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## **EARTHQUAKES AND COLONIAL ART IN CUSCO (PERU)**

**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the effects of earthquakes on the art of Cusco (Viceroyalty of Peru). The most obvious effects were destruction and subsequent reconstruction of architectural structures, as well as period-appropriate building fittings. Hence, the cataclysm of 1650 is seen as a turning point for stylistic changes in the art of Cusco. New architecture of the city in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century definitely had Baroque features. Mannerism and Renaissance had largely been destroyed and a new language of more dynamic forms began to dominate. Artistic life intensified and workshops developed in the city alongside increased religiousness centred around specific images that were considered miraculous and supportive for the citizens during the disaster. Finally, the article also mentions the 1950 earthquake, leading, in the authors' opinion, to a change in thinking about colonial art in Cusco, which began to be more appreciated by the local people.

**Keywords:** earthquake, Cusco, colonial art, 1650, Señor de os Temblores

### **Introduction**

Travelling to Peru in the early modern period was associated with numerous dangers, yet there were many daredevils who took the risk and departed for the faraway land across the ocean. Despite the uncertainty about the fate that

lay in store for them, sometimes risking their lives, they decided to embark on the long voyage to the new, better world. Daily life in colonial America also involved risks. At the time of the conquest, armed clashes were inevitable, threat came from the Indigenous people, and blood was spilled during conflicts between opposing groups of Spanish conquistadors. As Gabriela Ramos writes:

The years between the Spaniards' arrival in the Andes in 1532 and the execution of the last rebel Inca in 1572 were dominated by war and violence. The wars of conquest were followed by civil wars between the Spaniards, caused by disputed over the sharing of the booty and control of the former Inca empire, the Tahuantinsuyo, and by the rebellions of the conquistadors against the crown. For four decades, Peru was the scene of continual armed confrontations and public punishments of crimes, not only between the Spanish and Andean populations but also within each faction<sup>1</sup>.

The colonial period brought some stability, but it was still a time of struggle (often in the form of armed conflicts) to maintain dominance. Pirate attacks and naval wars with other European powers wishing to expand their spheres of influence were not uncommon, either. The end of the Viceroyalty of Peru saw a growing number of revolts and uprisings aimed at its liberation from the Spanish rule.

Additionally, the local population was threatened by diseases previously unknown in America, which, due to a lack of naturally developed immunity, decimated the Natives. As Noble David Cook writes, 'sickness and death came to the Americas with the second Columbus fleet in late 1493'<sup>2</sup>. It is believed that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and more specifically between 1524 and 1527, before the Spaniards first arrived in South America, smallpox had spread rapidly in the Andes, causing the death of 'more than 200,000 people'<sup>3</sup>. It was followed by epidemics of measles, bubonic plague, typhoid, smallpox and influenza, which struck between 1531 and 1591<sup>4</sup>. Pedro de Cieza de León described the beginnings of the 1547 pandemic:

(...) a great pestilence spread over the whole kingdom of Peru, which began on the other side of Cuzco, and pervaded the whole country. People without number died. The illness consisted of a headache accompanied by raging fever, and presently the

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<sup>1</sup> G. Ramos, *Death and Conversion in the Andes. Lima and Cuzco, 1532-1670*, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> N. D. Cook. *Born to Die. Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998, p.60.

<sup>3</sup> S. Austin Alchon, *A Pest in the Land. New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque 2003, p.76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem.*, p. 76.

pain passed from the head to the left ear, when it became so great that the patient did not last more than two or three days. (...) In a few days the pestilence and earache came on in such a manner, that most of the people died, the Spaniards losing their Indians bound to service, so that few or none were left; in addition to which such terror prevailed that the very Spaniards seemed to be fearful and afraid<sup>5</sup>.

New diseases coming from Europe also spread in America in later centuries. In 1614, for example, diphtheria was first described in the Cusco region<sup>6</sup>. It is universally recognised that the indigenous population in the Andean region was reduced by approximately 75–80% from the arrival of the Spaniards to the mid-seventeenth century<sup>7</sup>.

Last but not least, a considerable threat was posed by weather conditions. Peru, located in the *Circum-Pacific Belt* (or *Pacific Ring of Fire*), has always been exposed to numerous earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and the disastrous *El Niño* phenomenon<sup>8</sup>.

Interestingly, in these difficult moments of doubt, travellers, conquistadors and inhabitants of the Viceroyalty of Peru were accompanied not only by religion, which seems to have been a natural way of coping with adversity and a source of relief, but also by art (although, obviously, it was frequently associated with faith). Some artistic activity can be noted as early as during voyages to the New World. In the course of investigation into the art and artistic activities of the Jesuits, the authors found an extremely interesting description of the celebration of Easter and the preceding Holy Week (*Semana Santa*).

On Palm Sunday, the Jesuits started celebrations on a ship sailing to Cartagena. On Maundy Thursday, a structure was erected at the stern, next to the captain's cabin on one of the bunks, to display the Blessed Sacrament (*El Monumento de Jueves Santo*), which was a customary part of the celebrations

<sup>5</sup> P. Cieza de León, *The travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon, A.D. 1532-1550*, C.R. Markham, The Hakluyd Society, London 1864, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> L. A. Newson, *Old World Epidemic in Early Colonial Ecuador*, [in:] *'Secret Judgments of God'. Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America*, eds. N. D. Cook, W. G. Lovell, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London 1991, p. 101; H. F. Dobyns, *An Outline of Andean Epidemic History to 1720*, 'Bulletin of the History of Medicine', 37, 1963, pp. 508-509.

<sup>7</sup> S. Austin Alchon, op. cit., p. 78. Eadem, *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1991, p. 130; N. D. Cook, *La catástrofe demográfica andina: Perú 1520-1620*, transl. J. Flores Espinoza, *Fondo Editorial de Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, Lima 2010 [1981], pp. 89-103.

<sup>8</sup> M. Rostworowski, *Leyendas y mitos sobre el Fenómeno El Niño*, [in:] *El Fenómeno 'El Niño' en la costa norte del Perú a través de la historia. Perú-Ecuador un espacio compartido. I y II Jornadas de Historia*, eds. J. M. Sese, R. M. Rosas, Piura: Universidad de Piura, 2001, pp. 1-8; R. Zeta de Pozo, *El Mercurio Peruano y el Diario de Lima: dos fuentes para el estudio del fenómeno 'El Niño' en 1791*, [in:] *Ibidem.*, pp. 37-52.

on land<sup>9</sup>. The altar, as the structure was referred to in the description from that period, was embellished with an arch decorated with silk and gold trimmings, with numerous reliquaries, intricately crafted gold and silver objects, as well as paintings and candlesticks placed around it. The most important representations were the 'gorgeous' image of *Nuestra Señora* and a crucifix topping out the whole. This ephemeral object was created not only by the Jesuits, but also by other passengers of the ship. According to the account of Gonzalo de Lira, 'both sides of the ship were ornamented with silk curtains and a vast number of paintings that the travellers had brought'<sup>10</sup>.

### Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions – the cataclysms of the New World

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions were indeed well-known in Europe, but the frequency of tremors and intensity of eruptions in America surprised visitors from the Old World. Hence, most chronicles referred to earthquakes as a common phenomenon and contained descriptions of examples of local disasters. In the chapter 'Of volcanoes or vents of fire', José de Acosta (1590) recalls that

Although volcanoes are found in other places, such as Mount Etna and Vesuvius, which nowadays is called Mount Soma, they are extraordinarily frequent in the Indies. Usually volcanoes are very high mountains, higher than the peaks of the other mountains<sup>11</sup>.

The same author also described earthquakes, paying particular attention to examples of the cataclysms in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and pointing out the similarities between tremors and volcanic eruptions<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> '(...) un monumento con mucho concierto encima de la cámara de popa junto al aposento del capitán.', AHSI, *Cartas Anuas 1611-1612*, f. 102r.; Carta N.º 4 [*Letras Anuas 1611-1612*], [in:] *Cartas anuas de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de la Granada. Años 1604-1621*, eds. J. del Rey Fajardo, A. Gutiérrez, Archivo Histórico Javeriano, Bogotá 2015, pp. 363-364. On the subject of construction, function and examples of *el Monemento de Jueves Santo*, see also: S. González Bravo, *El torno a los monumentos de Semana Santa. El Barroco en Navarra*, 'Príncipe de Viana', 265, 2016, pp. 641-660.

<sup>10</sup> 'Por los dos lados del navío se colgaron cortinas de seda y buen número de cuadros que traían los pasajeros,' *Carta N.º 4* [*Letras ...*, p. 364. Although included in the *Cartas Anuas* of 1611-1612, the account relates to a journey made by the Jesuits in 1603.

<sup>11</sup> J. de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. J. E. Mangan, trans. F. López-Morillas, Durham and London 2002 [1590], p. 154.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 157-159; Not surprisingly, not only did scientific treatises on earthquakes printed in Spain reach the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru, but such studies were also published in Lima, e.g. J. de Barrenechea, *Relox astronómico de temblores de la tierra, secreto maravilloso de la naturaleza, descubierto, y hallado por D. Juan de Barrenechea*, La Imprenta Antuerpiana, Lima 1725.

Another chronicler, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, describing the West Indies (1526), recounted significant cataclysms of America. He states that a strong earthquake struck the Cumaná region, destroying buildings previously erected by the conquistadors:

On the mainland, the earth began to tremble and it lasted for three quarters. This extremely strong tremor made the fortress collapse (...) and the ground opened up in various places (...) black water stinking of sulphur flowed out [of the fissures]. Many cities of the [West] Indies sank and many people died there; some of them were killed by the [collapsing] houses and others lost their lives out of fear and terror. The mayor (...) built a bastion and repaired one corner of the fortress that was left standing. He lived in this bastion, which he was restoring for fourteen months; in this time, another new fortress was built near the ruins. (...) It happened in fifteen thirty-one<sup>13</sup>.

During the colonial period, numerous cities in South America repeatedly experienced destructive forces of nature, and, unsurprisingly, Cusco was one of them<sup>14</sup>. As Diego de Esquivel y Navia writes on the pages of the city chronicle, the former Inca capital fell into decay due to natural cataclysms both in pre-Spanish times and during the Viceroyalty of Peru<sup>15</sup>. There is no volcano in the immediate vicinity of Cusco that could threaten its inhabitants, but earthquakes have haunted the city since ancient times and to this day they remain the greatest threat to the local people. From the city establishment by Spaniards on 23 March 1534 to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, more than thirty stronger and weaker tremors were recorded in the Cusco chronicle<sup>16</sup>. All the earthquakes

<sup>13</sup> 'Y encontinentecomenzó la tierra de temblar y lo continuóportrescuartos de hora. Del cualgrandísimo temblor cayó la fortaleza que tengodichoenelprocedentecapítulo y abriose la tierra pordiversas partes e hicieronsemuchospozos, loscualesproducianunaaganegra que hedía a azufre. Hundiéndosemuchos pueblos de indios y de ellosmurieronmuchos, unosporquelosmataban las casas, y otros que del miedo y espantoperdieron las vidas,' (...) el alcalde (...) hizo un baluarte y reparó a la redonda de unaesquina de la fortaleza que quedóen pie; y enaquelbaluarte y reparó se sostuvocatorce meses, enloscuales se edificóotranuevafortalezacerca de la caída. (...) Esto fueenelaño de mil y quinientos y treinta y uno'; G. Fernández de Oviedo, *La historia General de las Indias*, eds. B. Palacios, N. Crocoll, Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, Madrid 2023, pp. 616-617.

<sup>14</sup> S. Schwartz Stuart, W. Charles, *Catástrofes naturales en América del Sur (hasta c. 1820)*. *Recuento bibliográfico*, "Revista Andina", no. 60, 2023, pp. 9-43.

<sup>15</sup> The author mentions the earthquakes of 1512-1513, D. de Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias Cronológicas de la Gran Ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. F. Denegri Luna, Fundación Augusto N. Wiese, Banco Wiese, Lima 1980 [c. 1749], vol. I, p. 56; '(...) huboporesosañosgrandesterremotos y cayeronmuchoscerros altos.'

<sup>16</sup> On the subject of earthquakes, with a description of particular cataclysms and a listing of the sources in which the disasters were described, see also: L. Seiner Lizárraga, *Historia de lossismosenel Perú. Catálogo: siglos XVI-XVII*, Fondo Editorial Universidad de Lima, Lima 2009.

were interpreted as the Wrath of God and a portent of further misfortunes. This was the case with the first Cusco earthquake described by Diego de Esquivela y Navie, which occurred on 9 July 1586. The epicentre of the tremors was recorded in Lima, but they were also felt in Cusco. Later historians interpreted them as a portent of another cataclysm, the pandemic that broke out in 1589 and decimated the city population<sup>17</sup>.

The most significant and most powerful earthquake in Cusco during the Viceroyalty period occurred on 31 March 1650. A description of the disaster can be found not only in the Esquivel y Navia chronicle, but also, for example, in Gil Gonzalez Dávila's 'Teatro Eclesiástico'<sup>18</sup>. The outcome was devastating for the city.

### Earthquakes and colonial art in Cusco

We may ask what effects, apart from direct destruction and reconstruction, earthquakes can have. It turns out that there are many more. Obviously, the most apparent one are ruined city buildings: houses, churches and seats of public institutions in need of urgent repair or reconstruction. It is interesting to note that sometimes even geographically distant events also had an impact on the art of Cusco. In 1600, the Huaynaputina volcano erupted<sup>19</sup>, causing an earthquake that destroyed Arequipa (Fig. 1), a city some 500 km away from Cusco. As a result of this calamity and the subsequent tremors that ruined the city in 1604, a decision was made to move nuns from a destroyed Dominican convent to Cusco<sup>20</sup>. A new institution was founded by Bishop Antonio de Ray and confirmed by Bishop Fernando de Mendoza Gonzáles on 17 December 1612<sup>21</sup>. From then on, in addition to the convent of the Poor Clares, the former Inca capital had a Dominican convent, which still exists today.

Returning to the events of 1650, Catherine Julien collected and processed archival documents found in the Archivo General de Indias, namely letters and

<sup>17</sup> D. de Esquivel y Navia, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 254.

<sup>18</sup> G. Gonzalez Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, vidas de sus arzobispos, obispos y cosas memorables de sus sedes en lo que pertenece al Reyno del Perú*, tomo segundo, Diego Diaz de la Carrera, Madrid 1655, f. 43v.

<sup>19</sup> On 18 February, the Huayna Putina volcano erupted; the eruption was combined with numerous tremors and took place at a distance of about 77 km from Arequipa (*16 leguas*), D. de Esquivel y Navia, vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

<sup>20</sup> AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 324, *Convento de Monjas de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de la Orden de Santo Domingo de la Ciudad del Cuzco*; see also: K. Burns, *Colonial Habits, Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1999, pp. 70-77, 82-90.

<sup>21</sup> D. de Esquivel y Navia, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 7.

records of municipal inspections organised after the cataclysm of 1650 to control the damage caused by the earthquake<sup>22</sup>. The documents describe enormous losses suffered by Cusco. One example is the Jesuit temple and the college, which, as we learn from the description of the buildings, fell into ruins.

(...) the whole church collapsed, just like the cloisters of the main courtyard in two corners, both at the top and at the bottom; another corner of the courtyard is also in a very bad state. The second patio with cloisters has two cracked walls and breaches in the wall opening up the cells. The infirmary collapsed and was propped up. The benefactor's rooms [college] and rooms intended for servants hit the ground and the infirmary tower was cracked. The dome of the Indian chapel was demolished because it had a breach in the wall and threatened to collapse. The main tower of the [Jesuit] church collapsed completely. The damage to the church and college was estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand pesos. According to the builders, it was the price that would have to be paid for rebuilding everything<sup>23</sup>.

A further consequence of the destruction was not only reconstruction of the buildings, but also restoration of interior decorations in the reconstructed and newly erected buildings. One of the most prominent figures in terms of equipping and enriching the decorations of the sacral interior was Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo of Cusco, who headed the diocese from 1673 to 1699. His foundations in the city temples were very well documented<sup>24</sup>. We may also notice that the artistic workshops entrusted with the interior decoration work intensified their efforts. In our view, two trends exerted their influence there. Even before the 1650 earthquake, we could see increased artistic activity in Cusco, resulting from changes in the way of thinking about artistic forms, as well as new needs related to an increasingly developed religious life. The construction of a new cathedral and a Franciscan church started. As early as in the 1740s, there were numerous mentions of foundations of new altars in the city monastic and parish churches. Obviously, the damage caused by the 1650 cataclysm greatly intensified the work that had begun earlier; the earthquake is also the reason why so few monuments from before the events of 1650 have survived to the present day.

<sup>22</sup> These are mainly two documents kept in the archive, which she transcribed and annotated: 'La visita de la ciudad del Cuzco' and 'Informe de parroquias del Cuzco', C. Julien, *Documentación presenta dapor la ciudad del Cuzco sobre el terremoto de 1650*, 'Revista del Museo Inka', no. 25, 1995, pp. 293-373.

<sup>23</sup> AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 110, f. 3 r.

<sup>24</sup> In the Archivo General de Indias, there are documents listing the bishop's sacred foundations. H. Villanueva Urteaga, *Nuevos datos sobre la vida y obra del obispo Mollinedo*, [without a publisher] Cuzco 1959; P. Guibovich, L. E. Wuffarden (eds.), Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Instituto Riva-Agüero, Lima 2008.

Another interesting aspect is the visual ‘remembering’ of the events through paintings that illustrate the cataclysms themselves and sometimes their broader impacts, e.g., religious and cultic ones. In the case of Cusco, a canvas housed in the cathedral and commemorating the 1650 earthquake has been preserved; its creation was commissioned by Alonso Cortes de Monroy<sup>25</sup>. (Fig. 2) The painting shows both the destruction and begging processions with the image of Christ or Lord of the Earthquakes (*Señor de los Temblores*), as well as a miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary (*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*). This leads us to further ‘artistic consequences’ resulting from the earthquakes, namely an intensified cult of certain saints and the popularity of miraculous images, through which the local population sought consolation and deliverance. In this context, the most important one in Cusco is Señor de los Temblores.

Until the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, Señor de los Temblores, an image of crucified Christ from the Cusco Cathedral (Fig. 3), was known as one of many sacred representations and did not enjoy great popularity. The situation changed after the devastating earthquake that occurred in 1650. Peruvian society interpreted natural disasters as a consequence of the Wrath of God and God's reaction to human immorality, a view stemming from both the local and European tradition. Prayers and processions became the antidote to misfortunes caused by disasters. According to tradition, when the figure of Christ left the cathedral, an earthquake would stop. From then on, the image was known as *Señor de los Temblores*. The sculpture refers to a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Gothic statue of Christ from Burgos, Spain, venerated in one of the chapels of the local cathedral. According to a legend, the Cusco statue was made and sent to America by order of Charles V. The story of the transatlantic voyage and miraculous events attributed to the image of Christ was perpetuated in the collective memory of Cusco society during the colonial era. This tradition was consolidated by an account in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle of Diego de Esquivel y Navia<sup>26</sup>, in which the author confirms the information that the statue of Christ Crucified was sent by order of Charles V. At present, most researchers consider the statue to be a local creation, made after 1560. It is usually attributed to Cusco workshops, as it shows characteristics typical of the Andes in terms of form, technique and materials. However, there are other hypotheses as to where the sculpture was made. In his 2020<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> P. T. Hayovsky, *Shifting Panoramas: Contested Visions of Cuzco's 1650 Earthquake*, “The Art Bulletin”, vol. 4, no. 100, pp. 34-61.

<sup>26</sup> D. de Esquivel y Navia, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 195.

<sup>27</sup> P. F. Amador Marrero, *Materialidad y tecnología: la esculturavirreinal a debate. El caso del Señor de los Temblores de Cuzco*, [in:] *Materia Americana. El cuerpo de las imágenes hispano-americanas*, eds. G. Siracusano, A. Rodríguez Romero, Editorial de la Universidad de Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires 2020, pp. 219-239.



publication, Pablo F. Amador Marrero collects information from all previous studies but, most importantly, also formulates his own hypothesis on the origin of the statue, pointing to New Spain. However, it is undeniable that *Señor de los Temblores* is the most important cult image in Cusco. Every Holy Monday, the statue of Christ decorated with red flowers (*núcchu*) passes through the streets of Cusco accompanied by a crowd of the faithful in a solemn procession, and his image can be found in every church of the Cusco region. Usually these are paintings (fig. 4), but in some places we can also find sculptural copies (Fig. 5). *Señor de los Temblores* is not the only image of crucified Christ that protects South American urban communities from earthquakes; similar functions are served by *Señor de Milagros* in Lima or *Señor de Mayo* in Santiago de Chile (Fig. 6)<sup>28</sup>.

Cataclysms, including earthquakes, not only influenced the popularity of certain images, but also led to the intensification of religious life. At the time of a disaster, there was an overwhelming need for the organisation of begging processions, during which venerated statues of saints were carried through the city streets.

### Conclusion: the 1950 earthquake and colonial art

As outlined in the text above, earthquakes affected art in a variety of ways. The most obvious effects were the destruction and subsequent reconstruction of architectural structures, as well as period-appropriate building fittings. Hence, the cataclysm of 1650 is seen as a turning point for stylistic changes in the art of Cusco. New architecture of the city in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century definitely had Baroque features. Mannerism and Renaissance had been largely destroyed and a new language of more dynamic forms began to dominate. However, at the end it is worth mentioning the 1950 earthquake, which, in the authors' opinion, brought about a change in thinking about art of the Viceregal period in Cusco. As we read:

The earthquake was assigned level 7 on the Mercalli intensity scale and lasted 6 seconds. It claimed over a hundred victims; more than 200 people were injured in

<sup>28</sup> R. Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Santo Cristo de los Milagros*, [without publisher], Lima 1966; R. Mujica Pinilla, *El Cristo imborrable y las Nazarenas: arte Sagrado y espiritualidadfemeninaen la Lima virreinal*, [in:] *El Señor de los Milagros. Historia, devoción e identidad*, ed. D. Romero Seminario, A. Carulla Marchena, F. de Trazagnies, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima 2016, pp. 1-51; M. Onetto Pavez, *Temblores de tierra enel Jardín del Edén. Desastre, memoria e identidad. Chile, siglos XVI-XVIII*, Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Centro de Investigación Diego Barras Arana, Santiago de Chile 2017, pp. 389-420.

various ways. Over 3,000 houses were destroyed and very few were left in a habitable condition. It is estimated that over 40,000 people were left homeless<sup>29</sup>.

The destruction was immense, and the cataclysm also led to many social and economic consequences<sup>30</sup>, but it was also a moment of acceptance of the colonial heritage and an affirmation of Baroque art (Fig. 7 and Fig. 8). In order to understand this problem, we need to go back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and an idea known as ‘cusqueñismo’. As a place where history converges with tradition, Cusco is very important to the citizens, the region and Peru as a whole. As Luis Nieto Degregori writes, ‘Undoubtedly, Cusco is [one] of those cities which can evoke the admiration of locals and visitors alike’<sup>31</sup>. Due to its rich history, former imperial character and general conditions, Cusco<sup>32</sup> became one of the main centres for the development of reformist and revivalist movements linked to Indian communities from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, a very important moment was the 1909 riot of students, who, forcefully entering their professors’ meeting, demanded a reform of the

<sup>29</sup> ‘La intensidad del terremoto quedó registrado con el índice 7 en la Escala de Mercalli, duró 6 segundos; las víctimas del sismo se contaron en más que un centenar; habiendo sufrido diferentes heridas más de 200 personas; fueron destruidas más de 3000 casas, quedando muy poco número en estado de ser habitadas. Se calcula, que más de 40 000 quedaron sin techo’. O. Ladrón de Guevara Avilés, *Movimiento sísmico en la ciudad de Cuzco de 1950*, Cusco 1985 [manuscript]; see also: E. Silgado Ferro, J. Fernández Concha, G. E. Ericksen, *El terremoto del Cuzco del 21 de mayo de 1950*, “Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Fomento Minero”, vol. 2, no. 4, 1952, pp. 27-46.

<sup>30</sup> A very interesting book by Raúl Asensio has recently been published on the consequences of the 1950 earthquake in Cusco, R. Asensio, *El terremoto del Cuzco. Reconstrucción, utopías urbanas y Guerra Fría (1950-1953)*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 2023.

<sup>31</sup> ‘El Cusco, sin duda, de esasciudadescapaces de despertar la admiración de propios y extraños’. L. Nieto Degregori, *Tres momentos en la evolución del cusqueñismo*, “Márgenes. Encuentro y Debate”, vol. 7, no. 13/14, 1995, p. 113.

<sup>32</sup> The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of Peruvian transformation in the consciousness of both Metis and Indian peasants and the Peruvian intellectual elite. The issue of mountainous regions of Peru (the Sierra) began to affect increasingly wider circles of the mainstream society. During this period, indigenists and reformists from the academic circles were the most important promoters of the ‘Indian question’. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century was a period of increased activity of indigenist organisations and groups. One of the first such organisations was the Asociación Pro-indígena (an association supporting the indigenous population) founded in the capital city in 1909 by Pedro Salvin Zulen Aymar, a philosophy student at the University of San Marcos in Lima, Joaquín Capel, a professor at the same university, and Dora Mayer de Zulen, a journalist of German origin. J. Pietraszczyk-Sękowska, *Tradycje oporu w Andach*, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2015; M. Kania, *Prekolumbijski image Peru. Rola archeologii i dziedzictwa inkaskiego w kształtowaniu peruwiańskiej tożsamości narodowej*, Universitas, Kraków 2010, pp. 93-94; P. F. Klarén, *Nación y ociedad en la historia del Perú*, transl. J. Flores, IEP, Lima 2004 [2002], pp. 304-305.

university (San Antonio Abad), both in terms of its organisation and the curriculum<sup>33</sup>. However, their demands and aspirations were much broader, and the riot led to the emergence of a phenomenon known as *cusqueñismo* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Initially linked to indigene movements, over time it was identified with a sense of local patriotism and strong self-identification of the citizens, for whom Cusco became a matter of pride. *Cusqueñismo* has been constantly described and discussed both in intellectual circles and by the citizens<sup>34</sup>, and it seems that the postulate ‘cusquenizar a los cusquenos’ has been reflected in the life of the local community<sup>35</sup>.

A very important organisation associated with the indigenist movement was the Resurgence Group (Grupo Resurgimiento) founded by Luis Eduardo Válcárcel, José Uriel García and José Sabogal, whose members were known as the ‘1909 generation’<sup>36</sup>. They were primarily interested in the historical and current role of indigenous peoples in the processes of shaping the concept of the Peruvian nation. A person who made a huge contribution to creating the new cultural awareness was Luis Eduardo Válcárcel, whose works restored the importance of the Andes through slogans promoting the search for the origins of “Peruvian-ness” in the traditional cultures of the Sierra people<sup>37</sup>.

The term *cusqueñismo* was first used by José Ángel Escalante in an article published in 1928 in the journal ‘Mundial’<sup>38</sup>. The author was referring to the aforementioned student riot of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which was a starting point for the revolutionary social, cultural and worldview changes of the entire city<sup>39</sup>. Associated with the idea of *cusqueñismo* is strong identification with Cusco itself, as well as the region as a whole. Initially, admiration was above all expressed towards the Inca traditions and the period of splendour before the Spaniards’

<sup>33</sup> M. Kania, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-104.

<sup>34</sup> M. H. Milla, *Cincuenta años de cusqueñismo*, “Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte del Cusco”, no. 14, 1993-1994, pp. 1-15; T. Gutiérrez Samanez, *Las impulsoras del cusqueñismo y del Inti Raymi*, “Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte del Cusco”, no. 14, 1993-1994, pp. 47-54.

<sup>35</sup> J. A. Gutiérrez Samanez, *Humberto Vidal y la creación de las fiestas del Cusco*, “Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte del Cusco”, no. 14, 1993-1994, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> The ‘1909 Generation’ was a term used by the Peruvian writer and politician, Francisco García Calderón. The members of the movement included, among others, historians and supporters of the neo-Inca movement and, apart from those mentioned, among its important figures were Manuel Antonio Astete, Francisco Tanayo Pacheco, Félix Cosío and Rafael Aguilar Páez. M. Kania, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287; Eadem, *1909-2009: ewolucja idei cusqueñismo w stulecie Ruchu Reformy Uniwersyteckiej w Cusco*, [in:] *Ruchy społeczne i etniczne w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, ed. K. Derwich, M. Kania, Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków 2011, pp. 107-108; see: Klarén, *op.cit.* 2004 [2000], p. 305; M. Nalewajko, *El debatenacional en el Perú (1920-1933)*, Wydawnictwo UW, Warszawa 1995, pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> J. Pietraszczyk-Sękowska, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> L. Nieto Degregori, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>39</sup> M. Kania, *1909-2009...op. cit.*, p. 99.

arrival, but the extremely rich and colourful colonial legacy was also appreciated over time. The breakthrough moment when the people of Cusco commented on their history was the 1950 earthquake. The city was largely destroyed and many churches and monasteries from the colonial period were ruined<sup>40</sup>. It was the time for making a decision about the extent to which these monuments should also be considered important and whether it was worth investing in restoring them to their former glory. Heated discussions were held around the question of which historical period, Inca or colonial, was more important for Cusco and for the world cultural heritage. Consideration was also given to whether the image of Cusco should be limited to Inca sites or whether monuments from the period of Spanish domination, bearing witness to the birth and existence of Métis society, would also be included. As a result, a decision was made to also recognise the colonial period of the city history as important for the local, Peruvian and world heritage. Pretty soon, with the support of UNESCO, under which a special commission was set up to coordinate the restoration work<sup>41</sup>, not only pre-Hispanic sites, but also monuments of the colonial period were restored. As part of the project, George Kubler wrote a publication that outlined the refurbishment work, included photographs of the ruined buildings and documented their restoration<sup>42</sup>. According to the author, the work covered ‘three cities’: the Inca one, the colonial one and the modern one<sup>43</sup>. The religious architecture of the colonial period was described at the beginning of the publication, occupying its large part, buildings were described according to the degree of destruction and the type of interventions carried out by the renovators<sup>44</sup>.

Therefore, we can conclude our considerations with a quote from a text written by one of the most important architectural historians of the Viceroyalty of Peru. As Jorge E. Hardoy and Mario R. dos Santos write: ‘The architectural image that Cusco offers us today shows (...) the divisions created by two seismic shocks’<sup>45</sup> and: ‘The earthquakes of 1650 and 1950 were particularly significant in defining the stages and changes of Cusco’s architecture’<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> M. Kania, *Prekolumbijski... op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem.*, pp. 283-284.

<sup>42</sup> G. Kubler, *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of Its Monuments*, Unesco, Paris 1952. The publication, described as a „report” on a UNESCO mission carried out in 1951, was published as part of the series „Museums and Monuments”.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem.*, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem.*, pp. 7-23.

<sup>45</sup> ‘La imagen arquitectónica que nos ofrece hoy Cusco muestra sin embargo otros cortes: los de los movimientos sísmicos’, J. E. Hardoy, M. R. dos Santos, *El centro histórico del Cusco. Introducción al problema de supreservación y desarrollo*, Fondo del libro Banco Industrial del Peru, Cusco 1983, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Los terremotos de 1650 y 1950 han sido particularmente efectivos en la determinación de etapas en la arquitectura cusqueña’, *Ibidem.*

Fig. 1. *The city of Arequipa, covered in ash after the eruption of the volcano*, Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, 1615, p. 1053 [1061] (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark)

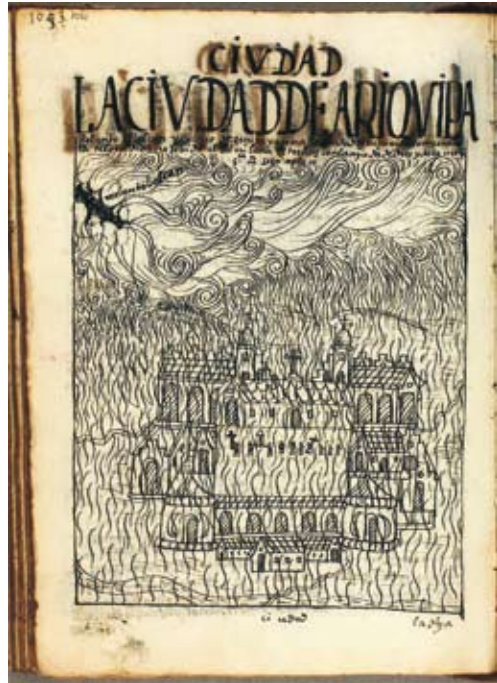


Fig. 2. *Ex-voto of Cuzco's 1650 Earthquake*, ca. 1651, unknown artist, oil on canvas, Cathedral of Cuzco (photo by Raúl Montero Quispe)



Fig. 3. *Señor de los Temblores*, late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, unknown artist, wood and mixed media, Cathedral of Cuzco (photo by Ewa Kubiak)



Fig. 4. *Señor de los Temblores*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, unknown artist, oil on canvas, sacristy of the Jesuit church in Cusco, Peru (photo by Ewa Kubiak)



Fig. 5. *Señor de los Temblores*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, unknown artist, wood and mixed media, Church of Saint Jerome, Cusco, Peru (photo by Ewa Kubiak)



Fig. 6. Pedro De Figueroa, *Cristo de Mayo (Señor de Agonia)*, 1613, Church of Saint Augustine, Santiago de Chile, Chile (photo by Ewa Kubiak)



Fig. 7. Abraham Guillén M., *Rosario Street, the view of the ruined Santo Domingo convent*, 1951 (Ladrón de Guevara Family Collection)



Fig. 8. Abraham Guillén M., *Church of Saint Sebastian*, 1951 (Ladrón de Guevara Family Collection)



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## TRZĘSIENIA ZIEMI A SZTUKA KOLONIALNA W CUSCO (PERU) (streszczenie)

Prezentowany artykuł poświęcony został wpływom jakie na sztukę Cusco (Wicekrólestwo Peru) miały trzęsienia ziemi. Najbardziej oczywistymi efektami były zniszczenia, a następnie odbudowa obiektów architektonicznych, jak również stosowne do epoki wyposażenie budynków. Stad kataklizm z 1650 r. postrzegany jest jako cezura czasowa wyznaczająca zmiany stylistyczne w sztuce Cusco. Nowa architektura miasta drugiej połowy XVII w. jest zdecydowanie barokowa, manieryzm i renesans w większości został zniszczone, a nowy język bardziej dynamicznych form zaczyna dominować. Kolejnym efektem była intensyfikacja życia artystycznego i rozwój warsztatów na terenie miasta, a także wzmożona religijność skoncentrowana wokół konkretnych wizerunków, uchodzących za cudowne i wspierających mieszkańców w czasie kataklizmów. Na zakończenie zostało także wspomniane o trzęsieniu ziemi z 1950 r., które wpłynęło w naszym przekonaniu na zmianę myślenia o sztuce kolonialnej w Cusco, która zaczęła być bardziej doceniana przez mieszkańców.

**Słowa kluczowe:** trzęsienie ziemi, Cusco, sztuka kolonialna, 1650, *Señor de os Temblores*

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