

---

# The Wound on Christ's Back in New Spain

ALENA ROBIN, UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO

---

## Résumé

Cet article examine une étrange gravure de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui illustre la plaie du dos du Christ. Elle fut découverte dans les archives de l'Inquisition de la ville de Mexico. Cette plaie gigantesque, autour de laquelle sont disposés, sans ordre apparent, les instruments de la Passion du Christ, laisse voir quatre os. La gravure fut censurée par le Saint-Office à cause de son inscription, qui renfermait des informations incorrectes, principalement de fausses indulgences. Néanmoins, on peut établir des liens entre cette gravure et différentes peintures du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Nouvelle-Espagne qui mettent l'accent tout particulièrement sur le dos du Christ pour y concentrer la souffrance de la

Passion. En étudiant simultanément ces œuvres, la gravure et l'analyse de l'Inquisition, on parvient à mieux comprendre la signification complexe de certaines images de la Passion du Christ en Nouvelle-Espagne. Les difficultés à représenter visuellement cette souffrance m'intéressent à un plus haut point parce qu'elles conduisirent les artistes à utiliser le dos du Christ comme élément de dévotion suscitant la compassion des fidèles. En évitant de représenter le corps en entier, la gravure de la plaie dorsale du Christ permettait d'élever la représentation visuelle de la souffrance du Seigneur.

---

As a general rule, the facial expression of such Mexican statues is sweet and natural, but sometimes one finds, especially in small towns and isolated chapels, Christ and other images of exaggerated, and even macabre aspect, products of the so-called popular art.<sup>1</sup>

In the bloody Christs of the eighteenth century, the pre-Columbian cult to blood is revived, venting itself, after two centuries of contention, with a drama never seen in Christian representations.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of post-revolutionary indigenism during the 1940s and 1950s, Mexicans wishing to describe the specific character of their art praised it in curious terms with respect to European art, re-evaluating and applying pre-Columbian principles and culture. For example, "bloody" figures of Christ were either explained within the context of popular art, or as a reminiscence of pre-Columbian cults. These explanations were first applied to sculpted images of Jesus. However, they were later used for any image of the suffering Christ of the viceregal era (1535–1821).<sup>3</sup> These works are not restricted to isolated villages and small chapels, where, presumably, only untrained artists worked; but little substantial geographical analysis has been done.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, a chronology of these representations has not been established. Most of them, however, are from the eighteenth century, when no living Indian could have witnessed pre-Columbian human sacrifices. Nor has anyone addressed the devotional context for these images' display of an aesthetic of horror that is well removed from the neoclassical sensitivity of the times. Finally, no one has inquired into the variety of Passion iconography, although doing so would have revealed an ample visual world. The objects in question are not only cult figures and narrative cycles of the tortured and lacerated Christ, but also paintings for meditation, and even – as we shall see in this paper – emblematic images.

The purpose of this essay is to challenge previous views of such objects and to argue that the representations of the suffer-

ing Christ constitute a substantive artistic legacy of New Spain. I shall begin with a strange print found in the Inquisition archives in Mexico City. It depicts a wound on Christ's back (fig. 1). The print was censored because of the unorthodox content of its accompanying inscription, which promised unauthorized indulgence. However, the image is related to some artistic material that invested Christ's back with a specific character in Mexican representations of the eighteenth century. Looking at the print, and at the inquisitorial investigation it suffered, will help us understand the complex meaning of certain visual representations of Christ's Passion. Central to my argument are the limits placed upon the representation of suffering in the person of Jesus, as shown in those paintings and prints of the Passion that focus on his back as an object of special devotion, and that served to stimulate compassion. Moreover, in its abstraction from the body, the print of the wound on Christ's back takes the representation of the suffering Christ a step further than would otherwise have been the case.

The print shows, within an oval section surrounded by a halo, a large wound, in which the flesh is torn apart, revealing four bones. Blood pours from the wound. Around it are displayed different instruments of the Passion of Christ: Veronica's cloth, the column, the ladder, and so forth. At the bottom of the image, in an ornate frame, the legend reads:

Effigy of the wound that the weight of the Holy Cross made on the sacred back of our redeemer Jesus displaying three bones of the spine, as he himself revealed to Saint Bernard. Pope Eugene III conceded an indulgence of three thousand years to those who pray three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys. By the devotion of Master Don Pedro Marcelo Orcillez. Year of 1775.<sup>5</sup>

Below this inscription appears "Nava Sc.," identifying the engraver as José de Nava (1735–1817), known to have worked in the city of Puebla, the second most important urban centre of the viceroyalty.<sup>6</sup>

Let us examine the context in which, I believe, this print

Figure 1. José de Nava, *The Wound on Christ's Back*, 1775. Engraving, Archivo General de la Nación, Inquisition, vol. 1103, exp. 19, 196 (Photo: Archivo General de la Nación).



should be understood. In New Spain, representations of the flagellation of Christ abound and they usually point to the beginning of his physical suffering. *The Flagellation* by Nicolás Enríquez (act. 1726–87) is a good example of the cruelty of the aggression suffered by Jesus (fig. 2). Christ is depicted in a barely defined architectural environment, but obviously the

thick column, covered with his blood, is the focal point. He is not leaning or attached to the column, as he is most commonly represented; instead he is crouched on the floor, on all fours, bathed in his own blood, having fallen from the column as a result of the torturers' violence. Not only is the skin of his back in shreds, but also his ribs and spine are revealed. Noteworthy are the number of his torturers, their expressions of madness, and the diversity of their instruments of torture. The overall theme was inherited from the Spanish spiritual climate of the Golden Age, the most fecund and glorious era of arts and literature in Spain, concentrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, in turn, relied on medieval visual and literary sources.

Discussing a painting, now lost, of a similar topic, the Spanish painter Francisco Pacheco, in his treatise *The Art of Painting* (1649), scorns the ignorant painters “who with no compassion throw lashes and blood, so as to erase the painting or to cover its defect.” He also, however, criticizes the great painters who, in order “not to cover the perfection of their effort,” did not indicate the wounds the lashes left on Christ’s body.<sup>7</sup> He then recommends Christ’s back as the most appropriate place for the painter to focus the suffering. A later treatise written by the Spanish mercedarian friar Juan Interián de Ayala, *The Christian and Erudite Painter, or Treatise of the Most Commonly Committed Mistakes in Painting and Sculpting Sacred Images* (1730), also makes some detailed comments on the best ways to represent Jesus during the Passion. Regarding the flagellation, he states that “Jesus Christ is to be painted cruelly and harshly whipped, shedding a lot of blood, his flesh swollen, and covered with visible open wounds.”<sup>8</sup> But when he describes the appropriate way of rendering the crucifixion, his explanations are more elaborate: “I have only to warn painters, and sculptors of sacred images, against doing an absurd thing, and straying greatly from the truth by painting Jesus Christ – not only his face, but the rest of his body (as they usually do) – as if he had not been

Figure 2. Nicolás Enriquez, *The Flagellation*, 1729. Oil on copper, 27.5 × 46.3 cm. Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Arte (Photo: Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM, reproduced by permission of the Museo Nacional de Arte, INBA).



mistreated, or tormented.”<sup>9</sup> He then illustrates his point with the following example:

There is a Jesus Christ crucified, of almost regular height, and carved with much delicacy, that represents not only Our Lord with opened wounds, his blood as if flowing, the cruelty of the whips, the flesh stripped from his knees, and other things of this type, but also the injuries and the bruises all over his body, in such a way that those who see him are not only moved to pious fondness, but are also filled with saintly horror, astonishment, and stupefaction. This is the model that I wish every Christian painter and sculptor would follow when he intends to vividly represent the image of Christ crucified.<sup>10</sup>

These two excerpts show how the representation of the torments suffered by Christ during the Passion were due in large part to the intense emotionality of Spanish mysticism during the Golden Age, and that it was an aspect that Spanish treatises promoted among artists. This attitude was not exclusive to Spain. Other European themes, like the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb, the Mystic Press, and Bernini’s Christ’s Blood, also had an impact on the bloody representations of Christ.<sup>11</sup> However, this intense emotionality found a very specific expression in eighteenth-century Latin American artistic manifestations, in which it seems that artists attempted to render their works as vividly as the written descriptions they had encountered.

For example, a devotional book printed in the city of Puebla in 1742 addresses the way parts of Jesus’s body – head, ears, eyes, mouth, face, neck, elbows, arms, hands, chest, opened side, heart, back, knees, and feet – suffered during the Passion.<sup>12</sup> The introduction states that meditating upon Christ’s Passion is more fruitful than fasting on bread and water for a whole year, or disciplining oneself until blood is shed. The descriptions are vivid in order to engage the reader’s attention, inviting him to take part in Christ’s Passion in a highly emotional way. It is made clear that the reader, witnessing the torments inflicted on each body part, is held responsible, through his sins, for Jesus’s distress. This evocative meditation would render the suffering Christ indissoluble from the reader’s mind. Nevertheless, in visual representations, affliction was concentrated in flowing blood, the wounds from the flagellation, the crowning with thorns, and Christ carrying the cross and falling to his knees. In these representations Christ is never ugly. His face is usually left unharmed except for the occasional representation of a cheek bruised by the blows of the mockers or the kiss of Judas. Mainly, it was in the wound on Christ’s back that physical torture was usually portrayed. It has been suggested that the exhibition of Christ’s lacerated back is related to the attitude following the post-Council of Trent belief in the importance of maintaining the decorum of images.<sup>13</sup> In that sense, it is no accident that the aggression suffered by Jesus was concentrated on his back: it was a zone where violence could be expressed without violating his dignity. It was, as well, a way of dressing the body with blood

Figure 3. Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, *Christ Consoled by Angels*, ca. 1760. Oil on copper, 64.5 × 85.5 cm. Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Arte (Photo: Pedro Ángeles Jiménez, Ernesto Peñalosa, Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM, reproduced by permission of the Museo Nacional de Arte, INBA).



and wounds so as to prevent the viewer from admiring a perfect nude body.

*Christ Consoled by Angels* by Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz (1713–72) depicts the moment after the flagellation, placing the emphasis on the exhaustion of Christ after his torment (fig. 3). His tormentors are absent, but their actions are recalled by the inclusion of a short column next to Christ.<sup>14</sup> This painting has direct connections with a literary and figurative tradition, exemplified in Diego Velázquez's *Christ after the Flagellation*, ca. 1628–29 (National Gallery, London), and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Christ after the Flagellation*, after 1655 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).<sup>15</sup> These examples embody strong devotional content as the viewer is invited to participate in Christ's sorrow and to meditate upon it. In the example from New Spain, however, there is no pious soul contemplating Christ and conversing with him, as in the Velázquez painting, nor angels watching as Christ drags himself along the ground, looking for his garments, as in the Murillo example. In contrast, in Morlete's painting, we are witnessing Christ when he is unable to stand on his own and is supported by an angel. Other angels also accompany him, some covering their faces because they are too troubled to look, while others collect his blood and pieces of his skin from the ground. In this painting, although not as gruesome as the Enríquez example, Christ's back is again turned to the viewer and presents a clearly apparent wound, unlike the

situation in the Velázquez and Murillo paintings. In this case, it has been argued that the presence of the chalice and the paten, both liturgical instruments, makes an allusion to the sacrament of the Eucharist.<sup>16</sup> This gives a specific context to this wound: Christ's Passion as an event of salvation for humankind.

The Enríquez and Morlete paintings were both made on copper plates of small dimensions. This might place them within a context of private devotion, perhaps in a sacristy, a private chapel, or a nun's or friar's cell.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, as has been argued by Clara Bargellini, the Latin inscription coming out of Christ's mouth in the Enríquez example, *Quæ utilitas in sanguine meo?*, and the artist's signature as *Inventa, perpetrataque à Nicolao Enríquez anno 1729* below the lacerated figure of Christ not only emphasize the painter's invention of this representation, but also his execution of it.<sup>18</sup> Thus the artist assumes responsibility for Christ's atrocious suffering, and through his painting makes a public confession: an act of contrition.

There are other examples comparable to the Enríquez or Morlete paintings, in which Christ's back is invested with peculiar importance. But the ultimate display of his wounded back can be seen in a devotional print that is engraved on both sides (figs. 4, 5).<sup>19</sup> This print, according to the inscription, illustrates a sculpture of Christ venerated at the Mexico City cathedral, representing Christ as *Ecce Homo*, after the flagellation.<sup>20</sup> The front of the print does not introduce any sort of unusual view.

Figures 4 and 5. Baltasar Troncoso, *Christ Helper of the Souls in the Purgatory*, front and back, n.d. Engraving, 14.3 x 9.5 cm. Mexico City, Museo Soumaya (Photo: Javier Hinojosa).

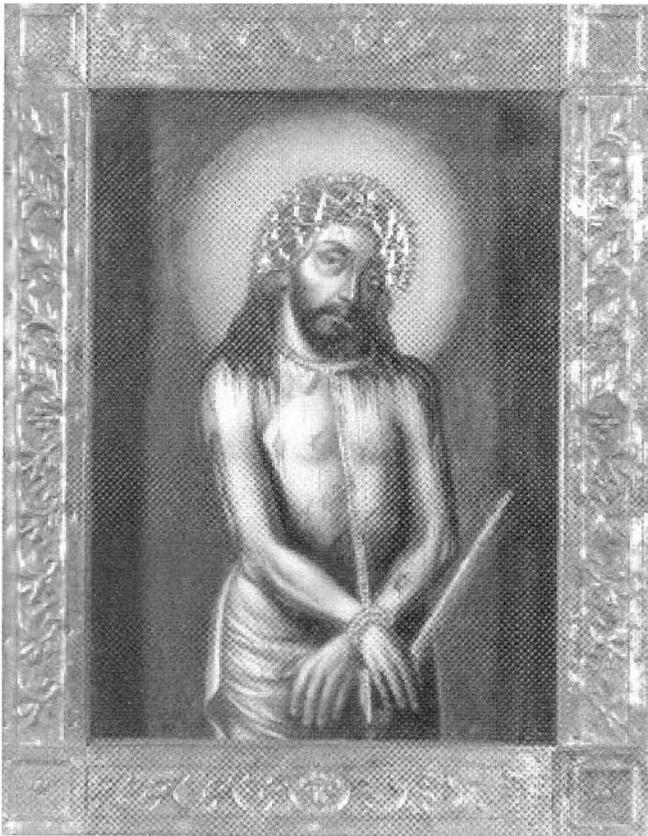


The fact that the viewer can turn the print over and thus contemplate Christ's back is, however, unusual. Furthermore, both sides could have been contemplated at once because of the transparency of the paper. The front of Christ's body presents different bruises, but his back shows two gaping wounds, where the skin is gone and where some ribs are displayed, just as in the print preserved in the Inquisition archives of Mexico City (fig. 1). Even the wounds' shapes in figs. 1 and 5 are similar. We also know of at least two paintings that exemplify the same idea: they are painted on both verso and recto, allowing the viewer to contemplate Christ as *Ecce Homo* but also allowing the devotee to meditate on his wounded back, probably by using a mirror. In an anonymous example from the Museo Nacional del Virreinato (figs. 6, 7), a half-length figure of Christ is shown on the recto, with the crown of thorns, rope, and cane made of superimposed silver. On the verso, the crown and the cane are still visible. Abundant blood is falling from Christ's hair, but his suffering is made more visible in his wounded back. The other

example, also anonymous, is preserved at the Museo Regional de Guadalupe (Guadalupe, Zacatecas). I would like to establish a parallel between those New Spanish examples and what Peter Parshall has called a "dialectic of honor and defamation."<sup>21</sup> Although in those examples the idealized form of the Saviour is absent, his front, while presenting bruises, is still an evocation of honor, recalling Pilate's presentation of Jesus to the people. However, his back is the recollection of the disfigurement suffered during the Passion.

Two different Passion series also point to the flagellation as the origin of the wound on Christ's back. These series of paintings by Gabriel José de Ovalle and Ignacio Berben are of larger dimensions than Enríquez's or Morlete's copper plates. The cycle by Ovalle consists of fifteen canvases, signed and dated 1749. It is preserved in an ex-Franciscan monastery, of the Propaganda Fide order, in the town of Guadalupe, in the modern-day state of Zacatecas in northern Mexico. The monastery is now an art museum, and although the cycle's original siting is

Figures 6 and 7. Anonymous, *Ecce Homo*, front and back, n.d. Oil on tinsplate, 25 × 35 cm. Tepotzotlán, Museo Nacional del Virreinato (Photo: Adrian García, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



uncertain, it is believed to have always belonged to the monastery. The Berben series, twenty-nine canvases produced in the second half of the eighteenth century, still hangs in its original location, in the upper cloister of the same monastery.<sup>22</sup> Both sets of paintings are believed to have been used in processions within the walls of the monastery: processions most likely related to Franciscan devotions to the Passion of Christ, and to penitential practices.<sup>23</sup>

Ovalle's Passion cycle begins with Jesus washing the feet of his apostles and ends with the descent of his body from the cross. The violence inflicted upon him reaches its culmination in the *Flagellation*, in which he is bound to a short column, is surrounded by different executioners, and presents his tortured back to the viewer (fig. 8). As has been argued by Clara Bargellini, in this case the visual representation of Christ's torments has its foundation in *The Mystic City of God*, written by Sister María de Jesús de Ágreda (1602–65), a Spanish Franciscan nun.<sup>24</sup> Her book was published posthumously in Madrid in 1670. According to Sister María de Jesús de Ágreda, the total number of lashes suffered by Jesus was 5115. As a result of this torture many pieces of his skin were stripped away, revealing his bones. In some parts the injuries were larger than the palm of the hand.

Ovalle offers what might seem a strange representation of the moment Jesus is nailed to the cross: Christ's face is toward the ground, allowing us to contemplate his wounded back (fig. 9). Again, this scene has a direct connection with the revelations of Sister María de Jesús de Ágreda, as she describes the executioners turning the cross over to better secure the Saviour's body to it by bending the nails projecting from the back of the cross. In relying to such a degree on a written source, the painter offered the viewer the sight of Christ's lacerated back in a scene in which it is not usually portrayed.

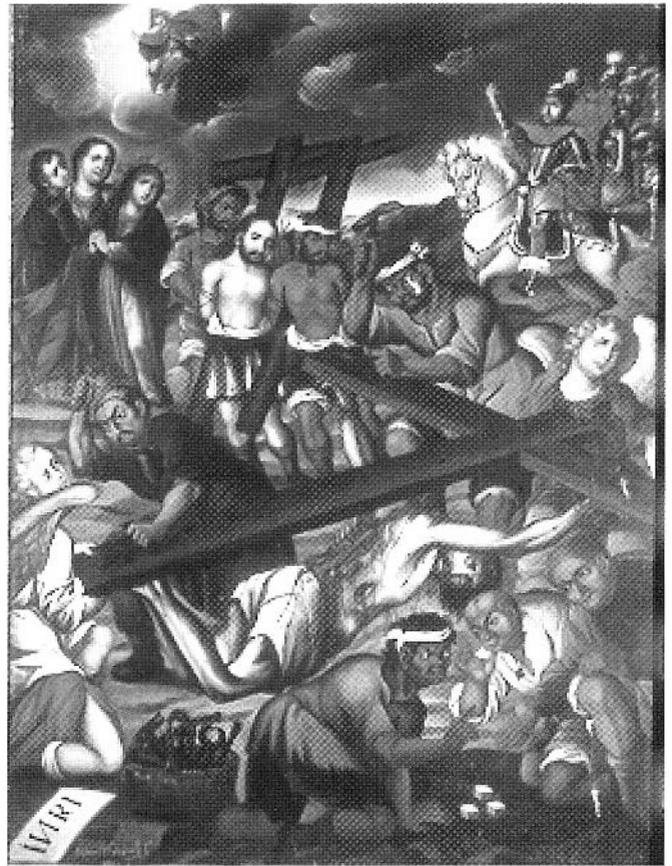
The Berben series begins with Jesus's entry into Jerusalem and ends with the Holy Sepulchre. We can view his wounded back in different situations. In the *Flagellation*, three different moments of the scene are combined in a single canvas: Christ bound to a tall column; Christ with his executioners still present; and Christ dragging himself along the ground, looking for his garments. The view of Jesus bound to the column shows him covered in blood, and with his ribs and spine clearly visible (fig. 10). In Berben's *Preparation for the Crucifixion*, Christ's affliction is also apparent and, given that he is not completely facing the viewer, we can contemplate the large wound in his back (fig. 11).

Figure 8. Gabriel José de Ovalle, *The Flagellation*, 1749. Oil on canvas, 166 × 105 cm. Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Museo de Guadalupe (Photo: Pedro Ángeles Jiménez, Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



These examples (figs. 8, 9, 10, 11) set different scenes of the Passion within a narrative context. In the print illustrated earlier (fig. 1), however, the wound is presented in a more abstract way; although the disembodied wound itself appears on the cross, it is isolated from any narrative context. Furthermore, there is no reference made in the print to Christ's body as a whole. As noted earlier, the wound is surrounded by different elements that are related in various ways to the Passion, the *Arma Christi*. Around the oval that contains the wound are displayed, in no particular order, the different objects used to humiliate and kill Jesus. To the left in the print are the spear that pierced his side, Veronica's cloth tied to a stick (the cloth from which Christ received vinegar to drink), some kind of plant (perhaps the reed that was used to mock Christ), the column, a rope, and a whip. In the bottom of the image we see not only the hand that slapped Jesus in the face in front of the high

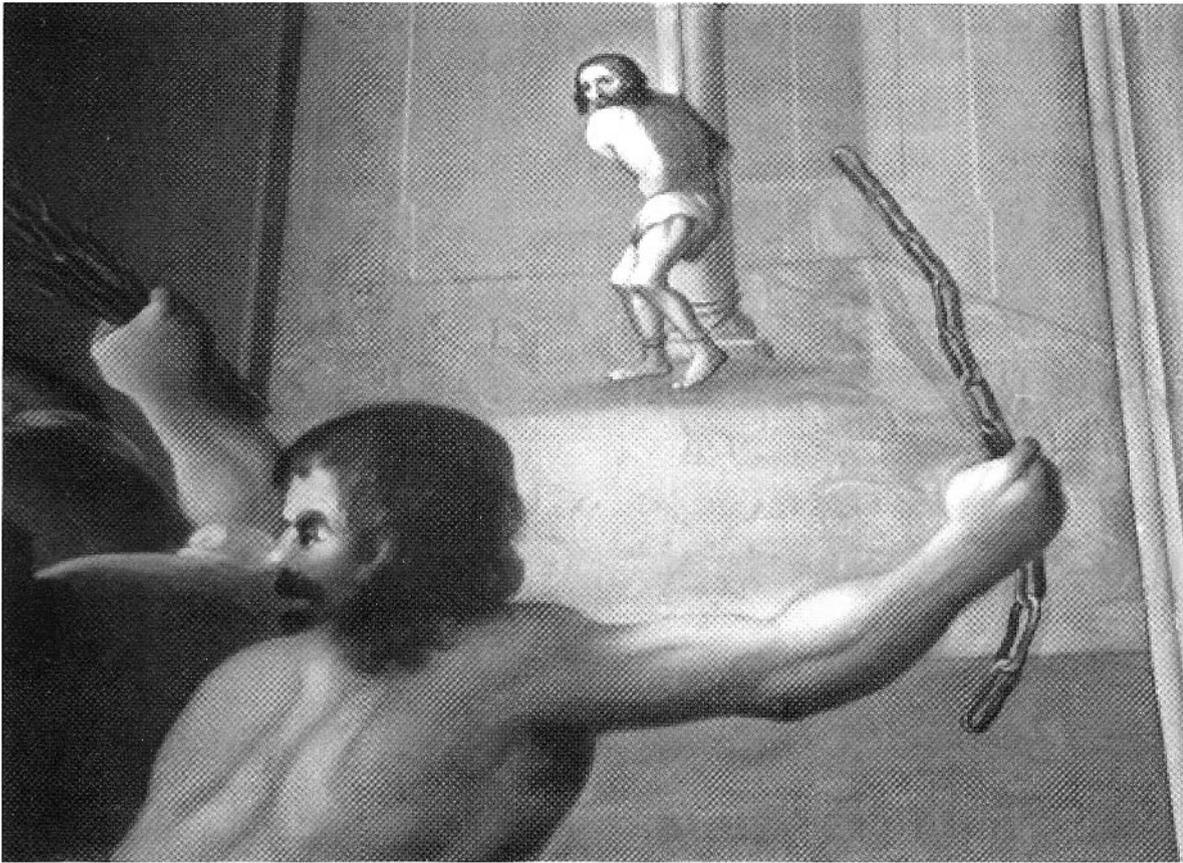
Figure 9. Gabriel José de Ovalle, *Christ Being Nailed to the Cross*, 1749. Oil on canvas, 166 × 125 cm. Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Museo de Guadalupe (Photo: Pedro Ángeles Jiménez, Archivo Fotográfico IIE-UNAM, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



priest, but also the chalice, the three dice with which the soldiers played for Christ's cloak, the three nails used for his crucifixion, Pilate's basin, and the jar of water Pilate used to wash his hands. On the other side of the image are the ladder used to take Christ down from the cross, the hammer used to nail him to the cross, a bag holding the silver coins paid to Judas, and the branches used for the flogging. The instruments of the Passion, the representation of which arose in the late Middle Ages, symbolize both the triumph of Christ over death and his own suffering during the Passion.<sup>25</sup> They are thus bound to his double nature: divine and victorious, and human and suffering. They illustrate simultaneously all the suffering of Christ; they are converted into symbols that embody the pain each inflicted. Even in medieval examples there were no rules for the selection, order, or size of the instruments; everything depended on the patron's choice. By contemplating and meditating on the images, the devotee recalled the totality of Christ's suffering.

In my opinion, the Puebla print is an image of *Arma Christi*, in which the wound was intended as an additional instrument of the Passion, although it stands out for its size and for the central position it occupies in the composition. The

Figure 10. Ignacio Berben, *The Flagellation*, detail, n.d. Oil on canvas, 253 × 285 cm. Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Museo de Guadalupe (Photo: Bernardo del Hoyo, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



wound and the instruments combine to remind the devout of the Passion and of each affliction suffered by Jesus. It could be argued that the wound on Christ's back was not specifically executed to humiliate and kill him. Indeed, the wound does not appear on the traditional list of the instruments of the Passion. Nonetheless, in this case the gaping wound serves as an instrument of the Passion in the sense that it functions as a symbolic figure for all the distress endured by Christ. The wound is here sanctified and venerated above any of the other images that refer to the torments he suffered. It condenses the meaning of Christian salvation, made possible by the Passion of Christ. The wound is, then, an abstraction and synthesis rather than a simple narrative device.<sup>26</sup> Its presence summarizes the whole Passion. It is significant that, when he is shown on the cross in fig. 1, Christ is represented not by his body but by the wound of his back. The body has disappeared, but the cross is not empty. By replacing Christ's body the wound concentrates the meaning of his suffering.

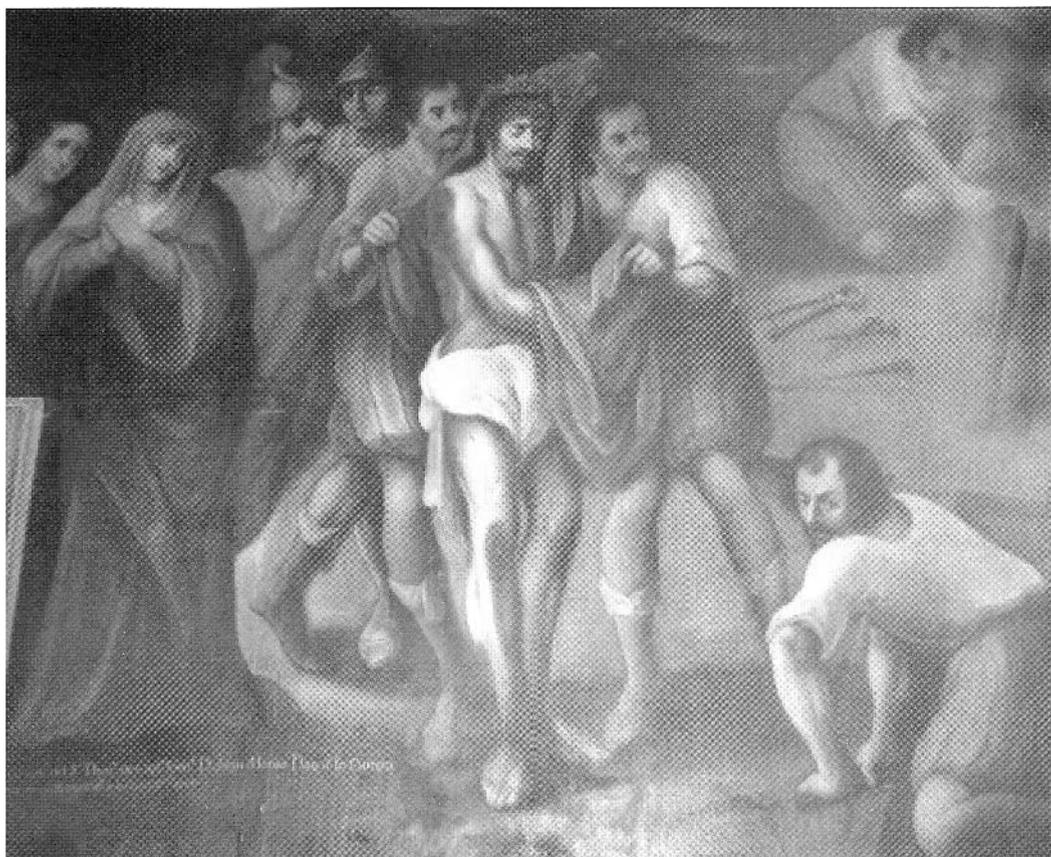
The unity of the representation depends upon the active participation of the viewer through a close contemplation and association of the depicted instruments of the Passion. The

image functions as a mnemonic device to fix the Passion in the viewer's memory. Furthermore, the image has a strong emotive function. The focus on the hideous wound is exploited to evoke pathos in the viewer.

The emphasis on Christ's physical suffering must be placed within the context of meditation on his pain and sorrow, *devotio moderna* and *imitatio Christi*. The idea is that the viewer can internalize Christ's suffering, and actualize it. This is not the only case in Catholic iconography where a wound on Jesus's body is exploited and venerated as a cult object. But the European cult of the Five Wounds – one on each hand, each foot, and in his side – does not include the wound on Christ's back. The print reproduced as fig. 1 was probably more persuasive to the viewer than many other narrative representations of the Passion. Its symbolic language condenses a narrative discourse about the Passion. It converts Christ's suffering into a memorable image, engraved into one's mind, summarizing a message of compassion.

The manner of depicting the wound raises yet another question: that of access to, and study of, human anatomy for painters of the viceregal era. However abstracted it may be from

Figure 11. Ignacio Berben, *Preparation for the Crucifixion*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 253 × 285 cm. Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Museo de Guadalupe (Photo: Museo de Guadalupe, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



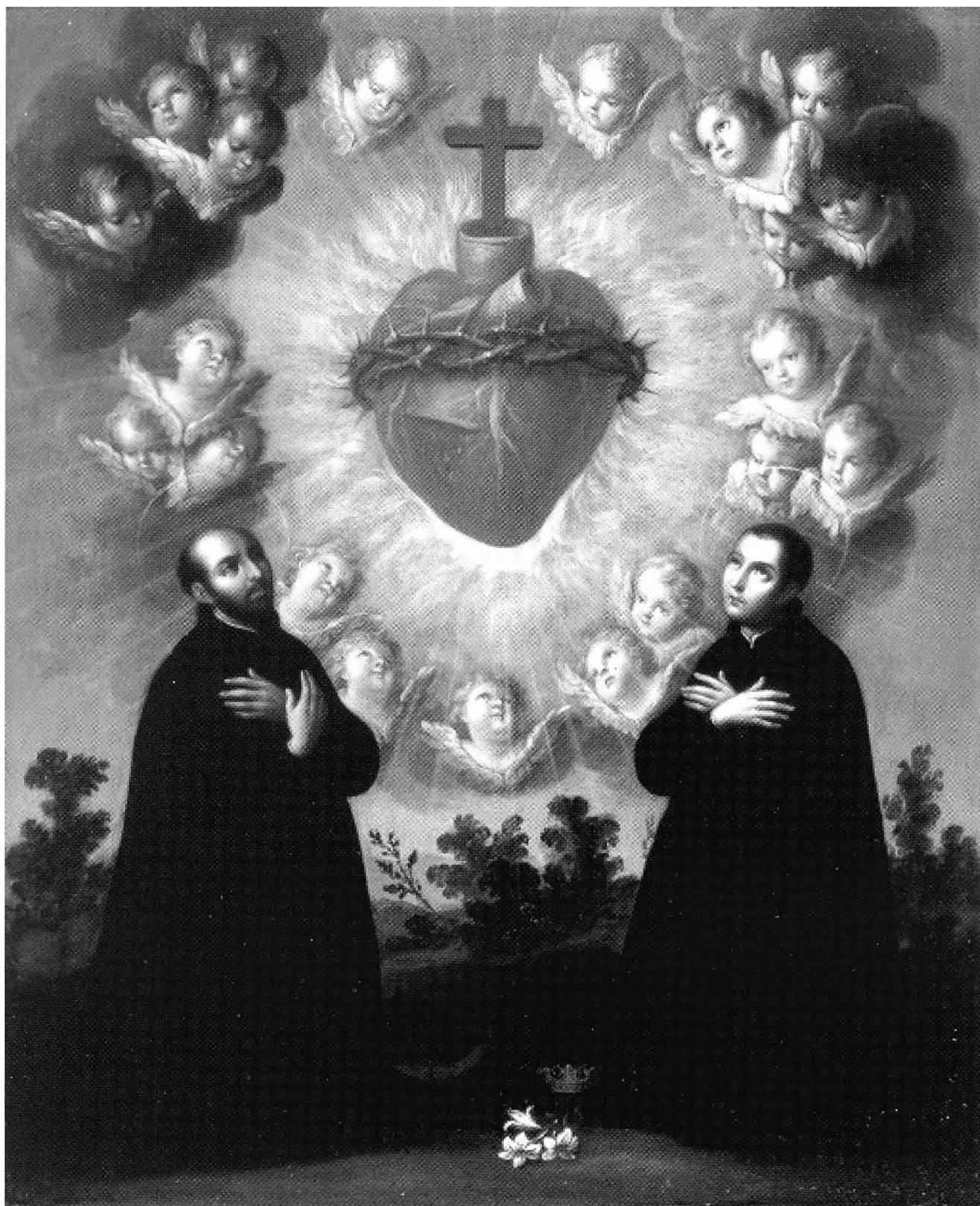
the rest of Christ's body, the wound is still depicted in a realistic manner. Through the lacerated skin, the ribs, spine and muscles are shown in a largely accurate way. The rules of the painters' guild did stipulate the need to represent human bodies in the nude, in order for artists to gain their professional credentials.<sup>27</sup> As far as we know, it was only with the foundation of the Royal Academy of the Three Noble Arts of San Carlos in Mexico City in 1785 that colonial painters had an official and rigorous training in human anatomy. This situation might point to the use of medical illustrations by painters, a topic not yet studied in relation to viceregal period painting.

However, the wound on Christ's back is not the only means whereby a part of Christ's body is shown in a disembodied yet realistic manner. For example, consider an illustration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus by José de Páez (1720–ca. 1790) (fig. 12). Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus arose in the High Middle Ages and was subsequently extended widely in the seventeenth century through the example of Saint Margaret Mary Alacoque's (1647–90) visions in which Christ offered her his heart as a condensation of his love and suffering.<sup>28</sup> Since Saint Margaret Mary Alacoque's confessor was a Jesuit, the spread of this cult

was primarily the work of the Jesuit order. In the late eighteenth century, artistic representation of the vision was very popular in New Spain. In this example the radiant Sacred Heart has a central position, and is huge with respect to the figures. The heart is depicted both as a realistic organ, with large and small veins, and as a symbol for the Passion, with some attributes of Christ's affliction: the wound on his side, the crown of thorns, and the cross. As in the Puebla print, a part of Christ's body is shown in a disembodied manner, abstracted from any narrative context. Furthermore, it could be argued that the shape of the wound in the print mimics the form of a heart. To my knowledge, none of the representations of the Sacred Heart of Jesus were questioned by authorities. Nor were they restricted to popular sectors of the society. This example clearly demonstrates as much, with the presence of two Jesuit saints: Ignatius Loyola and Luis Gonzaga.

It is interesting to note that the representation of the tortured and lacerated Christ in New Spain reached its zenith in depictions of aggression against the sacred body of Christ during the eighteenth century. Although there are some images of the Passion dating from the sixteenth century in mural paint-

Figure 12. José de Páez, *The Adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with Saints Ignatius Loyola and Luis Gonzaga*, ca. 1770. Oil on copper, 41 × 32.7 cm. Denver, Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer (Photo: Collection of Jan and Frederick Mayer).



ings in monasteries, it was not until the eighteenth century that the harsh realism discussed above became important and that this realism reached a level of remarkable complexity in the Puebla print. It would, however, be incorrect to believe that every illustration of the Passion in the eighteenth century is as extreme in the depiction of Christ's suffering as are the paintings and prints discussed here. The portrayal of this kind of violence might moreover have been problematic for painters such as Morlete Ruiz to represent, Ruiz's oeuvre manifesting as it does a neoclassical sensitivity.

This drastic change from the pathetic realism of a tortured and lacerated Christ to a neoclassical aesthetic could be explained by the desire of the patrons who commissioned the eighteenth-century images. Some time ago, Pal Kelemen suggested that the Indian population of New Spain embraced the realistic, agonized Jesus as a release from their degraded status in viceregal society.<sup>29</sup> This idea was later mentioned in the context of Morlete's *Christ Consoled by Angels*.<sup>30</sup> This attitude still prevails. Recently, for example, Elisa Vargaslugo discussed the representation of the suffering Christ as being intertwined with pre-Columbian sensibility.<sup>31</sup> I do not share this position, however. Of the examples discussed in this article, none could be placed in an Indian context. The Enríquez and Morlete paintings were examples of private devotional images, while the Ovalle and Berben series belonged to a Franciscan monastery. As I have argued, the wound on Christ's back represents a learned and intellectualized image that is complex and abstract. Furthermore, as we will see, the print in fig. 1 circulated in a devotional book, suggesting that patrons of these images were probably literate. Thus, if the patron of this image is identified as an Indian, it is difficult to assume that that patron was a degraded Indian suffering under the colonial yoke.

But who was this Pedro Marcelo Orcillez, who proudly used the titles of "don" and "maestro" in the inscription that appears in the print illustrated in fig. 1? I was not able to find more information regarding this intriguing character. However, the Inquisition case from which the print originates might give us some clue.

On 29 January 1776, Andrés de la Santísima Trinidad, a friar from the monastery of the Discalced Carmelite order in Mexico City, notified the Inquisition of a print that granted an indulgence of 3000 years to anyone who would recite three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys while contemplating it. He asked for the religious court to define "what was most convenient for the benefit of souls and for the respect for true indulgences."<sup>32</sup> He also said he was not acting out of malice, and that he wanted only to fulfill his obligations as a Catholic.

In response, at the beginning of February 1776, Francisco Larrea, a member of the Dominican order in Mexico City, made a first assessment of the print. After studying the print and

reading its inscription, Larrea established that both were false, since "the painting describes the manner in which Our Lord Jesus Christ carried the Cross very differently from the way it actually happened."<sup>33</sup> He based his assessment on the following argument. First, he explained that it is generally accepted that Christ carried the cross on his shoulder, even though the Spanish expression *cargar a cuestras* can mean on his back, on his shoulders, or on his ribs. Nevertheless, in Catholic tradition the belief is that he carried the cross on his shoulder. According to Brother Larrea, when Jesus could no longer suffer the weight, he fell to the ground. Had he been bearing the cross's weight on his ribs, the latter would have been crushed but they would not have been revealed – which is what is shown in the print. Furthermore, Brother Larrea argued that if Christ had carried the cross on his back, much more than three bones would have been revealed; his whole back, showing all the ribs, would have been exposed, and in a such a case he would not have made it alive to Calvary.

Secondly, Brother Larrea supported this idea by citing the writings of Father Ulloa. Pedro de Santa María y Ulloa was a Dominican friar from Salamanca, Spain, who travelled to America in the second half of the seventeenth century. In his book *Arco Iris de Paz*, promoting the devotion to the Rosary, he elaborated a drastic description of the suffering of Christ during his Passion. Nevertheless, Francisco Larrea only quoted Father Ulloa with reference to the crucifixion, which he described as follows:

Some people passed a rope under Our Lord's arms ... and, sitting on the floor, two executioners, bracing their feet on the Cross, bound his arms; and then the other offenders attached a rope to each foot, and pulled with such cruelty that they dislocated his entire holy body, the ankles, knees, hips, ribs, in such a manner that in his whole body, no bone was left attached to the next.<sup>34</sup>

This description could well apply to Ignacio Berben's visual representation of the crucifixion (fig. 13). That painting depicts the pathetic realism of the moment as described by Ulloa: we witness how the executioners, sitting on the floor on either side of Christ, hold the ropes in their hands and stretch his arms to nail them to the cross. The abundance of blood pouring from Christ's left hand should be noted, as should the bruises covering his body: head, shoulders, side, knees, and feet. In addition, Ulloa observes that even the nerves and the veins were injured.

Having quoted from Ulloa, Larrea concluded that the wound in Christ's back was the result of the crucifixion, and not of the carrying of the cross. This affirmation is intriguing, as it contradicts the visual evidence that, as we have seen, situates the origin of Christ's wounded back in the flagellation. Nonetheless, if

Figure 13. Ignacio Berben, *Christ Being Nailed to the Cross*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 253 × 285 cm. Guadalupe, Zacatecas, Museo de Guadalupe (Photo: Museo de Guadalupe, reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia).



Larrea had read Ulloa's book thoroughly, he would have realized that the wounds that he stated were the result of the crucifixion were a constant in the Passion. Father Ulloa described Christ as having a rough and thick rope around his neck as he walked to Calvary carrying his cross. The rope adhered to his skin and, as a consequence of the rubbing of the cross on Christ's tunic, the rope entered his left shoulder, creating "a large, profound, and painful wound, which was the largest of his holy body."<sup>35</sup> Clearly, Brother Larrea did not take into account this part of Ulloa's description, and thus went on to state that the print's creator was probably devoted to the revelations of Saint Bernard. Asserting that he had read them all, he noted that none made mention of the wound on Christ's back caused by the weight of the cross, or of the revealing of three bones. This, according to Larrea, was evidence enough to confirm that the whole print, including the inscription, was false, and prompted him to state that the idea of the indulgence was meant to tempt those who were devout but naïve.

Saint Bernard (1090–1153) has been seen as the first noteworthy exponent of the suffering humanity of Christ, since he centred his devotion on the physical affliction of Christ and on

the injuries left on his body.<sup>36</sup> Even if it were true that Saint Bernard did not mention in his sermons or considerations on the Passion the revelation of the wound on Christ's back, his writings are filled with vivid descriptions of the torments and injuries suffered by Christ. Therefore, I do not think it would be incorrect to attribute to Saint Bernard the type of sensibility towards the Passion of Christ that is illustrated in fig. 1.

Regarding the indulgence, Larrea remarked that the popes did not usually concede such a large indulgence at once. He concluded by saying that the engraver was certainly a pious man, but that his print had no rational grounds for its representation of Christ's body, and considered that what it represented was false, arbitrary, and unduly harsh.

The Inquisition seemed to agree with this assessment, since the Holy Office decided on 28 February 1776 to secretly collect other copies of the print, along with the engraving plate. The process was secret because the inquisitors did not consider issuing an official, public, proscriptive edict. There are only three known surviving copies of this print of the wound of Christ's back, all preserved in the Inquisition archives in Mexico City. It is not clear if they were all submitted with Andrés de la Santísima

Trinidad's petition, or if they were among those that were confiscated. This was a relatively simple case for the tribunal: no witness was called to testify, the artist was not brought to trial, and the patron was not summoned to explain his errors. The tribunal simply confiscated copies of the offending image. Regardless, the print probably continued to circulate, as on 17 December 1785, the Inquisition published a decree prohibiting a devotional book on the revelation of Saint Bernard and its accompanying illustration of the wound on Christ's back for its uncertain revelation – that the wound was caused by Christ carrying the cross on his back – and for its apocryphal indulgence.<sup>37</sup> This edict seems to indicate that the engraving did not necessarily circulate as a single-leaf print but as a book illustration, although I have not yet found an example. I am unaware of the extent of the print's circulation, but it is significant that the Inquisition felt bound to sanction it twice in a period of nine years.

It is clear that on two occasions the print was banned because of its unorthodox inscription. The inquisitors seem never to have addressed the print's visual representation; there was no aesthetic condemnation at any time. The wound in itself was not a fictitious theme and, as we have seen in the other examples, this kind of wound was not uncommon in Mexican artistic manifestations of the eighteenth century (as the assessment of Larrea seems to propose).

In this case, the Inquisition opted not to question those responsible, perhaps, as Kelly Donahue Wallace has pointed out, because the inquisitors were not motivated enough to pursue the matter in the city of Puebla.<sup>38</sup> Also, the patron, "Maestro Don Pedro Marcelo Orcillez," otherwise unknown, bears a title that might denote him as a man of some education. In other words, his social status might have discouraged the Holy Office from pursuing him. Moreover, I would like to argue that Pedro Marcelo Orcillez had a university degree, which could explain the complexity of the image, and that he probably belonged to the Dominican order. As we have seen, Francisco Larrea, a Dominican friar, manipulated the information about the print by quoting, incorrectly and incompletely, from only one book, and that by a Dominican author. Larrea could have caused a major scandal in a topic so sensitive to the Catholic Church as the indulgence promised by the print, but he contained it. Furthermore, the Inquisition, a Dominican institution, waited nine years to publish an official edict regarding the print. Both situations could be explained by the importance of Orcillez, and by the desire to protect the Dominican order from an official trial.

As I have tried to show, the print in fig. 1 is an abstraction of a narrative cycle. It served within a context of private devotion, concentrating on Christ's suffering rather than on his triumph, although the latter is implied. Here the believer identi-

fies himself with Christ and his affliction through the instruments of the Passion, possibly aided by some mystic literature, as the edict set forth by the Inquisition seems to imply. The viewer's concentration was particularly directed towards one aspect of the Passion, Christ's physical torment, and more specifically the wound on his back. The wound was then converted into an emblem of the narration of the Passion.

I have not been able to determine if an earlier European model exists for this motif of the wound. However, the abiding presence of the wound of Christ's back in Mexican artistic production of the eighteenth century might allow me to conclude that the wound on Christ's back is a New Spanish invention. As we have seen in different viceregal period examples, there is a long history of concentrating Jesus's torments on his back. The print of the wound on Christ's back resolves the problem of representing the perfect body of Christ as suffering, since the body is not depicted. It is thus a synecdoche, a rhetorical figure, a part that stands in for the whole. The wound on Christ's back stands for the body of Christ, and for the torments he suffered during the Passion.

#### Acknowledgements

This article profits from many years of research and fieldwork, as I first encountered the print depicting the wound on Christ's back while doing primary research for my Master's thesis. My thanks go to the Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche (FCAR), the Fonds Québécois de la Recherche sur la Société et la Culture (FQRSC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), whose support allowed me to conduct graduate work and research in Mexico. I also wish to thank Emilie Carreón for her enthusiastic help with a previous version of this paper. A first version was presented at the Universities Art Association of Canada annual conference in 2005 and a different version was given at the College Art Association annual conference in 2006. I am grateful to each association for financial support, and to the conference participants for their insightful comments and suggestions.

#### Notes

- 1 "Como regla general, la expresión facial de tales estatuas mexicanas es dulce y natural, pero algunas veces se encuentran, especialmente en poblados pequeños y capillas aisladas, Cristos y otras imágenes de aspecto exagerado y hasta macabro, producto del llamado arte popular." Manuel Romero de Terreros, *El arte en México durante el Virreinato: resumen histórico* (Mexico City, 1951), 36. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.
- 2 "En los Cristos sangrantes del siglo XVIII renace el culto precolombino a la sangre, desahogándose, después de dos centurias

- de contención, con un dramatismo nunca visto en las representaciones cristianas.” Raúl Flores Guerrero, “Escultura Criolla,” *México en la cultura*, 13 (March 1955), 5.
- 3 The viceregal era was the period beginning after the conquest and ending with Mexican independence. New Spain became an associated kingdom of the Spanish empire, a political conglomerate including the southern part of the United States, Mexico, Central America, and the Philippines. Its unifying figure was the viceroy, the official representative of the king of Spain.
  - 4 The classic essay on the topic is Xavier Moysén, *México, angustia de sus Cristos* (Mexico City, 1967).
  - 5 “Efigie de la llaga que en la sagrada espalda de nuestro redentor Jesús causó el peso de la Santa Cruz, en la qual se descubrieron tres huesos del espinazo, como se lo reveló el mismo Señor a San Bernardo. El Papa Eugenio III concedió tres mil años de indulgencias a quien rezare tres Padres Nuestros y Ave Marías. A devoción del maestro don Pedro Marcelo Orcillez. Año de 1775.” Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Inquisition, vol. 1103, exp. 19, 196 r. The document, and subsequent edict, are cited by Kelly Donahue-Wallace as an example of the control authorities had over prints during the colonial period. See Donahue-Wallace, “Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600–1800,” Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2000, 306–9. Although the inscription of the print, and its accompanying document, mention three bones, we can distinguish four in the illustration (fig. 1).
  - 6 José de Nava was a prolific engraver of the second half of the eighteenth century in the city of Puebla. Most of his work deals with religious topics: saints’ portraits, invocations of the Virgin, and some allegories. In 1755 he dedicated a map of New Spain to the newly arrived viceroy, Agustín de Ahumada y Villalón, and he also created two views of the Palafoxiana library. It was common for Nava to sign and date his engravings. See Francisco Pérez de Salazar, *El grabado en la Ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles* (1933; repr. Puebla, 1990), 37–54. Nevertheless, the print depicting the wound on Christ’s back was not noted by the author.
  - 7 Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (1st edn 1649; Madrid, 1990), 301. The full passage reads: “Vengamos a los señales de los azotes de todo el cuerpo, cosa que escusan mucho los grandes pintores, por no encubrir la perfección de lo que tanto les cuesta, a diferencia de los indoctos, que sin piedad arrojan azotes y sangre, con que se borra la pintura o cubren sus defectos: pero huyendo de extremos, usé de medio que representase las señales, y más donde menos dañasen a la bondad de la figura, que es en los oscuros y particularmente en la espalda, no sin buena consideración, pues es la parte donde consideran los santos que cayeron la mayor parte de los azotes.”
  - 8 “Hase, pues, de pintar á Jesu-Christo, azotado cruel, y acerbísimamente, derramando mucha sangre, hinchada, y muy acardenalada su carne.” Juan Interián de Ayala, *El pintor christiano, y erudito, ó tratado de los errores que suelen cometerse freqüentemente en pintar, y esculpir las Imágenes Sagradas* (1st edn 1730; Madrid, 1782), 385–86.
  - 9 “Solo me resta advertir á los Pintores, y Escultores de Imágenes Sagradas, ser una cosa disparatada, y que se aparta mucho de la verdad, el pintar á Jesu-Christo, no solo en el semblante, sino tambien en lo restante de su cuerpo (segun suelen hacerlo regularmente) como que no le hubiesen maltratado, ó atormentado.” Juan Interián de Ayala, *El pintor christiano, y erudito*, 429.
  - 10 “Hay una de Jesu-Christo Crucificado, de una estatura casi regular, y labrada con mucho primor: la qual no solo nos representa al Señor abiertas sus llagas, su sangre como que va corriendo, la crueldad de los azotes, descarnadas las rodillas, y otras cosas á ese tenor; sino tambien las heridas, y cardenales de los golpes en todo su cuerpo: de suerte que á los que la miran, no solo les mueve á efectos piadosos, sí que tambien les llena de un santo horror, pasmo, y estupor. Este es el modelo que desearía yo siguiese todo Pintor, y Escultor Christiano, quando se propone representar al vivo la Imagen de Christo Crucificado.” Juan Interián de Ayala, *El pintor christiano, y erudito*, 431.
  - 11 Although some interesting examples of these devotions do exist from colonial Mexico, explaining how they evolved in New Spain is beyond the scope of this article.
  - 12 *Modo fácil y provechoso de saludar y adorar los sacratísimos miembros de Jesucristo Señor Nuestro en su santísima Pasión*. Dispuesto por un sacerdote de este obispo, que por mano de la Purísima y dolorísima Virgen María Nuestra Señora. Lo consagra y dedica a su mismo unigénito Hijo Crucificado. Puebla, por la viuda de M. De Ortega, 1742.
  - 13 Clara Bargellini, “‘Amoroso horror’: arte y culto en la serie de la Pasión de Gabriel de Ovalle de Guadalupe, Zacatecas,” *Arte y violencia*, ed. Arturo Pascual Soto (Mexico City, 1995), 515–19.
  - 14 A short column, now preserved in the church of Santa Prassede in Rome, had been brought from Jerusalem by Cardinal Colonna in 1223 and is held by many to be the authentic column of the flagellation. For many centuries it was accessible to artists, but it seems that only at the end of the sixteenth century was it incorporated into religious art in order to create a stronger representation of the torture of Christ than was the case with depicting a tall column. The short column provides no support for his body, making the torture even more painful. See Émile Mâle, *El barroco. Arte religioso del siglo XVII. Francia, España, Flandes*, trans. Ana María Guasch (Madrid, 1985), 212. It is interesting to note that both columns were indistinctly used in contemporaneous paintings in New Spain.
  - 15 Émile Mâle traced the origin of this representation to the *Meditations* of Diego Alvarez de Paz (1560–1620), in which Christ is described as being untied from the column, falling to the ground because of his weakness, dragging himself, and searching for his garments. (*El barroco*, 212.) On Velázquez’s visual and literary sources for this painting, see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “Fuentes iconográficas y literarias del cuadro de Velázquez ‘Cristo y el alma cristiana,’” *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía*, 8 (1991), 82–90.
  - 16 Clara Bargellini, *Arte y Mística del barroco*, exh. cat., Mexico City, Museo de San Ildefonso (Mexico City, 1994), 64.
  - 17 On the importance of this medium in Latin America, see Clara Bargellini, “Painting on Copper in Spanish America,” *Copper as*

- Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper, 1575–1775*, exh. cat. Phoenix Art Museum (New York, 1998), 31–44; Clara Bargellini, “La pintura sobre lámina de cobre en los virreinos de la Nueva España y del Perú,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 74–75 (1999), 79–98; Clara Bargellini, “Pintura sobre lámina de cobre en Nueva España: preguntas y observaciones de una historiadora del arte,” *Historia del arte y restauración*, ed. Clara Bargellini (Mexico City, 2000), 195–209.
- 18 Clara Bargellini, “Consideraciones acerca de las firmas de los pintores novohispanos,” *El proceso creativo*, ed. Alberto Dallal (Mexico City, 2006), 217–18. As Clara Bargellini has pointed out, too little is known of Enríquez’s life to place this painting in a specific, individual context. But it is sufficient to see this work as exceptional, and not just as the expression of a New Spanish bloody religiosity, as is often the case in the historiography on this painting.
  - 19 In the lower right corner the name Troncoso appears. The work has been attributed to Baltasar Troncoso, active in Mexico City between 1743 and 1760.
  - 20 This is probably the sculpture that is now venerated in the chapel of Our Lady of Solitude. See *Catedral de México. Patrimonio artístico y cultural* (Mexico City, 1986), 161.
  - 21 Peter Parshall, “The Art of Memory and the Passion,” *Art Bulletin*, LXXXI, 3 (September 1999), 464–65.
  - 22 The attribution of this cycle was problematic for some time, but the recent uncovering of Berben’s signature has resolved the problem. Maricela Valverde Ramírez, “Ignacio Berben, pintor en la Nueva Galicia,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 79 (2001), 171–78; Maricela Valverde Ramírez, “Ignacio Berben, un pintor del reino de la Nueva Galicia, siglo XVIII,” Ph.D. diss., Unidad de estudios de las humanidades y artes, Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2006.
  - 23 Clara Bargellini, “‘Amoroso horror,’” 513–15, 522–23.
  - 24 Clara Bargellini, “‘Amoroso horror,’” *passim*. For more information on this painter, see Clara Bargellini, “Nuevos documentos sobre Gabriel José de Ovalle y algunas consideraciones acerca de la apreciación de la pintura novohispana,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 78, (2001), 77–102. For more on the impact of Sister María Jesús de Ágreda in New Spain, see Alena Robin, “El retablo de Xaltocán, las *Imágenes* de Jerónimo Nadal y la monja de Ágreda,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 88 (2006), 53–70.
  - 25 Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2, *The Passion of Christ* (New York, 1972), 189–98.
  - 26 Important to my thinking about these issues is the work of Daniel Arasse, *Le détail. Pour une histoire rapprochée de la peinture* (1992; repr. Paris, 1996), 80–107; and Peter Parshall, “The Art of Memory and the Passion,” *passim*.
  - 27 Alena Robin, “Los Cristos del México virreinal: sufrimiento, desnudez y sanción de imágenes,” M.A. diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002, 109–20.
  - 28 Santiago Sebastián, *Contrarreforma y barroco* (1981; repr. Madrid, 1989), 322–27; James Clifton, *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150–1800*, exh. cat., Houston, Museum of Fine Arts (Munich, 1997), 148; Clara Bargellini, *Copper as Canvas*, 245–47.
  - 29 Pal Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, 2 vols. (1951; repr. New York, 1967), vol. 1, 50.
  - 30 James Clifton, *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150–1800*, 76.
  - 31 Elisa Vargaslugo, “El más hermoso de los hijos del hombre,” *Parábola novohispana. Cristo en el arte Virreinal*, exh. cat., Mexico City, Palacio de Iturbide (Mexico City, 2000), 105.
  - 32 “lo que más convenga para el provecho de las almas, y para la estimación de las verdaderas indulgencias.” AGN, Inquisition, vol. 1103, exp. 19, 193 r.
  - 33 “La pintura denota en el modo de haber cargado la Cruz Jesucristo Señor Nuestro muy distinta representación de aquel en que sucedió; por lo que desde luego aseguro, que a lo menos es falso lo que dice y pinta.” AGN, Inquisition, vol. 1103, exp. 19, 194 r. As Kelly Donahue-Wallace has pointed out, it was common for contemporary descriptions of prints to label them as *pinturas*, a general term for images. Donahue-Wallace, “Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City,” 307, n. 91.
  - 34 “Algunos le pasaron al Señor una sogá por debajo de los brazos, ... sentados en el suelo dos Verdugos y afirmándose con los pies en la Cruz aseguraron así las manos; y luego los otros atándole a cada uno de los pies una sogá, tiraron con tanta crueldad, que le descoyuntaron todo su Santísimo Cuerpo, los tobillos, rodillas, cuadriles, y costillas, de manera que no quedó en todo él, hueso con hueso.” AGN, Inquisition, vol. 1103, exp. 19, 194 v–95 r.
  - 35 “se le hizo una larga, profunda, y dolorosísima llaga, tal, que era la mayor de todo el santísimo cuerpo.” Pedro de Santa María y Ulloa, *Arco iris de paz, cuya cuerda es la consideración, y meditación para rezar el Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora; su aljaba ocupa quinientas y sesenta consideraciones, que tira el amor divino a todas las almas, y especialmente a las dormidas en la culpa, para que despierten, y le sigan en los sagrados misterios gozosos, dolorosos, y gloriosos, en que se contienen la vida de Cristo nuestro bien, y las mejores, y mayores alabanzas de María Santísima* (Barcelona, 1765) 375.
  - 36 Hilda Graef, *Historia de la mística*, trans. Enrique Martí Lloret (Barcelona, 1970), 170–73.
  - 37 “Un cuadernito impreso, intitulado: Revelación hecha a San Bernardo, Abad de Claraval, de la no conocida, y dolorosa llaga de la sagrada Espalda de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que padeció llevando su pesada cruz, con una estampa que representa la dicha llaga: se prohíbe, por incierta la expresada revelación, e inductiva a vanas confianzas en los incautos, y sencillos, y por ser apócrifas las indulgencias, que en él se publican concedidas por el Papa Eugenio III.” AGN, Edicts of the Inquisition, vol. 2, 42.
  - 38 Donahue-Wallace, “Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City,” 308.