cuzqueño scholar Alfredo Hinojosa Gálvez is the first author who has published on the meaning of these figures, whose presence he reads as subtle attempts to depict social and ethnic differences. While Hinojosa derived his reading of the painting from unidentified sources, his interpretations may be considered part of local knowledge of the event that occupies that metalinguistic space identified by Cornejo Polar. Toward the lower right in the Plaza de Armas, three female figures—a black woman, a white or mestizo (mixed-race Spanish and indigenous) woman, and a child—escape from the collapsing buildings, followed by a dog and another frantic couple (Fig. 1). Hinojosa identifies the black woman as the slave María Angola who later, with the other woman, donated jewels to pay for the largest bell for the cathedral in 1659. He also identifies the hazy, cowering figures in the Plaza de Armas as Andean women kissing the ground in reverence to Pachamama (mother earth) so that she would intervene through Pachacutec (transformer) by balancing Pachacamac (orderer), the forces that mediate human (and all) temporal and spatial existence. As mentioned, the painting also parallels Paredes’s 1651 *Relación*,

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especially in its highlighting of Andean religiosity, and yet it could be read according to these Andean forces or gods. Likewise, the Host, which Paredes described more than once, appears underneath a canopy adjacent to the crucifix in one of the most difficult parts of the painting to interpret (Fig. 3). Hinojosa suggests that it is a retouched image of the Immaculate Conception, though this opens more questions than it answers. Indeed, the “monstrance” appears to be dressed like a statue, with a white gown and mantle embroidered with gold on the outside and with blue fabric on the inside, but the miraculous image of Remedios is a painting, not a sculpture.45 It is possible that this area of the painting was retouched, but even if it originally depicted the Virgin, this would not explain why Remedios was left out of all textual descriptions of the catastrophe except for the inscription on the earthquake painting.

Such a lacuna in the textual and pictorial records suggests that local audiences had more limited engagement with Remedios herself than they did with the earthquake painting, which can stand in for multiple perspectives of the catastrophe. Adjacent to the crucifix, a priest censing the Host stands near four priests with tonsured heads (Fig. 3). According to Hinojosa, the four heads form a pattern like the constellation of the Southern Cross, which is associated with the chakana (stepped cross), a pervasive symbol throughout the Andes.46 Whether or not this was intended, the chakana is relevant to the meaning of the cross at this location. Josef Estermann considers the chakana to be analogous to the Christian cross, fused into a symbol that serves not as a reminder of Christ’s death (and rebirth) but as a bridge or place of transition between cosmic regions “that makes possible the relationship between different entities and the encounter between different levels.”47 This is in concert with Hinojosa’s identification of the sun above as Pachacamac, an Andean concept related to the supreme deity, Wiracocha, and thus a loose cognate of the Christian God. Yet, Wiracocha “was not Creator or Maker, but Organizer and Mobilizer of the universe. He has the task ‘to recreate’ constantly a cosmos out of chaos (not from nothing), a chaos caused by a pachakuti (cosmic cataclysm).”48 Human action affects the process of destruction and order, such as is represented by the chthonic power of Temblores, who counterbalances pachakuti and ensures a harmonious new era. Temblores thus stands in relation to Wiracocha through repeated ritual action in the Plaza de Armas, as Wiracocha reestablishes universal order within a “defined system of relationships.”49 Wiracocha’s first attribute is “providence,” and he is considered more as a caretaker and companion than a source of divine retribution. As Estermann notes, “In this sense people dearly call him [Christ] Taytacha,” the Quechua adaptation of the Latin tata (daddy) with the reverential -cha suffix, and the basis of his hybrid moniker Taytacha Temblores.50 As the Trinity may express the relationship between father and son in a way that is analogous to Wiracocha’s relation with humans, the Virgin often replaces the Holy Spirit as mother, a “sexual complement that also competes for its place in the deity: God Taytacha and goddess Mamacha (Virgin Mary) beget the Son, fruit of the intra-divine polarity.”51 Such ideas are founded on the concept of pacha, the earth as a sentient entity bound to temporal rules of exchange and return. Spanish magistrates failed to fully recognize this Andean cosmic paradigm, in which disorder is part of the process that moves toward harmonious beginnings rather than being a sign of divine judgment. Pacha involves an Andean notion of cyclical time, ayni, which equates the act of viewing the ex-voto panorama with the experience of having personally witnessed the event.

In Andean cosmology, past events are always visible and united with the present, whereas the future is considered behind one’s back and therefore unforeseeable.55 As past and present converge in the Plaza de Armas, Temblores could traverse Andean theological principles, but only by considering the watchful eye of the Spanish magistrates who sought to instill in neophytes the proper reverence toward images. To them, improper worship of an
image was a transgression that led to divine retributions such as earthquakes, and violators were severely punished on behalf of the community. For instance, during the earthquake Cuzco’s archdeacon, Juan de la Serda y de la Coruña, reported that the friars of San Francisco discovered a mestizo couple roasting and torturing a crucifix on a burning bed of coca leaves while verbally threatening it. He assured the king that he had the couple publicly whipped and then collected and burned all the coca in the area. The account blames an oft-mistrusted racial blend of Spanish and Indian, mestizo, for the religious transgression, but it is clear that Serda missed the point of the ritual if it is cast in Andean terms. Ayni is defined by Estermann as “a system of inter-related entities which depend on one another” through ritual acts of exchange. Entities are therefore not autonomous subjects in the world but dependent on their relations with one another for their effectiveness. This comes in various forms of obligatory payment or sacrifice, not “blackmail and manipulation of God on man’s part.” Roasting the crucifix on a bed of coca leaves, from an Andean perspective, was a sacrifice and guarantor of positive return. Similarly, the earthquake painting establishes a reciprocal exchange between witnessing the past catastrophe and the continued effective procession of Temblores to abate earthquakes.

Nonetheless, rituals of reciprocity are maintained between humans and particular places at those particular places; landscape and history are corelational and codependent. Hence, a sculpture’s efficacy hinges on its ability to be processed outside the cathedral and into the open air. To traverse the Plaza de Armas would be to recount a narrative of indigenous communal memory that was stored in the physical features of the city and its environs. The surrounding landscape and mountains hold the past, while sculptures such as Temblores capture the outpouring of emotions of the crowd, especially because of their particular spatial and material relations to the surrounding landscape. As a localization of the sacred, Temblores fits well with two related types of indigenous sacred objects known in Quechua as wank’a and wawqi, which were largely destroyed during the anti-idolatry campaigns of the sixteenth century but remained transfixed in Andean imaginations. Carolyn Dean identifies wank’a as “petrified owners of places, such as fields, valleys, and villages” in an Andean practice and belief system that predated the Inca. Wank’a could be amorphous and permanently fixed to a location, but many were movable phalluses plunged into the earth. They were always gendered male and corresponded with mallqui (ancestral cadaver or mummy) as their “female” counterpart. Wank’a were thus important for linking this world to the world of ancestors, particularly regarding territorial claims where they were situated. They also mediated all “natural” phenomena that were visible within their domain; their vantage point was tantamount to their possession and authority. Wawqi, a term used for “a male’s brother,” were nonrepresentational objects considered to be “portraits of the deceased” by containing essentials of his body (hair, fingernails). Importantly, as Dean points out, objects identified with this term “did not represent their flesh-and-blood brothers in the sense of temporarily standing in for them but were, in fact, perceived to be them” in the sense that they were the corelational or complementary halves of the deceased. Like wank’a, wawqi were related to mummies, and the two terms could refer to the same object depending on the context. According to restoration reports, Temblores is constructed of indigenous maguey paste and balsa wood that allows it to be easily carried, thus locating its manufacture (or repair) in the Andes. Maguey paste causes the material to which it is applied to harden, in a process that is analogous to mummification, and so the sculpture could be seen as a metaphoric equivalent to either wank’a or wawqi. Moreover, although Temblores was once polychromed, the sculpture has been allowed to weather and darken, conditions that reduce it to pure form and may connect it more directly to abstract features of the surrounding
Contested visions of Cuzco's 1650 earthquake environment. This also allows it to take part in indigenous narratives in which representational likeness was not a key factor generating meaning, and instead becomes bound with its spatial domain.

**AN ANDEAN PARAGONE: MATERIALITY AND MEMORY**

Devotion to Remedios was never widespread, despite Bishop Ocón’s efforts in the mid-seventeenth century and Bishop Castañeda’s revival of the cult in the mid-eighteenth. This failure may partially be due to Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Ángulo (r. 1673–99), who supported two other newly arrived miraculous Virgins, both of which he incorporated into the annual procession of Corpus Christi: Our Lady of Bethlehem (Belén) and Our Lady of Almudena. Mollinedo reconstructed the indigenous parish churches where these statues were housed, and he commissioned two large paintings commemorating each of them and their miracles to be hung prominently in the nave of the cathedral, where they remain today. The Remedios Chapel is within steps of these paintings, but it is now locked up and dark, passed over and ignored, whereas the Temblores Chapel is always brightly lit with several well-attended pews in front of it. At least until 1787, when Temblores’s chapel was dedicated on the fourth epistle (right) side at the crossing, the crucifix was probably stationed in one or more places in the cathedral, while Remedios sat comfortably in her own chapel.61

A plan of the cathedral from 1663 shows the Temblores Chapel to have been previously dedicated to the Holy Name of Mary (Fig. 13).62 According to that plan, Remedios occupied the third chapel on the right, though she was moved to the Baptistery of the Cures probably by Castañeda in 1762. Her curative properties may have allowed her to occupy this space, as Spanish magistrates surely thought that the appellation “Remedios” was more appropriate to Cuzco’s population than Desamparados. Yet her name change may have been confusing outside this circle, for there were already several other Remedios statues in Cuzco.63 Furthermore, Remedios’s association with Monroy, a foreigner (forestero) and encomendero of the mercury-mining town of Huancavelica, also likely alienated her from indigenous Andeans who were subjected to the harsh conditions of the encomienda (land trust) system of forced labor. The sad irony cannot be ignored, either, that only four years after her name and function had changed to preside over earthquakes, Cuzco was hit by the greatest one ever recorded there.

The crucifix’s success as a divine intercessor certainly resulted from its presence and vitality among its celebrants, as stories actively blended its European and Andean powers. In *Object and Apparition*, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi locates this theological discourse at the intersection of materiality and the presence of the divine, noting how sculpture is more capable than painting of finding resonance with Andean ideas of the supernatural.64 Remedios and Temblores shared similar arrival stories, though their differences reveal tensions between Spanish and Andean religiosity. Legends hold that Temblores was one of three miraculous crucifixes destined for that city on a journey from Lima; however, it was the only one of the three to arrive because the other two became unnaturally heavy at different points on their way, much in the same vein as the Inca legend of the “tired stone” recorded elsewhere.65 Temblores’s legendary telluric power gained purchase also
because its three-dimensional presence was better suited to processions in the Plaza de Armas. This history of this replacement is almost imperceptible within Cuzco’s social memory, but the earthquake painting continues to inscribe a pictorial narrative about Temblores’s efficacy. Already in the mid-eighteenth century, Esquivel y Navia completely relinquished Remedios’s powers to Temblores—not only of her domain over earthquakes but also over plagues and floods. The result could have been different if the Noticias had not been released the same year that Castañeda arrived in Cuzco, since the bishop worked to promote Remedios soon thereafter. Nevertheless, Temblores’s popularity also among Spanish and criollo audiences can be expected, as the slumping head, failing eyes, and emaciated body are consistent with Spanish processional crucifixes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially those from Seville. Indeed, it is a suffering figure whose downturned gaze draws the viewer in closer for a more intimate interaction with the Christ figure, and its movement through crowds results in a heightened emotional response. As in Europe, sculptures animated through processions in the Andes facilitated narratives of the miraculous at the same time they provided for social cohesion. The sculpture’s relevance to Cuzco’s Spanish and indigenous elite throughout the years is made clear by the numerous copies that were produced to be hung in private homes, each showing slight differences in the sudarios (the skirtlike loincloth) as well as the portable altar decorations that were created for different ceremonial events. Collectively, these copies constitute an intercultural history of patronage and pageantry during the crucifix’s rise in popularity.

Despite this proliferation of documents and images in the eighteenth century, there is no mention of Temblores in seventeenth-century documents. Apparently, several large statues of Christ were already in the cathedral, and it is likely that Temblores was nearby when Castañeda was at work on the Remedios Chapel. It is entirely doubtful, however, that Temblores was widely known as such at the time of the 1650 earthquake. Esquivel y Navia is confusing on the matter since, as witnessed above, he inserted his own commentary into the annals report. And though he cited Monroy’s earthquake painting among his sources, he did not provide much detail about it. Temblores was clearly more popular than Remedios was during Esquivel y Navia’s time, as he yielded the domain over earthquakes to the crucifix even while contradicting the earthquake painting’s text. He began his account for the year 1650 by stating that Remedios miraculously protected all but thirty-six people from dying in the earthquake, but his chronicle ends with the annual procession of Temblores.

Out of this calamity the procession was established to be held every year on March 31 from the cathedral, with the support of both cabildos, clergy, religious orders, and a great number of penitents, in which the image of the crucifix titled the Lord of the Earthquakes is taken out from its location in this church with great ceremony frequently by the people, being their only refuge and asylum not only during earthquakes but also plagues, droughts, and other tribulations. It is a constant tradition, this sacred effigy having been sent to Cuzco by the very Catholic and undefeated emperor Charles V.

He also directly contradicted Bishop Ocón’s sixth Santa Ana painting, no doubt to reflect recent memory. In addition to noting that the ceremony was held on March 31 only for Temblores, he dated the sculpture to the reign of Charles V (ca. 1558), thus outshining the antiquity of Remedios. In all likelihood, Temblores was regularly processed in the Plaza de Armas by the turn of the eighteenth century; he makes his next appearance in the Noticias in 1707, when he made an earthquake stop after only twenty-four hours. The crucifix surely made other undocumented appearances during plagues, droughts, and earthquakes, and by
1741 Temblores’s procession day was changed from March 31 to the Monday of Holy Week, the week before Easter.75

The crucifix’s popularity seems to have grown in the late seventeenth century during Mollinedo’s aggressive campaigns to promote art and ritual. Though there is no evidence that Mollinedo supported Remedios, he did make a large donation for a processional platform for a crucifix in the cathedral.76 He also reinvigorated Corpus Christi, the movable feast dedicated to the body of Christ, which continues to draw together sacred sculptures from indigenous parishes throughout the city for a great procession around the Plaza de Armas.77 During Mollinedo’s tenure, tensions mounted between artists of Spanish/criollo and indigenous/mestizo descent, which led to the guild splitting in 1688. This is often cited as the defining moment of the Cuzco school of painting, as indigenous artists were then able to work independently on major commissions and devotional images.78 More than 75 percent of the artists working in Cuzco during this time were of indigenous descent, and they constituted the best available.79 The most preeminent among them, Diego Quispe Tito (act. 1627–81) and Basilio Santa Cruz Pumacallao (act. 1661–98), adopted European techniques while working closely with Bishop Mollinedo to develop didactic and devotional paintings. Whereas Quispe Tito executed the cathedral’s early iconographic program (as well as that of his home parish church of San Sebastian), Santa Cruz Pumacallao’s life overlapped with the split of the guild and the culmination of Mollinedo’s career.

In the florescence of the Cuzco school, indigenous artists developed new pictorial techniques in accordance with Andean forms of devotion. No fewer than five painted copies of Remedios were produced during this era, the most stunning of which has been attributed to Pumacallao’s workshop (Fig. 14).80 Its use of brocateado, or gold leaf over the garments that mimics the estofado technique applied to sculptures in Spain and its colonies, is noteworthy. In sculpture, the floral gold-leaf patterns decorate the surfaces of garments; however, in painting, while the patterns also cover garments of sculptures, they conform to the fabric of the canvas and the picture plane. The gold leaf transforms the
Virgin’s red dress and mantle into monogrammed gold lace; Christ is likewise encased in a stiffened triangular gown. Their crowns have changed from silver repoussé to gold leaf; the Virgin’s aura appears as an eclipsed sun. The artist elides the lines between apparition, sculpture, and painting, as two cherubim open curtains to reveal the sculpture, flattened into a painted image by the *brocateado*. Saints Joseph and Teresa de Ávila appear in the lower foreground in the position of devotees, facing the viewer and impossibly gazing at the image behind them, underscoring the devotional icon as an object of mental contemplation. The adaptation of Remedios—the painted copy of the Valencian sculpture—into Andean visual modes calls attention to the invention and veneration of a sacred icon through local theological principles.

During this time, Spanish artists, primarily in Seville, explored the material distinctions between painting and sculpture in order to explain the efficacy of each to guide one’s contemplation of the divine. In his *Arte de la pintura*, the painter Francisco Pacheco discusses the proper iconography and techniques for painting sculpture. Pacheco worked for a period with the renowned sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés; together they produced, among other works, a crucifix in Seville’s cathedral famous for its miracle-working powers. The two came into certain disagreement, however, regarding the relative status of painting and sculpture, especially as the guild of sculptors sometimes painted their own sculptures. Pacheco developed precise techniques for this in his treatise as he argued for the superior status of painting above sculpture. According to him, sculpture is not materially complete without painting; the process, *encarnación*, is literally associated with Christ’s Incarnation. Pacheco appealed to the *paragone*, a personified dialogue between painting and sculpture that has deep theological undertones of the Counter-Reformation. In the dialogue, Sculpture accuses Painting of being false, as it is based in illusion, but Painting reminds Sculpture of its roots in idolatry. Such ideas were bound to Neoplatonic distinctions of image and prototype, as the *paragone* played out especially in Seville with representations of Christ. While Christ’s living Incarnation allowed artists to envision the divine, they were quick to realize the dangers of idolatry inherent in miracle-producing images. Pacheco and Martínez Montañés were certainly aware of such dangers even as they crossed the lines between two-dimensional and three-dimensional representations. The painter who claimed most success in this arena was Francisco de Zurbarán, who inserted trompe l’œil elements into his paintings, such as a note pinned to the bottom of the crucifix. This device reveals the deception of the illusion, or *engaño*, to the viewers, who come to a realization of this deception, or *desengaño*, that leads them toward an acceptance of divine truth apart from the material image.

In Western epistemology, God is an invisible force that manifests in, but is not complete in, the physical world. Hence, his Incarnation was necessary in the form of Christ. The rationale for the creation and worship of images was based on this notion, but such a concept is alien to indigenous Andean cosmology. While even miraculous images were thought to be conduits through which divine forces could intervene, Andean notions of the divine resist such Neoplatonic distinctions between sacred and profane. Nonetheless, the Cuzco school, fully conversant with the Counter-Reformation, explored a process of *engaño* and *desengaño* through metapictorial devices such as *brocateado*. The repetitive patterns of luminescent gold that float on top of the picture’s surface recall the mineral wealth of the Andes. *Brocateado* can be likened not only to *estofados*; it can also be likened to the metallic brocade sewn on the garments worn by sculptures during processions. Just as Cuzqueño painters explored the interchanges between representations and festival life, the application of *brocateado* emphasized the materiality of the Remedios painting even as it alluded to the (also miraculous) Valencian sculpture. The lacy gold pattern offers a distinction between material substance and divine...
essence as it dematerializes the image by dazzling the senses with radiant light. Conversely, Temblores’s lack of surface pattern has allowed it to intersect with Andean ideas of time and space—indeed, the supernatural—especially in ritual processions.

More than that of Remedios, Temblores’s three-dimensional presence recalls sacred Andean huacas, a term that refers generally to physical manifestations—anything from mountains to movable objects, natural or human-made—considered to have a concentrated sacred essence. To colonial Spanish magistrates, huaca worship crossed into the dangerous category of idolatry, which they confronted with a program of extirpation and conversion. Images of Christ and the Virgin were employed to replace huacas throughout the Andes; the earliest recorded procession of Temblores in 1707 may have been such a response to growing concerns of idolatry.84 The process of transferring the veneration of a huaca to a movable sculpture involved Andean ideas of corelationality, especially during its performance. The Spanish may have been ambivalent about the incorporation of indigenous dances and other ceremonies into the Corpus Christi celebrations as long as devotion was directed to the “proper” image.85 They seem to have hemmed in pre-Hispanic practices only when they perceived them to be contradictory to their own, as we have witnessed with the case of the roasted crucifix. Yet although Spanish magistrates sought to control the worship of images in Cuzco, they were unable to do so, as Remedios failed to take hold of the popular imagination.

As the preeminence of Remedios and Temblores shifted through time, accounts of the 1650 event also shifted. This can be observed by comparing Monroy’s 1650 ex-voto of the earthquake with the same event pictured a century later in Bishop Castañeda’s series (Figs. 1, 7e). In each, the artists developed separate pictorial registers through which divine intervention is made visible.86 In different ways, these paintings depict visionaries in the lower register, closer to the spectator, as they mediate the miraculous event. Apparitions materialize from distant ephemeral clouds in the upper register, vertically connecting visionary and vision. The only person who seems to notice the apparition in Castañeda’s painting is an unidentified nun who kneels and raises her hands toward it. Monroy mediates such a visionary experience in the earthquake painting by gazing diagonally across the city scene to the apparition in the sky, hands in prayer. In contrast, in his portraits Castañeda looks toward the viewer, brandishing his heart as an offering (Figs. 7h, 10). More interestingly, his rendition of the 1650 earthquake presents the facade of the cathedral from the other side of the Plaza de Armas (Fig. 7e). The text refers to Monroy’s earthquake painting as “the large canvas that is in the sacristy of this cathedral,” but it contradicts this source in two important ways: the statue of Christ no longer appears in the Plaza de Armas; and the Remedios painting does not appear on the facade of the cathedral. Instead, Christ and the Virgin appear in the clouds in the sky. The Virgin turns toward Christ, who, intent on the city, wields a bolt of lightning that zigzags across the circle of clouds. Christ is thus equated with Wiracocha, who wields the illapa symbolizing his domain of thunder and lightning. Its iteration in the mid-eighteenth century attests to the resilience and yet another cross-cultural domain of Andean religion in Cuzco.

**SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES**

Whatever the role of the visionaries in paintings such as these, the material presence and three-dimensionality of sculptures such as Temblores localize the sacred in that the sculptures occupy the same spaces as the penitents. Paintings were processed through the streets on special occasions, as documented in Remedios’s entry into Cuzco, and there is no reason to doubt, as the earthquake painting professes, that the miraculous painting was processed every March 31 after 1650 in memory of her intercession. Nonetheless, the statement that she was to be processed “with her Sovereign Son” is ambivalent. It seems to indicate that the painting,
which shows the Virgin and Child, was that which was to be processed, but “her Sovereign Son” could also be interpreted to mean that the crucifix should be processed alongside Remedios. This would still follow the depiction in the Plaza de Armas and allow for Remedios to remain hidden from view on the facade of the cathedral. After a century of this occlusion, and perhaps in response to the great earthquake of Lima in 1746, Castaneda became anxious about the decreasing fame of Remedios, and, modeling himself on Monroy and Mollinedo, he rededicated the chapel as his foundational act of beneficence. Yet the failure of Remedios to take root may be attributed to her continual disassociation from city processions and her confusing origins as the Valencian Desamparados. It also may be attributed to the central role of Christ in the earthquake painting, in the space of the city, where one finds not the painting of Remedios, but the statue that is now identified as Temblores.

The tensions between text and image that began with the earthquake painting are resolved by engaging with alternative narratives that are born from ritual action, year after year, over centuries. This requires a methodology that accords equal weight to texts, images, and performances as they form and reform social memory. Memory is embedded not in any one place or time but takes root in the discursive interactions that draw on political, social, and religious boundaries at any particular moment. In the visual dialogue that takes place within and with the painting, the Virgin’s presence as an apparition, and her absence from the cityscape, is a paradox that cannot be resolved without considering Temblores, whose presence in the Plaza de Armas is complemented by the appearance of Christ in the Trinity. There, his attention is balanced by his position with God and the Holy Spirit, his interaction with the Virgin, and his gaze into the city. In contrast, the apparition of Remedios is moving into the city to intervene, though this appears to have gone unnoticed. The miraculous painting of Remedios was bound by Spanish notarial practices, but it did not fully intersect with Andean ideas of material presence until its adaptation within the Cuzco school of painting. Despite Spanish attempts to document and dictate Remedios’s interventions, Temblores’s popularity emerged because of ritual commemoration, where narratives and counternarratives could converge and commingle. Ritual action continues to negotiate disparity and dissonance by engaging with multiple perspectives of time, space, and human-divine relationships. While the earthquake painting was commissioned to celebrate Remedios’s intervention, it has become a social catalyst for the celebration of Temblores by engaging in the shared spaces of image and performance. Temblores, by all facts present, emerged from within the city, bound by relationships to Andean sacred landscape that were enacted in the Plaza de Armas. As the past is always present in Andean cosmology, the painting continues to be a repository for shifting memories and contested visions of the miraculous.

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Appendix I


1. En la villa de Guancavelica, habiendo ido don Alonso de Monroy y Cortés, natural de la ciudad to Truxillo en Extremadura, la noche de Navidad del año de 1645, a las cuatro de la mañana, a misa al convento de Santo Domingo, encontró en la acera de la iglesia algunos hombres y mujeres, gente suelta y perdida y entretenidos con guitarras, y uno de ellos, mulato, pareciéndole que le había empujado, le dio con una daga una puñalada por detrás en la nuca, que le pasó a la boca y le hirió a la lengua, de que cayó muerto, porque de su naturaleza es herida mortal, por ser en aquella parte, aun cuando no fuese tan penetrante.

2. Habiendo recibido tan cruel herida se hallo sin sentir dentro de la iglesia, porque no se sabe quién ni cómo [lo] llevó, y rodeado de los religiosos del convento estuvo tres cuartos de hora como muerto y sin sentido, sin poderse confesar, e interiormente llamó con mucho afecto a la Madre de Dios de los Remedios, cuya imagen tenía en su casa; y derrepente volvió en sí, en los brazos de los religiosos teniendo ellos y todo el pueblo por milagrosa su vida con tan grande herida; y le llevaron a su casa y le hicieron curar.

3. Estando en al cama en su casa el mismo día de la herida, a las ocho de la mañana, teniendo presente la Santísima imagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios se encomendó muy afectuosamente a ella, y oyó una voz patente que le dijo, “Alonso: llevame a la Catedral de la ciudad del Cuzco.” Y respondió: “Señora mia, si como me habéis dado vida, me dais salud, os llevaré adonde me mandas.” Y luego se hallo sano y bueno sin cura ni medicina; y sólo quedó la cicatriz de la herida en la lengua, y un poco de impedimento en la pronunciación por señal y manifestación de tan admirable milagro.

4. En cumplimiento del mandato de la Virgen Santísima trajo su imagen milagrosa a esta ciudad el año de 1646 y el día 14 de diciembre se colocó en la capilla de San Sebastián de esta iglesia, precediendo una procesión solemnísima desde la iglesia del hospital de San Juan de Dios a la Catedral, a que concurrió toda la ciudad con gran devoción, y el señor Obispo don Juan Alonso Ocón la sacó en hombres, con su Cabildo eclesiástico remundándole el corregidor, alcaldes y regidores y las religiones hasta la catedral. Pintose esta imagen en Valencia retratada del original milagroso, que se halla en ésta, y se intitula Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados. De allí la llevaron a México donde estuvo treinta años. De México la trajo a Lima donde estuvo 12 años en casa de este caballero: y de Guancavelica al Cuzco donde eligió estar de asiento para bien y amparo de esta ciudad.

5. Este mismo día la colocaron en su capilla con grande aplauso de toda la ciudad, como quien reconocía el bien que tenían en ella, pues pidió por su misma boca, la trajesen a esta ciudad; sin duda era para mostrarse benigna, usando de su piedad en su intercesión para con su Hijo Santísimo, como se experimentó en los temblores grandes, que cuatro años después que llegó, hubo en esta ciudad, de que se manifestó la ira de Dios Nuestro Señor por nuestras culpas; y sin duda alguna la hubiera destruido, si no mediasse la intercesión de María Santísima de los Remedios: y este beneficio debemos tenerlo muy en la memoria para servirlo toda la vida y ser esclavos de esta Señora y Reina de los Angeles.
6. El día siguiente mandó el ilustrísimo señor doctor don Juan Alonso de Ocón, obispo de esta ciudad, se juntasen ambos Cabildos delante de esta Soberana Reina de los Ángeles como lo hicieron los del Cabildo secular y los señores prebendados, que unos y otros tuvieron por gran suerte de asentarse por esclavos suyos, y a este ejemplo todos los caballeros y señores y toda esta ciudad; y hoy al presente tienen en olvido el beneficio; que deben estar atentos a esta Soberana Señora Madre de pecadores: a quien el devoto consagra estos lienzos.

Appendix 2

Transcriptions of the inscriptions on Bishop Juan de Castañeda Velasquez y Salazar’s series of paintings in the chapel of Our Lady of the Remedies, rearranged so that the events in the narrative are in chronological order (numbers in brackets indicate current position).

1 [6]. De la Ciudad de Balencia es Patrona esta soberana Señora con el Titulo de los Desamparados; de cuyo original es Copiada y tocada por vn deboto Balenciano.

2 [3]. Año 1591, se trajo a esta Soberana Ymagen de vna bandera del Arbol maior de Navio a la Ciudad de Mexico donde estubó 30 años en la de los Reyes 12: en la Villa de Guancavelica en poder de Don Alonso Monrroy, con quien acaeció aquel prodigioso milagro que es del lado yquierdo de esta Capilla, motiuo de aber sido traída á esta Ciudad, después de tantos años de peregrinacion: degió vltimamente para su morada esta Santa Yglesia para remedio de todos sus avitadores.

3 [2]. Doce Años estubo esta Ymagen de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, en la Ciudad de Lima en compañia de un Cargador muy deboto suyo, concediéndole quanto se lo pedia.

4 [4]. El Año de 1646, dia 15 de Diciembre 2 [segundo] día de su entrada, mando el Ylus-trísimo Señor Doctor Don Juan Alonso Ocon, que los Nobles y más prales de esta Ciudad, concurriesen a asentarse por dichosos en su Cofradia para que de este tenor fuese su Culto en mayor aumento.

5 [7]. En 31 de Marzo Año de 1750 a la vna del dia, acació vn Terremoto por espacio de tres Credos, en que padecieron mucha ruina los Templos Religiones, Monasterios, y casas acabando con la violencia que empezó y lo mismo fue salir esta Ymagen al resinto de la Plasa, que se considero piadosamente que por su interseccion, se dio dicho Terremoto, acuyo fin, memoria y recuerdo se mando pintar el Lienzo grande que estáz en la Sachristía de esta Santa Yglesia Cathedral.

6 [5]. Estando descubierta esta Ymagen apedimento de los Padres Jesuitas a fin de elebar la Compana grande a la Torre de su Yglesia se vio quebrarse las 3 Vigas de que pendia el mon- ton, que la tiraba, y lo mismo fue aclamar a voses a esta Soberana Ymagen, que verse fixa en la misma parte, donde padecieron este daño las Vigas, milagro que fue notorio a toda esta Ciudad, hasta que auxilaron con diversos modos para su introduccion, por quanto se dedicaron predicarle y hacer su nobena en adelante, como assi lo cumplieron.

7 [1]. El Año de 1761, hizo este milagro Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, de que vn devuto dió de limosna, vn Lienzo y vn marco grande el qual al colocar de rrepente se cayó Escalera y Mesas ensima del mayordomo, devoto; y el Yndio vino al aire ensima del marco sano y bueno: mediante interceccion de esta Diiuina Señora.

8 [8]. El Señor Doctor Don Juan de Castañeda [Velaz]quez de Salazar, Dignissimo Obispo de esta Ciudad del Cuzco deuolissimo de esta Santa Ymagen de los Remedios Ofrecio su Corazon el qual esta al pie de la mesa del Altar en esta Capilla.


5. Cuzco’s population was already decreasing, though the earthquake seems to have exacerbated the decline. It fell from 312,000 in 1628 to about 97,000 in 1612. Ann Wightman, Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 105–6.


12. I refer to present-day processions of Corpus Christi, wherein brotherhoods hold aloft large decorated platforms with sacred sculptural images on them. There may have been sculptural or other painted models of Remedios. Alfredo Hinojosa Gálvez, La pintura cuzqueña en la ideología andina (Lima: Editorial Super Gráfica, 2012), 227–28, locates a sculpture of Remedios (Instituto Nacional de Cultura del Perú, PER-39, 8.8.1974) reported to have restored hands. The same author suggests (204) that the apparition was copied from a model of the Trinity by Francisco Pacheco, though he does not cite or illustrate this source. This point appears to originate with F. Cosio del Pomar, Pintura colonial (Escuela cuzqueña) (Cuzco: H. G. Rozas, 1928), 98–99. The painting by Antonio Palomino in the cupola of the Desamparados basilica in Valencia from 1700 shows a very similar scene. Jonathan Brown, Painting in Spain, 1500–1700 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 310–11.


14. Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:82–84. Because the transcriptions also appear nearly verbatim in the Anales de Cuzco, 1600–1720 (Lima: Imprenta de “el Estado,” 1901), 83–84, it is reasonable to suspect that this source was created at the same time as Esquivel y Navia’s (see discussion below).

15. Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:82–84; and Anales, 89–91.
Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:81. The first part of the dialogue is almost identical to that found in Triptih of Our Señora de los Remedios (Fig. 9), with a slight orthographic correction: “Alonso: llévame a la Catedral de la ciudad del Cuzco, . . . Señora mia. si como me habéis dado vida, me dais salud, os llevaré adonde me mandas.”

Ibid. The differences between Esquivel y Navia’s and Castañeda’s narrations suggest another intervening source. Castañeda’s series also calculates the date of the painting’s creation as 1591.

The series is out of order if one follows the chronology set forth by the inscriptions in Castañeda’s paintings, as indicated in Bishop Castaneda’s narrative series (Fig. 7a–b) and App. 2.


Vasco de Contreras y Valverde, Relación de la ciudad de Cuzco (1649) (Cuzco: Comité de Servicios Integrados Turístico-Culturales del Cuzco, 1982), 156.

Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:84.

Anatel, 91, also contains this detail, which suggests that the Anatel is also an altered copy.

In fact, the composition more closely resembles aspects of the Corpus Christi paintings, which were inside Santa Ana at the time. See Dean, Inka Bodies. Nonetheless, protocol calls for the bishop to be under the baldachin. Carolyn Dean, personal communication, May 2017.

Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:84.

Werthe, Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru, 56–58.

See Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:98, for details concerning the dispute.


Hinojosa Gálvez, La pintura cusqueña, 228–29, identifies the attendant figures as Joseph, Joachim, and Zechariah, and Mary, Anne, and Isabel. Unfortunately, part of the canvas has been damaged and restored by an inferior hand, making the identification uncertain.

El primer día le puecieron el S.5 nombre de MAR a la tierna infanta celebrá su manifestación con un combate, solamente al quaal, llamo S.a S.ta Ana algunos sacerdotes que sin ellos no se halla este sacro nombre lo qual lo escribe en su libro.”

Kag, Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 9–11.

Ibid., 180–81.


Kag, Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 177. Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:105, states that the cabildo sent Contreras y Valverde to Lima on March 5, 1652, in order to receive the title of treasurer of the church. He was dean of the church from March 14, 1649, by virtue of a royal decree (cédula) dated June 5, 1648, and governor, overseer, and general vicar of the bishopric for don Juan Alonso Ocón. He was also treasurer of the church in Lima. The term criollo refers to a white person born in the Spanish Americas.

The full title is Relación del tembler, y terremoto que hizo Nuestra Señor fue servido de embarr a la Ciudad del Cuzco a 31 de Marzo este año pasado de 1650. Iueues a las dos de la tarde, con particulares misericordias suyas, como se experimen taron en el tiempo de su mayor ruina. Dase cuenta de las asperissimas penitencias publicas, que las Religiones hazian por las calles, en procesion, mousiendo a edificacion al mas endurecido pecho. Julien de Paredes is better known for his Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de Indias (Madrid, 1681). Coincidentally, in the same year as his account of the earthquake (1651), he also published a relación concerning a mass vision that occurred in Trujillo, Peru. Both can be found in the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid. Other documents related to the earthquake are in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Lima 8, Cámara de Indias, 12-X-1652, and are published in two separate articles: Villanueva Urteaga, “Documentos sobre el terrem oto de 1650”; and Catherine Julien, “Documentación presentada por la ciudad del Cuzco sobre el terremoto de 1650,” in Revista del Museo e Instituto de Arqueología, nos. 4–5 (1993): 293–373.

Esquivel y Navia, Noticias, 2:90, mentions Robles Cornejo’s Tratado de tembleros but does not discuss it. I know of no other possible source for Paredes’s text than this lost Tratado, since Paredes did not travel to Spain and his account does not match any that remain in the archives.


Contreras y Valverde’s Relación was not published until the twentieth century.

A letter from Cuzco’s archdeacon, Juan de la Serda y la Coruña, also sent from Cuzco on April 6, states that the earthquake lasted for “dos credos” (Villanueva Urteaga, “Documentos sobre el terremoto de 1650”), and Catherine Julien, “Documentación presentada por la ciudad del Cuzco sobre el terremoto de 1650,” in Revista del Museo e Instituto de Arqueología, nos. 4–5 (1993): 293–373.

Kag and his account does not match any that remain in the archives.


Ibid., 11.


Ibid., 131.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.


Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.


Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

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Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.

Ibid., 44–47, emphasis in the original.
nueva corónica y buen gobierno and Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru* (Galván Murúa), both from the late sixteenth century. They relate how the stone sent from Cuzco to be used in a building in Guanaco had to be left where it was along the way because it became so tired that it wept blood and refused to move.


70. Furthermore, Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 115–16, finds that Esquivel y Navia donated a silver altar frontal to Temblores.


72. Ibid., 2:97. “Desde esta calamidad quedó establecida la procesión que cada año se hace a 31 de marzo de la Iglesia Catedral, con asistencia de ambos Cabildos, clero, religiones y gran número de penitentes, en que sale la milagrosa imagen del Crucifijo, intitulado el Señor de los Temblores, que está colocada en dicha iglesia con grande culto y frecuencia del pueblo, por ser su único refugio y asilo no solo en los temblores, sino en pestes, secas y otras tribulaciones. Es tradición constante, haber enviado al Cuzco esta sacratísima efigie el muy católica e invicto emperador Carlos V”

73. Ibid., 1:135. He notes that the emperor sent the image before his death in 1558.

74. Ibid., 2:39.

75. Valencia Espinoza, *Taytacha Temblores*, 55; and Lambarri, “Imágenes de mayor veneración en la cultura cusqueña,” 252. Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 96, suggests that associations between Temblores and Holy Week had begun as early as during the restoration of the cathedral. Elsewhere (112–13) he finds that another procession date was added for the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) and that the crucifix was processed to respond to ongoing earthquakes as well as epidemics and droughts.

76. Stanfield-Mazzi, *Object and Apparition*, 111. 206n44, finds that Mollinedo’s promotion of the arts in Cuzco between 1673 and 1678 includes a donation to build a processional platform to carry a large “Holy Christ.” She has little doubt that this refers to Temblores, though the name does not appear as such.


78. See Mesa and Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, 1:137–38, for an analysis of the 1688 document outlining the change.


80. Another painting is of nearly equal quality, though it is cropped to a square and the babies are omitted. A third inferior and inaccurate copy contains bust-length portraits of two Mercedarian friars praying toward the image. These two and the version attributed to Basílio Santa Cruz Pumacallao (Fig. 14) are in the Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima. The attribution of Pumacallao’s circle was suggested to me by Patricia Pinilla, director of the Museo Pedro de Osma in 2010, when I first visited the painting, and the museum catalog records it as such. A forth copy was sighted by Aaron Hyman in Hotel Monasterio (formerly Nazareneth) in Cuzco, and I located a fifth copy in the Carl and Marilynno Thoma Collection currently at the Blanton Museum of Art, University of Texas, Austin.

81. Another crucifix attributed to Martínez Montañés is in the convent of La Concepción in Lima.


88. This methodology has allowed us to consider alternative perspectives that emerge in colonial situations and that better explain such realities. See especially Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).